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Sedition at the supper table: the material culture of the Jacobite wars, 1688-1760

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Abstract

The Jacobite era (1688-1760) was a time of political, social, and economic change, when political culture and social practices combined with new technologies to produce material means of expression that are recognisably modern. By examining the material culture of the Jacobite wars, this thesis explores the ways in which artefacts reflect and inform the socio-political milieu. Specifically, it looks at how domestic objects became an extension of conflict in the period of study, acting as agents of political expression as well as aesthetic taste as warfare moved from the battlefield into the home.

This research documents the ways in which individuals in the late-17th and 18th centuries used material culture to further political agendas by examining artefacts held in collections throughout Scotland. This politicised material culture struggled to negotiate the realities of war within an increasingly polite, Enlightenment society. The messy, divisive political factionalism that characterised the period hid behind a veneer of artistic craft. Political causes were planned and furthered alongside convivial habits like drinking, smoking, and snuff-taking, each of which required specialised material culture. Artefacts such as snuff boxes, wineglasses, and punch ladles were emblazoned with propagandistic sentiments, blending sociability and political expression. Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian rulers materially represented power and authority through objects like medals and portrait ceramics, as well as the official material culture of state. In return, their subjects expressed loyalty and resistance through a variety of material goods, like household textiles and furnishings, or personal dress. Artefacts also commemorated and memorialised events and individuals, with specific types of objects blurring the ambiguous distinction between artefact and relic.

These artefacts have maintained a prominent place in popular imagination over time and still have a resonance today. They have been sought out by private and corporate collectors, as well as public institutions, and there is a robust market for this material culture at auction. This study provides an examination of the collection and display of Jacobite-era artefacts from the end of the 18th century to the present, specifically highlighting the collections of individuals like

Sir Walter Scott, Alexander Carmichael, and Frederick Duleep Singh, as well as institutional collections such as the National Museum of Scotland (formerly the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), as recorded by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the corporate Drambuie Collection. Further data was gleaned from Jacobite-era artefacts at auction (2000 - 2012) at Christie's, Sotheby's, Bonham's, and Lyon & Turnbull. Finally, this thesis looks at the ways in which the material culture of the Jacobite wars has been exhibited from the 19th century onwards, and how specific types of artefacts have come to materially represent an accepted narrative of the Jacobite wars. Key exhibitions examined in detail include the 1903 *Highland and Jacobite Exhibition* in Inverness, the 1911 *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry* in Glasgow, the 1938 *Empire Exhibition* in Glasgow, the 1996 *The Swords and the Sorrows* exhibit in Edinburgh, the 2010 *Rebels with a Cause: that Jacobites and the Global Imagination* exhibit at Holyrood, and the 2011 *Imagining Power: the Visual Culture of the Jacobite Cause* at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

This thesis assesses collections of artefacts from the Jacobite era, bringing research on this material up to date, while offering fresh interpretations and thoughtful analysis of the cultural importance of these objects in their contemporary period as well as their modern significance. It interrogates this subset of artefacts and expands available resources for future study.

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List of accompanying material

The following appendices appear on a CD at the end of the thesis:

- Catalogue of artefacts referenced in this thesis.
- Catalogue of relevant artefacts auctioned at Bonham's, Lyon & Turnbull, Sotheby's, and Christie's. These houses were actively monitored from June 2009 - January 2013, while keyword searches were done within digital catalogues back to 2000.
- Catalogue of relevant artefacts exhibited to, donated to, and purchased by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1855-1985.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Jennifer L. Novotny

1. Introduction

There has been scant archaeological attention to the material record of Jacobitism. While a wealth of scholarly literature about Jacobites and the Jacobite wars exists, the associated material culture is most often examined through the lenses of poetry, writing, or visual representations of items in paintings, prints and drawings; there has been little engagement with the physical objects themselves. Material culture is not just a product of a given society but actually helps to form the foundation of that society (Miller 2010); thus the artefacts of the Jacobite era should not be seen as artistic flourishes to a politically turbulent time, but rather should be considered as agents of stability or change, actively playing a role in shaping the political and social circumstances of Jacobite-era Scotland.

The aim of this study, therefore, is not to offer a narrative of Jacobitism and the Jacobite movement as illustrated by artefacts, but rather to look at the ways in which material objects reflect and inform the socio-political milieu. Specifically, it looks at how domestic objects become an extension of conflict, acting as agents of political expression as well as aesthetic taste as warfare moves from the battlefield into the home. Furthermore, it examines the ways in which these objects continue to operate as tangible manifestations of past conflict in modern society, embodying individual and cultural memories and informing the ways in which we understand war. Research focuses on the period of 1688-1760 and incorporates a wide range of Jacobite, Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts, including ceramic tableware, snuffboxes, objects of drinking culture and items of personal dress, adornment, and domestic textiles. By investigating the rich material record of this historical period, this thesis aims to engage both the past and present to contextualise the archaeological materials within a wider socio-political framework, seeks to chart thematic changes and continuities that span the entire period of Jacobite unrest, and hopes to reinterpret and bring to light neglected artefacts. It explores the cultural work performed by these items, such as the ways that material culture can serve as a vehicle for personal and political expression, how it operates in conjunction with or independent of text, and how it interprets and remembers conflict. By understanding the material culture of the Jacobite period, we

understand not only the contemporary audience and era, but also discover clues to our own modern cosmological practices toward materiality and the past.

From a methodological point of view, this study also occurs at a time when the sub-discipline of conflict archaeology has reached maturity. Moving away from straightforward battlefield archaeology - that is the excavation of battlefield assemblages - conflict archaeology extends its gaze to ever more inclusive topics. It is the author's intention to take full advantage of the inherent flexibility of the definition of conflict archaeology to explore themes of resistance, loyalty, and the day-to-day reinforcement of political agendas within the Jacobite period whilst reflecting more broadly upon the role of the politicised material culture of conflict in societies both past and present.

Defining material culture for this study

For this study, material culture encompasses the physical artefacts of the Jacobite era 1688-1760, including a broad range of material types, with some exceptions. Though they could equally be considered to be material culture, printed documentary material and painted visual art are not discussed in this study except as a way to contextualise contemporary images and themes. There are enough thoughtful art historical assessments of visual culture already extant (for example Ede 1979; Nicholson 1995, 2005; Sharp 1996). Aside from these, this study embraces an all-inclusive view of material forms and types, including sculptural expressions, ceramics, metalware, textiles, numismatics, furniture and furnishings, all united by their advancement of a contemporary political agenda.

Politicised material culture

This thesis specifically deals with the material culture associated with Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian politics. A focus upon politicised material culture is maintained throughout, meaning that the artefacts examined throughout this thesis evince a political opinion through textual or visual motifs, or else are biographically linked to individuals of a known political persuasion. The artefacts presented throughout this thesis evidence Jacobite sentiments

supporting the restoration of the Stuarts or otherwise support the governments of William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II; they commemorate important events on the political timeline, like royal births, deaths, and marriages, along with battlefield victories. Many of these artefacts are overtly propagandistic, while others offer more quotidian expressions of political ideologies. It is important to assert here that political allegiance has not been assumed. Corroborating evidence, such as combinations of supporting symbols, or the known allegiance of an artefact's maker or owner with a political faction, were considered before an artefact was considered to be politicised.

The period of study has been limited to the years 1688-1760, the time period during which Jacobitism was a viable political movement that threatened to destabilise the government of Britain. There is a wide range of retrospective, nostalgic, politicised material culture hearkening back to the Jacobite period that appears throughout the end of the 18th and into the 19th centuries. To rigorously interrogate the cultural work of the artefacts of conflict in their own time period, however, it is important to limit the study to contemporary objects. A subsidiary aim of this study is to reflect upon how the material culture of conflict informs the understanding of past conflict in present society. Reflections upon the role of material culture from a retrospective viewpoint are made in Chapters 6 & 7, though this discussion is again limited to those artefacts contemporaneous with the Jacobite era.

Domestic material culture

Primarily of interest are household items intended for use and display within the home, rather than specialised items of state, though these too are considered. Here the word 'domestic' is applied rather broadly to mean material culture that was privately owned and often found around the home and the definition is stretched to include artefacts that may have equally been used in semi-public settings, such as gentlemen's clubs and coffee houses. The use of the term domestic is meant to contrast with artefacts of office, like seals or royal regalia, as well as to differentiate from artefacts recovered from battlefields. Battlefield artefacts form an important subset of the material culture of conflict and can often blur the boundaries between the internal world of personal

possessions and the external tools of proto-industrialised warfare. As personal and domestic items were recovered from battlefield settings, and artefacts of war were collected by soldiers and civilians alike and curated in the home, there can be substantial overlap between these two categories. Making the admittedly artificial distinctions between domestic, official / state, and battlefield material culture is an attempt to fulfil the aim of exploring the underemphasised role of politicised material culture within the homes of individuals of the late-17th and 18th centuries.

As research particularly focuses on domestic items inscribed with political and military meaning, there is an underlying assumption that political and domestic matters did not exist in separate spheres, but rather fluidly communicated between the internal home and the outside world. There was no neat division of public and private; in the 18th century the home was a space for business and social interaction, as well as more private family activities. There were different layers of public access - from the all-purpose living rooms of the humblest homes, where food was prepared, consumed and all activities took place, to the new, specialised rooms that developed during the period, like dining rooms, which offered a formal space for entertaining. As home space became defined by compartmentalised functions, the artefacts used and displayed in rooms became increasingly varied. The new, specialised rooms ranged in accessibility and so too did their decor.

When examining politicised artefacts it is important to consider the intent to display. Bed chambers that were reserved for exclusive access, for example, could contain quite different objects from the kitchen. Whereas a bed chamber offered a more private place within which to share ideas and sentiments with only the most intimate acquaintances of like-minded politics, more public rooms served a very different display function. Some objects in this study were clearly meant for more private use, such as items of personal adornment like garters or individual decorative projects like needlepoint samplers. Eger's (2009) study of the gift-giving practices of the Bluestocking circle in the later part of the century, for example, illustrates the types of fine craftwork that could be distributed between networks of female friends. These gifts were private and personal expressions of affection between individuals, not overt public expressions of skill, taste or opinion. Thus politicised domestic artefacts provide

an intriguing challenge to attempting to discern audience. While such artefacts were made to support and even propagate a political cause, their day-to-day use could be much more nuanced.

It is the aim of this study to offer a holistic look at the politicised material culture of the Jacobite era by highlighting the here-to underemphasised personal, private, and domestic expressions of political sentiment and examining it alongside more publicly-oriented artefacts of propaganda. The overarching goal, as previously stated, is to interrogate the significance of this subset of material culture to contemporary individuals as well as modern individuals today.

Thesis structure

This thesis, and the artefacts discussed therein, is organised into broad thematic categories: material expressions of war and conflict (Chapter 3), assertions of legitimacy and political authority (Chapter 4), commemorative and memorial artefacts and relics (Chapter 5), and the collection and curation of these artefacts over time (Chapters 6 & 7). Before exploring these themes, however, a brief research context is presented below along with an explanation of methodology, followed by an establishment of a theoretical framework in Chapter 2. While research themes are presented in discreet chapters, they are united by the overarching theoretical concepts presented in the next chapter, most importantly the significance of the interactions of individuals and artefacts. The thematic presentation of data and discussion, rather than following a linear chronological presentation or a selection of stand-alone case studies, stresses the active roles played by the material culture of the Jacobite wars, how artefacts expressed and manipulated political agendas during the period of study and how they continue to influence the ways in which we understand that conflict today. There is no dearth of politicised material culture for the Jacobite era; while an initial task of this study was the location and identification of relevant artefacts, a large catalogue was quickly assembled. Instead, the true challenge has been in teasing out pertinent themes - those listed above - that could be applied across the period of study to generate meaningful interpretation and discussion, balancing micro- and macro-

scale analyses to achieve a well-rounded consideration of a particularly popular subset of material culture often dismissed for its very ubiquity.

Key terms and definitions

A brief clarification of terminology used throughout the thesis is needed in order to ensure that the information provided is as accessible as possible.

Jacobite, Williamite, Hanoverian

The term Jacobite is widely understood to mean the supporters of the hereditary rights of the Stuart (also Stewart) family to the British throne. The Stuarts had been established as the Scottish royal family since the end of the 14th century. After the death of the English Elizabeth I (1533-1603), her nephew, James VI / I (1566-1625), King of Scotland, succeeded to the English throne with the Union of Crowns. The Stuart family ruled the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland from that time through the reign of Charles I (1600-49), after which it was replaced by the Commonwealth (1649-60) when the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell ruled the three kingdoms. The family was restored to power with Charles II (1630-85) in 1660, until his younger brother James VII / II (1633-1701) was deposed - or as contemporary opponents argued, abdicated - in 1688 and replaced by his daughter, Mary, and her husband (also James's nephew), William, to ensure a Protestant line of succession. Jacobite is a fairly straightforward term and successfully communicates the political cause that maintained that the rightful king of England, Scotland, and Ireland was the exiled James VII / II and that after his death, the line of succession passed to his male heirs.

Less straightforward are the various ways of describing those who the Jacobites opposed. Williamite and Hanoverian are used as shorthand to indicate those who supported the claims of William (1650-1702) and Mary (1662-94), Anne (1665-1714), George I (1660-1727), and George II (1683-1760) against those of the exiled Stuart line. There is no convenient term for Anne's reign. As a Stuart, she should rightfully be referred to by that familial title, however for the sake of clarity Stuart is used throughout the thesis to refer to the line of succession that included Charles I, Charles II, and James VII / II, continuing

through the exiled branch of the family. Anne succeeded William and Mary; if not for a change in the line of succession in favour of the Protestant monarchs, Anne would not have been queen and for this reason she is incorporated under the term Williamite, though it is made clear when her reign is specifically singled out for discussion. The term Hanoverian is applied to the line of succession that moved through George I, the Elector of Hanover. Again, there were Stuart familial connections, through Elizabeth of Bohemia (1596-1662), the oldest daughter of James VI / I. George I, however, was inarguably foreign, a ruler in his own right in Hanover before the Act of Settlement (1701) decided him as the successor to the childless Anne. At the beginning of the period of study, to refer to George I and his supporters as Hanoverian emphasises this foreignness. To continue to use the term late in the period of study, however, is problematic because by then Hanoverian line was well established and accepted by the vast majority of the population, no longer denoting an imported line of succession. Despite this, it will be consistently applied throughout as a collective term for the supporters of George I and George II.

Such broad terms are semantically unsatisfactory, but are useful for several reasons. Firstly, they are established in historical and archaeological scholarship, and thus readily understood. The terms are perhaps most meaningful at periods of political change - when the king was actually Hanoverian, for example. Hanoverian supporters, by the end of the period of study, are merely subjects expressing support for the officially recognised ruling family. Likewise, after the establishment of William and Mary as joint monarchs of Britain, so-called Williamite supporters were in fact, supporters of the status quo. The terms Williamite and Hanoverian could be united under what some scholars term anti-Jacobite (discussed later in this chapter). While this term is flexible and all-encompassing, it is problematic in that it gives precedence to Jacobitism, when in fact Jacobites were themselves the minority opposition cause. Using the individual terms Williamite and Hanoverian is preferred here, despite their problematic nature, because they suggest time depth, roughly breaking the period of study into its earlier and later halves. Thus, Williamite and Hanoverian are employed to indicate the individuals to whom Jacobites were opposed and who opposed Jacobites in return; this could include ardent

political activism alongside more casual acceptance of what was officially recognised as the government of Great Britain.

Great Britain

The use of 'Great Britain', 'Britain', and 'British' also poses a challenge, as the composition of the British state changed in the course of the period of study. These terms are employed somewhat loosely throughout the thesis, to indicate Scotland, England, and Wales collectively. Great Britain as a political entity did not exist until 1707, partway through the period of study. Though this study focuses primarily upon artefacts in Scottish collections (discussed later in this chapter), the material culture of the Jacobite wars circulated throughout the British Isles as well as the Continent. The loose application of the terms British, Britain, and Great Britain, is employed as shorthand for the sake of brevity and is used to discuss England, Scotland, and Wales collectively before the Act of Union in 1707, as well as after, though this is technically anachronistic. It is merely meant to indicate the kingdoms that are recognised today as comprising the island of Great Britain, which shared many of the same material trends, and offers an easy way to differentiate the overarching situation in England, Scotland, and Wales from those in a European or global context. It will be made clear in the text when there is a significant difference in material from England, Scotland, or Wales and if only one of these nations is specifically singled out. Ireland did not become part of this united political identity until the beginning of the 19th century. Irish material culture is not dealt with in this study, as it warrants a dedicated study in its own right and is a possible target for future investigation.

The Jacobite era

'The Jacobite era' is another potentially problematic term that requires clarification. For this study, the period of the Jacobite wars is considered to encompass the organised military campaigns waged in reaction to the changes in royal succession from the exile of James VII / II in 1688 through to an end date of 1760, when the threat of armed pro-Stuart military action ceases to be a real threat. The Jacobite era is employed for the purpose of simplification. Rather than suggesting an overtly pro-Jacobite focus to research, there is simply a

continuity of Jacobite political identity between 1688 and 1760, whereas opposing political standpoints stretched across several reigns and encompasses several potential terms: Williamite, Tory, Whig, Hanoverian, Government - some of which have already been discussed above. Furthermore the time period straddles two centuries, thus sometimes making temporal descriptors awkward and lengthy. Some developments, concentrated largely in the later period of study are able to be discussed more generally as 18th-century characteristics, but overall trends examined in the thesis stretch from the late-17th century through the mid-18th century. The Jacobite era, then, seems to be the most concise and useful, as it can be employed throughout the thesis to denote the entire span of years examined in this study.

War, rebellion, uprising

While a politically neutral term like ‘the Jacobite wars’ is given preference, for the sake of variation, other terminology must be employed. Terms like ‘rebellion’ versus ‘uprising’ are politically loaded and it should be stated unambiguously that no political affiliation is intended by using one term or the other. Rather, it is acknowledged by the author that these terms are imperfect and can be problematic, but they will not be abandoned entirely. Words like rebellion and uprising will be treated synonymously (as indicating a series of organised political and military events) in this thesis for two reasons: first, the author rejects participation in the virulent and at times petty debate that can be sparked by the miscalculated use of one of these terms. While academic debate and re-evaluation of the period of study is welcomed, it must be noted that there is unfortunately a fringe element within the study of the Jacobite period. There are individuals that one meets as an archaeologist - amateur historians, those with a familial connection, or just members of the public who happen to attend a lecture or visit an excavation site - that have very strongly held beliefs about the Jacobite cause, and there are some who see this cause as ongoing in the present. Though Jacobitism certainly has a resonance in the present and is relevant to modern society, the author does not see the Jacobite cause as an intact political movement. Secondly, a thesis-length study devoted to the Jacobite era would be repetitive to the extreme if terminology was rigidly limited to only one or two acceptable words.

Titles

Many of the historic individuals discussed in this thesis had multiple titles. A disjuncture in royal titles occurs with the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in the 17th century. An example of this, from the beginning of the period of study, is James VII / II, the 7th king of that name in Scottish tradition, while only the 2nd in the English monarchy. Throughout the thesis this dual identity has been kept, except for when an artefact specifically references one - for example, commemorative medals were often meant for circulation in either Scotland or England, meaning that the artefact would feature one title or the other, not both. As the Jacobite wars were a struggle for succession, the use of noble and royal titles was highly politicised. The exiled Stuart family continued to style themselves as monarchs, as if they were officially-recognised British rulers. James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the son of the exiled James VII / II, referred to himself as James VIII / III after the death of his father, though he is variously referred to in the contemporary period as The Old Chevalier, and The Pretender or Old Pretender by opponents. His son, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88), styled himself the Prince of Wales and eventually Charles III, though he was alternately referred to as the Young Pretender, the Young Chevalier, and Bonnie Prince Charlie. Dealing sensitively with the competing monikers of Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian monarchs has become a serious concern in current scholarship. Recent exhibitions of Jacobite material (see Chapter 7 for a full discussion) have given the issue much thought and have been more likely to use the titles the individuals used themselves, than to employ titles and nicknames interchangeably, as did historians of the 19th and earlier 20th centuries. For the sake of clarity, each individual is referred to consistently in one way throughout this thesis. The Jacobites are identified by their given names, such as James Francis Edward Stuart, and the officially-recognised monarchs of Britain are identified by their accepted regnal names, like George I. Exceptions are made when a different title is specifically used within the material culture itself, but such departures from form are made clear.

Research context

The Jacobite rebellions have been a popular subject of study since the 18th century, when near-contemporary accounts were published at the end of the century. In subsequent centuries, the events of the period of Jacobite unrest, particularly of the last rebellion of 1745, have been explored in both history and literature. The material record, however, has been less well investigated. By chronologically outlining previous scholarship on the Jacobite era, this section traces how the scholarly treatment of the Jacobite wars has changed over time. Furthermore, it highlights current research, and finally, it establishes the neglected but important place of material culture within this body of scholarship.

18th and 19th centuries

A rich body of contemporary documentation exists for the Jacobite period. By the later part of the period, a robust print industry and increased literate population meant that news reports, eyewitness battle accounts, letters, broadsides, memoirs, and ballads proliferated and circulated widely throughout Britain. The events and politics of the period were satirised by authors in prose, verse, and lyric, while artists engraved, painted, and sketched. In the decades following the final failed Jacobite rebellion, an inexhaustible supply of retrospective accounts of the unrest, particularly the events of 1745-6, appeared throughout Britain. A full discussion of the range of early histories of the Jacobite era would be a lengthy undertaking; highlighted here are but a few examples of immediate post-war publications. Circa 1760, a tract entitled *The History of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, in the years 1745 and 1746* appeared, written by an anonymous author. Similarly, D. Graham published *An impartial history of the rise, progress, and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain, in the years 1745 and 1746* soon after the 1745, the third edition appearing in 1774. Publications such as these followed quickly on the heels of the end of the Jacobite wars. While broadsides and newspapers had reported events as they happened over the period of study, works like these had a specifically retrospective focus. The Jacobite wars were decidedly over by

1760 and they became the subject of historical scholarship while the last of the risings was still in common memory.

At the end of the 18th century there were also publications detailing the lives of Jacobite expatriates. For example, the 1791 work of J. MacDonald, *Travels in various parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, during a series of thirty years and upwards*, which records MacDonald's life after the 1745 rebellion, during which he was just a child. It should be remarked that many of these examples were continually reprinted through the early decades of the 19th century. For example, R. Griffiths's tale of the movements of Charles Edward Stuart, *Ascanius; or, the young adventurer a true history. Translated from a manuscript privately handed about at the court of Versailles*, which appeared in 1746, was reprinted in new editions every decade or so until the 1820s. Graham's *An impartial history*, previously mentioned, was reprinted as a 5th edition in 1787, 6th edition in 1796, 8th edition in 1808, and a 9th edition in 1812. Similarly, some earlier texts were rediscovered, revived, and reprinted in the early 19th century, whilst entirely new works, like J. Home's (1802) *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* and G. Charles's (1816) *History of the transactions in Scotland in the years 1715-16, and 1745-46* were introduced. The continual reproduction of these works throughout the 18th and into the early 19th centuries suggests that there was a good market for such publications. There was a contemporary and near-contemporary interest in recording and publishing of the events of the Jacobite period, as well as in owning these published works, and these early accounts survived into and circulated throughout the following century.

One of the most important contemporary historical sources for the Jacobite period, though it was not published in the 18th century, is Rev. R. Forbes's (1896) collection of the letters, experiences, and reminiscences of Jacobites that he encountered during his lifetime. The work that would become *The Lyon in Mourning* began when Forbes joined the Jacobite forces in 1746. He was almost immediately caught and imprisoned, but this inspired him to begin recording the voices of his cause (Paton 1896). By 1748, Forbes had completed a set of 6 volumes, followed by a subsequent volume in 1749, and another in 1750-1. The series eventually ran to 10 volumes, incorporating material up to the year 1775 (*ibid.*). Included along with the text are several artefacts, such as a scrap of Charles Edward Stuart's Betty Burke disguise, a piece of one of his

velvet garters, and a scrap of cloth from his sword guard - the latter artefact added to the collection after Forbes's death. Forbes did not publish the work in his lifetime and jealously guarded his collection as a dangerous secret. His widow, however, was forced to sell the collection and it passed through various hands until it was partially published in 1834 by R. Chambers, who had authored the *History of the rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746* in 1828 (*ibid.*).

By the mid-19th century the Jacobite period was a comfortably distant historical period that was still of much intellectual interest, judging from the numerous historical publications discussed above. At this time the romance of Jacobitism was revitalised by literary figures like Robert Burns, writing Jacobite poems and songs throughout the 1790s, Walter Scott's publication of Jacobite-themed novels *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817), and James Hogg's collection of songs, *The Jacobite relics of Scotland*, published in 1821.

20th century

The Jacobite era was a popular subject of military and social histories in the 20th century. In the early decades, scholars such as C.S. Terry, W.B. Blaikie, and A. and H. Tayler compiled studies of individual Jacobites and their socio-political world. Terry's work on Scottish history covered the Covenanting period through to the Jacobite era. His Jacobite scholarship includes a (1901) history of the 1745 rebellion, a biography of Charles Edward Stuart (1905c), and the edited collections *The Forty-five : a narrative of the last Jacobite rising* (1922) and *The Jacobites and the union: being a narrative of the movements of 1708, 1715, 1719 by several contemporary hands* (1922). Terry also wrote battle histories of engagements such as Glenshiel (1905a), the siege of Edinburgh Castle (1905d), and Rullion Green and the skirmishes of the Pentland Rising (1905b). Current military historians still reference Terry's work today.

Likewise, Blaikie's Jacobite scholarship still serves as a useful source to researchers of 18th-century Scotland. Most notable are Blaikie's (1916) edited collection of papers on the 1745 rebellion and his *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his landing in Scotland, July 1745 to his departure in September 1746* (1897), which was compiled from material in *The Lyon in*

Mourning. Blaikie edited and updated Rev. Forbes's original content, adding new research of his own.

The historians A. and H. Tayler conducted a wide range of archival research during the 1920s and 1930s, including examinations of various manuscripts, letters, and estate papers scattered throughout Scotland, which they transcribed, edited, and published. Amongst their numerous publications, the Taylers compiled a history of the 1715 (1936), examined the Stuart papers held at Windsor (A. & H. Tayler 1939; H. Tayler 1941), chronicled Charles Edward Stuart's flight through the Highlands (H. Tayler 1951), and used letters to create biographical sketches of major Jacobite personalities, like the would-be James VIII (A. Tayler 1934) and Lady Nithsdale (H. Tayler 1939).

Along with a burgeoning interest in historical scholarship, the early part of the 20th century saw an increased awareness of Jacobite-era material culture. During this time, 18th-century glassware became a fad amongst collectors and scholars and remains popular to this day, becoming by far the most well studied facet of Williamite, Jacobite and Hanoverian material culture. A. Hartshorne's *Old English Glasses* (1897) originally looked at Jacobite glass, but scholars of the 1920s greatly expanded upon this. Numerous descriptive catalogues of collections of glassware were published in antiquarian-interest publications such as *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*. These include J.S. Risley's account of rare types of glasses with accompanying photographic plates (1920b) and his short article on Georgian electioneering glasses (1920a). H. Read (1923) published a short highlight of Jacobite glasses amongst the Bles Collection of English and Irish glass, which was on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1923. Also of note is G.R. Francis's (1926) discussion of glass in his volume *Old English Drinking Glasses*, which contains a dedicated section on Orange / Williamite glass, which ran to 9 pages in length, as well as a substantial 41-page chapter on Jacobite glasses. Francis also published a later work on potential 'disguised' Jacobite glassware (1936), which was followed 2 years later by J.A. Fleming's (1938) *Scottish and Jacobite Glass*. It is noticeable in this survey that Williamite and Hanoverian glass has received comparatively less attention - note the disparity in Francis's tome between the page allotments for the two subjects.

Though much archival work was done throughout the early 20th century, little of it was executed with an archaeological frame of mind. Jacobite historians and biographers trawled through innumerable records, publishing some of them, but not pursuing the same research agenda as a material culture scholar. Take for example the dedicated scholarship of the Taylers: in their careful studies of the Stuart Papers at Windsor, they spent three years transcribing and publishing what they felt, ‘... seemed ... of intrinsic interest, and capable of being woven into a personal history’ (1939: ix). Piecing together artefact biographies often results from looking at more mundane sources, such as accounts and inventories, rather than letters of ‘intrinsic interest’ to narrative historians. Artefacts were rarely discussed in detail by such historians looking for personal histories, unless they were extremely special.

One such notable exception, an extremely special artefact, was one of the Stuart jewels formerly in the possession of Henry Benedict Stuart, youngest grandson of the ousted James VII / II. Here the Taylers did, in fact, stray into artefact biography. They traced the storied journey of a large sapphire that had been taken into exile by James VII / II. After the death of his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, his grandson, Henry Benedict Stuart, then a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church, wore the gem on his mitre (A. & H. Tayler 1939). Henry Benedict Stuart’s unstable financial situation in his later years caused him to part with some of his royal treasures, which he is known to have sold in Venice. According to a letter transcribed by the Taylers, the sapphire eventually turned up in Leipzig in the possession of a merchant who traded in Venice (*ibid.*). Angiolo Bonelli, an Italian merchant who lived in London and was acting as agent to the British crown to secure the return of the Stuart Papers, chanced across this find and negotiated the sale of the sapphire to himself, on behalf of the British monarchy, for 679 *louis d’or* (*ibid.*).

Once back in the possession of the ruling family of Britain, the sapphire was spotted adorning the head of Lady Coningham in 1821 whilst in the company of the new king, George IV (*ibid.*). The sapphire was then given to Princess Charlotte, the king’s daughter, who married the future King Leopold of Belgium (*ibid.*). It was ultimately returned to Britain upon the death of Charlotte and today the sapphire remains with the crown jewels, appearing at the rear of the imperial crown commissioned by George VI [RC 31701].

For the Taylers, as well as their early 20th century historian contemporaries, it was material culture such as this - a priceless royal sapphire - that warranted rigorous scholarship. If, however, one considers the Stuart Papers themselves as important pieces of contemporary material culture, then the Taylers once again strayed into the realm of artefact biography. They traced the convoluted trail of the archival records of the exiled Stuarts from the court of James Francis Edward Stuart to their current repository at Windsor Castle. It is a colourful and amusing story in its own right. The papers, split into two batches, were nearly lost several times as they were hidden to avoid confiscation. They were abandoned in the garret of an Italian palazzo, impounded by government officials, crossed the Mediterranean for a stop in Tunis, and then were thoroughly rummaged by uninformed British port authorities before they were eventually delivered into crown property (*ibid.*). From the death of Henry Benedict Stuart in 1807, it took until 1818 for the surviving parts of the Stuart archive to be reunited, this time in the possession of George III, the descendent of the very Hanoverian line that had fuelled the Jacobite political cause for so many decades.

From the two examples above, it is clear that some amount of piecing together of informative and the collection of entertaining anecdotal back stories about artefacts has been accomplished. The difficulty is, of course, tracking less spectacular artefacts than an enormous sapphire spotted at royal dinner engagements throughout London, and ferreting out less dramatic stories than the misadventures of priceless sea-faring documents. The challenge is to uncover more representative and less unique biographies, though as will be seen throughout this thesis, biographical details often can be elusive.

By the middle of the 20th century there was stagnation in the publication of Jacobite-era topics. H. Tayler was still publishing monographs and biographical sketches, but there was an overall decline in the volume of historical publications. A notable exception would be J. Prebble's work on Scottish history from the 1960s onward, which included *Culloden* (1961) and another military history text from this time is K. Tomasson's (1962) *Battles of the '45*. This was a shift in interest from the social and personal histories of earlier decades to an explicitly battlefield focus.

Aside from the Taylors' interest in the 1715 rebellion and Terry's work on the events of 1708-19, the majority of 20th-century scholarship focused on the events of 1745, and more specifically, the person of Charles Edward Stuart. The likely explanation for this is the rich documentary record of the last rebellion. Archives and estates throughout Britain held manuscripts and letters for early-20th-century historians to explore. These historians moved forward from contemporary 18th-century accounts, assembling detailed scholarship of the events and personalities of the Jacobite period, creating a foundation still referenced by scholars of the period today.

Jacobite studies

Jacobite studies as a specific area of specialisation coalesced in the 1980s. In (1979) E. Cruickshanks published *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45*, followed by the edited volume *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* in 1982. These works sought to reinvigorate the flagging interest in the Jacobite period and to offer a more nuanced approach to the politics of the era. The field was led by historians, like Cruickshanks, alongside scholars of literature, such as H. Erskine-Hill, who examined the politics of 18th-century writing and poetry. One of the overtly stated goals of the new Jacobite scholarship of the 1980s was to counter what was perceived as the legacy of Whig historiography of the Victorian era (Cruickshanks 1979), which implied that the history of the 18th century was one of uninterrupted progress. Whig policies enhanced and safeguarded the liberties of British citizens, saving the nation from the threats of Catholicism and absolutism as posed by the Stuarts. Jacobite studies offered a revisionist approach, countering a lack of serious scholarly attention to Jacobitism (v. Victorian romantic, sentimental attention) by the academic establishment, which dismissed Jacobitism as a failed movement, marginalised and impotent.

From the 1980s onward, there has been a proliferation of publications on Jacobitism. Though not all of the publications discussed in this section can be strictly categorised as within the genre of Jacobite studies, they were all part of a revival in interest in the Jacobite wars and illustrate the wide variety of themes explored. These include the military histories of F. McLynn (1981; 1983;

1985; 1988), S. Reid (1996; 2002), and C. Duffy (2003), along with the political historical publications of D. Szechi (1984; 1993; 1994; 2006), J. Black (1988, 1990a, 1990b), and M. Sankey's (2005) work on Jacobite prisoners of war. Of particular influence were B. Lenman's numerous publications on Jacobitism as a political and military movement, most notably *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (1980) and *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen 1650-1784* (1995). Another highly influential Jacobite scholar, P.K. Monod, deftly explored the intricate political culture of Jacobitism in England in his PhD thesis in 1985, which was later published as *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788* (1989). L. Scott-Moncrieff's edited collection (1988) *The '45: to gather an image whole* likewise delved into the causes of the rebellion, examining multiple viewpoints, including that of the *Gàidhealtachd*.

In 1999, M. Pittock published *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, which examined the cultural treatment of Jacobitism in art and literature in 19th-century Britain. *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* remains an influential piece of Jacobite scholarship, and is a well crafted, highly readable study of the perceptions of Jacobitism, Highlanders, and more generally Scotland, in the Victorian period. Pittock adeptly explored how Jacobitism came to be conflated with Scottishness and how the legacy of Victorian perceptions resonated throughout later decades. His book sought to re-evaluate the assumptions made about Jacobites, their political movement, and 19th- and 20th-century Scottish identity.

Another key theme of revitalised Jacobite scholarship, which began in the 1980s but still continues today, is highlighting Britain's political interconnectedness with Europe (Cruickshanks 1979; Cruickshanks and Black 1988). This broader geographic approach to the time period resulted in a more nuanced political picture of Britain as it was situated within a wider Europe context in the 18th century. This pluralistic approach was best exemplified by B. Lenman's and J. Gibson's (1990) edited book of English, Scottish, French, and Irish sources, which offers a cosmopolitan look at the Jacobite movement, along with a recent volume edited by Monod, Pittock, and Szechi (2010). Other works focussing on this pan-European interconnectedness are the numerous studies of the Stuart court abroad. In 1995 Cruickshanks and Corp published *The Stuart Court in Exile*, which offered a collection of essays based on papers presented at a conference dedicated to exploring Jacobite activity in France at the French

royal court, as well as in the streets of Paris. In (1997) Corp produced a dedicated volume on the Stuart court's exile at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. More recently scholars, again including Corp (2003), have begun exploring the exiled Jacobite community in Italy, where the Stuarts relocated after their expulsion from France.

Scottish Jacobite studies

With the exception of Pittock, these products of the new Jacobite studies scholarship overwhelmingly focussed on the English socio-political situation, which had been previously neglected. Not until the 1990s did scholars examine Scottish political history of the Jacobite era in detail. And with the notable exception of the work of B.Ó. Buachalla (1992) on Irish Jacobite literary contributions and É. Ó Ciardha (2002, 2010) on Irish Jacobite expatriates, perspectives from the *Gaeilge*- and *Gàidhlig*-speaking populations of the British Isles are still significantly underrepresented. Throughout the past two decades, however, scholars have continued to contextualise Jacobitism in the wider narrative of 18th-century society, and a distinctively Scottish reappraisal of the Jacobite era (Macinnes 1999) has begun.

Economic and social histories

While not an explicit facet of Jacobite studies, social and economic histories of Scottish, English, and general overviews of British 18th-century life offer important information relevant to this study. Economic and social historians of the 1980s and 1990s largely focused on statistical analyses of probates and estates, best exemplified by the work of L. Weatherill (1996). However, these mostly focus on urban English contexts. Because this thesis is interested in the material culture of domestic contexts, such studies offer tantalising clues as to how material culture was acquired and disposed of during the period of interest. More recent publications have offered valuable historical information on material culture in the 18th century, like those of S. Nenadic (2004, 2007), who explores a specifically Scottish context, and Amanda Vickery (2009), who examines a wider British context. By synthesising these various sources of information alongside extent examples held in museums and private collections,

a fuller, more informative picture can be drawn of material culture in the 18th century and how artefacts from the Jacobite wars fit into this larger assemblage.

Material culture

Aside from the early 20th-century interest in glassware, dedicated scholarly attention to the material record of the Jacobite period was scarce before the 1990s. As previously discussed, antiquarian research of the 19th and early 20th centuries resulted in a few articles, but more recent publications on the material culture of the Jacobite wars tend to be associated with special exhibitions at museums and galleries (discussed more fully in Chapter 7). For example, an exhibition of Williamite artefacts coordinated by the Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo and the Pierpont Morgan Library resulted in a dedicated catalogue (Pierpont Morgan Library 1979), while the 250th anniversary of the 1745 rebellion in 1995 inspired a raft of special exhibits and accompanying publications. These include publications include as R. Nicholson's (1995) excellent and informational illustrated catalogue of the Drambuie Collection, R.C. Woosnam-Savage's edited volume *1745: Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites* (1995) which accompanied an exhibition at Glasgow Museums, and the National Trust for Scotland's (1996) *The Swords and the Sorrows*, which likewise was the companion volume to a commemorative exhibit.

Alongside the commemorative exhibitions and publications, art historical interest in the Jacobite period increased noticeably from the 1990s onward. There have been examinations of Jacobite portraiture, including a guide on Jacobite portraits in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (Corp 2001), iconography (E. E. Nicholson 2003), and engravings and prints (Sharp 1996). Jacobite glassware has once again come to the forefront of art historical scholarship. G. Seddon (1995, 1999) has pursued in-depth research of Jacobite glass, most recently looking at the iconic Amen glasses, sourcing them to probable manufacturers in London. Lenman (2001) has suggested that glassware would have been the most widely-distributed items of Jacobite propaganda, however due to the existence of good scholarship on these items, from the work

of early 20th-century collectors through to Seddon, they will not be a key focus of this study.

Some of the most informative and useful source materials have been specialist reflections upon Jacobite artefacts in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland by G. Dalgleish (1988, 2000) and H. Cheape (1993b, 1995, 2003). Dalgleish and Cheape each bring material culture perspectives well-rooted in historical research, as well as understandings of material processes. Though neither has published exhaustively on the material culture of the Jacobite wars, the importance of their scholarly contributions to this subject matter cannot be overemphasised. Dalgleish in particular has long maintained an interest in Jacobite artefacts and continues to collect research notes, to which this author was generously given access.

Archaeology of the Jacobite wars

Archaeological interest in the Jacobite wars began much later than historical, literary, and art historical research. The archaeology of the Jacobite wars began with the investigation of the battlefield of Culloden for the BBC television programme *Two Men in a Trench* in 2001, the results of which were published in a subsequent companion publication to the series (Pollard & Oliver 2002). The project included metal detecting and geophysical survey of various areas of the battlefield, as well as the limited excavation of a rectilinear feature adjacent to Leanach Cottage. Further archaeological investigation of Culloden was done in 2005 by Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division (GUARD) on behalf of the National Trust for Scotland, including topographic and geophysical surveys, trial trenching, and a systematic metal detecting survey (Pollard and Banks 2006).

Further archaeological investigations were conducted at the battlefields of Glenshiel and Killiecrankie. Glenshiel was subjected to a topographic survey in 1997 (Historic Scotland 2013a), while Killiecrankie was explored in more detail. Archaeological investigation was conducted at Killiecrankie in 2003, again as part of *Two Men in a Trench*. This included topographic, geophysical and metal detecting surveys, as well as excavation of the purported burial mounds at Tomb Clavers and Dundee's Mound, though no burials were discovered (Historic

Scotland 2013b; Pollard and Oliver 2003). There is the potential for future excavation, as both of these sites have been reviewed as part of the Historic Scotland Battlefields Inventory programme, the first part of which was published in 2010.

Current research

Research into the Jacobite wars has not lost momentum since its resurgence in the 1980s. Scholars at institutions throughout the UK, Europe, and North America are looking at various facets of the Jacobite period. Founded in 2003, the Jacobite Studies Trust exemplifies the recent codification of the sub-discipline of Jacobite studies within the academic establishment. What was once a neglected area of study in the 1970s has become a recognised interdisciplinary specialisation, bringing together historians, literary scholars, and art historians. The Trust's conference in 2010, subtitled 'Jacobite and Anti-Jacobites: Culture and Diaspora', exemplified a wide array of research topics, including much-needed work on alternative Williamite and Hanoverian perspectives. However, only one plenary speaker and one panel out of the 12 offered over the three-day conference specifically addressed the so-called anti-Jacobite viewpoint. These examined, for example, Williamite ideology (Mijers 2010) and Hanoverian loyalism during the 1715 uprising (Patrick 2010). Other papers at the conference examined: architecture (McKean 2010, MacInnes 2010) and archaeology (Pollard 2010, Novotny 2010), painting (R. Nicholson 2010, Amblard 2010), literature (Higgins 2010, Graham 2010, Noble 2010), the Gàidhealtachd (Mackenzie 2010, MacCoinnich 2010), and aspects of religion (Monod 2010, Clarke 2010, Bergin 2010, McNally 2010, Nimmo 2010, Campbell 2010, Glickman 2010). The most popular theme, however, was that of Jacobite networks abroad. Presenters looked at Sweden (Schuchard 2010, Önnersfors 2010), France (Corp 2010, Talbot 2010), Germany (Zickermann 2010), Italy (Davidson 2010), and Russia (Collis 2010). This nicely illustrates the wide variety of on-going Jacobite scholarship, just as it emphasises the comparable lack of engagement from an archaeological / material culture perspective.

Ongoing historical research with a specifically Scottish focus is currently being conducted by two noteworthy scholars. M. Pittock (2010), Bradley Chair of

English Literature at the University of Glasgow, is examining the Jacobite's material language of sedition, while C. Whatley (2010), Professor of Scottish History at the University of Dundee, is studying the public expressions of Hanoverianism, like monumental sculpture in Scottish urban areas.

Archaeologically, T. Pollard (2009, forthcoming) continues to investigate the battle sites of the Jacobite wars. In 2009, he edited a collection of essays on Culloden, offering an interdisciplinary approach to the history of the battlefield. *Culloden: The last clan battle* brought together archaeologists, as well as military and social historians to offer a well-rounded discussion of the documentary and material evidence for the events of April 1746. Furthermore, the text did not overtly focus on a Jacobite viewpoint, but rather examined both Jacobite and Government perspectives. This holistic approach to one battle could be much more widely applied, not simply to other engagements, but to the period of the Jacobite wars as a whole.

What has so far been lacking in the literature on the Jacobite period is a satisfactory study of material culture. With the exception of the previously mentioned work of Dalgleish and Cheape, interest in the artefacts of the Jacobite wars has been limited to antiquarian collections and exhibit catalogues. Such art historical approaches, with the exception of scholars such as Nicholson (1995), have considered little more than iconography and elite portraiture. What little has been written about 18th-century artefacts of the Jacobite period generally references textual sources rather than engaging with the artefacts themselves. The many artefacts that exist throughout Scotland are an underutilised resource. Artefacts from the Jacobite era are widely distributed throughout private and public collections, have been uncovered by archaeological excavation, and are on display in museum galleries or tucked away in storage. Academic scholarship on these items, however, is lacking - particularly in regards to the material culture of a domestic setting.

As evidenced in this section, there is promising current research into the Jacobite period. That the field has mostly been left to historians and literary scholars, however, has resulted in a problematic appraisal of material culture. Most unfortunately, it has left the object inseparably linked to textuality. Furthermore, a documentary and textual focus has meant that artefacts have not received proper consideration and lack up-to-date interpretations, if they

were ever interpreted at all. Finally, the topic of the Jacobite wars, like many very specific specialisations, has become prone to insularity. Many scholars of the period focus primarily on a Jacobite viewpoint, which itself often focuses almost exclusively on Stuart court culture.

This thesis seeks to redress these gaps in knowledge by pursuing the following aims:

- Focusing upon the material culture as an important primary source, rather than as a mere illustration of socio-political events.
- Contextualising the material culture of the Jacobite period within its original socio-political context, as well as examining its place in modern culture.
- Utilising current material culture theory to create meaningful new interpretations.
- Exploring how these objects operate outside of words.

By examining the material culture of the Jacobite wars from a rigorous archaeological stance, this thesis will take advantage of an important but neglected resource. It will complement years of historical, art historical, and literary scholarship by offering a material understanding of the period only uncovered by the unique skill set of an archaeologist.

Beyond Jacobite Studies

This brief précis of past scholarship of the Jacobite era has traced the trajectory of research from its origins as contemporary history to a period of romantic and antiquarian interest, to modern political and military studies. Why have the events of the Jacobite wars remained a popular subject of study? It is a well documented recent historical period that offers easily accessible sources, with the added attractions of a series of exciting events, political intrigue, and an interesting cast of characters. In the 1980s, Jacobitism was ready for a revisionist approach and offered a way to critique what scholars saw as an

entrenched Whig hegemony. In the following decade, the Jacobite period had a particular resonance for scholars working in Scotland. The 1990s were a politically important time for Scotland as the nation moved towards a devolved parliament. The new interest in Jacobitism explored the era as a potential turning point when Scottish history could have taken a very different path; Jacobitism became conflated with ideas of Scottish identity and nationalism, as well as a vehicle through which to examine, and perhaps question, Unionism.

Today a critique of the current state of Jacobite studies is needed. The success of Jacobite studies - that is, the high level of interest and large amount of published scholarship - has skewed our view of the past. Only a fraction of the contemporary British population actively supported Jacobitism, yet scholarship on this political faction overshadows that of the everyday, non-rebellious citizen. The amount and quality of Jacobite publications since the 1970s has undoubtedly contributed to a fuller understanding of 18th-century British society than previously existed. One of the unfortunate side effects of the increased attention to the Jacobitism, however, is that awareness of the Williamite and Hanoverian situations has waned. Scholarship on government viewpoints has been eclipsed by the robust interest in Jacobitism, artificially separating out and polarising these contemporary political perspectives. It is quite easy to draw together a comprehensive review of Jacobite historiography, but much more of a challenge to offer a review of Williamite and Hanoverian literature. Some pertinent recent publications include L. Colley's latest edition of *Britons* (2003), which continues to emphasise the formation of a united and seamless British national identity during the 18th century, *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714-1837* (Eds. Simms and Riotte 2010), which examines how the monarchy's close ties with Hanover affected the political culture of the Georgian period, and H. Smith's (2010) excellent assessment of Hanoverian court culture. The pioneers of Jacobite studies would perhaps argue that all previous histories from the 19th century reinforced an accepted Whig narrative, thus serving as a Hanoverian viewpoint, however the pendulum has swung quite the other way. This imbalance is even more pronounced in regards to material culture. What little scholarship exists on material culture of the Jacobite wars is largely unconcerned with Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts. The only exceptions to

this are early-20th-century studies of Williamite and Georgian drinking glasses, and most recently Whatley's ongoing work on public sculpture.

The idea of Jacobite studies is problematic in that it has so successfully carved out a specialist niche that it risks insularity. Rather than seeing Jacobitism as one half of a political dialogue, Jacobite scholars tend to isolate their focus. For example, in his current work on sedition and material culture, Pittock (2010, 2011) has advanced a bespoke Jacobite theory. By insisting upon the creation of a separate theoretical construct to deal with Jacobitism, the political movement and its adherents are divorced from their socio-political context; in isolating the Jacobites and their period as unique and divisible, we risk missing wider connections and overarching trends.

A final critique of the Jacobite research community is that its examination of the period often has been limited to elite, aristocratic subjects. This bias can be partially accounted for by the availability and survival of documents and artefacts, however publications as recent as 2010 (Coltman 2010: 184) actively seek to examine the elites 'who shaped the movement' with a conscious disregard to 'the rank and file "who drank and died for the cause."' While social historians and archaeologists have been long committed to investigating the realities of non-elite past populations, Jacobite scholars have continued to focus upon the nobility and monarchy. While new research promises exciting portrayals of Jacobitism abroad in the exiled courts of Saint-Germaine and Urbino (Corp 2003, 2004, 2011), these studies largely focus on the same aristocratic cast of characters, simply relocated to the Continent. This continued emphasis on the exiled Stuart court, furthermore, largely ignores Scotland and the everyday political experience of non-elite Jacobites living in a British domestic context.

At the closing of the Jacobite Studies Trust conference in June 2010, well known names in the field showed concern for the future trajectory of Jacobite studies. This pessimistic view of the conference proceedings hinted at the academic isolation of Jacobite Studies. For example, there is exciting research being done within the Humanities on topics like diaspora studies and identity, which was seized upon by early-career and postgraduate researchers at the conference. In fact, scholars of the Jacobite period are well placed to take advantage of the

highly interdisciplinary nature of their subject matter, drawing on the newest theories available in complementary areas of study.

The archaeology of the Jacobite wars has great potential. The discipline of archaeology and its specific skill set has much to offer and can enhance existing scholarship. Whilst historical archaeology must necessarily take into account the documentary record, so too should historical and art historical scholars take into account recent archaeological research into urban and rural 18th-century Scotland (Dalglish 2003; Dalglish and Driscoll 2010) which seeks to offer a more nuanced understanding of era. More specifically, archaeological exploration of the Jacobite wars will help to redress what Dalglish and Driscoll (2010) identify as a dearth of research into post-medieval Scottish material culture and explore a specifically Scottish perspective on the period.

Approaching the subject matter with an archaeological perspective will enhance the understanding of the period in several ways. First, it is the remit of archaeology to view change over time and processes, not just isolated events (Harrison and Schofield 2010). Archaeology as a discipline focuses upon context; this holistic approach can act as a corrective to the isolationist tendencies of scholarship of the Jacobite period. Secondly, a material culture approach will engage with the quotidian, day-to-day treasured objects that were passed down through families, be they monetarily valuable or merely sentimental. Material culture theory offers a structure for interpreting the complex relationships between persons and artefacts. This, surely, is the remit of archaeologists working within a recent historical period: to tease out the mundane, to explore the material expressions of a society and to offer a counterpoint to logocentric interpretations offered by other disciplines. This thesis, therefore, is not meant as a contribution to Jacobite studies, but rather a submission to material culture studies, to historical archaeology, to conflict archaeology, and most specifically to the understanding of material culture of 18th-century Scotland. Whilst the Jacobite period is the focus of this thesis, it is meant to be a lens through which to view the applications of historical archaeological and material culture methods of interpreting the past as a way to understand the present.

Methodology

Artefact analysis

The analysis of artefacts was conducted at several different collections throughout Scotland (see Area of Study below). On the whole, access to artefacts was relatively simple to arrange and most curators and institutions were both helpful and generous with their time. There were, of course, exceptions and some data was unavailable due to restricted access or limited cooperation on the part of collections curators. Artefacts on display were viewed in their institutional context, with observations made on both display and visitor interest in the item. Throughout the study, the display context proved more interesting than originally anticipated, with the signage (or lack thereof), the relationship to nearby items, and the physical situation of items all taken into consideration as ways to illustrate how the artefact has been interpreted (or not). Whenever possible, artefacts were removed from their display context and handled, though this was not always possible. When artefacts were not able to be removed from cases or displays, every effort was made to view the artefact from various angles, much to the entertainment of other museum visitors. Items in stores were viewed and handled with relative ease, as access to these was not complicated by their display, however artefacts in stores were sometimes misplaced, meaning that some catalogued items were not able to be located.

Whilst some artefacts were initially located digitally, nearly all objects discussed in detail in this thesis (excluding discussions of antiquarian collection and exhibition practices) were viewed in person. Due to the material focus of the study, this is an important point to make. It is integral to the study that objects were viewed in person to get a sense of their physical dimensions, composition, decorative details, and subjective aesthetic appeal. Carefully detailed notes were taken at the time of viewing, along with digital photographs, noting the physical characteristics of the artefacts, along with any iconography, inscriptions, or additional information, like handwritten labels indicating provenance. Museum object files, accompanying documentation, and catalogue

information were also consulted, whenever available. Institutional documentation of artefacts, however, was often extremely limited.

The exceptions to this close inspection of artefacts were items at auction. Due to the large volume of items at auction, and their various locations throughout the UK, for example at auction houses in London, these items were not able to be seen in person. Instead, digital imagery and catalogue descriptions were scrutinised. In the context of this study, personally viewing auctioned items was less important than viewing curated artefacts. Monitoring auctions for artefacts from the Jacobite wars was an exercise to establish the variety of different items coming to light in the public collecting sphere, as well as a way to generate data for gauging the interest in the current collection of these artefacts.

Artefact biography

For this study, much of the research has focused on piecing together artefact biographies. It is not just production and distribution of artefacts that offers important information about societies and material culture, but also getting a sense of their use. The consideration of the biographical details of an artefact enables material culture scholars to tease out the subtle cultural values of objects by giving insight into how they operated within private and public lives. Artefact biography shows how items are connected to individuals, places, or moments in time. This method seeks to establish what meanings were ascribed to an artefact over the course of its history. This study looks at artefacts that survive in museum and private collections as well as items at auction.

Throughout the thesis, the author has traced documentary research wherever available, including looking at display and exhibition history. Included in the biographies of objects are documentary resources as well as anecdotal histories, like oral histories, comments in background files or those made by curatorial staff. An artefact biographical approach has distinct limitations (a full discussion of this in Chapter 2). Biographical elements are often elusive and sometimes spurious, however, it has proved to be useful for the specific set of material culture examined in this thesis.

Desk-based assessment

A lengthy amount of time was spent on desk-based assessment to determine the locations of artefacts, identifying significant collections throughout the UK (though focussing on Scotland, see discussion below). Particularly useful have been occasional news reports about artefacts and exhibitions, which have proven very informative in gauging popular interest in Jacobite-era artefacts amongst members of modern Scottish society. Information about relevant artefacts appeared in diverse media outlets, from online news features to institutional and personal blogs, which were recorded in a digital notebook. Other data was gathered from monitoring auctions at four major auction houses, Sotheby's, Christie's, Lyon & Turnbull, and Bonham's, as well as eBay and other online-based auctions (discussed in-depth in Chapter 6). Catalogues of auctions at Sotheby's, Christie's, Lyon & Turnbull and Bonham's are all fully available online, which makes the tracking of artefacts at auction easy and convenient. By following the artefacts through the auction process, it was easy to note the list price of an item, if that item sold, and for what price. It was also easy to ascertain if the item came from an already established collection and if it was associated with other items offered at the same auction. The display of Jacobite-era artefacts over time was tracked by examining key exhibitions (discussed fully in Chapter 7) and printed catalogues. The exhibition and donation of artefacts to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, as recorded in that society's publication, was also noted. Artefacts at auction and those displayed at past exhibitions were recorded on spreadsheets, which are published in the appendix.

Area of study

It is acknowledged that it is impossible to physically view every one of the myriad of artefacts relating to the Jacobite period. It is likewise impossible to identify every small local or private collection that might have artefacts of interest. The ever-increasing use of online catalogues and digital collections has been a great help in assessing the location and extent of Williamite, Jacobite and Hanoverian artefacts throughout Britain. Consequently, collections with

online resources have been given greater attention than less web-savvy organisations - or rather, they were more likely to be known to the author.

In order to narrow the study to a feasible size, key collections had to be identified. These were chosen for their amount and variety of artefacts, as well as for their accessibility. Collections were prioritised by quality and quantity of artefacts, and accessibility. As many were visited as possible during the course of study. This research consciously focuses on collections in Scotland, to limit the catchment area to a manageable scale. There is further scope for research amongst collections not just in England, Wales, and particularly Ireland, but also in areas with high concentrations of Scottish diaspora, such as in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. It would be a fascinating future avenue of research to explore how items of material culture relating to the Jacobite time period embody shared history, heritage, cultural and personal memory, and otherness in these immigrant societies, however some preliminary work indicates that material in these locations, specifically North America, is not as prevalent as one would expect (Nicholson 2012, pers. comm.). The sheer geographical scale of this must put it outside the bounds of the current thesis.

Key collections for this research were the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, Glasgow Museums, the University of Aberdeen's special collections and archives / Marischal Museum, the Inverness Museum and Gallery, and the West Highland Museum in Fort William. These institutions have provided the vast majority of the examples of artefacts discussed in this study. A smattering of smaller parochial collections scattered throughout the country offered a nice variety to these main collections, like the Blairs Museum in Aberdeenshire, and the Clan Donald Centre and Dunvegan Castle on Skye. While research predominantly focused on artefacts in Scottish collections, these are compared and contrasted with those in nationally important collections like the British Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum, and the Royal Collection.

Throughout this thesis, whenever an artefact is referenced, it is followed in brackets by the abbreviation of the museum in which it is held, if not already specified in the text, and that institution's accession number. For example, an artefact held in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland will appear as

[NMS XX.XX XXX]. A table of the institutional abbreviations used throughout the thesis appears below:

Institution	Abbreviation
Aberdeen University Archives and Special Collections / Marischal Museum	ABDUA
Blairs Museum	BLA
British Museum	BM
Clan Donald Centre	DON
Culloden Visitor Centre	CUL
Glasgow Museums and Glasgow Museums Resource Centre	GMRC
Inverness Museum and Gallery	INVMG
Museum of London	MOL
National Museum of Scotland	NMS
Scottish National Portrait Gallery	SNPG
Victoria & Albert Museum	V&A
West Highland Museum	WHM

Table 1 Institutional abbreviations

Likewise, when referring to an artefact that has appeared at auction, the name of the auction house and year will be provided, along with sale and lot numbers appearing in brackets, i.e. [Sale XXXX, Lot XXX].

Discussion

A great degree of flexibility was required in accessing items for this study, taking into account the varying conditions in which artefacts of the Jacobite wars are held and displayed, and their widely variable quality, along with sometimes unpredictable complications in accessibility. By balancing prominent institutional collections with smaller, more specialised ones, a well-rounded picture of the variety of artefacts of the Jacobite wars can be drawn. The additional data gathered by examining past exhibitions and monitoring modern auctions complemented these curated artefacts. By casting as wide a net as possible, a varied range of artefacts was located, allowing a glimpse of wider trends, while detailed analysis of individual artefacts kept a tight focus on specific research themes. Equally important to the course of research, and what further sets it apart from much of the extant scholarship on the artefacts of the Jacobite wars, are the material cultural theoretical approaches employed, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

2. Thinking about material culture: theoretical context

There is a rich body of material culture theory that has developed since the middle of the 20th century, offering an array of theoretical perspectives that can be employed to interrogate the material past; various and sometimes competing strands of thought can be contrasted or combined to encourage a multifaceted view of artefacts. This chapter contextualises the main theoretical approaches that underpin the research presented in subsequent chapters. Central to the work presented in this thesis is the role of material culture within human society, looking at the ways in which people and things interact. Firstly, the importance of the daily interactions of individuals and artefacts is discussed, emphasising the fundamental importance of the role of material culture in how individuals perceive and engage with the world around them. There is an acceptance that the boundaries between material culture and the human self are insubstantial and changeable. As the period of study is situated during an era of rapidly changing economics and material technologies, it is necessary to consider the increasing importance of consumer choice, exploring the production and use of this politicised material culture. This chapter also reflects upon the importance of the biographies of artefacts, leading into a discussion of the ambiguous relationship between artefact and narrative. Finally, it looks at the ways in which a politicised material culture participates in the expression and negotiation of power and authority, and explores how the gendering of material culture can have an impact on interpretation.

Theory is not divorced from the practical experience of everyday life, but rather is woven throughout the interactions of persons and material culture. Likewise, theoretical discussion appears throughout the following chapters, applied to the various themes explored and artefacts examined. While this chapter introduces the main theoretical concepts that will be used throughout the rest of the thesis, these are only the most prominent of the perspectives employed. There is no overarching theorist or theory that informs the research presented in this thesis. Instead, ideas are borrowed from the rich theoretical repertoire of material culture studies to examine a specific set of artefacts: the material

culture of the Jacobite wars, with reflections more generally upon the material culture of conflict and violence.

Before these theories are examined in detail, two definitions for this chapter may be of use in the interest of clarity:

- **Object.** Since it is asserted here that there is no strict break between subject and object, in this thesis the term 'object' is simply employed to refer to individual examples of material culture and is used synonymously with artefact. Hodder (1995), for example, makes a minute distinction between objects and things - objects can be removed from their use context and objectified, whilst things are to hand, functional and part of normal day-to-day interactions. This terminological distinction is not made here and objects, items, things, and artefacts are used interchangeably for the sake of a variety of vocabulary.
- **Materiality.** This is a loaded term at criticised by Ingold (2007) as ill-defined academic jargon, while used by others to denote the social significance of artefacts - that is, material culture's 'properties ... in relation to people' (Tilley 2007: 18). In this thesis, the perceived theoretical tension between the intellectual expression of materiality of artefacts and the practical material properties that constitute them is minimised. Archaeologists, anthropologists, and material culture specialists (Ingold 2007; Knappett 2007; Miller 2007; Tilley 2007) all agree that any study of material culture must take into account both the physical properties of artefacts along with their social significance, though they may argue over the semantics of expressing this. The analysis of the artefacts provided in this thesis is primarily concerned with meaningfully contextualising the artefacts within their contemporary and our modern societies. It is presumed here that material culture is rooted in both the physical and the social. However, as this is not a treatise on the concept of materiality itself, the term 'materiality' is employed generically to mean the inalienable physicality of material culture. This is not meant to exacerbate Ingold's (2007) perceived abstraction of mind from matter, but rather serves as a necessary shorthand term to discuss the tangible physicality of artefacts.

Engaging with artefacts

The daily interactions between people and material culture mean that the separation between the self and objects is elided and ambiguous. This is best articulated by Bourdieu (1977), whose concept of *habitus* opened up the possibilities inherent in mundane quotidian objects and activities and their ability to express non-discursive individual, social, and cultural interactions. Central to this and most useful to this study is his idea of embodiment, where artefacts act as an extension of the human self. Following on from the theory of embodiment of Bourdieu, the self is extended and thence distributed (Malafouris 2004: 57) through its interaction with objects. Artefacts are, therefore, inherently meaningful extensions of past individuals (discussed further in Chapter 5). Scholars like Hodder (1982; 1995), Miller (1998; 2001) and Renfrew (2001; 2004), among many others, have established that material culture is foundational to human society. People's everyday thoughts and actions are linked to their engagement, to borrow Renfrew's (2001; 2004) term, with material culture. This material culture is not merely reflective of the human thought process, but rather materials and ideas work in tandem to spur change; they mutually influence and create one another. Artefacts are not solely representational of values, beliefs and social identity, but also are able to 'provide essential tools for thought' (Tilley 2006: 7). This is explored in depth by Knappett (2004; 2008) and Malafouris (2004; 2008), who stress the cognitive functions of material culture - that individuals learn and think through these interactions with objects, as well as relying on objects for mnemonic storage and retrieval (discussed further in Chapter 5). In their 2008 co-edited volume, *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, Knappett and Malafouris embrace Latour's (2005) Actor-Network-Theory. They destabilise the human focus traditionally maintained by archaeologists and instead explore the network of relations between people and the material world. Humans are not only using objects as mnemonic devices or 'cognitive scaffolding' (Clark 2008), they argue, but need the balance of the material world to enact their agency; human agency is not independently contained within the body but must engage with the material world to become evident. Malafouris (2008: 22, original emphasis) asserts that, '*... while agency and intentionality may not be properties of things, they are not properties of humans either: they are the*

properties of material engagement, that is, of the grey zone where brain, body and culture conflate'. We think through the creation and manipulation of things, negotiating our lives alongside material objects, shaping and being shaped by them in return. Thus material culture is not simply a mirror of social behaviour, but is an integral part of human learning and socialising.

Changing materials and changing social practices

To contextualise this within the period of study, a useful example is the material culture of tea and coffee drinking. During the 18th century, society was undergoing a series of changes which manifested themselves, and were influenced by, changing material culture. The period of study, 1688-1760, is at the very beginning of this process, when new modes of sociability were just taking root. The most obvious example of 18th-century social innovation is the custom of tea and coffee drinking. Much work has been done on the material record of household tea-things (Weatherill 1996; Richards 1999). The widespread adaptation of ceramic tea-things influenced, in turn, the urbane social interactions at the tea table.

Then as now, there was the perception that the sophistication of an individual could be measured through attainable material benchmarks (Buchli 2002). As the consumer market shifted from an emphasis on expensive durable goods to semi-durables like ceramics, it was easier and cheaper than ever before to assemble a personalised collection of commodities. Frangible items may have been less of a long-term investment than plate or pewter, but they were also more frivolous. Ceramics could not be mended, nor broken down for re-use. This exhibited an individual's financial ability to replace broken goods and perhaps even exemplified a desire for replacement that allowed for consumer novelty (de Vries 2008). Increased accessibility of goods led to the development of the concept of taste. While previously style had been defined by elite courts, the onus of trend-setting moved down the social scale a notch and became more widely applicable to a larger number of social participants. Adam Smith's view of society as a mirror (Fudge 2009) underscores the importance of contemporary opinion. By owning ceramic tea things, an individual was not only up-to-date on the latest commercial fad, but was also participating in very specific social

interactions meant to define an individual's place within society. As Pointon asserts, "Tea-drinking is a paradigmatic case of a cultural phenomenon in which economics and performativity are inextricably bound up with representation and self-presentation" (qtd. in Zuroski Jenkins 2009: 84).

The importance of having the appropriate material culture for the tea service cannot be overemphasised. The vogue hot beverages required specialised vessels that would not crack or interfere with the flavour of the expensive drinks. Imported china allowed the wealthy to partake of the new consumables. Demand for more imported wares soared and manufacturers rushed to create a suitable domestically produced alternative. Here social practice demanded technological change, whilst technological change enabled social practice.

Along with tableware, the tables themselves influenced tea-drinking etiquette. Small tea tables offered an intimate space and a new opportunity for sociability that encouraged small-scale socialising. For elites, this provided a different social experience from the traditional elaborate formal dinner. For the middling sorts who could afford the new luxuries, it was a not-yet entrenched social ritual that they could participate in and shape for themselves. The working class could not afford tea or teawares until very late in the 18th century, however, this material culture would have been visible in shop windows, in printed illustrations like satirical broadsides, as well as in the homes of employers, even if the items themselves were unattainable. Late in the period of study, c. 1740-50, there were debates as to whether or not the labouring class should be intentionally priced out of the tea market (White 2006). Concerned that participation in the luxury consumer market would inspire irresponsibility and frivolousness, restricting the access to material culture was seen as a potential form of social control.

It was not all intimate socialisation within the home, however; tea and coffee drinking simultaneously provided new, larger-scale public social interactions at purpose-built coffee houses. These new loci of socialisation offered an alternative to the boisterous tavern. They became places for gentlemen (not ladies) to meet and discuss news, politics and exchange information, and they could also indulge in another luxury - tobacco and snuff. The rise of the coffeehouse was a manifestation of, and in return encouraged, the 18th-century

move towards greater dissemination of information via the newspapers and pamphlets that proliferated throughout Scotland and the rest of the British Isles. Coffeehouses conveniently provided the requisite material culture so that one need not invest in a personal store of tea- and coffee-drinking equipment, as well as providing the venue for a burgeoning culture of public information.

Thus tea and coffee drinking required new material culture. This new material culture, in turn, inspired and encouraged new types of social interaction, behaviour, and ways of thinking. The iconic, most well-recognised tradition of the 18th century, so ingrained in modern society, is in fact rooted in a reciprocal relationship with material objects, which were intimately involved in the development of new social practices. This is but a brief example of one way in which material culture and social practices can mutually inform one another in a reciprocal relationship. It is meant to reinforce the core theoretical tenet in this study: that the interactions between people and artefacts are important and have the ability to transform one another.

Historical theoretical context

It is not anachronistic to think of late-17th- and early-18th-century material culture as being as firmly entrenched in everyday life as it is in the 21st century. Buchli (2002: 3) sees the Enlightenment as a key period in the history of material culture, characterising it as a time when there is a distinct 'preoccupation with the materiality of social life'. There was a philosophical dialogue concerning the nature of artistic creation in the face of proto-industrialisation. Philosophers like Diderot, along with Swedenborg and slightly later Kant, pondered the praxis of art, and the empirical speculation of Bacon inspired Enlightenment thinkers to separate the practical experience of creating from theorisation (de Certeau 1988). Since an artisan used practice-based skills to create an item, it was postulated, this form of production was a purely practical experience divorced from theory. Reflection was not required; artisanal skill was imbedded, unconscious knowledge - perhaps not even recognised as true knowledge (*ibid.*). With a theoretical understanding of how an item was made, a machine could be constructed, but the technical knowledge of how to manufacture an object did not automatically result in the creation of a perfect object. Human interference

and adjustment were inevitably needed. There was an acknowledgement that human skill and experience were needed to craft objects and intellectuals like Wolff and Swedenborg became preoccupied with reconciling the balance of art and theory (*ibid.*). The result was the concept of the engineer, the so-called “third-man” (qtd. in de Certeau 1988: 69) who successfully combined practical and theoretical knowledge. It is easiest to return once more to porcelain as a readily available example of this. The advances in ceramic technology during the period of study, argues Batchelor (2006), resulted in a hybrid of nature and science. Porcelain was engineered from an earthy raw material which was subjected to a rigorous scientific process, epitomising an Enlightenment ideal of achieving a balance between theory and practice.

Throughout the period of study, just as now, there was a continued effort to deconstruct and understand human interactions with material goods, questioning the nature of human creativity, knowledge, and know-how. These theoretical debates about the nature of producing material culture - of artistic intentionality - have serious implications for the ways in which contemporaries would have viewed 18th-century material culture. If one’s perspective was that craft knowledge was deeply embedded and unintentional, then the symbolic and ideological effects of objects could be minimised. For example, a politicised artefact could be considered as less meaningful in its own period if its original creation was not seen as an act of conscious intent. Later theorists, like those already discussed previously in this chapter, have refined the 18th-century theories, and in modern material culture studies the unintentionality of craftsmanship is valued. When discussing the artefacts of the Jacobite era, however, it is worth being mindful of the subtle differences in the contemporary and modern approaches to the material world.

Maintaining a focus on the material

Though much of the discussion in this chapter focuses on the theoretical and social implications of material culture, it is equally important to consider their practical material realities. Theorising a true engagement between humans and material culture necessitates a balanced treatment of the symbolic potential of artefacts alongside their physicality and functionality (Boivin 2004; Hurcombe

2007). Understanding the tactility of artefacts and engaging with the very materiality of material culture separates archaeological enquiry from that of other disciplines. The pleasure of the sheen and glint of a glazed ceramic vessel in the firelight and their semi-durability should be taken into account along with any interpretations of iconographic or assumed symbolic socio-cultural significance. Likewise the texture and weight of tartan should be acknowledged alongside its associations with masculine militarism. These pieces of material culture are not just abstract concepts, but tangible, functional items with which people interacted every day. It is therefore important to afford their materiality the same amount of attention and significance as their theoretical symbolic characteristics. Throughout subsequent chapters, as various types of artefacts are presented for discussion, both their symbolic and tactile qualities will be explored.

Meaningful consumer choices

The period of study encompasses a time when the consumer market was rapidly expanding in Britain (Overton et al. 2004). As goods became increasingly more affordable and more widely available, the concept of mass consumerism led to discernible consternation amongst leading intellectuals. Firstly, there was a problematic relationship with the idea of luxury in the 17th century. Luxury, it was thought, encouraged idleness but also provided the necessary leisure time to contemplate and improve oneself (de Vries 2008). The interpretation of luxury began to change as an urban merchant class slowly supplanted the traditional aristocratic royal courts of Europe as trendsetters in consumer fashion. Comfort and pleasure came to be preferred over the grandiose material displays of the most restricted elite circles (*ibid.*). The focus of the consumer market shifted away from the highly expensive, unattainable goods to more accessible yet still indulgent items.

This preoccupation with the perceived ills of luxury carried on into the 18th century. One particular topic of contention was whether or not the participation of the lower class in a consumer economy would be beneficial or detrimental to society. For some there was the fear that increased luxury goods would lead to personal and moral frivolity, while others, like Defoe (1728, in

White 2006) argued that the lower class had a real contribution to make to a growing consumer market and that both would mutually benefit from their economic participation.

The importance of exploring the use of material culture in the Jacobite period relies heavily on Miller's (1987; 1998; 2001) examinations of the anthropological significance of material culture and the nuances of everyday production and consumption. The manufacture and circulation of politicised material culture - whether it be Jacobite, Williamite, or Hanoverian - offers important information about the socio-political environment of late-17th- and early-18th-century Scotland. Quantifying the amounts of politicised material culture in circulation does not directly equate to political or military support, instead the existence of a market for such goods can be used to infer the politicisation of society. It is assumed in this thesis that individuals who crafted, commissioned, or curated politicised artefacts had an emotional investment in the causes that these artefacts espoused. Owning an object with Jacobite symbolism, for example, did not necessarily equate to staunch Jacobitism. It cannot be assumed that all owners of Jacobite artefacts engaged in openly rebellious activity, but it is safe to ascribe to them some sort of sympathy for the exiled Stuarts. Politicised artefacts supporting the Jacobite, Williamite, or Hanoverian causes were highly visible in their own time and remain so today as popular features of museum collections. Furthermore, a robust market for these artefacts exists at auction houses and amongst private collectors, their marketability suggesting a continued resonance with current society. By viewing consumer choices of the past and present as meaningful, the artefacts of the Jacobite era, only a limited subset of late-17th- and early-18th-century material culture, beg closer attention.

In more recent historical periods, when fewer items were made personally and by hand, the self can extend through and be shaped by technological and consumer choices (Miller 1987). Throughout the period of study, increasingly centralised manufacturing processes gradually began to replace subsistence manufacture in the home. Cloth could be produced in stages - with a family no longer having to produce its own fabric from start to finish, but rather the raw material being spun at one location, then the yarn or thread being woven at a different one through a system of interlinked cottage industries. In rural areas, local craftsmen copied or modified designs offered in urban centres. Peddlars

traversed the countryside offering new and used goods, encouraging a lively trade in second-hand and re-used goods. Additionally, merchant vessels would stop at remote ports along the western coast of the Highlands and Islands en route to far-off destinations (Nenadic 2007). Other supposedly far-flung Scottish locales participated in international trade networks. The military community at Fort William, for example, exported fish to Catholic international political rivals Spain and France in exchange for spirits and wine (Pollard 2008). Individuals throughout Scotland could choose to participate in various levels of economic activity, creating, purchasing, adapting, using, misusing and discarding the material culture at hand. Each of these activities allowed individual input and a multitude of personal variations.

Therefore, the production, use and exchange of material culture is a social practice; these are meaningful activities situated within social, political and economic structures which enable, allow or prohibit various types of action. Regionalised practices are important to keep in mind when discussing 17th- and 18th-century Scotland. Whilst a Highland / Lowland cultural divide can be overemphasised, there are certain distinguishing features to be found, such as language, forms of social interaction, and material culture. For example, while Lowland middling sorts had access to a range of ceramics and other goods during the period of study, local craggan (or crogan) ware dominated the Islands until the 19th century (Cheape 1993a; Webster 1999). When mass-marketed ceramic goods become more prevalent in the Outer Hebrides in the 1800s, styles were adapted to suit local tastes as the Hebridean communities 'appropriat[ed] mainland material culture to their own ends' (Webster 1999: 53). Craggan ware was produced until the end of the 19th century, by which time it had come to accommodate such items as Craggan versions of teacups and saucers. Webster (*ibid.*) identifies several regional tastes, including a preference for cheap, sponge printed wares, and favouring bowl forms over plates, as well as the practice of displaying ceramics on large wooden dressers. These dresser displays were still to be found at the end of the 20th century in abandoned homes, the homes of elderly residents, and individuals who had inherited furnishings from previous generations. By selecting certain types of imported ceramics and using them differently from how they were used or intended to be used on the mainland, the residents of South Uist and Benbecula studied by Webster

maintained a regionalised identity alongside participation in a mainland economy of imported goods. The praxis of Hebridean life, if measured through its tastes in ceramics, shows that this seemingly peripheral region was neither entirely foreign to Lowland society, nor was it directly comparable.

This example, though slightly later than the period of study, serves two purposes. First it illustrates the ways in which material circulated throughout Scotland. If the Hebrides, some of the most far-flung parts of Scotland, had a fully developed market for commercial goods similar to the rest of Scotland in the 19th century, those trade networks would have been developing during the period of study. As Nenadic (2007) has already established, Northern Highland and Hebridean ports certainly had access to a range of material during the 18th century. Individuals also moved between Highland villages and Lowland markets. Drovers traversed Scotland north to south to cattle markets, stopping at any number of locations along the way, bringing their custom and news. Merchants would have had business throughout Scotland, while upper class individuals were educated in the capital and other Lowland cities, visited family or friends, conducted business, and otherwise had Lowland purchases sent northwards to their country seats. Chemical analysis of 18th- and 19th-century tartan (Quye et. al. 2003) has shown the widespread use of imported dyestuffs in the ostensibly far-flung, parochial Hebrides. The Highlands and Islands, therefore, were not as isolated as later scholars were wont to believe. Secondly, it acknowledges but de-emphasises the Highland / Lowland divide. It is assumed in this thesis that politicised artefacts of the Jacobite period would have been available to Highland and Lowland populations alike. While the trade networks of Edinburgh and the central belt would have been better supplied, this does not mean that those north of the Highland Boundary Fault did not have access to material trends, though it may have been more limited than their Lowland counterparts.

It is acknowledged that the argument on behalf of the importance of consumer choice during the period of study is limited by social class, for only those individuals with disposable income would have true flexibility of choice of material goods. Admittedly there are many artefacts in this study that were for elite consumption only: for example fine snuff boxes, as snuff-taking was a prohibitively expensive hobby for most. The best documented artefacts are

high-quality luxury items, which are also the most likely to have survived over the centuries in public and private collections. Fine examples of silver, jewellery, glassware, and other elite items are those most often discussed in scholarly articles and museum catalogues (Nicholson 1995; Hook and Ross 1995; Foster 1996; Hook and MacGregor 2003; Evans 2003).

There was, however, a burgeoning middle-class in 18th-century society, which had a growing purchasing power. Using ceramics as an example of widely available decorative domestic goods, by the end of the period of research, delftware and cheap tea things were affordable for those of the modest middle-class and higher (Richards 1999). By the middle of the century, even smaller market towns in England had specialised china shops offering imported wares (*ibid*). Edinburgh markets had a good variety of available items at cheaper prices than London; according to 18th-century residents, a middle-class family in the Scottish capital could afford more material comfort than it could in London (Plant 1952; Nenadic 1994). The newest, fashionable material goods were not limited to urban centres. In Scotland, Highland lairds' adoption of Lowland styles made these trends visible to populations in some of the most remote places. Even if the goods themselves were too expensive for some to own, they would have been seen to be in use. James Ramsay of Ochtertyre estimated that the custom of tea-drinking and its inherent material culture became common in Scotland between rebellions of 1715 and 1745, by which time it was a standard breakfast item for the gentry (Richards 1999). In rural areas like the Highlands as well as in urban centres, goods spread throughout the social strata as second-hand purchases from auctions, shops and peddlers so that by the latter part of the 18th century finer goods were disseminated much more widely (Nenadic 1994). Tea-drinking had spread to the Highlands by 1760, as noted with surprise by a bishop who was offered tea on his travels to Caithness (Plant 1952). While fine wares and luxurious hobbies took time to spread throughout the populace of Scotland, it is safe to assume that during the period of study 1688-1760 most normal non-elite households would have owned a variety of decorated earthenwares, stonewares, pewter, and wood.

The material culture of the Jacobite wars encompasses many different types of artefacts. Some modest, every day artefacts are as important to the study as elaborate luxury goods. Relics associated with Charles Edward Stuart, for

example, can be monetarily worthless, quotidian furnishings of the humble homes he visited during his flight through the Highlands in 1746. And it should be remembered that some contemporary artefacts were impermanent: a white rose picked and worn as a cockade, or an oak bough displayed on Restoration Day. The artefacts still in existence today, however, are of durable materials and more likely to be high quality than not, creating a bias in favour of the material culture of the middle and upper classes.

Artefact biography

Artefact biographies form an important point of consideration in this study and an examination of the biographical elements of objects has been made whenever possible (discussed in Chapter 1). This is based on Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) both of whom, in *The Social Life of Things*, provided the foundation for the potential for artefact biography. More recently, Gosden and Marshall (1999), Knappett (2004), and Joy (2009) have sought to further interrogate and refine the concept of artefact biography. Joy (*ibid.*) identifies two ways of pursuing artefact biography. Firstly, there is a more anthropological, biographical approach that prioritises the interactions of humans and artefacts. This includes taking into account the affordance of an artefact - that is, the ways in which artefacts *could* have operated, with explicit attention to its connections to human actors (after Knappett 2004). This is juxtaposed alongside an archaeological focus upon life-history (Joy 2009) or use-life (Gosden and Marshall 1999) approach, which is more concerned with the *chaîne opératoire*. This detailed explication of the physical evidence for the production and use of an artefact is useful to those working in prehistoric periods, where information about social context can be extremely limited. In this study, working with artefacts of the relatively recent past allows for ready biographical information, though this is often still incomplete.

Throughout this thesis, these two biographical approaches are seen as intertwined, and both are employed, albeit with a preference for the biographical approach. As research explores the continuing roles played by artefacts of the Jacobite wars in modern society, a biographical approach is all the more attractive. Thus, there is slightly less emphasis on the details of

technological production. Many of the artefacts in this study were semi-mass-produced in proto-industrialised settings, limiting the opportunity for meaningful acts of individual craftsmanship. Neither was in-depth life-history analysis extensively employed, though modifications and repairs were taken into account when evident. Instead, the artefact biographical approach taken throughout this thesis focuses on the interconnectedness of artefacts and individuals, and explicitly explores the social dimension and each artefact's affordant characteristics, while highlighting the importance of certain elements of production. A theoretical flexibility was employed, using whatever information was to hand; used in tandem, Joy's two categories of artefact biographical enquiry offer ways of interrogating objects of all periods.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters (5, 6, 7), certain artefacts of the Jacobite period have been singled out as remarkable due to biographical details, even if these connections are sometimes obscure or spurious. Linking artefacts to mythical or quasi-mythical past events is an age-old tradition (i.e. Whitley 2002), and many of these artefacts in this study have been preserved over time due to a biographical link to a specific person or event. It is these biographical events that inform one of the main strands of enquiry in this thesis: what is the hazy distinction between an artefact and a relic? Furthermore, this thesis takes into account both 'inscribed' and 'lived' artefacts (qtd. in Joy 2009: 545; after Marshall 2008), meaning that artefacts specially created as heirloom objects are considered alongside humble, everyday artefacts that acquired biographical associations later in life. These biographical connections are of central importance to the research of Jacobite-era material culture, as such events can alter the fate of an artefact as well as define the future interpretation of both the artefact and the historical occurrence to which it is linked.

Hoskins (2006: 78; after Morin 1969) further differentiates between 'biographical' artefacts, which are 'rooted to time and space' and protocol objects, which serve a utilitarian purpose and are continuously replaced. Protocol objects, mundane tools of everyday life, become invisible for their very ubiquity. Artefacts of the Jacobite wars can blur the lines between these two. For example, the humble musket ball: ubiquitous, disposable, and continuously replaced. When it is later uncovered from a battlefield, it becomes a focus for

biographical reverence and then passed down through personal and institutional collections.

Holtorf (2002: 63) argues, 'Only with a secure identity as an artefact and its ancient-ness being established can archaeologists ever hope to involve a thing in any kind of plausible relationships with people of a past period'. This assertion, however, does not hold true for artefacts of the Jacobite period. Over the course of research, it became clear that it does not necessarily matter if an artefact's connection with a person or event is spurious; what is more interesting is the persistence in the belief of that connection despite a lack of corroborating evidence. The desire for past and present individuals to believe that an artefact has a connection with an event or personality suggests the ideological values of those individuals.

There are limitations to this biographical approach for unlike in the discipline of anthropology, where the concept of artefact biography was first developed, archaeologists do not have the luxury of viewing the lifecycle of an artefact in real time. Artefact biographies, even of those objects from historical periods, will necessarily be incomplete. Thus it is best to employ Joy's (2009: 544) relational approach, accepting that the biographies of artefacts are non-linear and interspersed with gaps in knowledge. Often there are one or two tantalising anecdotal social associations that are largely unverifiable. In this study the focus is not to verify the provenance of each artefact, though value judgements as to the credibility of biographical associations have been made, but rather to find meaning in the biographical elements that remain attached to an artefact over time. Above all, this research has tried to avoid the 'biographical fallacy' (Whitley 2002: 219) of making common-sense assumptions - that is, literal interpretations - about the use of material culture, but entertain multiple possibilities and nuanced interpretation.

Whereas early proponents of artefact biography equated the life cycles of artefacts to those of humans, later scholarship challenged this. Gillings and Pollard (1999) argued for the mutability of artefacts over millennia, while Holtorf's (1998) assessment of the lifecycles of megaliths denied the direct correlation of archaeological lifecycles with the human lifecycle. Likewise, the artefacts in this study each have meaning outside the bounds of a single human

lifecycle, persisting over centuries, their social roles dynamic and shifting over time. Throughout this thesis, an attempt has been made to consider the overlap between human and artefact timelines, as well as pay attention to the trajectory of the artefact independent of any single human anchor. The challenge is to see the moment in time recorded by a biographical event whilst maintaining a long-term perspective. To some extent artefact biography relies upon a narrative framework, like that of an individual human life, to be more easily understood. Inextricably linking artefact and narrative, however, can be problematic as is discussed below.

Artefacts and words: the ambiguous relationship with narrative

One of the core theoretical points to highlight is the tension between artefact and narrative. Archaeology is well placed to interrogate the relationship between objects and words, which is neglected by related disciplines. This study asserts material culture's independence from text, even during historic time periods with widespread literacy, without rejecting narrative framework outright. Too often historical archaeologists and historians characterise artefacts as an alternative way to articulate an already understood narrative. It is as if material culture is simply an extended vocabulary for that which we already know and accept. Boivin (2004) convincingly argues that material signifiers seem to operate differently from textual ones. Material signifiers - physical, tangible objects - are rooted in their materiality, as discussed previously. Thus the colour red, which signifies passion, anger, aggression and danger, is inextricably linked to the bodily experience of blood and menstruation (*ibid.*: 64). Similarly the Stuart oak leaf is not simply a symbol of kingship, but linked to the oak tree, a common sight in the landscape which would encompass a number of other associations. People's everyday experience would link the oak leaf motif to the solid, sturdy oak trees, or oak wood furniture, furnishings and building materials found throughout Britain. The inalienable physicality of such symbols is underemphasised in the historical and art historical approaches to the Jacobite period which have thus far prevailed in academic scholarship. Even archaeologists, Hurcombe (2007) argues, can be faulted for underemphasising the physical nature of artefacts. Material culture offers

signifiers that are, as Boivin (2004) highlights, a concrete reality rather than an abstract concept. People experience the world not only through thought and emotion, but also through senses and the body (Tarlow 2000; Gosden 2004). Textual analysis of these objects at the expense of a material understanding will not suffice.

Instead, it is more intriguing to explore the non-discursive possibilities of material culture - the ways in which it can encompass that which cannot be articulated. Some scholars (Buchli and Lucas 2001; Schnapp et al. 2004; González-Ruibal 2008), reject the task of narrative-creation, urging instead a form of expression that is uniquely archaeological: communicating silence and absence and articulating the past independent of a narrative framework. Freeing itself from the increasingly onerous burden of articulating the stories of the past, it is when archaeology is '... stripped of its narrativizing propensities' that it can best contribute something unique to human knowledge and understanding (Schnapp et al. 2004: 9). Furthermore, the discipline of archaeology does not merely offer more information, but also provides a different way of expressing it, for it '...can do more than produce alternative stories: it can also tell stories in an alternative way.' (González-Ruibal 2008: 249). Freed from textual limitations, it can illuminate non-discursive practices that operate entirely outside of text or language, expressing the unwritten, non-verbal or subconscious and can represent the absent and silent.

Archaeologists studying slavery and the slave trade nicely exemplify the potentials of the archaeology of the absent and silent. Orser and Funari (2001) and Webster (2005; 2007; 2008), for example, each turn to the artefactual record in order to find the millions of individuals anonymised and dehumanised by slavery. Through material culture, these non-persons are given an acknowledged place in the past as well as a conscious thought in the present. By examining the artefacts, structures and other physical remains of slavery, one can find elements of identity, individuality, ideology, and acts of resistance, no matter how small. Archaeology affords an emotive, personalised view that documentary evidence cannot. It can also express a violent and problematic history in ways that words cannot (discussed further in Chapter 5).

A decontextualised artefact stripped of any narrative capacity can be alien and unfamiliar. This rejection of narrativising reinforces the uncanny or uncomfortable aspects of the archaeology of problematic subjects. Such discomfort can be a powerful interpretive and didactic tool in the field of conflict archaeology, which deals with the topics of violence, repression and war of all time periods. Broken and trampled weapons, deformed musket balls and abandoned personal items can more eloquently express the total destruction of war than can a military history text. Stark, de-narrativised material culture can be especially emotive for the contemporary past, which offers little temporal distance from which to view difficult subject. Archaeology and especially material culture, is adept at articulating the supermodern (González-Ruibal 2008; Harrison and Schofield 2010). Material culture can encompass enormities like the unimaginable industrialised scope of the destruction of the First World War or, as González-Ruibal (2008) noted, can provide a more fitting alternative to linguistic interpretation of the Holocaust, which is often found lacking. The anti-narrative approach is not simply limited to more recent time periods, but can be applicable to all archaeological specialisations. The abandoned and worn structures at Glencoe better communicate the absence of those individuals extirpated during the 1692 massacre than the words of documentary sources, like the signed order of action, could ever convey. While singular artefacts detached from a narrative and presented individually might appear to be meaningless to most of the non-specialist population, it is easy to envision how the scale of the physical remains of a site like Glencoe or an assemblage of artefacts, like the numerous battlefield finds from excavations at Culloden (Pollard and Oliver 2002; Pollard and Banks 2006; Pollard 2009), which are now on display at the battlefield visitor centre, are accessible to expert and member of the public alike regardless of any supporting narrative.

Material culture's capacity for expression is more flexible than a vocabulary rooted in language. Because material culture is rooted in real physical space, individuals are able to experience them in multi-sensorial ways; objects can evoke mental and physical reactions in an instantaneous flurry of images, scents, tactile reactions and emotions leading to an empathetic understanding of the past that they may not be able to verbalise or accurately articulate. When handling Jacobite-era musket balls (recovered from the battlefield of

Prestonpans, see Pollard and Ferguson 2010) for the first time, many students comment upon the unexpectedly heavy weight of the lead projectile and then usually say something akin to, 'imagine being hit with that!'. In mere seconds the students leap from the abstract idea of historical military action to the empathetic imagining of the unpleasant physical reality of being shot.

While archaeologists need to understand the contexts of artefacts, the addition of an inflexible narrative, often desired by museum goers, can be problematic. When a narrative is constructed around an item, the object becomes temporally and geographically static, tied to a single point in time even though the life history of that object encompasses so much more. The artefact was once produced, carried and stored, associated with various moments and places, and interacting with various human actors who would also be fluidly moving throughout time and landscapes. However, movement is arrested at one supposedly significant point. For example, a sporran in the Glasgow Museums collections [E.1940.45.db] purportedly carried to the battlefield of Culloden is forever linked to that place and an unknown individual's fleeting presence on Drummoissie Moor is eternally marked. The attachment of a narrative to material culture gives preference to a fixed interpretation and artefacts can be reduced to little more than story-telling props. Narrative tightly circumscribes the possibilities of artefactual meaning, and by singling out an object and removing it from the realm of the everyday, one is potentially obscuring its full significance. Narrative has not been abandoned in this study, for it is because of biographical narrative that many of the artefacts of the Jacobite wars have been preserved over time. Instead, narrative needs to be seen as potentially problematic and there must be a balance between the attention given to an artefact's non-discursive capabilities. Throughout this study interpretation relies not only on the documentary and anecdotal narratives attached to artefacts, but also explores the inherent material characteristics and emotive capacities of objects, attempting a balanced, holistic view of how these artefacts interact with individuals both past and present.

The dangers of texts and artefacts

For some of the artefacts examined in this study, text is an integral component and shows how objects can work in conjunction with written or spoken language, however, it is important to emphasise that material culture is not *reliant* upon this. During the Jacobite period, material culture was an important medium for political expression alongside written propaganda - especially for voicing resistance or subverting authority. There were, perhaps, different degrees of danger in language and objects during the period of study. It can be argued that objects were less overtly antagonistic to authority than spoken or written sedition, as visual representation had the capacity to be more ambiguous. By the latter part of the period of study, some of the symbols used by Jacobites had become quite obscure. In the case of Jacobite glassware, the Stuart claimants to the throne could be variously represented by a star, a moth, or a sunflower, as well as the more widely used white rose and oak leaf. In his study of Jacobite imagery, Lenman (2001: 188) argues that, '[m]uch of the more elaborate iconography and symbolism of baroque absolutism, however lovingly decoded by modern scholars, was either seen by few contemporaries, or was so inherently esoteric as to be liable to be met with incomprehension or misconstruction.'

As printed material became increasingly more available, authorities needed to negotiate how much and in what way to police the burgeoning amount of printed documents circulating throughout Britain. Printed petitions and pamphlets abounded during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and politics became more entrenched in British society in the decades following (Burke 1978). A proliferation of newspapers, alongside broadsides and a still-flourishing oral culture meant that news travelled widely and rapidly throughout urban centres and into the countryside (Randall 2006). Sharp (1996) notes that British pro-Stuart engravings were rare in the early years of exile, 1688-1695, suggesting possible censorship. In 1695 the Licensing Act lapsed, meaning that text was no longer censored prior to publication (Burke 1978; though Bradley 1990 argues that this was a tactic to undermine the monopoly of the Stationers' Company, rather than evidencing an early concern for free press). Print sellers, who could provide both Jacobite and loyal government prints, were generally not punished for their questionable material (Sharp 1996). Thinly veiled visual allusions to

members of the exiled Stuart court seem to have been largely tolerated. Purveyors of seditious political tracts, however, were more likely to be prosecuted, with incognito government informers purchasing texts and then reporting the transaction to officials (Douglas 1999). There was a discomfort with text that developed during the 1745 rebellion. Unlike the engravings and printed tracts done after the 1715, which included illustrations alongside the dying speeches of the condemned Jacobite traitors, in 1745 authorities did not permit the reproduction of an executed Jacobite's final words in print (Sharp 1996). This suggests that authorities perceived the speeches as somehow more inflammatory than the images reproduced by engravings.

There was a broader concern with law and order at this time that was not limited to the printed word. Scholarship on the legal history of 18th-century Britain shows that the Williamite and Hanoverian reigns were preoccupied with domestic law and order. The Riot Act 1715 changed the previously ambiguous legal definition of rioting from needing to show intent to induce disorder, to simply being gathered with 11 or more persons and acting in a manner that "someone of reasonable courage and firmness would be alarmed" (qtd. in Randall 2006: 25). The new act also upgraded the offence from a misdemeanour to a felony (*ibid.*). The punishment for offences seems to have grown in severity throughout the Jacobite era. From 50 offences worthy of capital punishment in 1688, by the end of the Georgian period in 1820, there were 220 (*ibid.*). As Randall (*ibid.*) observes, however, local authorities were hesitant to pursue the death penalty as often as they could have.

Jacobite activity was treasonous and seditious, though the punishment of these offences was somewhat variable. Authorities seemed to be more suspicious of written than visual material and, of course, most concerned with physical activity like rioting. Written and visual expression often went hand-in-hand, with illustrated publications appealing to both the literate and illiterate alike. Text was also increasingly incorporated into later material expressions of Jacobite support. The Amen glasses have the entire Jacobite anthem engraved upon them. On other examples, however, the use of text is reduced to a phrase or a single word, such as 'Fiat' [let it be done] (Risley 1920b) or 'Revirescit' [it will re-flourish, in reference to the Stuart family tree] (Nicholson 2003). A seditious phrase, taken out of context, is less potent when isolated from a larger

body of text. Though a snippet of text can become memorable and emotive when employed as a catchphrase, in its truncation it is possible for the language to lose the full intellectual weight of the arguments, sentiments and interpretations behind it. Therefore, though a seditious slogan may be engraved upon a wine glass, it still relies upon being paired with lengthier tracts.

While physical objects might be more ambiguous than written documents, does that mean that they were actually less dangerous? While potentially seditious material culture may have been overlooked by authorities and regulating bodies of the past, it should not be underemphasised in current interpretation. Unlike printed text, artefacts lend themselves to habitual behaviours, physically reinforcing ideologies through interaction. At a time when not every member of society was literate, physical objects had important didactic, mnemonic and persuasive propagandistic roles to play. The struggle to control material goods as a form of ideological power, like the regulation of weapons and tartan discussed in the following section, hints at the perceived danger of material culture. Objects, furthermore, offered a participatory way to enact resistance or subversion. A Jacobite could toast the King Over the Water with physical gestures and specialised material culture (discussed further in Chapter 3). Some artefacts were obviously more dangerous than others. Catholic religious paraphernalia was hurriedly disposed of at Fetternear, the estate of the recusant Leslies of Balquhain (Dransart and Bogdan 2004) when the property was forfeited for the family's involvement in the 1715 rebellion. To be Catholic was to be suspected as a Jacobite sympathiser, and the family had an irrefutable claim to Jacobitism. Such damning evidence needed to be removed before the inventorying and annexation of the estate. Material objects were also the tools of war. There is an utterly unambiguous broadsword [H.LA 124] in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland, made by an Edinburgh-based goldsmith around 1715. Its silver handle and fine workmanship make it an elite item of material culture, and the politics of its owner are made plain, with 'Prosperity to Schotland and no union' pronounced on one side of its blade and 'For God my country and King James the 8' on the other (discussed further in Chapter 3).

Material culture thus offered a range of forms of resistance, from seemingly innocuous items not perceived to be dangerous to the established government,

to outright tools of war. These objects operated differently from text in that they facilitated use, transforming rebellious or subversive thought into action. Furthermore their tangibility could spark an instantaneous and varied chain of emotions, ideas and memories. As propaganda tools, they were physical reminders of a cause and offer a way to actively oppose authority. To the government they were physical manifestations of rebellion, while to the owners they were damning pieces of evidence of their dangerous political allegiances.

Material culture of ideology and power

As this thesis deals explicitly with politicised material culture, there is an implied acceptance of the long-standing idea that material culture can communicate past and present ideologies. These ideologies are simultaneously being expressed and enforced through material expression. Most useful for the purposes of this study is the work of DeMarrais (et al. 1996; 2004), who advocates a materialist perspective of ideology and power through control of material culture. Another facet of this, the ways in which material culture can be employed to express legitimacy of rule, will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4, however, several examples provided here will serve to illustrate the ways in which the control of material culture was meant to control the 18th-century Scottish population. First, the proscription of weapons and tartan in Highland society is examined, followed by a brief discussion of the ways in which 18th-century society asserted political identity, particularly nationality, through material means.

Controlling artefacts, controlling a population

The regulation of material culture by an authority suggests that material culture has real implications to power relationships. The perceived importance of objects can be highlighted when they are forcibly removed from a society. The proscription of a particular type of material culture during the Jacobite era - weapons - threatened to undermine an important facet of the Highland social system. Disarming the clans after the 1715 rebellion did not merely remove tools of violence from circulation. It fundamentally changed, or rather

attempted to change, the centuries-old system of feudal military obligation to the clan chief.

For centuries the Highland and Lowland nobility of Scotland had waged their wars by calling out their tenants for military campaigns. The farmers-come-soldiers were rewarded with whatever they could loot from the enemy and then returned to their crofts or villages, crops or other employments. This feudal obligation was still highly evident in the Highlands at the end of the 17th century. With centuries of small-scale, localised but long-term skirmishing a regular feature of Highland society, this military system was well practiced and informed the nature of the Jacobite wars throughout the late-17th and early-18th centuries. Various disarming acts were introduced by Parliament following the 1715 rebellion. Acts passed in 1716, 1724, and 1746 limited the ownership of dirks, broadswords and pistols (Caldwell 2009), dirks and broadswords notably the most closely identified with Highland-style fighting. Removing the material culture of war from Highlanders directly impacted upon the established system of chief-tenant obligations, sought to erode the authority of the clan elite, and attempted to force Highland society out of a feudal model. The removal of a specific set of material culture attempted to remake centuries-old Highland social practices.

Similarly a ban on tartan in 1746 sought to change traditional patterns of behaviour by removing traditional dress. It is important to emphasise that tartan was by no means the ancient and everyday clothing of the Highlands that it is sometimes assumed to be, as Cheape (1993b: 38) explains in the following quote:

To make the point succinctly, tartan was probably developed in the form we recognize today in the sixteenth century, it was worn as smart wear and not everyday wear, more away from home than at home or in the home, it was worn by men on the move, and it reflected degrees of social and economic stratification.

If tartan was not quite as deeply embedded in Highland history as later scholars assumed, it was still culturally significant. Charles Edward Stuart insisted upon wearing tartan, the foreign-born prince deriving a Highland identity from the donning of plaids. Highland dress was banned in the Dress Act, which

accompanied the renewed Disarming Act of 1746 (Caldwell 2009; Coltman 2010). The punishment for transgressing the ban was imprisonment of six months for the first offense, followed by transportation for any subsequent breach (Coltman 2010). Devoid of their tartan and pipes, this prohibition suggests, the rebelliousness of the Highlanders would be quelled. By banning tartan, authorities asserted that the fabric was a sartorial impetus to warlike behaviour, sustained by the skirl of the pipes, which not only heartened friend and noisily assaulted foe, but also served a communicative function on the battlefield. By stripping the people of tartan and proscribing the pipes, the government sought to remove their sense of self and their ability to organise against authority. Thus the manipulation of material culture was intended to have real social repercussions, challenging an entrenched system of clan leadership and changing the ways in which Highlanders thought and behaved.

Tartan was officially sanctioned by the army for its own use; the Black Watch had been wearing tartan since its inception in 1720s and was excused from the official ban. Following the unequivocal defeat of the 1745 rebellion, the British Army accepted an influx of Highland soldiers in the 1750s to fight in the Seven Years' War's American campaigns, adopting tartan as official regimental uniforms of these new Highland regiments. The image of tartan, once thought to inspire aggression in a negative way when it meant conflict against government authority in the British Isles, had a different connotation in a colonial context. This positive military aggression was only reinforced with the fierce reputation of the later 19th-century Highland regiments, highly visible in colonial campaigns in their official military kilts. By the time of the philabeg's widespread use in military service in the 19th century, the stain of insurrection had been removed from tartan, though the proclivity for martial aggression was left intact. In the following century, the material culture of Highland dress would be valorised and mythologised as the British Army engaged in military actions throughout the world; rebelliousness had been expunged and replaced with utmost loyalty. This manipulation of material culture re-interpreted the place of Highlanders in the United Kingdom and helped to script a new role for *all* Scots to play in British society.

Material expressions of political identity

The material culture of the Jacobite wars was nothing if not ideological. For many who did not participate in open rebellion or the defence against it, it perhaps mattered little who sat on the throne. For those who supported the Jacobites, the Williamites, or the Hanoverians, however, ideological viewpoints were at stake. The Jacobite wars were fought to decide the governing principles of 18th-century Britain. The exile of James VII /II and the instillation of William and Mary in his place challenged beliefs on the limits of parliamentary rule and the very nature of the institution of monarchy. The artefacts of these conflicts are equally ideologically resonant today, though for different reasons. The history of the Jacobite period is often erroneously conflated with ideas of Scottish nationalism, giving the material culture of the Jacobite wars added significance during the current independence debate (discussed further in Chapter 7). These artefacts have long been linked to expressions of power, authority, and competing ideologies.

Just as today, in the 17th and 18th centuries material culture helped to codify political identities. Material culture's capacity to aid in the manipulation of political and ideological power as a form of social control has long been recognised. Buchli, expanding upon the work of Foucault, asserts that material culture served as the necessary 'building blocks of statecraft' (2002: 3). During this period, material culture was inextricably linked to Enlightenment-era nation-building and national identity. As British trade flourished and international contact increased through conflict, travel and trade, material culture became an increasingly common way to define and reinforce cultural identity in the face of foreign otherness. The Royal Navy exported Britishness throughout the world, opposing hostile foreign powers by force, as well as subduing and supplying colonial outposts. More subtly, national identity was exported by carrying goods such as the assemblage of pottery recovered from the HMS *Swift* (Dellino-Musgrave 2005). Colonial ventures, such as the settlement at Port Royal, Jamaica, replicated the architecture of London, as well as its material habits (Hamilton 1996; Robertson 2001). The reinforcement of national identity was not only propagated upon far-flung foreign shores, but also occurred domestically within the British Isles. For example, during this time

there was a constant struggle between imported architectural and pottery styles and traditional Irish styles on Ulster Plantations (Horning 2006; 2007), while English travellers to Scotland marvelled at the differences between English and Scottish societies as well as Lowland and Highland societies (Burt 1998 [1754]).

The wholesale exportation of material culture to colonial locales, like the Caribbean or the Ulster plantations, along with the official regulation of tartan and weapons, are perhaps obvious examples of the ways in which the control of material culture was meant to translate into the control a population. They serve to illustrate the key role that such artefacts play in the political power struggles of the past. In each of these examples material culture offers tangible, portable receptacles of ideologies, in this case national identities; to manipulate the material culture was to exert control over the thoughts and actions of individuals.

Gendering artefacts

In considering the potential power and political purpose of material culture, it is important to consider the intended audience. For whom were objects created and to whom were they marketed? It is interesting to consider whether men and women in the 18th century related to objects differently, and if objects were crafted specifically to suit a gendered audience. Specifically, is a political message undermined if it is presented in a feminised form or intended for feminine use? Part of the reason for focusing this study on everyday, domestic material culture alongside military and ceremonial artefacts is to encompass a larger portion of the population than that found in traditional battlefield archaeology. Battlefields have largely been viewed as masculine spaces. By moving beyond the battlefield and public spaces of conflict, it is hoped to take into account not only the civilian population, but another important sub-set of society: women. Though insightful work has been done on various forms of female internment (De Cunzo 2006), gendered material culture is not often discussed in relation to the material culture of conflict, even though it can have repercussions on the transmission and reception of political messages.

Beyond the battlefield

Part of the aim of this study is to go beyond the battlefield and to look more widely at the material culture of conflict, exploring everyday artefacts through the lens of political turmoil. The archaeological assemblage of Fort William offers an illustration of how a holistic approach to the material culture of conflict can offer a more inclusive picture of the past than battlefield assemblages. There are overtly conflict-related artefacts from the old fort, such as keys [WHM 787], door furniture [WHM 779], and cannonballs [WHM 774], that are reminiscent of the town's martial past, however the connection with conflict archaeology goes much deeper. What started out as a garrison town under Cromwell, remained a strategic location throughout the unrest of the Jacobite era. Conflict is Fort William's *raison d'être* and the town's history is intertwined with the military history of 17th- and 18th-century Britain. The historical archaeology of Fort William is, in fact, conflict archaeology. The garrison at Fort William provided the anchor for the community of Mary Town and the village was physically and economically defined by its relationship with Fort William. Strict regulations shaped the physical dimensions of the town and the surrounding landscape. Viewsheds and firing lines adjacent to the fort had to be clear of vegetation and structures, limiting building structures near the fort. It was understood that in the event of military action, anything in the near proximity of the fort would be destroyed to deny would-be besiegers cover. The West Highland Museum preserves part of this past with a War Department stone distance marker, which would have marked the outermost range of the fort's artillery.

Mary Town was a civilian community which grew out of the economic opportunities provided by 17th- and 18th-century British army, thriving on providing goods and services to the remote garrison, however the fort also strictly circumscribed the growth of the town. Excavations at Fort William have uncovered a variety of 18th-century domestic material culture (Pollard 2008). The material culture of Mary Town is both the material culture of the everyday and the material culture of conflict, rather than two distinct thematic areas of study. While this is quite a straightforward illustration of the breakdown of the often arbitrary distinctions necessarily imposed upon artefacts by research

themes, it does provide the argument for considering all material culture of conflict more broadly. While associations with conflict can change the social meanings of material culture, caution must be taken against focussing too narrowly on this single biographical element of an artefact. A multifaceted perspective should be employed, at once examining artefacts as vestiges of conflict and interrogating their social meanings in relation to this, while at the same time leaving the material culture firmly embedded within its wider context, lest nuanced perspective be lost. In this way, one can explore a specific biographical thread of an artefact without divorcing it from a broader social significance. Artefacts like those in this study are most informative when seen as individual parts of a whole, rather than a series of unique and disconnected curiosities. A deeper understanding of the artefacts and their contemporary period is achieved through realising connections between them, rather than emphasising their superlatives.

Just as its namesake, the Queen Mary, was the female, domestic counterpart to the robustly masculine and military persona of King William, Mary Town (and its material culture) could be superficially seen as the domestic, pacific complement to the military garrison. However, the gendered division of military action and domestic day-to-day living breaks down at a site like Fort William. Cannonballs, gun flints, and china intermingle in the material record just as they would have in the living community. Conflict was an ever-present possibility and had an indelible impact upon the nature of settlement and the conducting of daily life in Mary Town. Whilst in times of peace the routine of the quotidian must have de-emphasised the settlement's military nature, the omnipresence of the fort and its soldiers, who could alter or destroy parts of the civilian settlement as needed, was a defining characteristic of life in the town. The intermixing of town and garrison, their symbiotic as well as contesting needs, offers a glimpse of ambiguous, nuanced social interaction that cannot be easily divided into domestic, feminine, peaceful town, and masculine, military fort.

Gendered materials

Problematic gender distinctions are also made not just by artefact type, but between the most fundamental elements of an object: medium and raw material

(Gordon 1997; Chare 2009). Gordon (1997) offers an interesting, if problematic, look at gender-based reactions to material culture, though he focuses predominantly on painting. Building upon E.T. Hall's theories, Gordon (1997: 239) explains the gendered media of painting in the following statement:

...[D]ue to their divergent socialization, men and women relate to the distances differently: women are typically more comfortable than men with the nearer, more personal distances where involvement, texture, and detail are particularly salient; men often screen out details of the near distances and are more comfortable with the farther, more abstract and impersonal, distances.

While he acknowledges that these are generalisations and offers the critique that Hall's work may not be widely applicable because of a middle-class bias, he yet lobbies for it in regard to frescoes and oil paintings. Frescoes, Gordon (*ibid.*) argues, are large, ambitious and arduous, while canvas painting was easier, gentler and more feminine. Furthermore, the two can be distinguished by scale as well as physical difficulty, with frescoes adorning walls, ceilings, and filling entire rooms, versus the smaller, more modest canvas of oil painting. These distinctions are, of course, somewhat oversimplified, which is acknowledged by art historians. Most problematic for archaeologists in the gendered readings of Gordon and Hall is that they focus on the production of a work of art and neglect to take into account the functional life of that artefact. For example, a so-called intimate oil portrait of a man may have been commissioned to hang in the private chambers of his guild or civic society. This is a supposedly private, feminine style of production, yet it is meant for display in an exclusively masculine environment where both personal and public identities of masculinity would have been rigorously negotiated (see Tittler 2010 for a discussion of civic portraiture in early modern Britain).

In Chare's (2009) study of gendered media, he argues that textiles, weaving and embroidery are irreconcilably feminine; not only is it the handiwork of feminine production, but it is also delicate and semi-durable. Likewise, archaeologists like Beaudry (2006) see the evidence of needlework and sewing as material signs of feminine representation, though upon closer inspection artefacts like pins were equally used by men. As Chare (2009: 685) states, '[t]hread always threatens to become unfixed, to unravel, to emasculate.' This oversimplified idea of textile-and-thread as feminine is again problematic, especially in a

Scottish context. How can one reconcile tartan to this paradigm? As previously discussed in this chapter, tartan plaids are masculine, martial and robustly Highland. Though Highland women spun thread and wove cloth more often than men, this female product was put to a masculine use. In Nicholson's (2005) and Coltman's (2010) studies of 18th-century Scottish male portraiture, men are bedecked in tartan specifically for its masculine (as well as Scottish cultural) currency. By the latter third of the 18th century, the rehabilitation of tartan by the British Army for use in its Highland regiments only enhanced the fabric's militarised reputation. Thus tartan and the preceding example of civic portraiture should give pause and reinforce the assertion that gendered interpretations of material culture must necessarily be nuanced; they are not straightforward, but rather complex societal constructions with ambiguous meanings and a multiplicity of interpretations.

It is arguably more fruitful to consider objects as gendered by their function and accessibility alongside their raw material and production, though this too should be done with caution. Objects should not necessarily be separated into discrete, gendered categories, as they would have been visible to a range of people; while not all individuals would have had personal access to and use of an item, they could still be observed around the household, in shop windows, and in other public social situations. Nor did objects move through specifically gendered lines of ownership. For example, it is clear from Cowen Orlin's (2010) examinations of early modern bequests that possessions of both men and women were more likely to be left to female beneficiaries. In Cowen Orlin's research, it was found that women received items that were passed down indiscriminately from both male and female relatives and friends. This slight imbalance in favour of women in regards to the inheritance of material goods can possibly reflect a desire to compensate women for money and land that would be left to males, or it could also be attributed to the nature of the objects bequeathed, like cooking utensils, linens and other household goods and furnishings. The domestic and utilitarian nature of the material culture may have influenced the ever-so-slight pattern of gendered inheritance of goods that favoured women. Regardless of the reasons for this, it is clear that 17th- and 18th-century men often left their possessions to women and women would have had objects that had been purchased, used and gifted by members of either sex; both men and women

would have owned and interacted with material culture that had a mix of personal associations

Certain objects in this study would have been intended specifically for feminine use and display, such as ladies' fans and pincushions, but both men and women could have various articles of clothing or other items adorned with political iconography. A pair of men's silk garters on display at the Culloden visitor's centre, for example, offer the motto, 'Come let us with one heart unite / to bless the Prince for whom we'll fight' (discussed further in Chapter 3). A lady's apron in the Burrell Collection [29.149] in Glasgow, once thought to be the christening robe of Charles Edward Stuart (Marks 1983), features the Scottish royal coat of arms, as well as embellished ciphers of James VIII with accompanying verses, 'GOD BLESS AND RESTORE THE KING TO HIS OUNE', 'LET HIS ENIMIES NEUER HAUE POUER OUER HIM' and 'MAY THY ANGELS AL UAYES SUPORT HIM'. Its high quality and unambiguous decoration have led to the conclusion that it was worn by a female member of the Stuart court in exile (*ibid.*). Items of personal expression such as these range from the more subtle garters, which would have been worn below the knee and underneath the cuffs of breeches, to the openly displayed apron.

Likewise household items would be similarly displayed in a variety of contexts, from a semi-private household setting, to those items displayed openly within the confines of a presumably sympathetic audience. Both sexes would have had access to household decorations like the draperies held by the National Museum of Scotland, which are emblazoned with sunflowers and the cipher of James VIII, or a small wooden bellows decorated with the coat of arms of Queen Anne [GMRC 14.119]. Tableware, such as teapots and other ceramics, would have been used by men and women alike and displayed in the home, though some items, such as toasting glasses would have been used in an exclusively male context.

Other items with an ostensibly gendered function can in fact be more ambiguous. While Jacobite soldiers and sympathisers sported white cockades, these badges were sewn by women (Craig 1997). During the 1745 rebellion, the ladies of Edinburgh with Jacobite sympathies met to sew cockades during Charles Edward Stuart's residence in the Scottish capital (*ibid.*). The

manufacture of white cockades was not simply an act of military provision or a civilian sartorial fad, but a feminine social interaction and expression of group political identity. By sewing cockades, women participated in the military economy, but alongside a more sociable leisure activity. They comprised a group of interested peers, in similar familial and social circumstances. In this instance, material culture served as a focus for shared political action and identity; the sewing of cockades would have served not just as an act of production, but also as a cohesive social ritual.

While the discussion so far has focused upon the danger of over simplifying and over emphasising the strict gendering of objects, there is compelling evidence that gender associations were applied to specific materials for ideological, political and psychological ends during the Jacobite era. The best example of gendered material culture in a contemporary context is the ambiguous relationship between 18th-century society and china, discussed further in Chapter 4. It is evident from contemporary 17th- and 18th-century writing that society used material goods as metaphors to describe people; this material vocabulary added to a wider cultural language comprised of text, deportment, and dress that communicated codes of behaviour.

'China's the passion of her soul'

Throughout the 18th century, tea-drinking and ceramic tea things were feminised as they become increasingly associated with women (Zuroski Jenkins 2009). What was once a luxury item that signified wealth and economic triumph at the beginning of the period of study became a frivolous, ubiquitous fad by the end. It was not just the raw material of porcelain that became synonymous with frivolity, but the decorative style of Chinoiserie became the epitome of superfluity (Porter 1999). The widespread mania for china was disdained by influential writers such as Defoe and Pope, who characterised porcelain as predominantly a prize for grasping, avaricious women. These attacks against china suggest several things: an underlying discomfort with the consumer market, as already discussed, and a discomfort with women's increased participation in it.

Like the class tensions discussed earlier, as evidenced by the serious consideration of purposefully excluding working class consumers from participating in the tea trend, late-17th and early-18th century society also exhibited a discomfort with women as consumers. When reformers of the 1740s and 1750s considered making tea and teawares exclusive to certain classes, there was a particular concern that the practice would detrimentally affect women's ability to maintain the appropriate standards of domestic care (White 2006). During the Jacobite era, the act of consumerism itself was feminised and becomes a metaphor for unadulterated, immoderate desire (Solomon-Godeau 1996). There was a Jekyll-and-Hyde perception of the new materials available; whilst a refinement in available tablewares suggested a corresponding refinement of manners, and therefore the soul, it could also be an extravagant expense that fuelled desire, greed and gossip (Richards 1999). China was problematic almost as soon as it hit the British market in the 17th century. In 1675 *The Country Wife* explicitly links desire for china as female desire for sex (*ibid.* 1999). The conflation of consumerism and luxury products, specifically porcelain, as synonymous with female intemperance persists throughout the time period. John Gay's *To a Lady on her Passion for Old China*, written in 1725, offers a humorous comment on fickle female desire:

What ecstasies her bosom fire!
 How her eyes languish with desire!
 How blest, how happy should I be,
 Were that fond glance bestow'd on me!

New doubts and fears within me war:
 What rival's near? a *China Jar*.
China's the passion of her soul;
 A cup, a plate, a dish, a bowl
 Can kindle wishes in her breast,
 In flame with joy, or break her rest.
 (Richards 1999: 100; Gay 1974 [1725]: 292-294).

As visual display and consumerism became increasingly feminised, male dress and display correspondingly became less elaborate (Kuchta 1996). Sobriety in dress is seen by Kuchta (*ibid.*) as a sartorial reaction against Stuart excess, and presumably the synonymous evils of French and Catholic extravagance. Men's dress had political implications, necessitating a cultivation of a persona of seriousness and responsibility (*ibid.*). As the opposites of men, excluded from

the political sphere, women were therefore as decorative, delicate and superficial as the luxuries they intemperately desired. The frivolity of breakable chinaware and its faddish, Chinoiserie motifs, though often dismissed as vapid and superfluous, were psychologically more dangerous than they appeared. The rampant consumption of foreign products was politically problematic at a time when hostile entanglements with foreign powers were frequent. To the Whig establishment, trading in these products was unpatriotic in the extreme (Porter 1999; Zuroski Jenkins 2009). The new, altogether foreign styles introduced by trade threatened to destabilise traditional design, becoming 'illegitimate usurper[s] of the cultural authority of the classical tradition' (Porter 1999: 40).

Material culture, such as dress and teawares, became popular symbols in printed illustrations and literature, alluding to the various character traits of the humans detailed therein. Particularly popular was the trope of fragile china as a metaphor for female reputation: delicate and easily shattered beyond repair. There was a psychological transition as ceramics come to be used more in the home, replacing more durable materials. Pennell (2010) argues convincingly that too often archaeologists fail to accept the fragmented, partial records in favour of idealised wholes. Items would have not simply been discarded, but also used as chipped, cracked and imperfect if unable to be mended. The discomfort with the fragility of the new commodities, their frailty and temporariness, was applied to women. In contemporary prints and texts, female aesthetic taste directly correlated with moral behaviour (Zuroski Jenkins 2009). As Zuroski Jenkins (*ibid.*) observes, in Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* the arrangement of Belinda's personal toilet is a visual representation of the character's inner virtue. Even in text, however, these objects do not merely serve as silent mirrors of virtues and flaws, but also are tools; fictional women expose their true character by actually using the items at their disposal.

Just as ceramics could be patched back together or a crack ignored, the human body and society needed to deal with imperfection. Like Pope, Swift employs a fictional array of material culture to describe his characters, however in *The Dunciad*, china suggests receptacles and pots of various concoctions to disguise the visceral reality of bodily functions, imperfections and disease; it stands for duplicity. Unlike the orderly retinue of display of Belinda's possessions, Swift's dressing room is chaos - a foil to the orderly outside world where personal filth is

hidden by social niceties, such as cosmetics and tea drinking (Zuroski Jenkins 2009). Swift's *The Progress of Beauty* written in 1719, conflates the human (female) body and material culture in the following lines:

Love with white Lead cements his Wings;
White Lead was sent us to repair
Two brightest, brittlest, earthly Things,
A Lady's Face, and *China-Ware*
(2010 [1719]: 547)

What Swift sees as deception, Pope sees as politeness, offering two very different views of how the veneer of polite society - in this case specifically a superficial feminine society - is mediated through material objects. Though Swift mocks the syphilitic woman painting over her face with lead paint, Pope suggests that though china is a facade, it is perhaps a necessary one.

In contrast, other material types reinforced feminine virtuousness. Vickery (2009) highlights the long association of a housewife's domestic abilities and virtuousness with the functional metalware needed in the kitchen, like pewter, tin, or copper pots and pans. If these were kept tidy and in good repair, it spoke for a woman's good character and husbands were urged to be generous with the budgets for such items. With the introduction of new cuisine and dining styles in the mid-18th century, a wider array of kitchen utensils were required by housewives, but husbands were urged not to begrudge their wives this expenditure (*ibid.*).

Eighteenth century contemporaries asserted a dichotomy of virtuous versus superfluous material types, and created a literary trope of directly equating certain materials, like porcelain, with the feminine. If certain materials like this had such strongly gendered associations, it could potentially impact the political messages displayed thereon. The typical negative connotations associated with both ceramics and with women were equally applicable to the negatives of Stuart rule, most notably that of superfluity, recalling the rule of Charles II, as well as referencing the later Stuarts' Catholic tendencies and associations with the decadence of the French court and the Vatican. Despite this, the images of a variety of Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian personalities all appeared upon

domestic ceramic goods throughout the period of study. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3, but should be highlighted here. While literary wits like Pope and Swift prove that there was a popular perception of ceramics as negatively feminine, the reputations of William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II do not measurably suffer from their association with this material type. In fact, that the habit of decorating ceramics with royal portraiture lasted nearly a century suggests that it was an accepted and desirable way of supporting the reigning monarch. Perhaps one important distinction is that the monarchs appear mostly on domestic ceramic forms rather than imported foreign ceramics. It may also suggest that the metaphors of the literary elite simply did not translate into how individuals perceived the artefacts of everyday life. Rather than undermining or subverting the authority of a figurehead, it can be argued that the appearance of their image on a ceramic cup, plate, or charger served to domesticate the ruler in a positive way, bringing them closer to their subjects in familiar domestic environments. These types of decorated ceramics were popular and appear not just in museum collections throughout Britain, but also in the archaeological record at a variety of different sites. Thus, the theory of gendered material culture impacting upon the reception of a political message proves difficult to reconcile with the artefactual evidence. The negative connotations of the feminisation of material types like ceramics does not seem to adversely affect the message contained therein, and the interactions between gendered material culture and political agenda prove to be much more nuanced. Feminising a political opponent, however, was a well-established tool in late-17th and 18th-century society, and can add yet another dimension to this debate.

Feminising Jacobitism and Jacobites

The feminisation of certain types of material culture in popular culture belied a more general discomfort with the role of women in late-17th- and 18th-century society. This problematic relationship manifested itself in the political discourse of the Jacobite era as society attempted to deal with the concept and reality of female Jacobites, while simultaneously trying to undermine the political clout of Jacobitism by feminising the movement. Were female Jacobites less dangerous than their male counterparts, or more? For example, women were not required

to adhere to the ban on Highland clothing in the 1746 Dress Act (Coltman 2010). From the viewpoint of centralised authority, women were not as overtly threatening. For the psyche of society at large, however, the idea of women participating in armed rebellion was extremely discomfiting. The few notable females who openly participated in rebellious activity had their reputations attacked in popular culture. Jeanie Cameron, the quasi-mythical Jacobite heroine, personally raised a troop of Camerons to fight for Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. Her character was savaged in the popular press (Craig 1997). Known female Jacobites of this last rebellion, like Cameron, were often erroneously amorously linked to Charles Edward Stuart, casting aspersions onto their characters and undermining otherwise legitimate female political sentiment by dismissing it as sexual exploitation.

Feminising one's rivals can be a powerful political tool. In the 1697-8 polemical publication *The Night Walker: or, Evening Rambles in search after Lewd Women*, the staunchly Whig author John Dunton declares, "all the Whores in Town are Jacobites" (qtd. in Kubek 2010: 453). *The Night Walker* attacks the illicit sex trade of the capital, which is not only immoral, but dangerous. Thus London's whores are as dangerous as Jacobites: duplicitous, illegitimate, subverting authority and spreading bodily corruption. The alleged aim of the publication, as espoused in its subtitle was "To be publish'd Monthly, 'till a Discovery be made of all the chief Prostitutes in England, from the Pensionary Miss, down to the Common Strumpet" (*ibid.*: 453). The treasonous Jacobites, like whores, had to be discovered, rooted out and removed from society before they could do further damage. Dunton makes a plea to fellow Whigs to reject whoring and its political counterpart, Toryism, and fight the moral decline and corruption of Britain begun by Charles II. The female prostitutes were the embodiments of desire and lust, and as Kubek (*ibid.*: 464) notes, 'The Whig claim to be the party of virtue and chastity not only provided a contrast to the behavior [sic] of male Stuarts, but also exploited the oft-reiterated connection in early modern thought between sexual and political lusts'. Feminising a political movement, like those in the popular press who fixated on the actions of female Jacobites like Jeanie Cameron, or voices like that of Dunton, who reviled whores and Jacobites alike, attempted to make the political opposition less dangerous.

To feminise a political rival, however, was not to neutralise them wholly; women could be fierce instigators of social and political discord and played organisational roles in violent struggles throughout the 18th century. This is most evident in domestic unrest like the Flour War in France in 1775 (Bouton 1990) when women rallied in marketplaces and stormed granaries during a period of shortage and rising prices. Food poverty disproportionately affected women, who were tasked with the procurement of foodstuffs and the provision of daily meals. It was wives and mothers who turned out in the greatest numbers in the Flour War, though single women and widows also joined in (Bouton 1990). Bouton (*ibid.*) observes that though women and men participated in the same riotous activities during the brief period of unrest, men categorically received harsher punishment. Women, she argues, had less political authority and were thus seen as less dangerous by authorities. The courts saw them as desperate wives and mothers forced into illegal behaviours by circumstance, and as they were assumed to be less inherently rational than men, women were therefore less culpable for their actions. Women, at least women in late-18th century France, could get away with more than their male counterparts.

One of the most vivid images of the feminisation of a political opponent, which recurs with frequency in both the print and material record of the final Jacobite war in 1745 was Charles Edward Stuart's brief foray into transvestism as Betty Burke. During his flight from Benbecula to Skye in 1746, Charles Edward Stuart posed as the female maid of Flora Macdonald. The subterfuge was successful and the prince escaped in his borrowed dress, eventually making his way back to exile on the Continent. For her part in the affair, Flora Macdonald was arrested and transported to London, though later released. This event established Flora Macdonald as a preeminent Jacobite heroine, while Charles Edward Stuart's female disguise provided fodder for Hanoverian propaganda. In these portrayals Charles is not the dashing, virile heir to the Stuart lineage, but rather hunted and hidden in skirts. Jacobites, however, seem to have celebrated Betty Burke as a masterful piece of trickery that enabled Charles Edward Stuart's successful escape. While supporters of the crown and government mocked the would-be prince's undignified flight in drag, the event only empowered Jacobite supporters who issued their own more celebratory prints, and put the image of Betty Burke on artefacts like wineglasses (seen in figures below).



Left: Figures 1 A print portraying Charles Edward Stuart as Betty Burke. Though he is dressed as a woman, accompanying lines of verse tell the viewer that 'By manly Thoughts He'd charm His Woes to rest: In vain Culloden still distracts His Breast.' Right: Figure 2 A wineglass with the image of Betty Burke. Both images ©Bridgeman Art Library / The Drambuie Collection. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Nearly a century later other political dissidents would appropriate feminine dress in the course of subversive activities. Male participants in the Welsh Rebecca Riots in the mid-19th dressed in women's clothes as they reacted against high taxes, poverty, and poor agricultural harvests, destroying tollgates in public protest (Williams 1998). Here the use of women's clothing by male actors was an act of empowerment, as farm labourers united to exert political agency that would eventually result in the reorganisation and reduction of tolls. Feminine dress was part disguise, part subversion of authority.

Feminising a political cause was not necessarily negative. For example, the British state was represented allegorically as Britannia across a wide range of material culture, as well as print culture, by all political factions of the period. Britannia encompassed some of the most positive of female virtues: purity and feminine sympathy. Britannia appears on commemorative medals, ladies' fans, and prints as a muscular, stoic woman, often with weapons in hand. Her

feminine form, however, was meant to inspire men of each of the vying political ideologies to her aid. Jacobites, Williamites, and Hanoverians alike saw themselves as the rightful protectors of a feminised state political entity.

From the allegorical Britannia to the dangerous political dissidents equated with disease-ridden prostitutes, femininity in the late-17th and early-18th centuries inspired a multiplicity of associations, some good and some very bad. Some artefacts were intended explicitly for male or female use, but interpreting an actual gendered material culture is far more nuanced. Gendering raw materials, as seen in the example of imported china, could not but influence contemporary understanding of the political messages conveyed on such artefacts. For these reasons, considering gender and its relation to artefacts, their construction, and their use, will be a recurring theme throughout the rest of this thesis.

Discussion

The theoretical perspectives presented here do not simply lay out the basis for understanding the approach to the research offered in this thesis. They also assert the importance of rigorously interrogating the material culture of the Jacobite wars. Though it is a well-documented period in history, scholarly attention to the Jacobite period from an archaeological point of view has been underutilised despite being worthwhile and valuable. The many anthropological and archaeological theorists and material culture scholars cited throughout this chapter assert the importance of material culture in human society, the nuanced ways in which it enables or influences the course of events, and how it mediates the ways in which these events are understood and remembered by individuals in the future. The artefacts of the Jacobite wars are just one small sub-set of material culture, offering a tightly focused thematic exploration of how artefacts can inform both the past and the present, ultimately influencing who we are today. Throughout the rest of this thesis this resonance over time is examined by employing the various theoretical strands discussed above, beginning in the following chapter with an exploration of the ways in which political agendas are furthered through material means.

3. Polite war

As discussed previously in Chapter 1, there have been many historical studies of military engagements of the Jacobite period, as well as some archaeological investigations of battlefields, but wars are never constrained to the neat battle lines drawn afterwards on maps. In 18th-century Scotland, conflict permeated beyond the boundaries of the fields of battle and a lengthy political war was waged at hearthside and in the home, as well as in the new social spaces of coffee houses and clubs. Thus the material culture of the Jacobite wars includes not only swords, pistols, and targes, but also teapots and toddy ladles. As Richards (1999: 127) asserts, ‘ . . . at times of social discord the artefacts which support polite and civilised structures can be utilised when such structures start to unravel, and the artefacts themselves turned to destructive purposes’. In this chapter, this destructive (i.e. rebellious and seditious) capacity is explored, but alongside a capacity for these artefacts to simultaneously offer material rallying points for unified political identities and shared social values. By examining politicised domestic items alongside of the traditionally understood artefacts of conflict, it is possible to tease out a more subtle way of understanding how war was waged. This holistic look at the material culture of the Jacobite era enables a fuller picture to be drawn, reintegrating political turmoil and everyday life in Scotland by examining a wide range of material culture created and collected not only by Stuart supporters, but also Williamites and Hanoverians.

It is perhaps worthwhile to emphasise here that not all propertied households displayed their politics with loyalist or rebellious material culture. George Hilton, a much indebted Jacobite Catholic bachelor in Westmorland had little in the way of fine material culture of any kind. The inventory of his possessions upon his death in 1725 listed items that were plain, serviceable, and commensurate with his social position, including modest amounts of plate and pewter, brass, copper, and wooden wares (Vickery 2009: 68-9). Lacking entirely are tablewares for entertaining at the tea or dinner tables (*ibid.*). Hilton was clearly not hosting likeminded political associates for a night of dinner and toasting the King Over the Water. There were undoubtedly many more individuals like Hilton throughout Britain who did not display their politics

through material goods, however, the survival of many domestic artefacts with political associations demands a more detailed examination.

Visual representations of soldiers and soldiering

In 17th- and 18th-century British society, war was never too remote. At the start of the period of study, a generation of old soldiers and civilians alike would have memories of the widespread trauma of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Even more recently for Scots were the Covenanter battles throughout the Central Belt and Lowlands in the 1670s, whilst in the Highlands small-scale clan skirmishes continued until the 1690s (the last generally accepted as the Battle of Mulroy / Mual Ruaidh). While the arrival of William of Orange in England in 1688 led to limited skirmishing and anti-Catholic rioting, in 1689 it resulted in open warfare in Scotland and continued more seriously as the Williamite War in Ireland until 1691. The accession to the throne of first Dutch and later Hanoverian royalty only strengthened British interest in wider European politics. On the Continent, Britain continued to vie with France to maintain a European balance of power during the War of Spanish Succession, which dragged on from 1701-1714, followed closely by the War of the Quadruple Alliance, both fought to prevent the unification of the French and Spanish thrones. By the 1740s, Europe was divided over Austrian succession, with Great Britain uniting with the forces of Hanover, Saxony, Russia, Sardinia, and the Dutch Republic to support the claims of Maria Theresa to the Habsburg succession. Each of these European power struggles had reverberations far beyond the confines of the Continent, stretching around the world to colonial possessions and reaching across the English Channel to threaten the British Isles at home. Supporting Jacobite interests was a convenient tool of distraction used by Britain's opponents, and the rising in 1715 and the failed rising that would have begun at Glenshiel in 1719 should be seen as interconnected to this wider backdrop of European politics.

British soldiers and mercenaries participated in all of these conflicts, but participation in and awareness of conflict was much broader; this was a well-informed society, where frequent letters and dispatches passed along reports of the actions of armies and politicians. As the century wore on, the availability of news and the literate population to consume it only increased. Without a

standing army since the Restoration, the government of Britain had to rely on civilian services to provision and transport the army. Armies were shadowed and catered to by civilian camp followers. While the Jacobite wars did not provide a pervasive, first-hand experience of war for every individual in Scotland, they had wider social ramifications that would have affected much of the population. In the decade after the 1715 rising, for example, Wade's network of military roads cut a swathe of government-imposed order through remote parts of Scotland, bringing centralised control ever closer. Whether or not one had a burning desire to support one political faction or another, the Jacobite Wars, and their socio-political fall-out, could not be wholly ignored by anyone in Scotland.

How then, did the Jacobite Wars play out in a domestic setting? One interesting facet of the domestication of war in this period is the seeming politeness of visual depictions. In the myriad objects from the Jacobite era, depictions of violence were divorced from the battlefield context and made more palatable to contemporaries as well as to modern viewers, reinforcing a sanitised version of martial contest. The messy, divisive political factionalism that characterised the period hid behind artefacts that were consciously crafted to be attractive, decorative and pleasing. These items removed from the violence with which they were associated; it was a very polite expression of aggression from an increasingly polite Enlightenment society. Looking at an internal, psychological landscape of domestic items is attractively problematic, challenging connections between ownership and political conviction, material goods and identity. Juxtaposing Williamite and Hanoverian material culture alongside that of Jacobite items, it becomes apparent that both sides of the political divide were taking advantage of material media and speaking the same material language.

One of the ways to understand how those in the Jacobite era perceived conflict is by examining the representations of soldiers in material culture from the period. Popular prints from engravings and woodcuts sometimes served as the patterns for images seen on other types of material culture, like medals. Soldiers in general, whether Jacobite or government, were often portrayed in an unflattering light, not just for propaganda reasons. While a career in the military was an honourable and appropriate path to prominence for younger sons of the nobility, the rank-and-file of 18th-century armies was viewed with disdain and mistrust by the civilian population. For example, Hogarth's *The March to*

Finchley (1750) offered a satirical comment upon the government's reaction to the southern march of Charles Edward Stuart's army in 1745. With London the obvious target of the Jacobite's movement, the print depicts a fictitious gathering of British troops to meet them at the north of the capital, in Finchley. In this depiction of the chaos of disorderly redcoats and civilians, Hogarth lampoons both the troops that comprise the British Army and the government's haphazard response to the Jacobite threat to London.

There are differing opinions as to how widespread prints would have been in the Jacobite period. While it can be argued that print was a fairly widespread media, with visual imagery accessible to many, Pentland (2011) asserts that popular print culture would still have been limited to the middle and upper classes, when taking into account the locations of print shops and the prices of their merchandise, and did not become really widespread until the 1770s. Pentland's (*ibid.*) work on the portrayal of Scots and Scottishness in the 18th century offers some interesting insights into print culture of the time, most notably marking the tipping point for the appearance of Scots in popular prints from the mid-18th century, at the end of the period of study. This is curious, as Pentland's results do not precisely mirror the non-print material culture examined here. For example, '[t]he Union itself stimulated very little in terms of a graphic response,' states Pentland (*ibid.*: 69), however this event is well-represented in material culture in the form of commemorative objects like medals and ladies' fans [NMS H.UI 1, Figure 3], as well as in inscriptions on artefacts like weapons (e.g. the many swords in collections throughout the UK that are inscribed 'Prosperity to Schotland and no union').



Figure 3 Lady's fan celebrating the Act of Union by showing clasped hands surmounted by the English and Scottish flags and flanked by a rose and a thistle. NMS H.UI 1. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Pentland (2011: 73) comments that prints were 'a speedy though not immediate response' to important events. The same could be said about objects like medals, which were commissioned and distributed at timely junctures, to commemorate an event or anniversary; it is likely that non-print material culture filled the role of 'a speedy though not immediate response' until popular print culture expanded in the latter quarter of the century.



Figure 4 Reverse of medal commemorating the Treaty of Union, featuring an intertwined rose and thistle along with a lion and a unicorn flanking the new arms of Great Britain. NMS H.R. 97. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Images of soldiers and soldiering likewise appear in the material record. One artefact, a carved ivory snuff mull [NMS H.NQ 217], of French make, offers a look at Scottish Highland identity and imagery in the guise of a well-equipped soldier. Dating to circa 1715, this mull offers a pre-1745 depiction of Scottish Highland military dress and bearing. The mull offers a detailed look at the soldier's dress, from the tip of the tam to just above the knee. The Highlander's dress and accoutrements are picked out in detail: he wears a belted plaid, coat and waistcoat, and carries a sporran, broadsword, with a dirk and a pistol tucked into his belt and a targe slung over his shoulder. Its French provenance emphasises the connections between Scotland and the Continent, the maker clearly having a detailed knowledge of Highland dress.



Figure 5 Highlander snuff mull. NMS H.NQ 217. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

This is a realistic portrayal of soldiering in the Highlands, presented on an artefact that would have been used for convivial social occasions (an in-depth discussion of snuff-taking appears later in this chapter). The expensive

materials of which the mull is constructed - ivory and silver - along with the quality craftsmanship and expense of the habit of snuff-taking, suggest that this was an object for a well-heeled individual. The mull exhibits a proud, positive portrait of a Highland soldier at a time of political unrest when, as Pentland (2011) found, there were increasingly negative images of Scots and Scottishness in the press. This contemporary image is not romanticised nor is it vilified for political propaganda: it offers a view of a well-equipped Highland gentleman, replete with a fashionable moustache, with the dress and accessories of his military trade.

Though early-18th-century artefacts such as this offer material portrayals of Scottish Highland dress, the visual tropes that came to be associated with Scots and Scottishness in the later 18th and 19th centuries - and to some extent persist today - did not become standard imagery until the 1745 rising. Prior to the 1745, Scots were not portrayed by tartan, but by blue bonnets, hearkening back to the 17th century, or else by the thistle (Pentland 2011). It was the Jacobites themselves, at home and abroad, who played an important part in establishing the codes of imagery of Scottishness, particularly, in the interest of this study, militant Scottishness. Monod (1989) and Pittock (1995), among others, have discussed the Highlandisation of the exiled Stuarts, both James Francis Edward Stuart and his son. However, these studies neglect to directly engage with the material culture that made this transformation possible. The exiled Stuarts were painted wearing tartan (Nicholson 2005) and did in fact own Highland dress and arms. The Stuart Papers at Windsor document the ordering of suits of tartan for both Charles Edward Stuart and his brother Henry while the two were residing with the Stuart Court in Italy, and also preserve accounts of Charles wearing his Highland clothes to various public engagements (Tayler and Tayler 1939; Stuart Papers 205/15, 220/133-4, 98/43, 98/46). The cultivation of not just a military identity, but a specifically *Scottish* military identity for would-be kings who had never resided in Scotland was seen as an integral step in the Stuart restoration. In order to do this, the Stuarts and their closest supporters had to seize upon visual tropes that would clearly communicate their Scottish heritage and military prowess.

Once tartan was established as a visual trope, Scottish / Highland soldiers from the later period of study become particularly visible in the material record. A

fine example of this is a porcelain plate [NMS A.1924.485] commemorating the 1743 Black Watch mutiny. Though the mutiny itself was not directly linked to Jacobitism, it became so in later popular imagination. In fact, the plate is currently on display in the *Jacobite Challenge* section of the Scotland Transformed gallery of the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) in Chambers Street. The beginnings of the regiment are linked to Jacobite unrest. The regiment was originally raised in the Highlands from 1725 onward to police the area, impose order on warring clans, and to deter further Jacobite rebellion. Mutiny occurred after the Black Watch had been marched to London. Members of the regiment deserted upon hearing rumours that they were to be shipped to the West Indies, many thinking they had signed on only to serve in Scotland. Three of the mutiny's ring-leaders were executed at the Tower of London and the rest of the regiment was deployed to action on the Continent (Prebble 1975).



Figure 6 Imported ceramic plate commemorating the Black Watch Mutiny of 1743. NMS A.1924.485. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The plate depicts two Black Watch soldiers and is imported from China. The design is taken from popular prints that circulated throughout Britain at the time of the mutiny (Leiper 1997). Both soldiers are swathed in tartan and one plays the pipes, reinforcing the novel and perhaps strange Highland (and therefore Scottish) identities of the individuals depicted. There is a detailed attention to the soldiers' dress and their broadswords, though the tartan comes across as unrealistically stylised. Examples of identical plates have come up to auction [Sotheby's Sale N08411, Lot 186 in 2008; Sale L01260, Lots 414-5 in 2001; Sale N07520, Lot 196 in 2000], suggesting that these artefacts were not unique, but were a relatively popular import.

There is a disjuncture between the artistic gloss of the plate and its grim subject matter; depicted are two soldiers who mutinied against the government and, most likely, paid for it with their lives. The plate was produced when the execution of three Black Watch soldiers would have been fresh in the minds of Londoners, as well as the rest of Britain, whilst the rest of the regiment was sent off to war. The brightly coloured figures so pleasing to view on display in a museum contrast sharply with the historical events; removed from the context of the 1743 mutiny, a modern-day viewer would be excused for thinking the object an innocent, colourful, and amusing celebration of Highland military culture. For an 18th-century contemporary, however, the dark reality of misinformed men who thought they would serve only in their home territory and who feared the dangerous, disease-ridden West Indies climate enough to desert would underlay the attractive piece of craftsmanship.

Commemorating battles

Medals also recalled military action and battles. Only a few glittering traces of the original silver gilding survive on a bronze medal [NMS H.1949.1095] that commemorates the Battle of Sheriffmuir. The obverse of the medal shows the bust of a stoic George I in classical regalia: armour, draped cape, and long curled wig crowned with laurels. The reverse shows the Jacobite cavalry being routed by a sword-wielding Victory, across a battlefield strewn with dropped weapons, and the bodies of men and horses. A figure lies trampled face-down

onto the battlefield, whilst the panicked expressions of the fleeing Jacobite cavalymen are picked out in detail.



Figure 7 Reverse of a medal commemorating the Battle of Sheriffmuir. NMS H.1949.1095. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The medal was manufactured in London by John Croker (Woolf 1988: 73; Hawkins 1885: 434-5) and offers a less-than-polite view of the chaos of the battlefield. The ambiguous outcome of Sheriffmuir meant that it was considered a victory by both sides, but in this example the government of George I elevates its victory to one of mythical proportions, with Nike herself leading the rout of the Jacobites.

Household textiles

Domestic linens, textiles, and clothing were important and monetarily valuable components to any 17th- and 18th-century home. These highly personalised objects could also become a medium for political expression. As previously

discussed in Chapter 2, the home provided a locus for the display of politicised artefacts in varying degrees of public accessibility. A set of crewelwork hangings in the NMS [A.1988.263 A-E] celebrates the marriage of James Francis Edward Stuart to the Polish princess Clementina Sobieski in 1719. Embroidered within a prominently placed Jacobite symbol for James, a sunflower, are the monograms of the royal couple, 'IRCR', and the date of the wedding. Other whimsical woodland figures appear at the bottom border of the panels placed in amongst foliage. These include a small squirrel, a dog chasing a stag, and a pan figure playing the bagpipes. The monogram appears prominently on the middle panel and is a rather overt advertisement of the original owner's political affiliations, though the hangings could have been discreetly displayed in a private part of the household. It is an excellent example of political expression in an everyday setting: what Cheape (1995: 36) terms 'a passive reflection of the events of the time'. This embroidery could have served to remind the owners of their exiled liege, while the anodyne, cheerful floral and faunal patterns simply could have become an unremarkable background to the activities of everyday life, reinforcing the often ambiguous roles of domestic material culture.

Similarly, a window seat with an embroidered cushion [WHM 1628] currently on display at the West Highland Museum in Fort William celebrates Charles Edward Stuart's stay with the Camerons of Fassifern in 1745. The cushion is decorated with a Jacobite rose and the feathers of the Prince of Wales, along with embroidered text marking the occasion of the prince's visit. Like the crewelwork draperies, this embroidered cushion serves as a semi-private devotion to a political cause. The small seat would have most likely been placed in a part of the house with limited public access where only close associates - that is, those with similar political sympathies - would be admitted entry. In this instance, an otherwise unremarkable piece of furnishing was modified. The plain silk brocade cushion was converted to an impromptu expression of Jacobite support.

Samplers were another domestic textile that provided a medium for political expression. These exhibitions of sewing skill by adolescent girls often incorporated alphabets, biblical verses, floral and faunal motifs, as well as tributes to the reigning monarch. The creator of a sampler [Sotheby's W02852, Lot 139, 2002] stitched at the time of the coronation of William and Mary in 1689

included the intertwined monograms of the new monarchs, surrounded by wreaths and the figure of a king. A sampler sewn in 1736 by Agnes Morrow (Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry 1911: 632) curiously paid homage to both Jacobite and Hanoverian monarchs, with a crowned IR8 and crowned GR stitched side-by-side along with her alphabet.



Figure 8 Agnes Morrow's 1736 sampler with IR8 and GR visible on either side of U/V. Image: *Palace of History*, between pp. 632-3.

Yet another sampler on display at the visitor centre at Culloden remarks upon current events. The date provided on the sampler is April 1746 and the battle was clearly fresh in the mind of the young seamstress. Amongst the stitched floral motifs, birds, and biblical Adam-and-Eve scene, in the lower left hand corner there is the depiction of a rosy-cheeked, red-coated soldier skewering a tartaned Highlander with his sword. Finally, a 1765 sampler sewn by Alison Robertson depicts another crowned IR (*ibid.*: 633). This is quite late in the period of study when Jacobitism was, for all intents and purposes, a lost cause. In a few years James Francis Edward Stuart would be dead. For the young lady

executing the stitching, however, the aging would-be Jacobite king was worthy of recognition.

The politicisation of household textiles such as these adds an underexplored aspect of the material culture of conflict. The embroidered mottoes and political symbols presented here are a particularly feminine form of expression. Women decorated their surroundings with needlework and added personal touches. Women, including quite young women, were clearly engaged with the political issues of their times, incorporating these into their domestic handiwork. As evidenced by the various artefacts discussed above, women weighed in on each side of the political divide, and in fact could seemingly embrace two diametrically opposed positions. Women's needlework, an attestation of aesthetic taste, technical skill, and virtuous domesticity, was also a popular way to express opinions about divisive current events.

Personal dress

Clothing offered another form of personal expression for individuals of 17th- and 18th-century society. Examples of politicised clothing from the Jacobite era survive today, ranging in form from buttons to aprons to garters. Jewellery was another popular format for the expression of political opinions, but as it covers a wide range of artefacts, it is treated in more detail in other sections (later in this chapter, as well as Chapters 4 & 5). Like the household textiles discussed above, items of personal dress offered a spectrum of obviousness for voicing a political opinion. A good example of this is a silver button [WHM 737] with the image of the Duke of Cumberland on it. Similarly, delicate silver buttons [ABDUA:17618] decorated with Jacobite roses offered a subtle expression of political sentiment. Even when worn publicly, it would require close attention to detail by an observer to note the decorative motif, and further insight to connect the simple flower with the Jacobite cause.



Figure 9 Silver buttons decorated with Jacobite rose. ABDUA:17618. ©University of Aberdeen. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The Jacobite apron once mistaken for the christening gown of Charles Edward Stuart, previously discussed in Chapter 2, offers a counterpoint to the buttons, being overtly political and likely worn in the exiled Stuart court. The Scottish royal coat of arms, embellished ciphers of James VIII, and political verses picked out in lace were unambiguous statements of Stuart support. The apron, worn outside of the clothing, would have been prominently displayed by a court lady. These artefacts, buttons and apron, exemplify the range of nuance of politicised objects. The rest of this discussion will continue to explore this concept by focusing on political garters and pincushions.

Garters

During the period of study, garters were a popular way to express political allegiance and offer a tantalising puzzle to researchers. Who was the intended audience to such accessories and were they clandestine expressions meant only for the wearer, or were they in fact meant for an audience of the closest acquaintances? While garter ribbons tied at the knee would have been visible sartorial flourishes in earlier times, by the 18th century longer breeches meant that they would have been hidden beneath cuffs. Darby (1966) firmly argues that, because of this, garters were semi-private items; they would have been seen by none but the most intimate of friends. There is disagreement between scholars on whether garters were worn above or below the knee, with contemporary portraits showing both (*ibid.*), through a practical assessment

suggests that garters tied below the knee would be most effective. In these debates, however, Highland dress is not taken into account. Garters would have been clearly visible below the hems of plaids. Despite disagreements on how garters were worn and how visible they might have been, it is safe to say that they were not overtly public political expressions. In most cases they would have been obscured by clothing and if not, wrapping a garter ribbon around several times to secure it would obfuscate any designs or printed mottoes.

Not all garters, of course, were politically dangerous. Political garters of the 18th century drew upon a long history of textual decoration of garters, from the religious mottoes of the 12th century, to the sentimental mottoes introduced from the 13th century onward (*ibid.*). By the end of the 17th century and beginning of 18th century, garters became a medium for political sentiment. Wearing a political garter was a self-conscious act and, judging from the survival of various examples in museums throughout Britain, was a common practice. It was not a secretive act performed by those with the knowledge of a special sartorial code, but one that was widely known and garnered satirical comment in the contemporary press. Numerous examples of Tory garters survive in institutions such as the Victoria & Albert and the British Museums, though corresponding Whig garters are much rarer. Alongside Tory garters, there are many examples of garters that specifically voice Jacobite sympathies. A garter ribbon in the Montrose Museum collection is a good example of an artefact of politicised personal dress. The cream-coloured silk ribbon depicts a Highland soldier wearing trews, coat, and bonnet, wielding a sword and targe, and is decorated with blue and green checked designs meant to invoke the look of tartan.

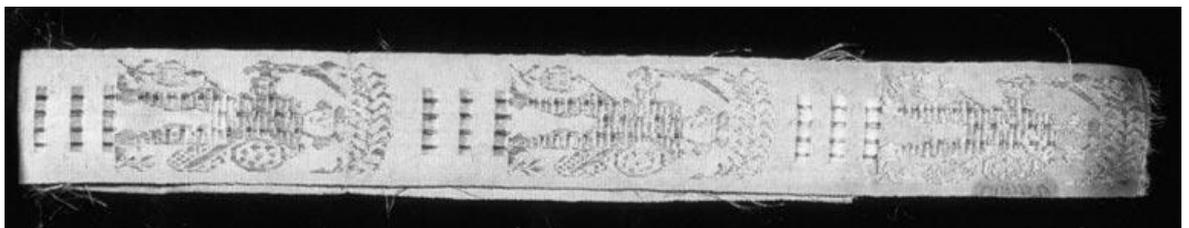


Figure 10 Garter ribbon with Highland soldier. Angus Council M.1977.539. ©Angus Council. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

It is, therefore, “daubed with plaid and crammed with treason,” as one 1748 correspondent to *The Gentleman’s Magazine* characterised it (qtd. in Darby 1966). The jaunty figure and delicate silk stitching make the ribbon a charming artefact that neatly exemplifies how images of warfare can be made polite.

A less decorative but equally overtly Jacobite garter on display at Culloden typifies the style of 18th century political-slogan garters. The garter, actually an uncut length of woven silk, meant to be split into a pair of garter-length ribbons, has a rhyming motto. Upon the bold, multicoloured stripes is the motto ‘COME LET US WITH ONE HEART UNITE TO BLESS THE PRINCE FOR WHOM WE’LL FIGHT’, picked out in white stitching. A similar example can be found in the Inverness Museum [INVMG.2005.026].

Pincushions

Similar ribbons with political slogans also appear on pincushions. Like garters, these objects would be semi-private. A pincushion could be worn suspended from a belt, kept close in the folds of a skirt, obscured in a pocket, or stashed somewhere else close to hand, but could be brought out when desired in politically sympathetic company. An example of just such a pincushion came up to auction at Bonham’s in 2008 [Sale 16307, Lot 546]. The motto states, ‘GOD PRESERVE P.C. AND’ forms the band for suspension, and ‘DOWN WITH / THE RUMP’ appear on either side of the cushion itself. The slogan is picked out in white on a multi-coloured field of yellow, blue and green. ‘The rump’ refers to the Rump Parliament of 1648, when members supporting the proposed Treaty of Newport, which would have reinstated the king with limitations on his power, were arrested or otherwise prevented from entering the House of Commons. Once again, the 18th-century Stuart political cause drew upon a historical event for its propaganda.

A similar example bearing the same motto was recorded by Longman and Loch (1911) in their study of pins and pincushions.

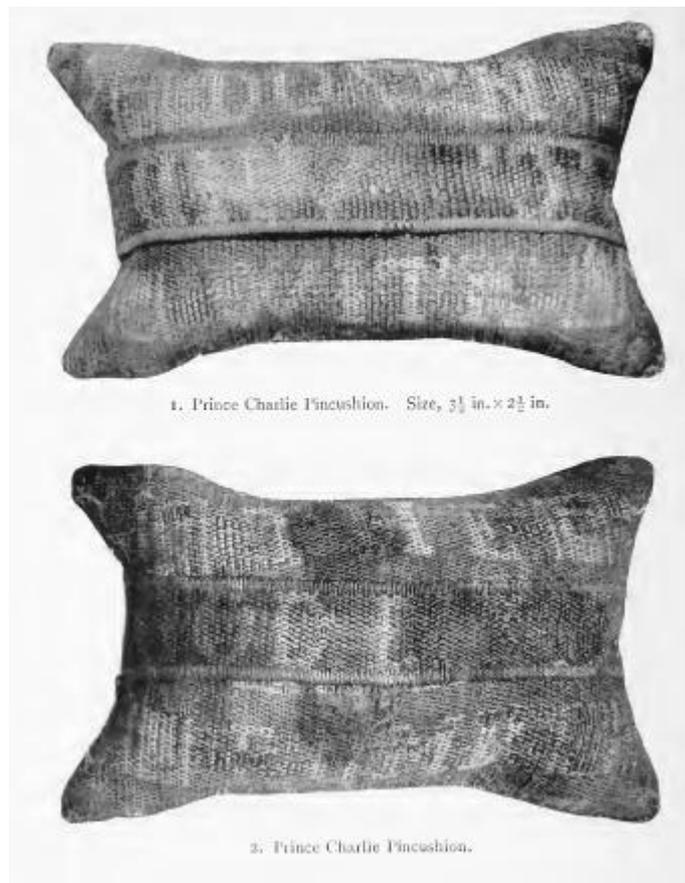


Figure 11 Two views of a pincushion with garter ribbons in Longman and Loch 1911, between pp. 168-9.

Longman and Loch argue that the woven slogans were most likely produced in France, then imported to Britain, though they could also have been produced in Northern England. H. Ware in his 1832 *History of the Foundations of Manchester* records that the local Whig authorities mulled over the possibility of, "... a select committee be[ing] appointed" to deal with the sartorial threat of Jacobitism (qtd. in *ibid.*). These men would be those "... who have given undeniable proofs of an honest zeal by their regular attendance at bonfires, prosecution of 'Down with the Rumpers', &c." (*ibid.*)

Furthermore, he states:

The manufacture committee shall from time to time visit our warehouses, inspect the goods, and severely punish such persons as shall be found to have any which emblematically favour Popery or the Pretender, such as your laided -chequered gowns, &c., which virtually imply the wearers' approbation of the Scotch Rebellion and the Church of Rome, of which the

chris-cross [sic] work is a known type or figure. As for your pincushion makers, I think they should be rigorously chastised, and their works publicly burned, let the pretty misses cry as loud as they will. It is a monstrous shame that such an ancient necessary appendage to the ladies' toilet should be thus Jacobitised and transformed from its primitive use into a variegated tool of faction and sedition. (qtd. in Longman and Loch 1911)

Whilst this contemporary commentary sounds like a satirical reaction to Jacobite garters and pincushions, rather than a genuine proposal for regulation, it nevertheless demonstrates that these items were hitting a nerve amongst those in political power in the North of Britain. The documentary sources cited by Ware might be over-emphasising the threat, but they indicate that this bit of sartorial sedition was noticed by contemporaries, who struggled to formulate an appropriate response. Given the unease with which the commentators discuss the appearance of Jacobite garters and pincushions in public, Longman's and Loch's argument that these artefacts could not have been produced in Britain without drawing official attention and punishment seems all the more convincing. Furthermore, the contemporary commentary, even if it is exaggerated, reinforces yet again the problematic involvement of women's participation in politics. The fact that the "ancient necessary appendage to the ladies' toilet" was co-opted by Jacobite radicals - and the blame is very much laid upon the pincushion-makers themselves - is perhaps the biggest affront. Here, an artefact of female domestic life has been corrupted by a political agenda and in turn has a corrupting effect upon society.

Convivial habits

When studying material culture, it is important not to divorce the artefacts from their social contexts. Studies that rely solely on minute explications of iconography or visual analysis fail to engage with how the artefact would have operated within human social and psychological processes. For example, tobacco smoking and snuff taking, along with drinking alcohol, coffee, and tea, were convivial activities meant to be shared with others. Each of these substances encouraged sociability, both outside and inside of the home, and

became important elements of late-17th and 18th-century society. For Whig, Tory, and Jacobite alike, news, politics, and business negotiations would be shared, discussed, and debated with the aid of a pinch of snuff, a dram, or a hot drink.

Drinking

Eighteenth-century political glassware, especially Jacobite glassware, has been well-studied (Hartshorne 1897; Risley 1920a&b; Read 1923; Francis 1926, 1936; Fleming 1938; Nicholson 1995; Seddon 1995, 1999). Rather than focus upon glassware typologies, or reiterate the specifics of their design and manufacture, this discussion focuses on the role of glasses and other drinking paraphernalia in creating the social settings in which political agendas were planned and executed. Furthermore, as already discussed in Chapter 2, artefacts like these that were inextricably linked to socialising could in fact impact upon behaviour, mutually reinforcing actions of loyalty and rebellion.

Wine

The wineglasses, toasting glasses, toddy ladles, and quaichs that appear throughout this study are the very embodiment of conviviality. The slender forms of ratafia glasses, for example, held the brandy infusion that would celebrate the conclusion of a business deal and were designed in such a way that they could easily be touched together during a toast (Nicholson 1995: 46). Firing glasses, with thick, strong feet were meant to be banged onto the tabletop after a toast, whilst other glasses were ritually smashed after a toast was drunk [ABDUA:18110; NMS H.Men 3]. Quaichs, the particularly Highland drinking vessel, had multiple lugs, or handles, so that they could be passed around a party of drinkers. It is not surprising that such artefacts were politicised during the Jacobite period.

Eighteenth-century glassware came in a variety of forms, from the ratafia and firing glasses already mentioned, to over-sized toasting glasses, cordial glasses, sweetmeat dishes, goblets, and tumblers. Today Jacobite wineglasses are the most visible of the politicised drink culture. They made use of a well-established code of iconography and were engraved with symbols like the

Jacobite rose with two buds to symbolise James Francis Edward Stuart and his two sons, often accompanied by additional symbols like thistles. This motif appears more than any other, sometimes in conjunction with a Latin motto, as mentioned in Chapter 2.



Figure 12 A variety of Jacobite glasses featuring the rose motif. Some of these date to 1745, some to the 1750s. All are from the Drambuie Collection. ©Bridgeman Art Library / The Drambuie Collection. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Another popular, and arguably more overt, symbol of Jacobite support found on glassware was the portrait of Charles Edward Stuart. The Jacobite prince's face graced a wide variety of glassware, often in conjunction with other iconographic tropes.

As already briefly mentioned, many Jacobite glasses are thought to date from the 1750s onward. Nostalgic drinking clubs produced Jacobite glassware throughout the end of the 18th century, outwith the period of study. These glasses became highly collectible in the first part of the 20th century, resulting in many forgeries. Despite this, some examples have been dated closer to 1745, including a variety of those with the Jacobite rose motif and portraits of Charles Edward Stuart, suggesting that such artefacts were in use during a period of open rebellion. One notable example, the Spottiswoode Amen glass (discussed

further in Chapter 6), is one of a rare series of glassware that feature the cipher of James VIII and the words of the Jacobite anthem.



Figure 13 The Spottiswoode Amen glass in the Drambuie Collection. ©Bridgeman Art Library / The Drambuie Collection. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Such artefacts occur late in the period of study for several reasons, most importantly due to the development of glass-making and glass-decorating technologies, which made the production of such vessels easier. It is also likely that the proliferation of Jacobite glasses in the second half of the 18th century was linked to the decline of Jacobitism as a viable political cause. ‘Sentimental Jacobitism thrived on conviviality,’ states Nicholson (1995: 13), ‘and many of the serious Jacobite groups of the 1720s and 30s had become little more than drinking clubs by the 1750s’. Once Jacobitism was relegated to an excuse for toasting in a drinking club, any serious threat of seditious behaviour being derived from these artefacts was removed.

Though numerous Jacobite examples threaten to overshadow their counterparts, many Williamite and Hanoverian examples of political glassware are also readily available in collections and at auction today, suggesting that they were highly popular in their own time. These feature engraved designs such as the White Horse of Hanover, portraits of the Duke of Cumberland, or nostalgically recall the ‘Glorious Memory’ of William’s military conquests.



Left: Figure 14 A mid-18th-century Williamite glass [NMA A.1950.9] portraying William III on horseback. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk. **Right: Figure 15** A similar glass [ABDUA:18110] that has been broken, probably purposefully, with the break just visible on the left side of the image. ©University of Aberdeen. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Other glasses do not rely upon etching or engraving for their decoration, but incorporate other novel decorative tactics, such as the inclusion of coins. A good example of this is a large blown-glass toasting glass dating around 1725 in the collections of Glasgow Museums [15.308]. A George I silver penny is contained within the hollow knop of the glass’s stem. The surface of the glass is undecorated but the artistry of the form and inclusion of the coin attest to the skill of the original craftsman. The coin, that small silver reminder of the

monarch, would have rattled inside the stem whenever the oversize glass was passed around as king and country were toasted, serving as a visual and aural reminder of to whom the drinkers' loyalties were owed.

Punch

Other types of drinking paraphernalia offered additional ways to express one's politics. Punchbowls were important centrepieces to convivial occasions, forming a focal point for alcoholic merriment and were usually highly decorative vessels made from ceramics, silver, or sometimes glass. Punchbowls could celebrate a guild or corporate identity, as well as portray armorial and heraldic devices. Like the glassware already discussed, some were expressly political. A fine example is a punchbowl in the ceramics collection of Temple Newsam in Leeds. The blue and white earthenware bowl features the portrait of James Francis Edward Stuart, along with floral sprigs and geometric patterns. The nature of the portrait is very similar to those seen on late-17th- and early-18th-century royal portrait plates (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). The bowl is dated 1732, in the middle of the period of study, and is a rare example. Punchbowls from 1745 and after are more easily located. One undated (but post-1746) example on display at the West Highland Museum [WHM 703] features a portrait of the Duke of Cumberland on both the inside bottom and outside wall of the vessel, along with a battle scene depicting the action at Culloden. A similar example resides in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland [A.1983.1069]. These artefacts celebrated the Jacobite defeat at Culloden and specifically honoured the Duke of Cumberland for his role in quelling rebellion. Both of these punchbowls are Chinese imports, and like the Black Watch plates discussed previously in this chapter, were most likely examples of a wider-spread popular design. Expensive and luxurious, these artefacts literally glossed over the Battle of Culloden, and instead became focal points for convivial enjoyment to be used in pleasurable - and presumably sometimes raucous - company.



Figure 16 Imported porcelain punchbowl with the portrait of the Duke of Cumberland and a scene from the Battle of Culloden. NMS A.1983.1069. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Punch drinking also required ladles with which to serve the drink. Many toddy ladles were plain pieces made from solid wood or silver, while others could be composites of metal bowls with handles of wood, ivory, or bone. Silver coins were an easily accessible way to decorate the bowl of a toddy ladle and several examples of these highlight the popularity of the practice. Coins were used as a ready-made decorative flourish offering a pictorial representation of the reigning monarch and appear in relation to artefacts like the toasting glass discussed above, as well as snuff boxes (discussed further below and in Chapter 4). This form of decoration seems to have been popular throughout the reigns of Anne, George I, and George II. A toddy ladle with a coin of Anne pressed into the bowl was displayed at the 1911 *Palace of History* exhibit in Glasgow (Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry: 685). Similarly a silver toddy ladle [2.ab.1918], held by Glasgow Museums, has a George II silver shilling with the date of 1745 moulded into the bottom of the bowl.

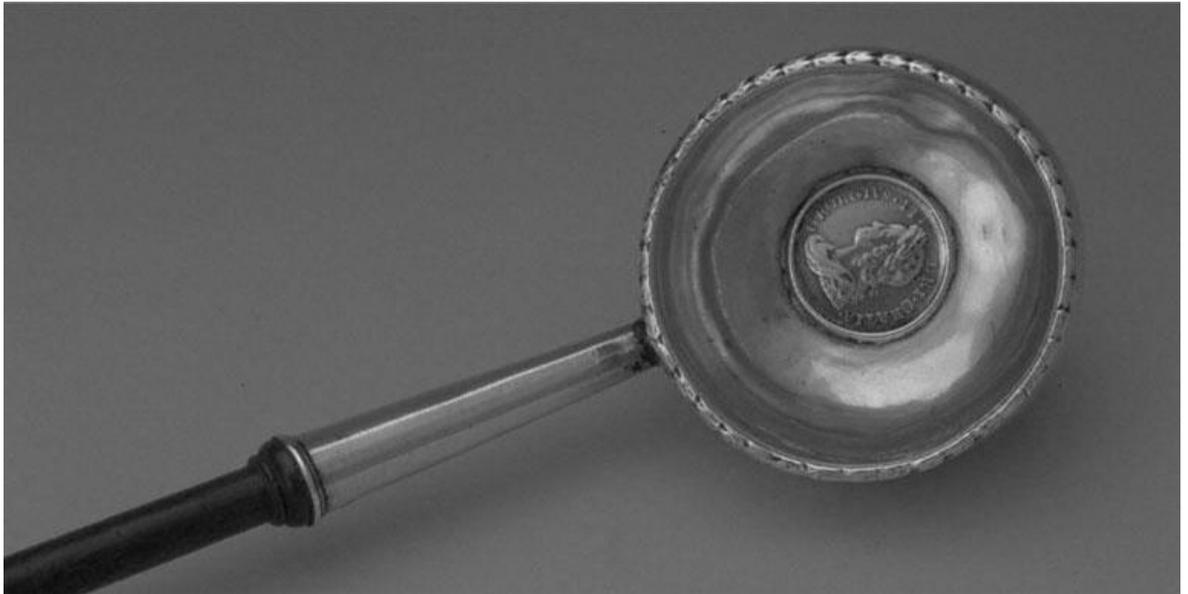


Figure 17 A toddy ladle containing a coin of George II in the collections of the University of Aberdeen [ABDUA:19291], similar to the Glasgow Museums example. ©University of Aberdeen. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

In this instance, however, both the obverse and reverse are visible. Not all coins used as decorations would have offered views of both the obverse and the reverse; it was more common for the reverse to be obscured by fitting it onto the surface of an artefact. In the Glasgow Museums ladle, the king's portrait is visible when looking into the bowl, as one would do to serve punch, however, turning the object over, as if to pour the punch, reveals the reverse of the coin on the underside of the bowl.

Whisky

Quaichs were a Scottish, originally Highland, drinking vessel. Like punchbowls, these were celebratory in nature. They were used to share a dram with friends whilst entertaining, and the gifting of a quaich could be used to mark special occasions. While some quaichs were turned from a single piece of wood or cast in pewter or silver, others were elaborately assembled from staves of expensive exotic woods or ivory and decorated with silver mounts. Lugs or a boss on the inside floor of the vessel were often engraved with mottoes, important dates, or a couple's initials upon their marriage, for example. Quaichs also exhibited political sympathies. One late-17th-century example [NMS H.SJA 22] features a crowned JR7 on the central silver boss.



Figure 18 Quaich inscribed with JR7 [NMS H.SJA 22] (left), shown alongside one set with a Charles II coin (right). ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Another quaich, silver-mounted and made of alternating staves of laburnum and ebony, came to auction at Bonham's [Sale 19872, Lot 66] in 2012. The central boss displays a sceptre and sword crossed between the kingly initials of James Francis Edward Stuart, IR8.

Lacking are any examples of quaichs referencing William and Mary, Anne, George I, or George II. A late-19th-century silver quaich [NMS H.MEQ 1337] incorporates a silver coin of Anne, however it is unclear whether this was re-making an earlier 18th-century vessel, reasserting Anne as either a Stuart monarch or the successor to the Williamite legacy, or whether the coin of Anne was simply selected as an antique curiosity. There is also an example of a quaich [NMS H.MEQ 1298] set with a guinea of George III from the end of that monarch's reign, which would suggest that this was following an established tradition of Hanoverian monarchs being celebrated on quaichs. Similar examples for the other monarchs most likely are extant in collections in Britain but were not located in the course of this research. Alternatively it could suggest that, as a predominantly Scottish and Highland form of material culture, quaichs were more likely to be a medium of Jacobite expression, whilst other types of artefacts, like wineglasses, were more broadly distributed throughout all of Great Britain and thus reflected a more balanced political spectrum.

Smoking and taking snuff

Snuff-taking was another polite pursuit for those wealthy enough to afford it. Like alcohol, it added a pleasurable shared focus to social interactions and lubricated the wheels of political machinery. ‘To offer snuff,’ states Marsh (1988: 25), ‘was... a gesture of friendship, bringing opposing parties together over the shared box....’ By the second half of the 18th century, snuff was indispensable to European diplomatic relations, buying a diplomat precious time to pause and think during heated negotiations, and a snuff box served as an easy, generic gift to dignitaries and court favourites (*ibid.*). James Murray of Stormont, Earl of Dunbar, who served as temporary Secretary of State to James Francis Edward Stuart, nicely illustrates the ways in which snuff could be used to get out of an uncomfortable few moments. In a letter to his sister, who attended the Jacobite queen Clementina Sobieski, Murray tries to delicately respond to a piece of gossip meant to raise suspicions about the loyalties of the previous Jacobite Secretary of State, the Earl of Mar, stating, ‘The gentleman to whom this piece of news was directed, asked me what I thought of all that, to which I answered not a syllable [sic], but turned the discourse by asking him for a pinch of snuff, which I thought was all that was reasonable for me to do upon that occasion’ (Tayler and Tayler 1939: 73).

The prevalence and availability of tobacco in Britain, as well as the rest of Europe, increased throughout the 17th century as trading networks with the Americas were strengthened and exploited. Tobacco was an expensive commodity, but again like tea, became increasingly accessible as the 18th century progressed. For the date limits of this study, it is safe to assume that tobacco was available to those of middling income and above, and was well-represented in popular culture. Like the specialised ceramics that developed in tandem with the spread of tea- and coffee-drinking, and the paraphernalia requisite for toasting with wines, punches, and liquors, an associated body of material culture grew around tobacco use. Similar to tea, the dried leaves of the tobacco plant needed to be stored securely, kept air-tight and dry. This necessitated various storage containers, from large cylindrical carottes in tobacco merchants’ shops, to table mulls and smaller boxes to keep one’s personal cache fresh and dry. The material construction of carottes, mulls, and

snuff boxes could be anywhere on the spectrum from the simple to the very elaborate. Earthenware, papier-mâché, wood, porcelain, silver, and gold were all used, which could be left unadorned or else decorated with paints, enamels, and precious metals or jewels.

Other pieces of the smoker's kit included lead tampers to keep the leaf consolidated and airtight in the container, and rasps for grinding one's own leaf if it was not purchased already-ground and blended from the tobacconist. Spoons could also accompany a snuff mull or snuff box. These were particularly popular with ladies who did not want to stain their nails (Marsh 1988), and with table-sized mulls where the snuff was shared between many individuals. Additionally, one would need a fair few serviceable handkerchiefs (that were not too fine to stain) for all of the subsequent sneezing. If snuff-taking was not the preferred way to imbibe tobacco, smoking the leaf necessitated another set of materials. Cheap, disposable clay pipes are ubiquitous in 17th- and 18th-century archaeological assemblages, but smokers could also have employed reusable, sometimes highly elaborate and decorative, pipe bowls with detachable stems.

All of the items mentioned above were both functional pieces of equipment to protect and enjoy the expensive leaf, as well as a fine opportunity to show off one's personal tastes - in this case, personal politics. Clay pipes, perhaps the most widespread and readily-accessible artefact of tobacco culture, could sometimes be a medium for expressing corporate or political identity. One example on display in the West Highland Museum [WHM 2380] features the crest of the Royal Inskilling Fusiliers, a regiment distinguished in the actions of 1715. Another pipe, in the Museum of London [NOR90 1949], is stamped with the royal imagery of the White Horse of Hanover beneath a crowned rose and thistle.



Figure 19 Bowl of clay pipe with Hanoverian royal symbols. NOR90 1949. © Museum of London.

No Jacobite examples have been uncovered during the course of this study, though it will be a focus of future research. The most likely explanation for this is that by the latter part of the period of study, clay pipes were mass manufactured and Jacobite symbols would hardly have been appropriate decorations. Still, it is highly likely that ardent Jacobites might have modified pipes, scratching sentiments or mottoes onto the surface, as seen on many other types of material culture from the period: FIAT, IR8, a Jacobite rose, or the crowned thistle of an independent Scottish kingdom. The frangible, disposable nature of these artefacts means that such nuances in design would have easily been lost and unfortunately no examples of such modification have been discovered as yet.

There are, however, many examples of snuff boxes and mulls exhibiting a clear political slant. A fine snuff box would be proudly displayed, emphasising the wealth of the individual able to afford the expensive habit, as well as pride in a well-crafted container in which to keep it. A silver snuff box in the collection of

Glasgow Museums [A.1950.143.bn] has a lid decorated with a silver halfpenny of George II. As previously discussed, a coin offered a ready-made portrait of the monarch, which could be incorporated as a decorative embellishment into a variety of artefact types. The inclusion of George II's face on the lid of the snuff box would have been a conscious celebration of the Hanoverian monarchy and perhaps links the prosperity of certain segments of British society, spurred by trades such as tobacco, to the ruling Whig establishment. The prominent placement of George II's face on the lid of the snuff box - the coin takes up most of the useable space on the top of the small box - would have forced the owner to interact regularly with the image.



Figure 20 Silver snuff box set with silver coin of George II. A.1950.143.bn. Image reproduced courtesy of Glasgow Museums.

Similarly, a snuff box in the West Highland Museum [WHM 1456] is decorated with a bronze medal commemorating the British Army's victory at Culloden. The rim of the hinged box lid is moulded around the medal, which fills the entirety of the top surface, prominently showing a mounted Duke of Cumberland with sword outstretched and the date of his famous victory. Like the imported porcelain punchbowls celebrating Jacobite defeat at Culloden at the hands of

Cumberland, the realities of combat are removed from the battlefield and cast as heroic and celebratory when combined with a pleasurable or even jovial domestic activity.

While the snuff boxes discussed above feature the prominent portraits of royalty, some Jacobite variations resort to coded references or hidden images. A good example of this is a wooden snuff mull with silver fittings held at the University of Aberdeen [ABDUA:18168]. A silver inset in the lid is inscribed, 'Rob Gib's Contract', a Jacobite code, around two interlinked hearts. 'Rob Gib's contract' refers to the apocryphal story of the Master of Horse of James V, the eponymous Rob Gib, who reputedly answered that he served his master for nothing but love and loyalty when asked about the contract under which he served. This sentimental, if fictitious, tale of unselfish loyalty to a Stuart monarch resonated with Jacobites, who employed it as a coded way to express their unwavering allegiance.



Left: Figure 21 Snuff mull engraved 'Rob Gib's Contract'. ABDUA:18168. Right: Figure 22 detail of engraving. Images courtesy of the University of Aberdeen.

Other Jacobite snuff boxes reproduce the portrait of Charles Edward Stuart [Inverness 1903; Lyon & Turnbull Sale 198, Lot 263 in 2008; Sale 230, Lot 139 in 2008] concealed on the underside of lids or beneath secondary false lids. A good example of portraiture beneath a false lid is a small copper-alloy dice box in the Inverness Museum's Duleep Singh Collection [INVMG.1945.009]. Gaming was a

convivial pursuit that would have taken place alongside smoking, snuff taking, and drinking. The dice box has an inner lid with a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart, hidden beneath an outer lid. The portrait is more caricature than real-life representation, but this makes it all the more colourful and charming, depicting the would-be Prince in half-length wearing a sober suit with a bright tartan plaid swathed about his shoulders. He wears the Order of the Thistle alongside a garter star, and sports a blue bonnet with white cockade.

Some boxes used symbolic iconography. A silver box from the last years of the 17th century hopefully suggests the restoration of the Stuart line with visual references to Charles I and II, as well as a hidden scene inside showing dogs worrying the bones of their owner's enemy (NTS 1996: 78; Lyon & Turnbull Sale 85, Lot 231 in 2004). On a tortoiseshell and gold snuff box, a tiny Jacobite rose is hidden discreetly within a scrollwork monogram (Lyon & Turnbull Sale 315, Lot 410 in 2011) on the lid. Still others prominently display their Jacobite allegiance, like an enamel snuff box (Bonham's Sale 19520, Lot 24 in 2011) emblazoned with the portrait of Charles Edward Stuart on the outside of the lid, though this particular example likely dates to the latest part of the period of study when such sentiments were arguably safer to espouse openly.

These are but a few highlights from the numerous examples of politicised paraphernalia of snuff taking to be found in public and private collections throughout Britain. These artefacts were a popular mode of political expression and their composition of fine materials means that many of them have survived over time as heirloom collectibles. Much like the material culture of convivial drinking discussed previously, these artefacts were associated with positive social interactions. As presumably the owner quite liked the habit of snuff taking, and often engaged in the act with company, it is easy to imagine a fond thought or comment to one's preferred monarch or cause each time the lid was lifted to take a pinch.

Discussion

The artefacts discussed throughout this chapter were 'polite' forms of expressing divisive political opinions. Late-17th and 18th-century individuals

beautified their homes with decorative household goods and enhanced their appearances with dress accessories. The inclusion of political symbols and sentiments on these aesthetically pleasing artefacts made them attractive vehicles for political expression. Furthermore, there was a convivial social culture that flourished in the period of study. Political and civic issues, along with other current affairs would have been debated and discussed in semi-private groups of likeminded individuals at homes and clubs while enjoying refreshment in the form of alcoholic punches, liquors, and wines. In the heated era of Whig, Tory, and Jacobite political manoeuvring in Scotland, it is easy to see how informed citizens, would-be rebels, and government officials alike would have consciously or subconsciously cultivated their political identities alongside convivial activities, their discussions made the more loquacious by toasts whilst surrounded by a haze of smoke that was punctuated by snuff-induced sneezing. These artefacts were the backdrop to political machinations, the waging of war, and the negotiation of peace - the ambient environment of both rule and rebellion. Once again the warring political factions of the Jacobite era expressed their political loyalties in much the same ways, offering a view of how contemporaries enacted loyalty and rebellion in ways other than on a battlefield.

During the Jacobite period, contemporaries struggled to materially express their political identities as well as propagate, psychologically process, and remember conflict. The waging of conflict through domestic items led to a disconnect with the subject matter, whereby conflict was made more palatable and more polite by its association with a refined body of material culture. It is a practice that has had repercussions for the understanding of the Jacobite wars, as well as subsequent conflicts that still influence our perceptions of past conflict today. The following chapter builds upon this examination of the ways in which political agendas were furthered and war was waged - both politely and impolitely - through material culture, focussing specifically upon material representations of kingship and legitimacy as well as the material reinforcement of political authority.

4. Material representations of kingship, legitimacy, and political authority

To evidence Jacobite sympathies, whether through spoken language, text or visual display was not safe in the politically uncertain times of late-17th and 18th century Britain and thus speaks to the level of political commitment involved in the production and use of Jacobite artefacts. Assessing Hanoverian support within the world of material goods is perhaps more problematic and yet all the more fascinating. It can be argued that Hanoverian supporters would not have needed to express their politics through material objects in the same ways that Jacobites did; however, as has already been demonstrated, Williamites, Jacobites, and Hanoverians employed largely the same material tactics. Politically-minded individuals of the Jacobite period used the same material forms to express both dissidence and loyalty, ultimately speaking the same material language to assert political allegiance.

It can be argued that while Jacobite artefacts are, to some extent, items of resistance, Hanoverian objects are employed as assertions of power. The difference between resistance and upholding recognised authority, however, is hardly discernible in the material culture of the period. This chapter explores the symbols of late-17th- and 18th-century kingship, how Williamites, Jacobites, and Hanoverians symbolically represented the legitimacy of their respective royal lineages, how they employed images of monarchs and how they manipulated the material culture of rule, such as official court paraphernalia, as propaganda. Furthermore, it examines the importance of gift-giving and royal patronage as a way to mutually bind the political interests of monarchs and supporters, and examines the (predominantly Jacobite) employment of the then-outmoded concept of the divine right of kings as a political tactic. Each of the themes listed above had a material presence in late-17th and 18th-century society; these were not merely political-theoretical debates bandied about in texts and speeches, but translated into physical artefacts. At a time when the very nature of kingship, especially in regards to the limiting capacity of Parliament, was questioned, material expressions of political authority were extremely important.

Geertz (1966) defines religion as ‘a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating concepts of a general order of existence, and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic’ (qtd. in Renfrew 2004: 27). However, as Renfrew (*ibid.*) has highlighted, this is equally applicable to secular values, such as kingship. In the period of study, as now, material objects serve as important symbols of authority and legitimacy. Furthermore, material objects have the capacity to contain and transfer power. Take the example of a sheriff’s badge, which not only marks the wearer as a special authority, but is also integral in exercising that authority. The object itself bestows the sheriff with the power he or she wields, going beyond a physical mark of office. Likewise, the artefacts discussed in this chapter are not simply the necessary *props* of monarchy, but are indispensable material elements of authority - physical and ideological sources of power. These symbols became metaphors for the royal person and lineage; portraits and proxy images of monarchs, official items of state and regalia, and objects that reinforced royal patronage and royal divine right all made invaluable contributions to defining and maintaining the power structure of monarchy, especially during a politically turbulent time. Some of the objects discussed in this chapter continue to signify royal legacy and authority to this day - the most obvious being official items of state, such as the Crown Jewels - while others, removed from their contemporary context, have ceased to carry the same political meanings.

In the examination of artefacts as forms of political power and authority, it is useful to draw upon the work of DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle (1996) and their assessment of the importance of ideology as a part of social and political power. Wielding ideological power is an important political tool, exerting control by harnessing or manipulating belief systems. DeMarrais and her colleagues (*ibid.*) assert the very real, material manifestations of ideology - when symbols are translated into objects, or in the practice of rituals and the creation of ceremonies, for example. This materialisation of ideology is particularly pertinent to this study. Many of the artefacts examined in this chapter are ideological beliefs made material: belief in the right of Parliament to limit or even select a monarch, belief in the divine right of kings, belief in the necessity

of loyalty and fealty to one individual over another. It is this belief that a certain monarch has the right to rule in favour of another that is the central tension for the politics of the period.

DeMarrais et. al. (*ibid.*: 17) argue convincingly that by materialising ideologies, the result is 'a shared political culture over time'. By normalising and codifying beliefs into materially understandable and transmittable entities, this shared political culture can be a means of socio-political control, especially when it is acknowledged, consciously crafted, or manipulated. A shared political culture becomes plainly evident upon the examination of the material culture of monarchical authority of late-17th- and early-18th-century Britain. This political culture was not limited to members within the same political faction, but was spread more broadly across society as a whole as vying interest groups shared many commonalities, as well as a few interesting departures, in their material expression of legitimacy and authority.

Symbols of royal lineage

Complex sets of codes were used in both imagery and text by Williamites, Hanoverians, and Jacobites, sometimes more subtly than others. For Jacobites, quite subtle symbols could be employed to avoid overtly treasonous expression. Allusions, allegories, and plays-on-words devised by an author or artist were meant to be understood by an informed audience of individuals with the same political, philosophical or religious sympathies. The many specific clandestine Jacobite signs and symbols employed during the period of study have been discussed in great detail by historians and art historians (Lenman 2001; Nicholson 2003; Thorpe 2003), but it is interesting to examine these images in a wider context. First and foremost, Williamite and Jacobite symbols, perhaps more so than Hanoverian ones, were dynastic images of the royal lineages involved. As early as the 16th century, one hundred years prior to ascending to the throne of Britain, the House of Orange was visually represented by oranges, orange trees and orange blossoms and boughs (Nicholson 2003). Similarly, the Stuart cause after the deposition of Charles I was often represented by an oak tree, oak leaf or acorn, *en homage* to the Boscobel oak that hid Charles II after the defeat of Royalist troops at the 1651 Battle of Worcester. Both of these symbolic

representations stress the importance of a living royal line literally rooted in dynastic legacy. The vitality of the houses of Orange and Stuart were emphasised by floral and arboreal images of growth and fruitful propagation. When William of Orange and Mary Stuart were crowned joint monarchs of Britain, there was a conflation of imagery, with the royal couple using images of orange tree shoots and oak stumps, or orange branches and the English rose (Nicholson 2003).

While established symbols were employed as visual short-hand, it should be highlighted that images should be interpreted with caution. One of the pitfalls of traditional Jacobite scholarship is to see Jacobite symbology everywhere. Artefacts in museums and in auction catalogues are often tenuously attributed to Jacobite interest with the mere presence of an oak leaf, acorn, or rose, despite these being popular decorative motifs in their own rights. A mirror that came to auction at Sotheby's [Sale N08229, Lot 319] in 2006 abounds with carved acorns and oak leaves, which superficially suggest a celebration of old English monarchy and Stuart support. In fact, it actually follows a design produced by William's and Mary's favoured interior designer Daniel Marot, as seen in his published designs in *Nouveaux Livre d'Ornements pour Lutillite des Sculpteurs et Orfèvres*, which appeared in c1700. This artefact displays imagery that could easily have been interpreted as Jacobite visual symbols but has an irrefutable pro-Williamite context. Symbolism, therefore, is not always straightforward, and sometimes a design is simply an aesthetically pleasing decoration. There is a danger in ascribing political significance where it does not belong.

Royal symbols appeared across a broad range of artefacts and were seen on every material form and type encountered during the course of research. An exhaustive list of the many manifestations of royal symbols is not needed, as these were often used alongside other politicised decoration that will be explored in subsequent examples throughout this chapter and those that follow. Several examples will suffice to illustrate the practice, particularly those that draw attention to the importance of combining various royal symbols to make a political point. While an English rose, Scottish thistle, Dutch Orange tree or tulip, and Hanoverian horse could each be employed separately, using them in combination asserted something quite different. A crowned thistle by itself

often suggested an anti-Union (of crowns as well as parliaments) and probably pro-Jacobite stance. In combination with other symbols, however, the meaning of the crowned thistle changed. A late-17th century powder horn belonging to Campbell of Glenlyon [NMS H.LK 64], for example, incorporates several royal symbols to show where the owner's sympathies lay. Combining the iconography of the thistle, rose, and tulip, the powder horn clearly shows that its owner supported William's and Mary's claims to the thrones of Scotland and England, as well as their well-established roles as leaders of the Dutch state. By combining the floral symbols of the dual monarchs' different kingdoms, the decorations on the artefact accept and assert the links between Scotland, England, and the Netherlands, which were politically united by common figureheads. The powder horn could have been used for hunting or even to support the rule of William and Mary more directly: on the battlefield.



Figure 23 Powder horn showing thistle, rose, and tulip decorative motifs. NMS H.LK 64.
©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The House of Hanover was symbolised by a white horse, or derogatively by a turnip by anti-Hanoverian propagandists. The Georgian monarchs also employed the well-known and well-established symbols used by their Stuart and Williamite predecessors. In this way, they stressed continuity, rather than their Continental origins. When he ascended to the throne in 1714, George I was in a similar position to William at the start of his reign. As an imported foreign head of state, he had to reinforce his new position as British monarch, which was often accomplished by maintaining a well-established status quo, including employing traditional symbols of rule. This can be seen in various forms of

material culture, including a tin-glazed earthenware dish that came up to auction at Bonham's [Sale 16898, Lot 9] in 2009. The dish depicts a rose and thistle beneath a crown with the monarch's monogram, G.R. The crown surmounting the two floral symbols asserts George I's rule over both England and Scotland at a particularly sensitive period of transition from the reign of Anne, a Stuart by birth, to George I, a foreign prince. The dish is also part of a wider pro-Union campaign which occurred during the first quarter of the 18th century, exemplifying the continual need to positively reinforce the legislation of 1707, as well as assert George I's position in the line of succession.

These artefacts highlight the use of long-standing visual tropes of national identities and symbols associated with royal lineages to reinforce a legitimate line of succession. Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian monarchs each employed well-established visual symbols, like thistles and roses, to lay claim to the same political authority, reproducing these across a wide variety of material culture. Furthermore, these symbols, particularly the floral motifs of the Stuarts and the House of Orange, can be seen as metaphors for a living lineage. Competing political factions attempted to portray their monarch as the most viable and the most likely to ensure long-term succession, as well as stressed the validity of their pedigrees. These various symbols were combined or isolated to change the meanings of the visual images, and their use changed over time. As the Protestant line of the House of Orange became securely established in practice and in historical record, the use of orange and tulip motifs faded over time, eventually being replaced by the White Horse of Hanover, the employment of which likewise faded by the reign of George II.

The royal symbols discussed above were not the semi-clandestine visual hints of Jacobitism referenced in other parts of this thesis; these symbols were well known amongst contemporaries throughout all levels of society. The rose, thistle, orange, tulip, and horse were each highly visible, unambiguous assertions of a monarch's right to rule and served as the visual embodiment of the political ideologies that led to decades of intermittent conflict throughout the British Isles.

Asserting political legitimacy and authority

At first glance, it seems reasonable to argue that it would be Jacobites who would have had more of an impetus to express their politics through material culture. The Stuarts and their supporters needed to rely upon objects; as absentee kings, the Stuarts had to maintain physical reminders of themselves amongst their subjects. The royal presence could be achieved only by proxy, with decorative stand-ins acting as physical transubstantiations of the Jacobite monarch. While Jacobites were forced to voice political sentiments in alternative and sometimes covert ways, supporters of William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II would have had no particular need to express loyalty other than maintaining the status quo and performing the everyday actions of a good citizen.

Asserting political legitimacy through material culture, however, was important for each of the monarchs and would-be monarchs of the Jacobite era; it is not simply limited to the exiled Stuarts. At the start of the period, William and Mary had to assert their rights to rule in Britain as Protestant monarchs. Brought over from Orange at the behest of Parliament, asserting their legitimacy to rule was perhaps as important to them as it was to the ousted James VII / II. While both William and Mary were of Stuart descent, William's connection to succession was one step removed. Furthermore, he was the hereditary ruler of a powerful trade rival that had, in earlier decades of the 17th century, been the recipient of bitter animosity. In fact, contemporary resistance to the idea of the imported monarchs from Orange seems not to dwell overmuch on the connections of the monarchs, but mostly on the suspect legality of Parliament offering the crown to others while the previous monarch was still alive.

Thus, it was important to portray the co-monarchs side by side in political propaganda. Most political propaganda, print or otherwise, portrayed William of Orange as the Protestant saviour of Britain. Claydon (2007: 127) argues that late 17th-century propaganda was equally comprised of 'diversionary tactics.' It disguised the king's real-life short stature and often frail physical condition, as well as drew attention away from his moral lapses and vices by focusing instead on Mary's modesty and virtuousness. When paired with his wife, William was

virtuous by association. Since the two ruled jointly, it is not surprising to see them presented in tandem, be it side-by-side portraits or intertwined ciphers. However, these representations are more nuanced; each one strengthens the other. William the warrior balances out Mary the nurturing mother, whilst the queen smoothes over any rough, masculine vices of her king. In this instance, monarchical legitimacy is drawn from and enhanced by another person. William and Mary, in fact, lend legitimacy and authority to one another more successfully than could have been achieved solely by political machinations and material display, and the material record only reinforces this.

Propagandists had to change tack after Mary's death, however, when William was left to rule alone. The most prevalent image of William on artefacts from this later period, continuing even after his own death in 1702, was as conqueror. Commemorative and retrospective images of William appeared throughout the period of study and beyond; he still appears today, mostly in a Northern Irish context, on everything from wall murals to tea towels. The William-as-conqueror motif was prevalent in the second quarter of the 18th century. He appeared on a wide range of material culture, from ceramic tableware to innumerable engraved glasses. These were mostly equestrian portraits, portraying William as a mounted and armoured saviour of his Protestant subjects, defending them from the dangers of absolutism and Catholicism. In this later context, perhaps when memories of the 1745 conflict were still fresh as well as continual campaigns on the Continent and the colonies, William's authority was inextricably linked to his military prowess, his legitimacy constantly re-asserted by his capability on the battlefield. Looking at comparable objects from his own lifetime, there were far fewer of these types of militaristic images. Instead, from 1688 until 1702 the most visible decorative portraits show him as a be-robed king, a stately ruler rather than a conquering hero.

The political position of Anne, William's successor, was a special case: undeniably Stuart and yet Protestant, she met with less resistance because she was popular with Tories, and even staunch Jacobites could accept her right to rule. This did not mean that the queen did not use propaganda and pomp and circumstance to reinforce her position. Richards (1972) highlights the importance of printed propaganda in Anne's reign, marking the beginning of

party politics in Britain. As is reinforced throughout this thesis, printed and material propaganda often borrowed visual motifs from one another, even if they sometimes fulfilled different roles in society. There was no lack of material expression in support of Anne, despite her somewhat more secure political standing. Her image was appropriated by Jacobite supporters and detractors alike. Furthermore, Anne reigned at the time of the crucial political manoeuvrings that led to the Act of Union. As discussed in Chapter 3, there were many material responses to Union politics, many of which featured the image of Anne herself. But the queen did not rely solely on commemorative propaganda; she was the last reigning British monarch to participate in the by-then centuries-old healing ceremony (discussed more fully later in this chapter). Like the Jacobites in exile, she touched subjects to heal them of scrofula, a ceremonial ritual and associated material culture of monarchical divine right.

The Hanoverian succession led to yet another example of a foreign prince imported to the British throne and required a concentrated public relations campaign. Like William, George I and George II were presented as Protestant warrior kings, who had records of military service during Continental wars. George I was explicitly linked to William in printed propaganda, being referred to as “a Graft on our Fair Orange-Tree” (qtd. in Smith 2006: 25). The Hanoverian transplants did not have the same force of personality as their Williamite role model, however, and as Smith (*ibid.*: 20) remarks, ‘[A]bove all support for George I in 1714-15 and George II in 1745-46 was owing to what their monarchy represented, rather than to them as individuals’. As argued above, material culture plays an important role in ideological representation and the assertion of a political identity, but the first two Hanoverian monarchs were less savvy in the manipulation of material propaganda than either their predecessors or their rival Jacobite claimants to the throne. For example, George I and George II issued fewer medals than previous monarchs, and in fact actively disliked the reproduction of their images in portraiture and statuary (Smith 2006). Instead, these monarchs relied more heavily on documentary expressions, like royal proclamations, though they failed to take advantage of more popular printed sources like the rapidly growing newspapers (*ibid.*). Despite this, there are numerous examples of material propaganda featuring George I and George II, though perhaps their disinterest in such items partially

explains why the material record of the later part of the period of study so often skews towards Jacobite artefacts.

Each of the monarchs in the period of study, whether Williamite, Jacobite, or Hanoverian, necessarily relied upon physical objects to maintain their positions, though they did so with differing degrees of competency. One of the important roles played by material culture was as royal proxy. Separated from the vast majority of their subjects, kings and queens used material goods as a way to mediate their presence throughout their kingdoms and colonies. For common folk living throughout Britain, a king in London might as well be on the Continent. The likelihood of personally seeing a monarch, let alone interacting with them, was non-existent for most. Therefore, extending the royal presence through material representation would have been equally as important for the officially-recognised rulers of Britain as it would have been for the exiled Stuarts. Late-17th- and 18th-century monarchs consciously cultivated a culture of commemorative, portable material goods; they were well aware that their supporters needed material culture as a means to connect with their monarch. One of the ways to reinforce the royal presence was by the constant replication and dissemination of royal countenances across a wide range of material forms.

The face of royalty

The decoration of artefacts with royal portraiture was an unambiguous expression of political propaganda. Reigning monarchs as well as Stuart exiles appeared on everything from ceramics to prints, needlepoint samplers to jewellery, and various other media. Lineage was reinforced by invoking the faces of past and present (or would-be) monarchs side by side, whilst legitimacy was asserted by portraying individuals in royal dress and with stately deportment. The importance of a monarch's personal image was paramount throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and there has been thoughtful, detailed scholarship of the issues of self-representations by royal personalities of the Jacobite period (Sharp 1996, Lenman 2001, McShane Jones 2004, Chalus 2009, McShane 2009, Smith 2006). Royal imagery stressed the military authority of William III, the piety of Mary, the Britishness of Anne, and the Protestant dependability of the Hanovers. The Stuarts were characterised as the absent

parents without whom Britain was lost, and Charles Edward Stuart provided Jacobite sympathisers with an attractive, youthful claimant who ought to be king one day simply because he looked kingly. The politics of the period cannot be separated from the royal personalities involved; the competing figureheads of the Jacobite era personified the ideologies behind their causes. With their faces gracing a wide range of artefact types, James VII, William and Mary, Anne, James Francis Edward Stuart, George I, Charles Edward Stuart, and George II each became a visual motif as symbolic of their politics as the rose or thistle. The Jacobite wars were a contest of succession, and the contending monarchs served as emblematic visual cues, becoming themselves material tropes. Their appearance within contemporary material culture could both reinforce extant positive characteristics and obscure or make up for real-world character failings. Jacobites, Williamites, and Hanoverians all employed the decorative strategy of using royal portraiture. Furthermore, they portrayed their would-be kings and queens in precisely the same ways: as warriors, saviours of Britannia, and Classical rulers in an age of enlightenment.

Coins and medals

A reigning monarch had ready-made visual propaganda in the form of a widely distributed official currency. Exhaustive numismatic studies of 18th-century coins are easily found (e.g. Seaby series), and so will not be discussed in detail here. Since currency circulated throughout society, a highly visible image of the monarch would have been available to the broadest cross-section of society. Not all denominations of coinage offered a portrait; the copper twopence (also known as a bodle or turner), for example, had a monogram instead of a portrait (Seaby 1972: 98). These Scottish-minted coins (along with sixpence bawbees) came to an end with the Union in 1707 (Calder 1989: 68). Many denominations, though, did offer the monarch's profile, and even the staunchest Jacobite supporter would be forced to interact with the official currency of the government and allow the faces of William and Mary, Anne, and the Georges to cross their palms. As discussed in Chapter 3, coins were sometimes used as a readily accessible form of decoration and incorporated into various types of artefacts. They could be enclosed within the stem of a toasting glass, mounted on snuff box lids, or set into the bowls of toddy ladles. For Jacobites, older

coins of past monarchs, like Charles I or Charles II, could be kept as souvenirs of Stuart rule. Silver shillings of William c. 1696 have been recovered at the sites of the battles of Culloden, Sheriffmuir, and Fort George (Pollard 2013, pers. comm.). These are all well-worn and have either been in continuous circulation since their issue, or else have been used as worry pieces. It is possible that they might in fact be King's Shillings (*ibid.*) - the original pay given to a soldier when he enlisted with the British army. If these are King's shillings, they have clearly been carried by soldiers over time, serving as a keepsake and perhaps a good luck charm. Jacobite soldiers may have also utilised old coins, purportedly using denominations of Charles II to send coded messages during the 1745 (Highland and Jacobite Exhibition 1903), though claims of this practice are unsubstantiated. Coins, therefore, were a versatile artefact that could be used as currency, decoration, or serve other talismanic purposes (see discussion of touch pieces later in this chapter).

Medals were issued by each political faction to commemorate events, anniversaries, and landmark occasions. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, medals served as a quick and easy form of propaganda in response to important events. One of the points that should be stressed about medals, as well as coins, is that there is a continuity in visual expression regardless of the politics of the issuing party. Jacobites, Williamites, and Hanoverians all followed the same visual tropes in numismatic portraiture. Firstly, the visual representation of the monarch hearkened back to a classical past, depicting James VII / II, William, James Francis Edward Stuart (as James VIII / III), George I, and George II, as well as the Duke of Cumberland, and Charles Edward Stuart, bedecked in laurels. At the shoulders, the folds of a toga or Roman armour were visible, this imagery conjuring classical authority, reason, and Imperial might. Classical allusion was not limited to militaristic male rulers; on one medal commemorating the Treaty of Union (1707), a stately Anne is complemented on the reverse by a depiction of Pallas Athena [NMS H.R 100], suggesting female wisdom, guidance, and martial strength.

Due to a well-established body of scholarship (see Woolf 1988; Hawkins 1885), the actual production and iconography of medals are not discussed in-depth in this study. However, a few particularly interesting examples should be highlighted. Medals were popular and widely circulated by both the Stuarts in

exile and their counterparts in Britain. These portable pieces of propaganda would have been widely available. A systematic examination of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* from 1851 to the present (discussed further in Chapter 6) reveals both Jacobite and Hanoverian medals cropping up frequently for exhibit to the Society or as donations to the Society's collection. This simple survey serves to illustrate that a century after the effective end of the Jacobite political movement, these pieces of material culture continued to proliferate. Because these items were produced and distributed widely, the survival of medals in museums and private collections is good. Even very small scale Jacobite-era displays will usually include a medal. At the time of Stuart exile, James Francis Edward Stuart and his sons had medals minted by the hundreds. For example, Charles Edward Stuart's accounts for the summer of 1748 show a batch of 300 bronze medals, along with 400 silver counters, ordered from the engraver Rottiers in May (Dalglish 2000; Stuart Papers 296/161), followed by an additional order for another 200 bronze medals four months later. This was three years after the crushing defeat at Culloden; though the Jacobite cause was not yet redundant, open rebellion was not immediately feasible.

The level of production for medals throughout the Jacobite era is difficult to gauge. The early years of the period were prolific for medallic engravers, especially in the European courts of Orange and France (Woolf 1988: *i*). The connections of the vying British monarchs to each of these courts - William as Stadtholder of Orange and James VII / II in French exile - might have encouraged the robust medallic output of earlier years (*ibid.*). There are also peaks of medallic activity around important events throughout the period, like Cumberland's victory at Culloden. Paradoxically, the reverse is also true; considering the levels of production of Jacobite medals in 1748, it is apparent that these material expressions also proliferated at unremarkable points on the timeline, compensating for the lack of progress of an ebbing political cause.

In the decades immediately after the period of study, from the 1770s onwards, cheap lead copies of badges, buckles, and other medallic expressions of politics proliferate amongst chance finds in England, Scotland, and Wales (Campbell 2013, pers. comm.). While individuals in the late 18th century materially expressed support for Wilkes, American independence, or constitutional reform

with easily accessible and affordable artefacts, evidence for similar objects is lacking in the Jacobite era (*ibid.*). It is suggested here that during the period of study mass-production technologies were not yet turned to such a purpose, and that it was not safe enough to express political opposition in such a manner. Locating examples of cheap lead copies of politically expressive artefacts is an avenue of further study to see whether or not it existed in a nascent form in the Jacobite period.

It is important to examine not only the production and estimated scope of distribution of these medals, but their physical form and appearance. What precisely were these medals portraying and what were they hoping to evoke from the populace? Like coinage, medals showed a profile portrait on the obverse, but the reverse featured another portrait, or commemorated an event with a scene or allegorical image. Greater in size than normal currency, most commemorative medals are not overly large, though they offer a satisfying heft in the hand. Materials range from cheap base metals to fine gilded examples, covering a wide range of economic affordability. As seen from the records of Charles Edward Stuart, medals were commissioned in batches by monarchs and would-be monarchs to be distributed to loyal supporters. Like other forms of material culture, the images presented on medals were often derived from popular prints and portraits (Woolf 1988; Sharp 1996), comprising part of a much wider visual material culture. Medals often depicted scenes alongside portraits. They commemorated important events like the offering of the throne to William and Mary [NMS H.1992 1872], the flight of James VII / II into exile [NMS A.1902.89.50 A], and the marriages [NMS H.R 116], births [NMS H.1950 732], and deaths [NMS H.1962.921] of the Stuart claimants in exile.

The juxtaposition of scenes on the obverse and reverse of medals was an important political commentary. An example in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland [H.NT 259] is a silver gilt medal dated 1710, which has a portrait of Anne on the obverse, with James VIII on the reverse, betraying Tory sympathies. Both Anne and James are shown wearing classical dress and Anne's head is crowned with laurels. This medal seeks to reunite the frayed threads of the Stuart line and directly links Anne with her half-brother, presenting James Francis Edward Stuart as the rightful heir to childless Anne.



Left: Figure 24 1710 medal showing Anne on the obverse and James VIII on reverse. NMS H.1950.728. Right: Figure 25 similar medal from 1712 showing James Francis Edward Stuart (as James III) on reverse. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

A medal bearing the face of Charles Edward Stuart in the collection of the National Trust for Scotland and on display at Culloden [no accession number] offers a much later example of a Stuart medal. Charles's profile portrait is presented naturalistically; he is devoid of any costume and his short, curly hair with receding hairline is not covered by a wig or bonnet. He is thicker in face than the youthful Highland soldier portraits of the past. The obverse bears his title, still Prince of Wales. Unusually, this example does not have a reverse, perhaps intended for use as a decorative inset. It is known from other examples (Woolf 1988) that the reverse should depict Britannia with spear and shield staring out to ships at sea, with the legend AMOR ET SPES (love and hope). Though the medal is dated 1745, Woolf (*ibid.*) dates the piece to 1748, arguing that the portrait is copied from a bust of Charles Edward Stuart made by Lemoyne no earlier than 1746, with the medal itself serving as a design for a Robert Strange engraving in 1748 or 1749 (*ibid.*: 111-112).

This naturalistic portrayal of Charles Edward Stuart is a departure from the earlier, Classical representations of Stuart monarchical aspirations. This contrasts with other medallic representations of 1745, like that of a dashing Highland prince [NMS H.1949.1086]. If the date of 1748 is in fact correct, it suggests that the Charles Edward Stuart's cause has waned, crashing to earth from mythical heights. Stuart propaganda at the time of 1745 was still hopeful of military conquest and restoration in the guise of a military hero. By 1748, however, Charles Edward Stuart looks more like a normal man, asking his subjects not to follow or fight, but to simply love and hope. Furthermore this

artefact reinforces the ties between contemporary media. In this instance Lemoyne's bust, the medal, and Strange's engraving rely on one another for source material. Two- and three-dimensional artistic works influence and inspire one another, attesting to the interconnectivity of these different forms of expression.

There is a political significance to the year 1748, which saw the signing of the Treaty of Aix. As part of that agreement, the French king was forced to expel the Jacobites from France. According to the anonymous author of *Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer*, the commissioning of this medal was Charles's last act of political protest while he was still welcome at the French court. By circulating these medals, Charles showed not only his displeasure at losing French backing, but by prominently featuring ships of the British Navy on the medal's reverse, he also caused offence to members of the French ministry who had been brought into submission by that very fleet (*ibid.*: 111). The medal was produced at the Paris Mint, where Rottier was based, but not without some confusion on the part of the craftsman. Correspondence shows uncertainty over the propriety of accepting Charles's commission; the would-be Prince of Wales had to funnel the request through the minister M. de Lally, the unofficial Jacobite contact at the French court, when Roettier showed hesitation in fulfilling Charles's order (*ibid.*: 111). It is likely that these medals are the 300-odd pieces inventoried in Charles's accounts from May 1748 in the Stuart Papers.

Medalets and medallions

Smaller medalets and medallions also circulated, alongside the standardised form of commemorative medals. These did not necessarily have to be made of metal, but could also appear in horn, wood, ivory, or plaster. A small (approximately 9cm) carved wooden medallion in the Victoria and Albert Museum [W.2-1934] offers a more personalised commemorative artefact than the mass-produced medals discussed above. The medal's imagery suggests a memorial to William, and was hand carved rather than stamped out during an industrial process. Another medallion, a pressed-tortoiseshell example [V&A A.17-1924] from around the time of the Union, depicts Anne crowned and in royal regalia. This falls somewhere between the wide distribution of the commemorative medals previously discussed and the special hand-carved

wooden medallion of William. Other medallions made from the same die mould also appear in horn, as well as silver and can be found as decorative flourishes on artefacts, such as a snuff box [V&A 305-1875]. Another horn medalet, a miniscule (14mm) portrait of Charles Edward Stuart, came up for auction at Bonham's [Sale 18906, Lot 392] in 2011. It is a so-called 'tongue piece' to collectors, thought to have been carried by ardent Jacobites and hidden beneath the tongue if need be, though this claim is unsubstantiated.

As discussed above, and seen previously in Chapter 3, medals, medallions and medalets could be used as standalone commemorative pieces or could be used to decorate other types of material culture. The tiny horn medalet of Charles Edward Stuart mentioned above was similarly produced in other materials, the most prominent being gold. These gold medalets were manufactured on the Continent (Woolf 1988; Duleep Singh 1907) and made into rings in Britain. One such example is a gold ring [NMS H.NJ 91] given to the National Museum of Scotland in 1783 (Dalglish 2000), a date remarkable because it is within the prince's lifetime - 5 years before his death in 1788. It was donated by the Edinburgh goldsmith Alexander Gairdner. The band of the ring is made up of 4 white enamelled scrolls that say, 'C.P.R. / DUM / SPIRAT / SPERO' ('Charles Prince Regent / while / he breathes / I hope'). At the end of the scrollwork, flanking either side of the bezel, are an enamelled thistle and a gold rose.



Figure 26 *Spirat Spero* ring featuring gold medalet of Charles Edward Stuart under crystal. An enamelled thistle shows to the right of the bezel. NMS H.NJ 91. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

This ring is not unique, but one of a number of such rings. An identical ring, the Seton Ring, was in the possessions of the Setons of Touch. Charles Edward Stuart stayed at Touch on his way to Edinburgh in 1745 and sent the ring to the Setons after the rebellion's failure in 1746 and his return to exile (Duleep Singh 1907). Frederick Duleep Singh (*ibid.*) postulates that the ring is of French make due to its high quality, but it might be that only the gold portrait medallion that was imported; both the National Museum of Scotland and the British Museum have identical gold medalets that are unset in rings (Stevenson 1945; Farquhar 1923-4). The portrait of Charles Edward Stuart for the medalets is similar to that on the medal produced by Rottiers in Paris in 1748 (Farquhar in Stevenson 1945), discussed previously in this chapter. The Seton ring was eventually acquired for the National Museum by the National Art Collections Fund in the 1930s (Stevenson 1945). Another ring with a similar medallion was in the West Highland Museum at Fort William c. 1945 but its current whereabouts are unknown. The setting of that ring differed from the two examples cited above. The bezel did not fit the medallion perfectly, but was too large, meaning that the surrounding gap had to be filled in with a metal frame (*ibid.*). Unlike the previous examples, the band was a thin twist of gold and the motto *Dum Spirat Spero 1745* appeared not here on the band, but engraved on the reverse of the bezel. Stevenson's description of this ring makes it clear that it was less skilfully produced than the other examples cited, suggesting it was not made by an Edinburgh goldsmith, but perhaps a craftsman in a provincial location.

The survival of several examples of this ring, as well as the unset medallions, suggests that this particular style of ring was a popular and relatively widespread design. Stevenson's (1945) evaluation of similar rings cites minute differences in the flowers as a sign that these were not all manufactured by the same craftsman, but rather copied from a shared design. Stevenson (*ibid.*:130) postulates, that '[t]he number of rings made to each of their designs may have been quite numerous' and, as seen in the example from Touch, were probably given to or commissioned by individual supporters after the collapse of the uprising, rather than as a personal gift by Charles Edward Stuart himself. The tiny gold medalet centrepieces are thought to be the work of one of the Roettier family craftsmen (Woolf 1988: 113), and gold rings set with these medallions were known to be on sale in Paris, priced at 3 *louis d'or* each (*ibid.*). Thus,

these medalets and rings were part of a consumer culture of Jacobitism which existed in Europe and Britain alike. While the centralised manufacture of the medalets offered a ready-made decorative flourish, ultimately how these were used varied according to an individual's tastes and circumstances.

Tin-glazed earthenware royal portrait dishes

As seen so far, images of royalty were popular decorative motifs. While the medals, medallions, and medalets discussed above could be commercially manufactured, in many cases they were commissioned by royals themselves and offer a look at how monarchs wished to be officially portrayed. Other types of artefacts were more consumer-driven. Examples of tin-glazed earthenware dishes adorned with the portraits of monarchs abound both in major museum collections and at auction. At Christie's, Sotheby's, Lyon & Turnbull, and Bonham's, 35 examples of royal portrait plates have come to auction in the past 15 years (auctions are discussed in depth in Chapter 6). The sheer number of these objects suggests that despite their relatively high cost at the start of the period of study, they were popular, readily available, and that they have a good rate of survival.

The cultural authority of monarchs can be seen as another indicator of royal power, in this instance the fad for tin-glazed earthenware and other Dutch ceramic styles encouraged by William and Mary. One can infer the level of acceptance of royal authority by how quickly the monarchs' stylistic tastes were adopted. These material styles, which some resisted as foreign in the late-17th century, quickly became normalised into British society by the end of the period of study. The acceptance of Dutch-styled tin-glazed earthenware was also an acceptance of William's and Mary's positions as arbiters of culture (see Ede 1979 for a comprehensive discussion; Murdoch 2001 for their popularisation of matched furnishings and holistic interior design).

The custom of reproducing royal portraiture on earthenware vessels actually begins after the execution of Charles I [V&A C.71-1998] and is re-established during the reign of Charles II [V&A 3868-1901; C.91-1931; Sotheby's Sale N07755, Lot 557], with some rare examples extant in museums or at past auctions. This trend was popularised by the co-monarchs and persists throughout the rest of

the Jacobite period. Unlike many of the artefacts examined in this study, the wide range of extant examples of tin-glazed earthenware royal portrait vessels gives the opportunity for meaningful comparison and contrast within one material type. Numerous examples exist of portraits of William and Mary, either together or treated separately. These early portrayals are simple, stylised caricatures of the monarchs, but they always include material symbols of state, depicting the two in royal robes and surmounted by crowns.



Figure 27 A royal portrait plate depicting William and Mary typical of the late 17th century. V&A C.88-1931. ©Victoria & Albert museum. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, portraits of William differ slightly during and after his reign. One tin-glazed earthenware dish from c.1700 in NMS [A.1956.1299] from Lambeth pottery shows a half-length portrait of William in robes and crown with simple curving line designs around the outside. A similar, perhaps slightly earlier, portrait appears on another dish [A.1924 692], though this dish has a lobed rim and a border of tulips. Both simplified portraits include a garter star, which is simply presented as a dangling eight-pointed asterisk on his breast. In case the viewer was in any doubt of the individual depicted, he is flanked on either side with K and W. In these, William is presented as king rather than as conquering warrior hero, depicted with several key items of regalia: robes, crown, and Order of the Garter.



Left: Figure 28 Portrait dish portraying William in royal regalia. NMS A.1924 692. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Right: Figure 29 Equestrian portrait of William. V&A 3871-7901. ©Victoria & Albert museum. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

More militarised images of William portrayed the king in full-length armour, along with the standard royal regalia, or else showed him astride a rearing war horse. Numerous examples of each of these can be found. These portrayals, particularly the lively equestrian portraits, contrast sharply with the stolid, benign partial-length portraits discussed above. William's royal image was mutable and varied drastically across artefacts of the same material form; he could fulfil the role of peaceful figurehead or conquering hero, depending upon what his consumer public desired.

Unlike other object types in this study, excepting battlefield artefacts, there is a good body of excavated evidence for dishes such as these, offering a fuller picture of the manufacture and later deposition of them than is available for the many one-off of heirloom artefacts that populate this thesis. For example, sherds matching examples cited above were found at Garner's (in Archer 1997) excavations at a pottery site in Lambeth. A more detailed look at an excavated example of Williamite earthenware can offer a glimpse of who may have owned such items. Sherds of a William dish were uncovered during excavations at Aldgate in 1972 and the fragments of glaze that remain show William on a horse with one remaining visible initial (W) (Thompson et. al. 1984: 60, fig. 137). The sherds were discovered at Building VII, an outlying building to a row of late-17th-century terraced brick houses. In reflecting upon the excavation as a whole, the

authors concluded that their findings indicated, 'an accurate sample of the tools, personal possessions, household and kitchen utensils and structured fittings actually used in the buildings' (*ibid.*: 1). It was the opinion of the project directors that those who inhabited the terraced houses were not affluent and maintained a somewhat low standard of living, with the interesting caveat that some of the material, specifically that found in the basement of Building VII, indicated individuals of more generous means (*ibid.*). The building where the William dish sherds were found had, according to the excavators, 'little in the structural character ... to distinguish it from the others' (*ibid.*: 24) that they examined. The exception was the cellar, which provided a surprising array of finds for a building badly compromised by modern development, including a large amount of pottery (*ibid.*: 29). This building, contemporaneous with but not attached to, the terraced housing, shared much of the same faunal remains. These suggested limited diets, with poorer cuts of meat common amongst urban lower-class inhabitants on offer (*ibid.*: 27), though a few examples of finer foodstuffs (like swan and peacock) were mixed in as well (*ibid.*: 30). The building where the Williamite dish sherd was found, Building VII, showed 'faint traces of a slightly more refined standard of living' (*ibid.*: 29), and produced a variety of almost complete as well as fragmented ceramic vessels for storage, decoration, daily kitchen use, and hygiene. The bulk of the pottery assemblage was local tin-glazed earthenware. These were found alongside fragments of glassware, and large quantities of clay pipes and the previously discussed faunal remains.

The final reflections of the excavators on Building VII were inconclusive (*ibid.*: 32). They suggest that the finds were the result of a single deposition event - like a structural collapse, which buried an entire array of possessions at once. However, they cannot offer much in the way of information on the inhabitants themselves. Some of the material may have been fill to raise the floor level for later building, and the sheer amount of clay pipes suggests a nearby pipe manufacturer. While the inhabitants of Building VII were materially more well-off than their neighbours and the building they occupied was separate from the terraced housing, they were by no means among the top earners in London. If we can extrapolate from this instance of excavated royal portrait tin-glazed earthenware, we can tentatively assume that this is the demographic that would

have owned such commemorative royal portrait ceramics in the late-17th and early-18th centuries: individuals of material means that were higher than many of their counterparts, but were not amongst the highest echelon of society. Furthermore, items such as these would be more readily available in urban environments, especially in places with local potteries, like London and Bristol. Taking this into account alongside the survival of numerous examples of these dishes in museums and private collections throughout Britain, it is safe to assume that they would have been readily available to a burgeoning middle class.

As already stated, the portrayal of royal faces upon tin-glazed earthenware continued throughout the period of study. Like her sister and brother-in-law before her, Anne's image was popular as a decorative flourish on such ceramics. She could be shown in full-length, as in a dish that came to auction at Bonham's [Sale 11284, Lot 212] in 2004, where Anne is portrayed in fashionable contemporary dress with robe, crown, sceptre and orb in a wooded landscape flanked by her initials. The queen could also be shown in a partial-length portrait. An amusing example of this style was auctioned at Sotheby's [Sale L01242, Lot 17, 2001], but the craftsman clearly ran out of room to finish the monarch's head. What began as a proportioned bust-length portrait at the bottom of the dish, with chest, shoulders, neck and necklace each filling the space nicely, and is surmounted by an equally proportioned and detailed crown, leaves little space in between for the head and facial features, which are indicated with mere dots of glaze, flanked by proportionally enormous gold earrings. Here we see the process of decoration: the individual painting on the glaze has failed to get it quite right. This was ostensibly an early attempt at this specific picture by the craftsman, as reproduction would lead to a better-executed image.



Figure 30 Royal portrait dish of Anne sold at Sotheby's Sale L01242, Lot 17. Image courtesy of Sotheby's.

Like the portrayals of William and Mary, Anne's portraits included a focus on the royal regalia. With the inclusion of a crown and royal initials, realistic reproduction of facial characteristics was unnecessary; the identity of the individual being portrayed was obvious to contemporaries. In the case of the ill-proportioned image on the dish discussed above, the crown is larger than the queen's entire head, but symbolically they were interchangeable, the crown metonymous for both Anne the individual and Anne the head of state.

Ceramicists maintained the practice of decorating their wares with royal portraiture throughout the reigns of George I and George II, though these appear with less frequency. An example of a George I dish was found during the excavation of the cellar of the Old Hall, Temple Balsall in Warwickshire (Gooder 1984). The dish has a border of intertwined roses and tulips, reinforcing George's ties to the English throne as well as his role as the heir to the legacy of William. The portrait is embossed in this instance - a new decorative practice that began during George I's reign. The first Hanoverian king is depicted, like

the ceramic royal portraiture of previous monarchs, in robes with a crown and sceptre. In this case, his initials are each surmounted by individual crowns, lest the other symbols of office be too subtle. Another George I portrait dish was auctioned at Sotheby's [Sale N08159, Lot 44] in 2006. It depicts the king in full-length, presented in fashionable dress. No robe is evident, but he carries the orb and sceptre, and wears a sash and Garter star as well as a crown, surrounded by a forest of sponge-painted trees and shrubbery.



Left: Figure 31 George I royal portrait dish depicting the king in fashionable dress near the beginning of his reign. Sale N08159, Lot 44. Image courtesy of Sotheby's. Right: Figure 32 Illustration of George I dish excavated at Temple Balsall. Gooder 1984: 203.

Another plate, auctioned by Bonham's [Sale 16898, Lot9] in 2009 celebrates George's reign but depicts a crossed rose and thistle surmounted by a crown and the royal initials, rather than a portrait of the king. This explicitly references the Union and suggests that at least 7 years after the Act, pro-Union propaganda was still employed alongside monarchical propaganda.

The fad of tin-glazed earthenware decorated with royal portraits fades in the last few decades of the period of study. George II dishes are far less prevalent in the material record than are those of his predecessors. There are several examples in the Victoria & Albert Museum collections, but George II ceramics are less visible in other collections and at auction. Given that ceramics such as these are highly collectible both amongst institutions and individuals, it is safe to assume that there were simply fewer originals for future generations to

collect. By George II's ascent to the throne in 1727, then, material tastes were clearly changing and the Hanoverian lineage was noticeably more secure than it was in 1714. Though tin-glazed earthenware remained important to household use throughout the century, by the end of the period of study in the middle part of the 18th century, other ceramic fabrics and styles surpassed it as the most fashionable design choice. Notably, the second half of the century saw the development of refined earthenware like creamware, along with domestic soft-paste porcelain and bone china, and new decorative techniques like transfer printing.

These new materials and techniques allowed for new types of decorative expressions, like a Chelsea porcelain bust of the Duke of Cumberland auctioned at Bonham's [Sale 19609, Lot 53] in 2012. These new materials and new techniques allowed for a wider range of decorative goods, and the individuals represented on ceramic vessels also diversifies. While in William's and Mary's time the monarchs were the most likely to be represented, along with the occasional important individual like the Duke of Marlborough, as the 18th century wore on decorative images were chosen from a larger pool of notable personalities, including peripheral members of the royal family and past monarchs. These personalities became more popular decorative motifs than the image of the ruling monarch himself. Royal portraiture still appeared, but it was nostalgic, rather than current portraiture. For example, William continues to appear on various vessels throughout the second half of the 18th century, as does Charles Edward Stuart, safely after the waning of militant Jacobitism from the 1750s onwards. The depiction of these two personalities at this point in time were very much retrospective. Perhaps George II appeared with less frequency than his predecessors simply because the ruling monarch was no longer the most popular public face, and consumer tastes had moved onto a wider variety of other types of decorative expression.

Unlike much of the material culture examined in this study, royal portrait plates were one type of propaganda for which the exiled Stuarts had no answer. Whilst other categories of objects like snuff boxes, wine glasses, or medals have corresponding Williamite, Hanoverian, and Jacobite examples in dialogue with one another, ceramic portrait dishes are curiously absent from the deposed-Stuart material repertoire. To be sure, there are examples of ceramic punch

bowls with James Francis Edward [at Temple Newsham in Leeds] and Charles Edward Stuart [Bonham's Sale 19872, Lot 224], but there is no range of earthenware dishes decorated with the portrait of James Francis Edward Stuart as James VIII / III to match those of William and Mary, Anne, or George I. As one would expect, there are several contemporary examples of dishes bearing the portrait of James VII / II from the time of his reign. In one example from the Victoria & Albert Museum [3870-1901], he is portrayed much like the other monarchs discussed above, shown in royal robes and crown in a bust-length portrait. A similar example in the British Museum [1981,0301.1] shows the king in bust length again, but his image fills the dish and is bordered with a single, simple line. These are not Jacobite per se, as they would have been manufactured during his reign. There are few examples of James VII / II dishes, as the trend for royal portrait ceramics was fairly new when James ascended to the throne, and these would have been extremely expensive items. In addition, James's reign was quite short, limiting the amount of time such dishes would have been produced.

The dearth of explicitly Jacobite portrait dishes could be attributed to the fact that these were products of English (London, Bristol, Liverpool) potteries. Churning out treasonous flatware was simply too dangerous an act to countenance from the beginning of the Williamite reign to the middle of the 18th century when other ceramic styles replaced them in popularity. This would seem to contrast sharply with the abundance of Jacobite toasting glasses, most of which were presumably of English (London) manufacture (Seddon 1999). Why was it both safe and lucrative enough to produce glassware with Jacobite mottoes and imagery, and yet not acceptable for similar ceramic pieces? Several factors could have influenced this. Firstly, there was the different nature of the designs. Glazed pottery must be decorated at the point of production, whereas glassware can be produced, but engraved elsewhere. Jacobite designs could have been engraved more privately, whereas decorated pottery was highly visible on the workshop floor between glazing and firing in the kiln. Whereas the symbolism on tin-glazed earthenware dishes was explicit, many of the motifs that appeared on Jacobite glassware were coded and more subtle. Furthermore the timeline for these artefacts is important. Much of the Jacobite glassware was produced late in the period of study from around 1745

onwards, while the royal portrait dishes peaked in popularity earlier in the period. It is likely that those Jacobite artefacts from the 1750s onwards were seen as less of a political threat. Jacobite ceramics, other than royal portrait dishes, do appear at the very end of the period of study, though these are still relatively rare. Examples include artefacts such as a Staffordshire ceramic jug [INVMG.2005.026] with the figure of Charles Edward Stuart, and a teapot [Sotheby's N08446, Lot 46] decorated with oak leaves, acorns, and a figure dressed in Highland clothes that may or may not be Charles Edward Stuart. Ceramics, it seems, was the one material type used by British monarchs that was not readily accessible for Jacobite political propaganda. By the time examples of such artefacts occur, in the last decades of the 18th century, they must be viewed as nostalgic and retrospective, rather than asserting an aggressive political agenda.

Other portraits

A lengthy discussion of royal portrait ceramics, in this case tin-glazed earthenware, is useful because of the sheer amount of extant examples. However, these were not the only showcase for royal faces. Other less common material forms could also be used. An excellent example of this is a carved coconut goblet that came to auction at Sotheby's [Sale L04302, Lot 1] in 2004. The expense of the rare and exotic coconut marks this artefact as a luxury good. Portraits of William and Mary are carved on either side, along with their ciphers, and an indistinct coat of arms. The rarity of the material itself makes that which is carved onto it all the more special, reinforcing the importance of the monarchs. Evaluators have given the date of the cup c1700, which places it after the death of Mary but not long before the death of William himself. Such coconut cups were popular in the 16th and 17th centuries, and ever more elaborate examples of coconut cups persisted throughout the 18th century. There are similar examples in public collections [NMS A.1960.762; V&A 2629, 077740], though none with royal portraits and not all as elaborately carved as the Sotheby's item. While tin-glazed earthenware made the monarch more accessible and distributed the royal countenance throughout a wider segment of society, artefacts like coconut cups reinforced the opposite: the specialness and exclusivity of royalty.

One of the most ubiquitous forms of royal portraiture, of course, was statuary. This will not be exhaustively dealt with here, as there is current historical work on royal statues in public spaces during the Jacobite period (Whatley 2010). A brief discussion is useful to highlight how such artefacts operate within a material culture of power and authority. Two interesting examples of royal personages in three dimensional media are terracotta figures of William [V&A A.35-1939] and Mary [V&A A.208-1946], which date to just after Mary's death and during William's solo reign. The figures are models for sculptures by John van Nost (also Jan van Ost) around 1695. Mary's representation is painted and gilt, whilst William's remains unglazed. The figures came into the collections of the V&A in 1946. The statues made from these models once adorned the rebuilt Royal Exchange, which had burnt down in the Great Fire. The sculptures were added to the building after the death of Mary, but within William's life (Arts Council of Great Britain 1950; Esdaile 1940), becoming a part of a series of the Kings and Queens of England which adorned various facets of the building. After the second devastating fire of the Royal Exchange in 1838, however, the surviving statues were auctioned off and many were subsequently lost (Esdaile 1940).

As Esdaile (*ibid.*) highlights, this is the only figure of William to be erected in his lifetime, and its *raison d'être* is because of Mary; the City of London could not very well honour one half of the joint monarchy whilst ignoring the other. The placement of the statues upon the facade of the Royal Exchange seemed to cause some debate, with some planners advocating display of the two pieces on the eastern side of the building, whilst others thought it more practical to display them in two niches next to James II. It is interesting to note that James II had a statue at all, his three-year reign being largely unpopular, and it should be noted that it was still in place and not taken down with his removal from power. At the time of Mary's death, the deposed James was still alive in exile while his royal statue kept watch from atop the Royal Exchange. Whether or not the choice of placement near James was conscious or not, it certainly would have reinforced the line of succession from him to his daughter. In the end, however, William and Mary were placed on the eastern face, with apparent architectural difficulty, as tenants of the building had to be reimbursed for damage done by the installations (*ibid.*). Like the images portrayed on royal

portrait dishes discussed previously, the accoutrements of monarchy played an important role in this architectural statuary. Most of the statues showed past monarchs with an orb and sceptre, while those of Charles II and James VII / II were each portrayed with an orb in one hand and the other hand on their sword hilts (*ibid.*). The monumental nature of architectural statuary such as this reinforced the awe of royal power, while the juxtaposition of monarchs alongside past rulers lent legitimacy and a sense of lineage. While most of the statuary that adorned the Royal Exchange is now lost, models, like the terracotta pieces in the V&A, offer not just a sense of the artistic process of producing such statues, but allow a three-dimensional look at the intended design that is better than any drawing or photograph.

The examination of portraiture on artefacts such as medals, ceramics, and architecture shows the broad range of material types and the various uses to which royal faces were put. Royal portraiture was highly visible throughout late-17th and 18th-century society. There was a market for a wide range of artefacts that depicted royalty and extant examples of artefacts decorated with royal portraiture attest to the popularity of royal faces as decorative motifs. Royal images were an important political tool that affected the power relationships between subject and monarch; visually representing positive royal characteristics, like military prowess or fashionable dress, and being surrounded by the material trappings of their office was an important part of a wider material culture of political authority.

The material culture of monarchy

As seen in the discussion of royal portraiture above, the material culture of rule - items like crowns, sceptres, and orbs - were an important part of the visualisation of power in the Jacobite period. Artefacts such as these played important symbolic roles. Monarchs have always been made official through elaborate rituals and ceremonies, such as coronations, which rely on a variety of officially recognised material culture to show the transference of power. As intimated by the representations of monarchs on artefacts of the period, royals were all the more regal when surrounded by the finery of their position. For William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II, the artefacts of office

reinforced their officially-recognised positions of authority, while Jacobite exiles appropriated the same material symbols in an attempt to assert their claims. Dressed in expensive fabrics, jewellery, and in command of established royal regalia comprised of precious materials, royals were endowed with prestige, awe, and sense of material legacy. Cultivating the appropriate material trappings of monarchy, therefore, was an important part of maintaining authority for Williamites and Hanoverians as well as Jacobites, although it is perhaps best illustrated by the desperate material posturing of the Stuarts in exile.

The deposed James VII / II and his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, continued to live like kings, as if maintaining a material lifestyle commensurate with royal status would enforce and ensure their claims to the throne. Even in financially insecure circumstances, the deposed king and his son maintained a courtly social structure, a practice which broke down after James Francis Edward's death in 1766. Charles Edward Stuart was unable to keep up the exiled court structure created and kept alive by his grandfather and father, but some intriguing material traces of courtly ambition from the later years - the Stuart sunset - do survive. After the failure of the 1745, Charles Edward Stuart withdrew somewhat from conventional court life. After making himself a nuisance to the French king and ministers, he meandered across Europe. It was James Francis Edward who served as the focal point of the exiled Jacobite court for decades and who meticulously maintained that courtly society until his death.

Henry Benedict Stuart, Charles Edward Stuart's younger brother, whose devotion to the Roman Catholic Church (he became a cardinal in 1747 at the age of 22) precluded him from ever realistically pursuing his claim to the British throne, was the last in the line of succession in the exiled family, dying in 1807. Despite his position within the Church and despite never having shown any great desire to sit the British throne, he had a gold caddinet - a table service with salt and matching cutlery - decorated with his cardinal's crest. The silver gilt piece made sometime between 1780 and 1785 by the silversmith Luigi Valadier (see Evans 2003 for discussion of dating) is currently in the Royal Collection [45182]. Though outside the bounds of the period of study, the caddinet serves as a good example of the highly specialised material culture of state used by 18th-century royalty. It was not simply an overly decadent placemat that any rich individual

could have owned, but rather it was material culture specific to monarchy. Only royals used such services and wherever a caddinet sat at the table, it designated the king's (or queen's) place. It was a somewhat presumptuous piece of decor, as Henry's elder brother lived for another few years after it was commissioned, though Evans (2003) highlights this as a time when Charles Edward's health was failing, and thus the commissioning of the caddinet might have been in expectation of his inevitable death and Henry Benedict's position as next in line to the Jacobite succession. The Cardinal had commissioned his caddinet at a time when, as Evans (*ibid.*) observes, these items were actually falling out of fashion with European monarchs. Perhaps the caddinet was both a material way of reinforcing the Stuart succession and Henry Benedict Stuart's lineage, as well as more broadly making a last ditch effort at maintaining an old-fashioned courtly tradition and a version of monarchy that was rapidly disappearing from Europe.

Official symbols of office

Monarchs and would-be monarchs of the period needed more than just expensive dress and decadent table settings: they required a raft of material culture to support them in their official capacities as heads of state. Some objects were more than luxury status goods and items of consumer vanity - they were the material mechanisms of government.

Coats of arms

Each of the monarchs in the period of study had to create a new coat of arms at the beginning of their reigns. With the inclusion of two foreign houses, the change from joint to single rule following the death of Mary, as well as the Act of Union, the symbols had to be reworked to accommodate several important changes. As the official emblems of their reigns, coats of arms were important symbols of the monarch and would have been emblazoned on everything from architecture to furniture and household accessories. A particularly interesting glass goblet and cover dating to around 1689 shows a coat of arms in the process of transition. Of Dutch manufacture, the goblet [V&A C.187:1, 2-1993] has Royal Stuart arms, which led to the original assumption that it depicted the arms of Charles II. It was later reassessed and upon close examination of the lead glass,

found to date to 1681, thus being reinterpreted as a very early version of the arms of Mary, either alone or jointly with her husband. The monarchs did not have a set coat of arms until after their coronation in April 1689. This artefact captures a moment in time, highlighting the transition between the royal couple's Dutch and British identities, as they sought to negotiate a suitable symbol of state. The object was made for them in Orange to celebrate their new roles as monarchs of Britain. By re-using the Stuart arms, this early design emphasised their Stuart lineage and legitimate positions in the line of succession.

Royal coats of arms were ubiquitously emblazoned across a range of material goods, including the personal property of the monarchs themselves. It is difficult to discern how widespread such artefacts would have been throughout the general population. For example, a wooden bellows [GMRC 14.449] features the elaborately carved coat of arms of Queen Anne. While the exact provenance of this artefact is unknown, it is safe to assume some connection with the royal court or with a courtier. Such artefacts could have been reserved for use during a royal visit, or else passed through families as heirloom items given by a member of the royal household.

Seals

Some artefacts, like seals, were important markers of office. A well-known, if apocryphal, story is that of James VII / II disposing of the Great Seal of England in the Thames on his flight into exile, thus denying his imported successors the proper authority to rule. In turn, Parliament used this act to justify the claims of his abdication. The versions of this story are as varied as they are numerous (see Jenkinson 1943 for a full list). In a memo within the Stuart Papers (Jenkinson 1943: 2, n.1), the newly-exiled monarch claimed to have 'destroyed' the seal, but gave no further details. Jenkinson (*ibid.*: 4), quoting from Campbell's 1857 *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*, reports that James desired the seal's destruction 'in the belief that without it the government would not be continued'. The loss of the material symbol of authority, the Great Seal of England, would have impeded William's and Mary's new government, dispossessing them of the proper power of rule.

The perception was that without this specific bit of material culture, the new monarchs would be at a serious disadvantage.

The Great Seal was not simply a symbol of office, but as Jenkinson (*ibid.*: 5) asserts, ‘an essential part of the machinery of state; without which there was no known means of putting through a number of pieces of public business which were just those that a new Government would most immediately wish to do’. The deposed king absconding with the Great Seal would have certainly caused a great inconvenience, if not the desired whole-scale bureaucratic meltdown. Jenkinson’s research discovered that there was no evidence of an official Great Seal from December of 1688 until March of 1689, when there is a note in Privy Council and Crown Office records of commissions being issued and sealed, presumably with a new seal (*ibid.*: 5-6). His trawl through Treasury records discovered petitions for payment by the Rottiers for their production of a Great Seal in April of the same year. The well-known engraving workshop, meanwhile, was also producing a new seal for the exiled James, which shows that if he did not throw the original seal into the Thames, he certainly did not have it in his possession in exile (*Jenkinson 1943: from Calendar of Treasury Books viii: 628*).

Jenkinson’s close examination of the original Great Seal of James (pre-exile) and that of William and Mary led him to conclude that they were one and the same - or at least cast from the same mould. Regardless of the Great Seal’s adventures in between, which may or may have not included a dip in the Thames, the one used by William and Mary was obviously a poorly-modified version of that of their predecessor. While the new monarchs required a brand new obverse to accommodate both their personages, impressions of the reverse of the seal showed the exact same image as that of James’s, but with the addition of the cramped figure of Mary inserted as if riding a horse alongside the male figure (now meant to represent her husband, but whose figure was not changed from that of James). There was also a hasty addition of extra legs for the second horse, though these were in very shallow relief, along with a second horse’s head squeezed into the design, running right up to the edge of the seal and displacing some of the border text.



Figure 33 Reverse of the Great Seal of James II and that of William and Mary. Jenkinson 1943: Plate I, between pp. 2-3.

As Jenkinson succinctly describes it, the seal has a ‘female figure and some indications of a horse clumsily inserted in inadequate space’ (*ibid.*: 6). Reusing the seals of a previous monarch was not unheard of, and there are numerous examples, especially in colonial contexts, where it would be less important to have the exact imagery of the current monarch (*ibid.*). Interestingly, after the death of Mary, which necessitated modification to the Great Seal yet again, William reverts back to the seal design of James II. This time both obverse and reverse were reused - the measurements of impressions of these two seals precisely match (*ibid.*: 13) - with no changes other than that of the mottoes. The reinforcement of the connection to the previous monarch here is obvious, and as Jenkinson states, ‘the royal effigies of the exiled James continued to the end to authenticate the acts of the usurping William’ (*ibid.*: 13).



Figure 34 Obverse of the Great Seals of James II and William III. Jenkinson 1943: Plate IV, between pp. 6-7

Regalia

Royal regalia was an important part of the royal image and power. When Charles I was executed in 1649, his symbols of royal authority - the crown jewels - were auctioned off by Oliver Cromwell to fund the fledgling Commonwealth. These were not just symbols of power, but were tangible manifestations of the monarch's wealth, which gave them real-world power. In important portraits, monarchs were sure to be painted with crowns as well as items like the Orders of the Garter or Thistle.

The Stuart family kept a limited repertoire of regalia, even in exile. The Order of the Thistle, the Jacobite answer to the Garter, was not just a symbol of royal Scottish prerogative, but was also a way to show patronage to the most important supporters. The regalia is currently on display in Edinburgh Castle alongside the Honours of Scotland, Scotland's crown, sceptre, and sword of state. The Stuart jewels, which passed from James VII / II to his descendents in exile, included the deposed king's collar and Great George of the Order of the Garter [RC 441924], his Thistle Badge [RC 441923], also known as the St Andrew Jewel, and the Stuart coronation ring [RC 441925]. They remain some of the most striking symbols of monarchy.

The honours of the Orders of the Garter and Thistle were limited to the most exclusive circle of royals and most favoured subjects. The badges of these orders were specially commissioned when the honour was bestowed. Their dazzling composition of fine materials - gold and gemstones - lavishly illustrated the material wealth and consequence of the court elite. As the Stuart jewels attest, monarchs had the most elaborate examples of such badges, materially expressing their power through rich display. James VII's Garter and Thistle badges were passed down through the exiled line; while this reinforced a sense of royal lineage, it also betrayed the fact that the Stuarts were not in the financial position to commission new and ever more elaborate items of state. Over the years such items would have been re-set or personalised from owner to owner, as seen in the regalia of Williamite and Hanoverian monarchs. The St Andrew jewel did offer a space for a concealed miniature of the monarch's choice, currently Princess Louise of Stolberg, the wife of Charles Edward Stuart, but no other substantial changes were made to any of the Stuart jewels.



Left: Figure 35 St George and collar of James VII / II. RC 441924. Middle: Figure 36 The St Andrew Jewel. RC 441923. Right: Figure 37 The reverse of the St Andrew Jewel, showing a miniature of Louise of Stolberg. ©Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

One of the artefacts most treasured by the exiled family was the Stuart coronation ring [RC 441925], which had been passed down from James VII / II until it came into the hands of his grandson, Henry Benedict Stuart. The cardinal believed that the ring was originally that of Charles I, however this belief is unsubstantiated. The ring was used by James VII / II for his coronation and he took it with him into exile. It appeared in the 1703 inventory at Saint-Germain after his death, and was kept by his widow, Mary of Modena, until her death in 1718, before it passed to James Francis Edward Stuart and his sons. The ring was eventually bequeathed to George IV upon the death of the cardinal, who had by that time been receiving a pension from the British royal family, and was therefore conciliatory towards their rule.



Figure 38 Stuart coronation ring. RC 441925. ©Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The curious trajectory of the artefact, from official item of regalia at the coronation of James VII / II, into exile and back again, highlights the desire of successive monarchs (or would-be monarchs) to maintain material ties to the past. It was not simply the precious gems and metals of an item of regalia that made it significant, but also its associations. Despite their financial troubles, the Stuarts in exile never parted with those items that were most indicative of their royal prerogative: the Orders of the Garter and Thistle, and the coronation ring, though they were known to have sold off other precious gems and jewellery. The passage of items like these from exile into the Royal Collection a century later, where they reside today, shows the Stuart legacy being absorbed, curated and preserved by the descendants of the Hanoverian imports who finally ousted the Stuart line once and for all. It marks a reconciliation of sorts, accomplished through the transfer of material goods.

The regalia of William and Mary, Anne, and Georges I and II outstrip that of the Jacobite exiles for obvious reasons. Backed by the full might of the British kingdoms and their coffers, the officially recognised rulers of Britain had access to a wider range of official regalia and the money to pay for it. Today the Royal Collection contains various items made and remade for these monarchs.

One of the important aspects of ruling as an officially-sanctioned monarch was that the kings and queens in London were able to re-use the regalia of past monarchs. One of the important characteristics of regalia is to show continuity as well as grandeur. When James VII / II escaped into exile, much of the regalia of state was left behind. St Edward's crown [RC 31700], for example, which was made for the coronation of Charles II at the Restoration, was used by subsequent monarchs at their coronations. Likewise, Mary of Modena's Crown of State [RC 1707], created for the exiled king's consort for their coronation in 1685, was used by Queens Anne and Caroline throughout the first part of the 18th century. The Hanoverian monarchs added to the collection of regalia during their reigns, contributing items like an elaborately decorated Lesser George [RC 441145] for George II, which was also used by George III, and a new Prince of Wales's crown [RC 31709], created in 1729 for George II's son, Frederick Louis. Thus the officially recognised monarchs of Britain, from William and Mary to George II, had a distinct advantage in access to the materiality of state authority. While they were able to make use of the historical regalia of Britain, they also had the

financial means to create new or updated items of state. Their Jacobite counterparts on the Continent, however, had made do as best they could with whatever items their ancestor was able to take with him into exile. During a time when it was important to look like a monarch in life as in propaganda, this was a very real disadvantage.

Currency

The importance of coinage as both a highly visible and well-distributed example of royal authority, as well as its ability to be used as a decorative addition to all sorts of material culture, has been previously discussed (Chapter 3). The coinage of William and Mary, Anne, and Georges I and II were the official specie of the realm - an irrefutable statement of authority. Deposed and exiled, Jacobite royals had to create an alternative material culture of centralised government, including alternative forms of currency. A well-known but illustrative example of this is a set of copperplates for the printing of Jacobite banknotes devised during the 1745 campaign. The engravings were done by the accomplished artist and favourite of Jacobite scholars, Robert Strange. One of the plates was found near Culloden after the battle, on marshy ground about 40 miles south of Drumossie Moor. Upon its discovery, it was given to Cluny Macpherson for safekeeping. In 1835 another plate for small denominations was discovered by a fisherman in the west end of Loch Laggan (Morris 1988; Stuart 1865). Again, it was passed on to the Cluny Macpherson family and held at Cluny Castle until it was auctioned along with other Jacobite relics from the estate (*The Scotsman* 1928). The copperplates were acquired by the trustees of the West Highland Museum (Morris 1988) and in July of that year, Sir David Young Cameron, an artist, made several prints using the two-hundred-year-old plates. The plates had been displayed at various times over the years, at the Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart in London in 1899, as well as being shown to the Society of Antiquaries Scotland in 1865. The plates (and Cameron prints) are today on display in the West Highland Museum's Jacobite gallery, reminding the museum goer of the infrastructure of governance needed to fund military and political actions. Devoid of normal resources of government, the exiled Stuarts had to create their own or improvise.

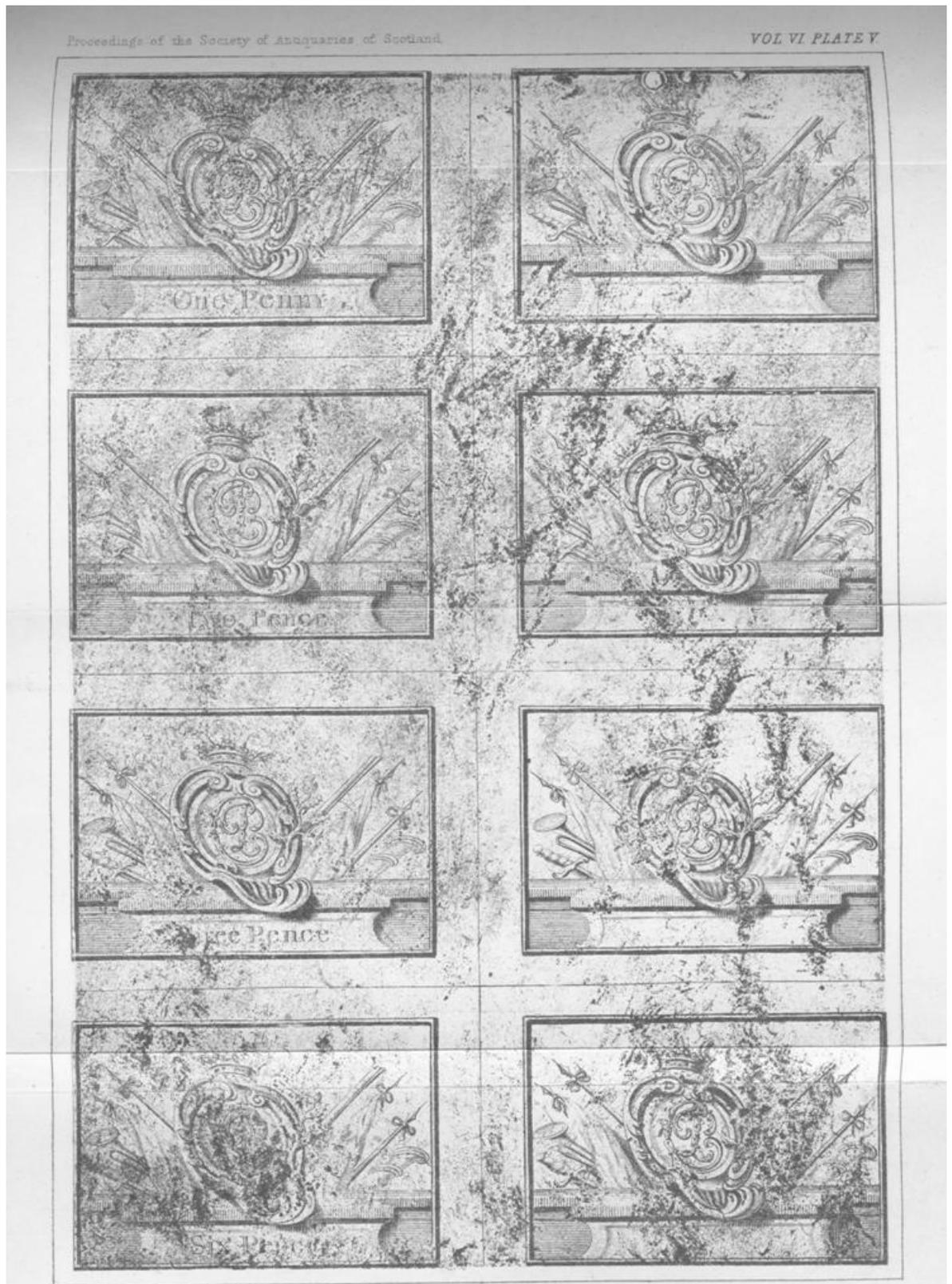


Figure 39 Jacobite currency. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

The simple, utilitarian design for smaller denomination notes is described by Strange below:

It consisted of nothing but the slightest compartment, from behind which a rose issued on one side and a thistle on the other, as merely ornamental; the interior part I meant should be filled up 'by clerks with the specific sums which were intended, &c.; and I proposed etching or engraving, in the slightest manner for expedition, a considerable repetition of this ornament on two plates, for the facility of printing; that each should be done on the strongest paper that when cut separate, they should resist in some measure the wear they must sustain in the common use of circulation. (qtd. in Stuart 1865: 84)

The design was sketched out shortly before Culloden, at the beginning of April or end of May 1746, at the request of Charles Edward Stuart and his advisors, who recognised the benefit of having a currency with which to pay their army. After quickly designing the look of the notes, Strange had the copper plates made over a weekend in Inverness, and within 2 weeks Strange had gathered the necessary materials to begin printing notes for circulation (*ibid.*). His Jacobite mint project was interrupted, however, by the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland, at which point Strange handed over all of his currency-making materials to Murray of Broughton, Charles Edward Stuart's secretary.

The finished products, on display in Fort William and the NMS today, differ from Strange's original design: at the centre of the notes are the initials PC crowned with the feathers of the Prince of Wales and flanked by weapons, horns, and battle standards. The plate has been divided into eight notes, four of them allotted to one, two, three, and six pence denominations - the others were left blank. The creation of these notes was an important political act. Firstly, they asserted the authority of the Jacobites to issue currency, as well as a more practical attempt for the cash-strapped Stuarts to pay supporters. The designs on the notes are also telling. The military motifs preserved the aggressive vitality of the campaign of 1745-6 before the cause was halted at Culloden. The inclusion of Charles Edward Stuart's initials and Prince of Wales feathers attested to the importance of his person and personality to the forward momentum of that final Jacobite movement. By producing a rival official

currency, Charles Edward Stuart was playing at governing without really having the means to do so. He attempted to garner political authority by acting out the mechanics of centralised authority and by producing a standardised currency, a form of material culture that was a central responsibility of government.

Gift giving

An important element of reinforcing political power was through patronage, whether by awarding supporters offices, titles, pensions, or gift items. Williamites, Jacobites, and Hanoverians all used these reward tactics, but here it is gift giving that will be examined most closely. A materialised symbol of patronage, like a gift, could ‘reinforce vertical as well as horizontal relationships and help to generate loyalties and consensus among individuals’ (DeMarrais et.al. 1996). Eva Giloi’s (2011) study of the collection and curation of Hohenzollern artefacts in Prussia illustrates how apt this sentiment is for 18th-century monarchs. The subject-monarch relationship was negotiated through material goods. In this discussion the vertical relationship is being stressed in specific relationship to monarchical authority, however, it is important to remember that peer relationships could also be strengthened.

Gift giving was particularly important to the exiled Stuarts, who could not bestow offices and pensions to the same degree as their Williamite and Hanoverian counterparts. Though a rival Jacobite peerage developed, the titles were little more than promises of future gain upon Stuart restoration. Likewise, monetary rewards were limited by the straightened finances of the exiles. Stripped of any real political power, they needed to negotiate alternate ways to reinforce what they saw as their rightful positions in the world of European court society. Gifts to supporters, be they foreign heads of state or common foot soldiers, were essential in maintaining their claims to the thrones of Britain. Moreover, the physical nature of gifts made them portable, meaning that the physical ties of patronage and loyalty could be transported and maintained across distances. Due to their position in exile, the family relied upon gifts sent to Scotland and the rest of Britain as a way to keep themselves and their influence current in the minds of their supporters.

The authors of the collected notes, letters, and memoranda in the Stuart Papers return again and again to monetary worries, specifically how a lack of income inhibited the family's efforts to regain power. A British monarch's responsibility was not only to take care of his subjects morally by heading the church, and politically as figurehead, but also monetarily by directly supporting courtiers, craftsmen, and charities. Bestowing patronage and gifts to a variety of individuals of all social stations solidified a monarch's position. A lack of specie and shortage of giftable items meant that the Stuarts did not have the ability to appropriately support their adherents, metaphorically suggesting that they were correspondingly unable to rule.

There are countless petitions amongst the Stuart Papers from Jacobites who were either forced into exile or pecuniary hardship after each of the rebellions. The supplicants ranged from influential and well-known nobles to the humblest of soldiers. Unable to fiscally maintain all of their dispossessed followers, the would-be monarchs attempted to maintain traditional ties of fealty by rewarding them with whatever was to hand. Accounts show that gift items, like the medals already discussed in Chapter 3, along with items of personal dress and jewellery were popular tokens of affection from James Francis Edward Stuart and his sons.

Loyal Jacobites did not only ask for money from their king, but also for tokens of remembrance. In June 1752, Ranald Macdonald, the younger Clan Ranald wrote the following to James Edgar, James Francis Edward's secretary:

If his Majesty would think proper to send me any small present as a medal or ring or some such other token, as he thinks proper, that I may keep as a mark of his Majestie's [sic] Goodness and Satisfaction for the small Services I have endeavoured to render on the last occasion, it will make me happier than I can well express... (H. Tayler 1941: 185)

A month later, Macdonald received the desired reply from Edgar, who stated, 'when I read your letter to me to H.M. he was pleas'd to order for you the gold medal you wish he would send you. You will find it here enclosed...' (*ibid.*: 185-6). Strapped for cash and burdened with numerous charitable requests, James was clearly happy to comply with his subjects' less onerous requests quickly and graciously. Episodes like these illustrate the cultural work performed by

contemporary artefacts of the Jacobite period. The importance of items such as medals, locks of hair and other royal mementoes can be obscured by their ubiquity, and in some cases the spuriousness of their provenance. However, these artefacts were a direct physical link to the exiled royal family. They created bonds of mutual affection and mutual responsibility. Sometimes all that a Jacobite supporter needed was a token of encouragement to risk life and property in return. While William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II each participated in a like gift economy of subject-monarch interaction, as argued here, it was all the more vital for the powerless Jacobite court to maintain this particular material presence and why so many artefacts of this kind survive today.

Divine right of kings

It is impossible to entirely separate religious authority from secular authority for the period of study; the changes made to Stuart succession were based upon religious as well as political complaints. Also, while not every Jacobite was Catholic, the vast majority of supporters were either Catholic or Episcopalian High Church. Religion was an important undercurrent in late-17th and 18th-century politics, and the legitimising authority of an inherited throne could only be augmented by the authority bestowed by religious conviction.

The strongest propaganda tool at the Stuart family's disposal was their royal lineage and the traditional belief in the divine right of kings. One of the ways in which this materially manifested itself was in the production and use of touch pieces, which explicitly blend religion and political agenda. These gold and silver tokens had been minted since the medieval period for use by the monarchs of England and France in the healing of the King's Evil, or scrofula. The healing touch of monarchs was an old tradition with stories attributing the giving of a touch piece as far back as Edward the Confessor, though this now seems unlikely. The healing ceremony was usually held at specific times of the year, such as in the weeks preceding Christmas and Easter (Skeet 1938). By the time of Henry VIII, the healing ceremony involved prayers, reading of scripture, with the affected kneeling before the monarch. The monarch personally touched the sores of the afflicted with a specially-minted touch piece and after making the

sign of the cross, hung the token, threaded on a ribbon, around the neck of the supplicant. The individual was to wear the amulet until his / her condition was healed. There seems to be a pragmatic understanding that the receivers of the touch piece would eventually spend the tokens and they were readily accepted as currency, documented as being used to pay for travel expenses, goods, and card and shooting debts (*ibid.*).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Stuarts continued this long tradition, maintaining the practice in the midst of civil war and exile. This was an elaborate act of propaganda blending both religious and kingly authority. It reinforced the divine right of kings by claiming healing abilities, maintaining an old, entrenched British monarchical tradition, and also creating numerous physical reminders of their claim to the throne - tokens with their names and titles inscribed on them that circulated throughout the civilian population. The practice was largely rejected by the Protestant monarchs William and Mary and carried out only begrudgingly by their successor, Anne (Farquhar 1922; Skeet 1930; Skeet 1938), but it was an all important political tactic for the Stuarts. By healing the masses, they not only improved their popularity through personal interaction with their would-be subjects, but also sought to prove their divine sanction. Integral to the healing process was the touch piece. Even in times of difficulty, such as the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, a touch piece or suitable alternative was provided to the supplicants of the king's cure.

Not all touch pieces were specially-minted. During times of strife or alternatively when a monarch was newly ascended to the throne, a coin of sufficient metallic standard could be used in lieu of a gold touch piece. Several items in the Portable Antiquities Scheme database of England and Wales could possibly have been used as touch pieces, but as these are chance metal-detected finds, there is little in the way of context to corroborate their usage. The artefacts include silver two-, three-, and four-pence pieces of James II (using the English title), each with small, punched holes, as if for suspension, which is similar to known touch pieces. Some have been carefully made holes, while others have been crudely punched with different types of tools, one leaving a sharp, rectangular hole, another leaving a diamond-shaped hole with rough edges. If these were in fact used as touch pieces, they must have been

the most ready-to-hand bit of precious metal available, and due to the haphazard nature of the holes driven through them, hastily made.



Figure 40 A well-worn James II silver three-pence piece from the Isle of Wight, which has been carefully punched as if for suspension. PAS IOW-AB1675. Image courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Curiously, there are also a few examples of punched James II brass gun-money - that is, the base metal coinage produced by James to pay his troops during the Williamite War in Ireland, which could later be redeemed for silver. The gun money has been perforated, as if to suspend by a cord or string. As yet no documentary sources have been found to suggest that gun-money was ever used for the purpose of healing, however these coins, the gun-money as well as the low denomination silver pieces, were each punched with holes for some reason. If not for the purpose of healing, it could well be that they were worn as a token of loyalty to James, while he struggled to keep hold of his throne, fighting in Ireland, or perhaps even after he went into exile.

At the height of the healing ceremony's popularity, during the time of Charles II, touch pieces from previous monarchs were being re-used. While in exile, Charles had to use whatever was on hand, including ten-shilling pieces (Skeet 1938). Upon the Restoration, Charles immediately minted a suitable gold coin solely for healing. Over the course of his reign, from his return to Britain in 1660 to his death in 1685, Charles touched an estimated 105,000-106,000 people (*ibid.*). The act of touching was an important facet of the restoration of the

throne. The revival of the lost tradition reinforced the Stuart line's religious and political authority. It was also a large-scale publicity stunt, showing the king's benevolence as he struggled to accommodate the vast numbers of his subjects who had no one to turn to for healing during the years of Cromwell. James VII likewise maintained the touching practice. It is estimated that he spent £3,000 annually on touch pieces (Farquhar 1922; Skeet 1938; Skeet 1930).



Left: Figure 41 Obverse of a gold touch piece of James VIII. NMS H.1958 721. Right: Figure 42 Reverse of same. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

When the royal family fled to France in 1689, James's queen, Mary of Modena, took with her a chest of touch pieces, which she later distributed amongst the French court where they were reportedly highly prized (Farquhar 1922). While in France, the ousted monarch minted new silver touch pieces, which he continued to use during the Irish campaign (Skeet 1938). The practice of healing was continued by James's son, James Francis Edward Stuart. Skeet cites an apocryphal anecdote recorded in Robert Chambers's *History of the Rebellion* that when a man approached George I to touch his afflicted son, the monarch told him instead that he ought to "go over to the Pretender", which reportedly the man did (qtd in Skeet 1938: 10; Farquhar 1922: 223).

James Francis Edward was reportedly performing healing in Paris after his father's death in 1701 and before his departure from France in 1713. Touch pieces exist with both James's English and Scottish titles, suggesting that perhaps some were specifically meant to be distributed during the 1715 campaign in Scotland (Skeet 1938). A gold piece in the National Museum of

Scotland from 1708 [NMS H.1958 205] of James VIII shows that special pieces were also minted for the aborted 1708 Jacobite-French invasion. Shield and Lang in *The King over the Water* state that James performed a touching at Glamis Castle in 1716 (Skeet 1938), but surviving touch pieces of James VIII are scarce. One example was in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Marylebone circa the 1930s and may be the only extant example (Skeet 1938:11). It is possible that James continued touching when he relocated to Italy. There is an account of a healing ceremony held in Lucca in 1722, during which James reportedly used a specially-minted silver medal that probably came from the Papal Court medallist Ottone Hamerani (Skeet 1938: 12).

Anne was the last reigning monarch to perform the healing ceremony. Whereas both her predecessors and successors refused to continue the tradition, Anne held regular ceremonies and many examples of her touch pieces survive. Few touch pieces have verifiable biographies, but one interesting piece, in the British Museum [M8007], is one of Anne with associations with Samuel Johnson. The piece itself dates to 1702, but it was bestowed upon Johnson in 1711 when, as a 2-year-old child and very sickly, he was taken by his father to be touched by Anne.



Figure 43 Dr Johnson's touch piece. M8007. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

As seen in figures 13-5, the designs of the touch pieces varied little between monarchs: Anne and James Francis Edward Stuart used the same visual motifs, St George and the dragon and a ship in sail, on their respective touch pieces.

Due to the painful gout in her hands, Anne used a lodestone to touch her subjects, a replica of which is in the Science Museum [SM A506] in London. This alteration to the healing ceremony is interesting, adding yet another layer of material mediation between the monarch's healing touch and the invalid. The curing potential of the royal touch seems not to have diminished with this added artefactual interference. The potency of the monarch's touch was equally effective if channelled through an additional material conduit.



Figure 44 Lodestone of Queen Anne, silver mount a later addition. SM A506. ©Wellcome Library, London.

Charles Edward Stuart performed healing ceremonies while at Holyrood in 1745 (Skeet 1938) even though he was not yet king, as his father was still alive (and another sat the throne in London). Skeet says, 'The act appears to have been unpremeditated and rather unwillingly performed,' and doubts that any specially made touch pieces were used (*ibid.*: 12). Charles Edward Stuart seems to have taken up the healing practice later in life, touching again in 1770 at Pisa and Florence, and at Albano in 1786. There are numerous surviving examples of Charles Edward Stuart (as Charles III) touch pieces, including a silver one in the National Museum of Scotland [NMS H.1950.722] from 1766. This piece is interesting in that it has a metal loop added to the top of piece, rather than a hole perforated into the body of the coin itself.



Left: Figure 45 Obverse of Charles Edward Stuart touch piece. NMS H.1950.722. Right: Figure 46 Reverse of same. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

While the healing ceremony was an elaborate act of political propaganda, with a heady mix of religion and tradition for good measure, the material culture of the ceremony - the touch piece - should not be underestimated. The touch piece was an integral component to the ceremony, providing an important physical link to the moment of healing. It served as a souvenir of the monarch's touch, and henceforth an object transformed by this personal contact into an amulet to protect the sufferer against a relapse. Wearing the touch piece was a critical part of the healing process and supplicants were urged to wear it as long as they suffered from the disease. If they were poor, they were urged to resist spending the gold until they were fully recovered. The benefits of the king's touch did not necessarily diminish over time. Some individuals held onto the tokens for years to come, circulating them through the family, lending them to others stricken by the disease, and passing them down to their children.

The importance of this ceremony and its material culture for the Stuarts, specifically the exiled branch of the family, should not be underestimated. It was a conscious manipulation of politics and religion that went beyond purely straightforward political propaganda. 'One can argue that these contemporary "iconic" representations of the Stuarts [like touch pieces and other relics] had more than a simple propaganda function as mementoes of the exiled royal

family,' states Dalglish (2000: 93), continuing, 'It is possible that they were intentionally imbued with something of a mystical quality, which probably derived from the more metaphysical aspects of the interpretation of kingship by the Stuarts.' The healing ceremony and touch pieces were constant reminders of Stuart authority, divinely given, to rule over the kingdoms of Britain. Touch pieces became transubstantiations of the monarch's touch and divine authority, creating durable material reminders of the absent kings over the water.

Discussion

Material objects played an integral role in maintaining late-17th- and 18th-century claims to the throne. Artefacts ranging in materials from cheap brass to fine gold provided a necessary material structure that underpinned the Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian political causes as each sought to claim legitimacy and authority over the British populace. Material goods were a fundamental part of defining and maintaining one's position as monarch, reinforcing royal status as well as exerting influence. The artefacts discussed in this chapter were all part of a materiality of ideology and power, without which an individual could not negotiate a royal identity or manipulate political allegiances. These artefacts played important roles in the power struggles of their contemporary period but they continued to further political agendas over time, commemorating and memorialising events and individuals, some artefacts even becoming quasi-religious relics, all of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

5. Material memory

If material culture informs the construction and negotiation of identity and authority, then it also plays an important role in regards to memory. Memory is often mediated by tangible objects and the artefacts in this study are part of the creation, preservation and propagation of the cultural memory of the Jacobite wars. How did these objects function in memory-making during their contemporary period and how do they continue to operate today? A close examination of artefacts from the Jacobite period and their collection and curation over time lends insight into the ways in which individuals rely on material culture for more than what is apparent from functional face value.

Part of the memory work of artefacts relies upon the connections between material culture, emotion, the body and the senses, as best exemplified by Gosden (2001; 2004) and Tarlow (2000). The physical and emotional interactions between persons and artefacts are important, arguably even more so when considering the material culture of conflict. The artefacts examined in this study are those of a divided society; they are the remnants of physical violence and psychological disturbance. Some artefacts were intimately linked to past bodies, like the clothing and hair of personalities like Charles Edward Stuart, which will be explored in depth in this chapter.

Material culture is integral to how a society represents problematic events such as conflict and violence. The memory of uncomfortable history is often negotiated differently from that of other, less controversial occurrences. The material culture of conflict walks a fine line between remembering and forgetting - recalling unpleasant events, but not necessarily in full, graphic detail. They can simultaneously bring a memory to the forefront of the mind as well as place a guard between the past and present, offering distance. The inherent ambiguity and flexibility of these objects gives the intellectual space needed to consider a problematic subject, such as conflict. In the myriad objects from the Jacobite period, depictions of violence were divorced from the battlefield context and made more palatable to contemporaries as well as to modern viewers, reinforcing an idealised, domesticated version of martial valour.

Most often, the memory work required of material culture is not just to act as a tangible place-holder - a physical commemoration of an event - but to act as the 'cognitive scaffolding' (Clark 2008) around which a human narrative can be reconstructed or newly created. Physical objects are asked to serve as an external repository for past events and experiences, as well as a tangible form of identity. Many individuals in late-17th and early-18th century Britain would not have been householders themselves, but tenants or lodgers of one sort or another, with or without a designated private space of their own. For those without a permanent home, possessions served as anchors of identity. As Vickery (2009: 24) astutely observes, 'For the powerless and marginal, home had to be a locking box, a collection of treasures.' For those who could claim authority over little else, a few scant personal possessions would have offered a small sense of control over the external world. The intertwining of material culture, control, memory, and expression of identity, specifically political identity, lies at the heart of this study.

Commemoration, memorialisation, and narrative

Commemorative artefacts can be associated with a specific individual or recall a specific moment in time. Medals issued to mark important events for Williamites, Jacobites, and Hanoverians have already been discussed (Chapter 3), however, there were other artefacts that transformed from commemorative objects to items that were more explicitly memorial. There is a fine line between these two terms, which can be used often - but not always - interchangeably. For the purpose of this thesis, a commemorative artefact is one recording a noteworthy event or action, whereas a memorial artefact remembers an individual or collective death. Artefacts created as commemorative or memorial items, like medals or mourning jewellery, have memory consciously woven into their very fabrics at the time of production, while other artefacts, such as discarded battlefield debris, become repositories of memory only after the fact.

While the problematic relationship between material culture and narrative has been briefly discussed in Chapter 2, commemoration and memorialisation must necessarily rely upon an element of narrative. In order to commemorate or

memorialise, associations with individuals or events are required. Some material narratives can be quite specific, for example the breastplate of John Graham of Claverhouse in Blair Castle, Perthshire, with a hole artificially punched in it to recall his death at Killiecrankie. The Viscount Dundee was indeed felled on the battlefield by a shot, however the wound is known to have been under his arm. On the artefact, an evenly circular hole has been created at a more conspicuous place at the front. The breastplate was modified by early curators for better emotional impact and to emphasise the moment of mortality.



Figure 47 Dundee's breastplate. Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry. Glasgow: 1911, between pp. 142-3.

Material narratives need not be as specific as this. They can also be applied more broadly to periods of time, groups or whole societies. Artefacts without personal associations with individuals can still represent wider social trends. Many artefacts from the Jacobite wars curated in private and public collections today have no accurate provenance, but rather date to the period and commemorate the broader era of political and military conflict, or additionally remember armies of unnamed individuals who died in the unrest.

Ultimately, these artefacts are metaphors (Tilley 1999) standing in for something else, be it an individual, a place or an idea. The most emotive of these metaphorical connections is not the material representation of an abstract ideology or the visual portrayal of the concept of violence, but rather the human connection with a past individual. The artefacts themselves are embodied, acting as extensions of human agents; after the disappearance of the human, the object remains as a part of that individual. As objects are internalised into

the everyday lives of humans, they become part of an individual's personal landscape and an extension of self, metaphorically becoming an actual part of that person. Objects are most poignant not when taken in isolation, but when they serve as metonyms, fragments reminding us of the absent whole. A trampled sporran from a battlefield endures when its owner does not. In most modern instances, museums, the repositories of material culture and the memories therein entailed, are quick to take advantage of the narrative capabilities of their artefacts and offer links to human biography wherever possible. If artefacts are metonymic, however, it is also true that the whole can sometimes be lost. When confronted with case after case of decontextualised items in a museum gallery, the mind can lose the link to the human agent. Thus, instead of recognising individuals, we start thinking of Culloden in terms of muskets, of swords or of sporrans - an army of inanimate objects. The artefact, meant to stand in for the memory, becomes itself the memory, a phenomenon astutely described by Nick Saunders (2003, 2004) in his discussion of the material culture of the First World War, as faces become no more than gas masks and the war itself can be visualised as barbed wire.

The memory-work of physical objects also includes their ability to make memory and history portable, allowing individuals like a government soldier or a member of the Jacobite diaspora, to transport their past and their politics across Europe and other continents. In this way the Jacobite wars and their material culture move through space and time, struggling against the constraints imposed by historical narrative. As discussed previously in Chapters 1 and 2, an overemphasis on narrative in material culture studies can be problematic. It is worth re-emphasising that when a narrative is constructed around an item, the object becomes temporally and geographically static, tied to a single point in time even though the life history of that object encompasses so much more. The object was once produced, carried and stored, being associated with various moments and places, just as its owner would have been. However, movement is arrested at one significant point. This temporal stasis is an important element of memorial artefacts, most obviously illustrated by the numerous battlefield relics of the Jacobite era, (though the phenomenon is present for all other periods of conflict). Personal effects carried or later found on the field of battle, like a powder horn carried at Killiecrankie [WHM 816], or a sporran

thought to have been worn at Culloden [GMRC E.1940.45.dg], are forever linked to a single place and an individual's fleeting presence at a battle is eternally etched into cultural memory.

Memorial artefacts

Some of the objects examined in this study, like the medals discussed in Chapter 3, commemorate a significant event or individual. Some, however, are more explicitly memorial artefacts, marking the death and continuing the remembrance of a specific person or group of people. Perhaps most widespread amongst collections in this category of artefacts are the various types of memorial jewellery popular throughout the period of study. Finger rings were a popular type of memorial object and could be engraved with the deceased's name and date of death, or could feature *memento mori* motifs, symbolic representations of death like skulls and crossed bones. Like much of the material culture in this study, these objects could range widely in quality from the quite plain to elaborate pieces set with gemstones, suggesting that they would have been available to a range of individuals in the middle and upper social classes. Social historians have noted the habit of individuals leaving both money and instructions in wills and bequests for the express purpose of creating memorial jewellery (Cowen Orlin 2010: 301-2). Sometimes the jewellery incorporated a piece of a deceased individual (usually hair), a tradition that survived throughout the 19th century. To fully understand the social and political significance of memorial jewellery in the era of Jacobite unrest, it is important to stretch the timeline of this study back several decades to the mid-17th century.

Memorialising Charles I

The mid-century Wars of the Three Kingdoms, which resulted in the execution of Charles I in 1649, were a deeply disruptive period in the socio-political psyches of Scotland and the rest of Britain. The execution of Charles was a defining moment in British history, calling into question the very nature of kingship and exploring the full limits of Parliamentary power, both of which would define the political landscape of Britain for the next century. His death was nothing less than martyrdom to staunch Royalist supporters and it inspired a wealth of

memorial tributes. The story of the martyred Stuart king violently deposed from his rightful office appealed to the later exiled Stuarts and his memorial objects were reused, and new ones were created, throughout the following century.

Judging from the survival of many examples of memorial material culture of Charles I, tributes to the dead king were widespread during the late-17th and early-18th centuries. An elaborate gold heart-shaped locket [H.NF 20] in the National Museum of Scotland includes a portrait miniature of Charles and *memento mori*, whilst inside are a lock of the dead king's hair and a scrap of fabric supposedly stained with his blood. Likewise, there is a gold and enamel pendant [INVMG.00.116] in the collection of Duleep Singh, a well-known late-19th and early-20th century collector of Jacobite artefacts, again containing hair, as well as a piece of the block on which he was executed, along with a gold skull and crossed-bones *memento mori*. A fine example of a Charles I gold and enamel memorial pendant [RC 28993] in the Royal Collection also incorporates a scrap of fabric supposedly stained with the executed king's blood. A brooch [INVMG.00.117] purportedly contains the hair of both Charles I and his young son, the future Charles II. Here the strands of hair, now white with age, have been stitched into place at the centre of the oval brooch, flanked by the royal monogram, which appears as CP for the young prince, rather than CR. The inclusion of the hair, blood-stained cloth, and fragment of execution block transform these two artefacts from simple memorials to something more like relics, as will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.



Left: Figure 48 Locket with miniature of Charles I. NMS H.NF 20. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Right: Figure 49 Brooch with hair of Charles I and Charles II. INVMG.00.117. ©Inverness Museum & Art Gallery. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Memorial tokens often incorporated images of the king, presented either by themselves or worked into jewellery. As discussed previously (Chapter 4), images of royalty were an important political tool, and in this case, helped to keep the memory of a deceased monarch and the circumstances of his death current in the minds of members of later generations. Portrait miniatures and relief portraits or profiles of Charles I were popular during the Jacobite era, and remained popular with later collectors of Jacobite artefacts. Numerous pieces of memorial jewellery with Charles I's portrait can be seen in museums throughout Britain, so only a few examples will be mentioned here. The Inverness Museum, which received the bulk of Duleep Singh's Jacobite collection (discussed in depth in Chapter 6), has several good examples of Charles I memorial jewellery, such as a gold and enamel finger ring with an oval, head-and-shoulders portrait miniature of the king [INVMG.00.120], and one [INVMG.00.123] that features a similar portrait set beneath a crystal. Another miniature [INVMG.00.010], after Van Dyck, is set in a gold floral border. The National Museum of Scotland has, in addition to the gold locket with the king's hair and shirt fragment, several other examples of Charles I portrait jewellery,

like a silver locket with a left-facing profile [H.NK 82] flanked by the royal monogram, and a gold locket with a miniature of Charles wearing a blue Garter ribbon [H.NK 83].

Images of the martyred king appeared on other types of artefacts as well, like snuff boxes. Two boxes in the Royal Collection [RC 43858 and 43857] feature portraits of Charles I. The right-facing portraits are done in silver and are conspicuously placed on the lids of the boxes. One box is made of tortoiseshell and the other, perhaps meaningfully, is constructed of oak (a Stuart royal symbol). The significance of royal images on snuff boxes has already been explored (Chapter 3), however, with the reproduction of the image of the dead king, the owners of these boxes were making an explicit political statement. Both of these boxes post-date the king's death and are probably from the turn of the 18th century, suggesting that their owners were Stuart sympathisers and upholders of the principle of Divine Right, if not outright Jacobites.

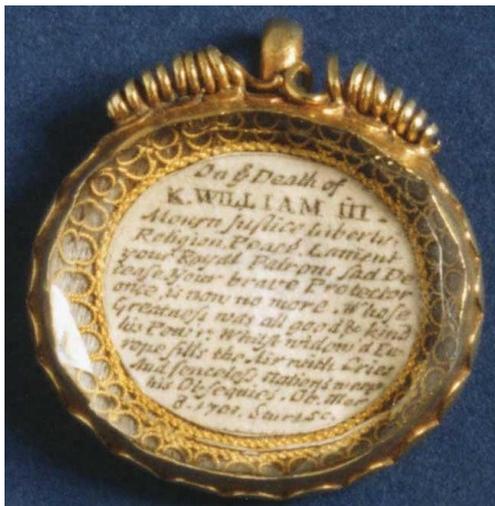
Other memorials to Charles I did not incorporate his image, but rather a monogram or crowned monogram, sometimes paired with *memento mori*. A gold finger ring [65363] in the Royal Collection is a simple band with Charles's monogram and memorial inscription on a black enamel field. Others are set with crystal or stones, like an example [INVMG.00.121] which pairs a monogram with a skull and crossed-bones on an almost-circular bezel, and another [INVMG.00.122] with the king's initials beneath a rectangular crystal and flanked on both sides with more stones. Yet another example, a large oval pendant [INVMG.00.815] on a fabric bracelet, features an elaborate royal monogram and floral design set with seed pearls and ringed with brilliants, while a much plainer heart-shaped silver locket [NMS H.NK 80] has the royal initials surmounted by a poorly engraved crown. In these instances, a portrait was not needed. These are more in line with contemporary mourning jewellery of commoners, who had bands of gold or bronze inscribed with the deceased's initials or abbreviated name, rather than an actual personal portrait. In some instances, the royal cipher alone was enough to invoke the memory of Charles I. In addition, these intricate interlaced letters are often difficult to read, especially when executed on a small piece of jewellery. A casual glance would not have been enough to identify the subject of the design, which would only become apparent under a more intimate inspection.

These memorial tokens to Charles I remained popular throughout the Jacobite era, with some pieces of jewellery showing 18th-century settings. However, it is important to highlight that these artefacts have been consistently collected by Jacobite enthusiasts, and through this their political currency may be artificially prolonged. While undoubtedly many of these objects belonged to Stuart supporters whose descendants were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, some of these artefacts may have been nothing more than a sentimental tribute to the original event, the execution of Charles I, and not indicative of political support of the later events of the 18th century.

Williamite memorial artefacts

Memorial tributes to Mary (d. 1695) and William (d. 1702) include many of the same trappings as those of Charles I, like a gold and crystal ring [RC 28986] containing a piece of William's hair. A circular gold pendant in the National Museum of Scotland collection [NMS H.NK 102] incorporates a poem written on paper (in iron gall ink) or vellum under glass. The verses read as follows:

'On ye Death of K. William III. Mourn Justice Liberty Religion Peace Lament our Royal Patron's Sad Decease. Your brave Protector once, is now no more, Whose Greatness was all good and Kind his Pow'r, Whilst widow'd Europe fills the Air with Cries...Defenceless Nations wept his Obsequies'.



Left: Figure 50 William III mourning pendant. NMS H.NK 102. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Right: Figure 51 William III mourning brooch. V&A M.108-1962. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

There is a duplicate of this pendant in the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum [M.108-1962], which has been converted into a brooch. The twisted gold finial at the top of the pendant that allows it to be strung is missing on the brooch. The decorative gold cording surrounding the verse is better executed in the pendant, as it is more regular and slightly more elaborate. The cording within the brooch, by contrast, obscures some of the text on one side of the artefact, while there is a gap between the decoration and the edge of the paper / vellum on the other. The written text, however, is identical with no variation in the form of the characters or the spacing. The text, therefore, has been deliberately written and trimmed to fit the dimensions of these pieces of jewellery. The maker (or makers) of the pendant and brooch is unknown, so it is difficult to gauge the place of manufacture and how far such items were distributed. However, with two identical examples extant, it is safe to say that these must have been in fashion at the time of William's death and were available to purchase either from one craftsman, or were a popular design that was copied by different goldsmiths.

This jewellery and verse tribute is similar to an earlier gold and enamel mourning ring for Charles II [BM AF.1489], which has a paper inscription beneath heart-shaped glass pane. Like that of William III, there is a written verse celebrating the monarch stating, 'On the Death of K.CHARLES ye II. / A greater Prince ye Throne did never grace / Nor to a better ever left his Place: / Charles is reviv'd while Royal JAMES does Reign; / And all our loss well paid in such a gain.' This memorial ring was clearly made during James VII / II's brief reign, celebrating the Stuart succession and evidence of strong Royalist sentiment.

Mary, of course, had Stuart credentials equal to the deposed James, directly descending from Charles I, however this connection is not over-emphasised in the material record. She was a popular monarch and there was much memorialisation of her in print, such as engravings depicting her funeral procession [V&A E.2266-1889], however, there are few memorial artefacts to be found. There is a mourning ring [BM AF.1505] in the British Museum collection for the queen, made in gold and enamel, decorated with *memento mori* and a plait of hair set beneath her cipher and crown, all topped by a crystal. A limited run of medals were minted to commemorate the event. An example of one [BNK,EngM.146] in the British Museum collection records the date of Mary's

death, along with a motto expressing the hope that she has ascended into heaven. The obverse offers a portrait of the queen, whilst the reverse shows an allegorical scene of mourning.

Jacobite memorial artefacts

An important event on the Jacobite timeline was the death of James VII, who died in 1701, while in exile at Saint-Germain. James's claim to the throne was much stronger than his Jacobite descendents, having actually served as reigning monarch. He was, unlike his successors, widely accepted amongst other European courts as the rightful British monarch at the time of his forced abdication. This was one of the critical moments in the Jacobite political cause, for when James died, William was reigning as sole monarch, his Stuart wife predeceasing him. It is surprising that there are not more memorial tributes to James VII / II in modern collections. As discussed previously in Chapter 3, there are medals commemorating the event, or rather, celebrating James Francis Edward Stuart as the Stuart successor, the would-be James VIII / III. However, memorial tokens for the deceased James are few and far between. There are a number of possible explanations for this. As mentioned in Chapter 4 in regards to the lack of royal portrait dishes of James VI / II, his tenure as monarch was brief and largely unpopular. For ardent Jacobites, it may have been more important to celebrate James Francis Edward Stuart as James VIII / III, stressing a living legacy rather than emphasising the death of his father. It is, of course, possible that these artefacts are simply less well represented in the material record, not having the same collectible cachet as artefacts of other personalities. One example of a memorial artefact for the deposed king is a ring [M.21-1929] in the Victoria & Albert Museum. The ring has a gold band with black mourning enamel, and an oval bezel that holds a cut crystal under which angels in silk thread suspend a crown over James's monogram. Here is an explicit assertion of James's right to rule: he is divinely sanctioned by the angels themselves, who crown his royal cipher.

Another memorial ring [V&A 927-1871], possibly made a few years after James VII / II's death, remembers Charles II and his wife, Catherine of Braganza. Though Charles II died in 1685, it is possible that this ring was not made until the death of Catherine in 1705. If made at this later date, the ring is much more

likely to have political overtones. The ring has the monogram of both king and queen, CR KR, underneath a crown on a background of woven hair. It could, in fact, be a material statement of Jacobitism at a time of transition when the young James Francis Edward Stuart was attempting to assume the title of James VIII/III during the years immediately following his father's death.

The individuals memorialised by the artefacts discussed thus far have been royal. Royals were well-known public figures, as well as being the figureheads for political movements. A change in monarch would bring various governmental changes, along with official duties like public acts of mourning and the coronation of a new monarch, and thus their deaths would have been marked by a large proportion of the population. Furthermore, a royal association is more likely to ensure the survival of an artefact over time and secure it a place in major institutional collections. However, royals were not the only individuals to be memorialised artefactually. One well-known piece of memorial jewellery in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland is the Four Peers Ring [NMS H.NJ 154]. It was made at the close of the last Jacobite rising, to commemorate the executions of four peers, the Jacobite Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat in 1746-7, and recalling that of the Earl of Derwentwater in 1716. It was made by the Edinburgh goldsmith Ebenezer Oliphant, who had well-known Jacobite connections including his brother, the Laird of Gask, and his nephew, Laurence Oliphant (Stevenson 1945-6). In 1740, Oliphant had also made Charles Edward Stuart's famous silver travelling canteen, also now in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland (Dalgliesh 1988, 2000).



Left: Figure 52 Four Peers ring showing bezel. NMS H.NJ 154. Right: Figure 53 Same, showing enameled band. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

The centre of the six-pointed bezel shows an executioner's axe underneath the date of 1746. Around the outside of this are the dates of the executions, 18 AU[gust] (1746), 8 DEC[ember] (1746), and 9 AP[ril] (1747). At the four corners of the bezel appear the first initials of each of the peers (B, D, K, and L) surmounted by coronets. The letters of the inscriptions are picked out in gold from a white enamel background. The bezel is flanked by a white rose on one side and thistle on the other (n.b. there is an error in Sharp's 1923 illustration published in PSAS), and the band is made of two intertwined ribbons with the initials of other Jacobites executed over the same months as the peers, these on 30 July and 28 November 1746. Two similar rings are in the British Museum collection [AF.1490 and 1418]. Sharp (1923; Stevenson 1945-6) identified AF.1490 as a ring from the collection of Colonel Stirling of Kippendavie. Unfortunately there is little indication of provenance for the second ring [AF.1418], other than that it was an early acquisition to the collection. The reverse of the bezel of this ring also includes hair with the initials CS in wire.

Again, the existence of multiple copies of this artefact reinforces the popularity of such items. Much like the rings bearing a miniature medallion of Charles Edward Stuart (Chapter 3), The Four Peers ring was not unique, but rather part of a larger body of similar artefacts. While these objects were not mass-marketed per se, they were produced in limited quantities to a known design, though the ring with hair set in the back of the bezel nicely illustrates the opportunity for personalisation of a set design. In 1747, only two years after violent civil unrest, there were Jacobite customers who want to memorialise executed traitors with fine jewellery, and there were skilled jewellers willing and able to make such tributes. While the two rings in the British Museum are not attributed to a specific goldsmith, there are possible connections to the workshop of Oliphant. Sharp (1923) suspected that the ring in the possession of Colonel Stirling of Kippendavie, via his great grandmother Mrs. Graham of Airth, had a direct link to Oliphant. The connections to Oliphant make it seem likely that he produced all three of the rings. We know that the Four Peers Ring in the NMS at least was produced in Edinburgh for a domestic audience, and that the craftsman responsible was neither prevented from, nor punished for, making it. Items such as memorial rings, therefore, were either easily hidden from prying eyes, or else were not seen as threats to the nation's security.

Another memorial artefact, which remembers this same programme of execution in 1746-7, can be found in the University of Aberdeen's collections. A satin and silk pincushion [ABDUA:17969] serves as both a pretty domestic accessory, as well as a memorial. The names of individuals who were 'Mart[yred] For K[ing] & Cou[ntry]' because of their involvement in the 1745 rising are printed around a central image of the Jacobite white rose. It should be noted that the pincushion is made of printed fabric, not hand-lettered or embroidered, again suggesting that this artefact was not a one-off, but rather one of a larger batch. Printed silk, for handkerchiefs for example, was popular from the early 18th-century onwards, produced from engravings by print sellers. Indeed, a duplicate pincushion was auctioned at Christie's in 2002 [Sale 9305, Lot 249]. The auctioned example had a length of blue ribbon attached, so that it could be worn at the waist, serving as a sort of mourning accessory like the jewellery discussed above.



Figure 54 Jacobite memorial pincushion. ABDUA:17969. ©University of Aberdeen. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Hanoverian memorial artefacts

Popular members of the Hanoverian royal family were also the subjects of memorial material culture during the period of study, including George II's consort, Queen Caroline (d. 1737), as well as his son, Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751). Quite late in the period of study were the deaths of Frederick's daughters (and then-reigning George III's sisters) princesses Elizabeth (d. 1759) and Louisa (d. 1768). A japanned brass shoe buckle [V&A M.8-1973] with a *memento mori* border and inscription, along with an enamelled copper ring [BM AF.1507] mark the death of Queen Caroline. Prince Frederick's death is recorded by various items, such as an ivory and vellum memorial fan [V&A T.202-1959]. On the fan is a mourning Britannia and sombre figure with a shield decorated with the white horse of Hanover, blending the imagery of both Hanoverian jurisdictions. Furthermore, memorials could be domestic decoration, such as an elaborate cut-paper image framed in mahogany [V&A W.37-1932] and a Chelsea Porcelain Factory soft-paste figurine [1887,0307,I.3] of Britannia mourning, both memorialising Prince Frederick. There is an elaborate mourning brooch [RC 52310] in the Royal Collection of gold, enamel, and diamond containing hair of both Princesses Elizabeth and Louisa, and an additional piece of memorial jewellery for Elizabeth, a gold and crystal ring [RC 65388], showing a profile portrait and containing more hair.

Surprisingly less numerous in the surviving material record are mourning tokens for George I and George II. One example is a gold and enamel finger ring [BM AF.1508] marking the death of George II in 1760, donated to the British Museum by its own Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks.

Garther rings

A sub-category of mourning jewellery pertinent to this study is Garther rings, so called because they are decorated to look like the buckled strap of the Order of the Garter. The hoop of the ring mimics the Garter strap, which includes a gemstone or other flourish at the buckle. They are a rare type of ring with only a handful of examples identified and catalogued by Donohoe (1990). Elias Ashmole mentioned Garther rings in 1672 (qtd. in *ibid.*: 85), stating that they

were commissioned by newly-made members of the Order and given to close family or friends to mark the occasion, however Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas (*ibid.*: 85), writing about the history of the Order in the mid-19th century, asserted that by that time such rings had become memorial tokens for a deceased Garter King at Arms's friends. Despite these two anecdotal references to Garter rings as commemorative and memorial pieces of jewellery, Donohoe was unable to find sufficient supporting evidence in wills or bequests, where one would expect to find a mention of either the rings or the funds with which to commission them.

For this study, it is more important to acknowledge that the Garter ring style was used by both Williamites and Jacobites. One of the five identified Garter rings marks the death of William in 1702. While it mimics the shape of a buckled garter like the other rings, it replaces the Order's motto with a *memento mori* and a legend with the monarch's name and year of death.

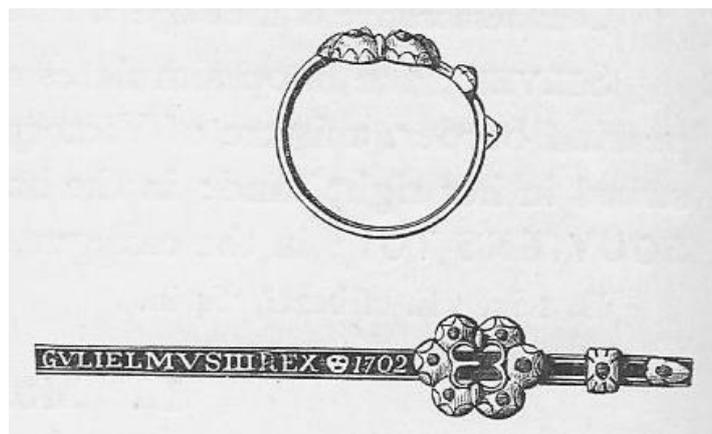


Figure 55 Garter ring memorialising William III. Dalton 1912: 208.

Similarly, two of the Garter rings memorialise Charles I, but one of them at least was certainly made in the first part of the 18th century (*ibid.*). This ring is particularly interesting because it comes with a covering of plain gold to obscure the true decoration. This, Donohoe convincingly argues, is a political ring, rather than a memorial token.

With two competing peerages and lists of honours - the officially recognised ones of William, Anne, and the Hanoverians versus those maintained by the Stuarts in exile - the symbolism inherent in the material culture of royal orders like that of

the Garter, and the implied authority of bestowing them, was a useful political tool to all factions. Here again is another instance in which Williamites, Jacobites, (and presumably Hanoverians) invoked the exact same material tropes in an attempt to legitimise their political positions. Despite the vast gulf in political philosophies, which pitted royal absolutism and divine right against a monarchy empowered by parliamentary consent, the ways in which they expressed and attempted to reinforce power were precisely the same.

Non-material memorialisation

It should be noted that memorial jewellery dedicated to the Stuart, Williamite, and Hanoverian royals is of an extremely fine quality. These artefacts, combining skilled artisanship and expensive luxury materials, would have been owned by only the most affluent of supporters. Missing from the material record are more humble tributes. An oak bough would have signified Stuart allegiance just as well as a pendant of precious metals and stones. Such artefacts, however, do not survive in the material record.

Equally important, though outwith the remit of this particular study, is memorialisation in print and memorialisation by non-material means. It should be highlighted that there were more widespread and accessible ways of memorialising individuals, including the popular habit of printing broadsheets of a person's last words, as well as memorialisation through song and poetry. These would have had a much broader popular audience than expensive bespoke memorial tokens. Also important would have been the sermons and prayers said on important anniversaries, like that of Charles I's death, Restoration Day (Oak Apple Day), or on the anniversaries of William's arrival at Torquay or his victory at the Boyne.

Artefacts or relics?

Throughout the past 300 years in exhibit catalogues, museum interpretations, and personal writings, Jacobite artefacts are often written and spoken of as 'relics'. Though the words artefact and relic are technically synonymous (OED), it is impossible to overlook the religious connotations of the word relic; it suggests more than a mere physical remainder, but rather an object with an

aura of sanctity, to be used when describing something sombre and important. Dagleish (2000) likens relics to icons: an artistic representation of a figure that becomes itself worthy of devotion. Cheape (1995) likewise highlights the use of the term relic as significant. The conscious use of 'relic' suggests a level of uniqueness and evidence of personal contact whereby an artefact is not only a physical manifestation of an important event or individual, but receives reverential treatment. Traditionally, a Christian relic was directly associated with a specific individual or event. By contrast, then, an artefact would presumably be less emotive and less able to be connected to a distinct individual - perhaps an item that more broadly recalls a collective social memory rather than a personal one. Certain collections explicitly advertise their items as relics, such as the collection at Dunvegan Castle on Skye and the Blairs Museum in Aberdeenshire, but what makes an engraved wineglass an artefact while a cup used by Charles Edward Stuart is a relic? Perhaps an artefact is simply an object to observe and from which to glean information, while a relic makes a direct emotive connection to the past. A sporran reputedly found at Culloden and the clothing of Charles Edward Stuart arguably cross the boundary from artefact to relic.

A key distinction of a religious relic is that it is not only associated with a known individual, but that it also has a property of transference. The object is sanctified by personal touch and can in turn pass on its holy attributes, having a transformative power upon the devout receiver. Medieval Christian reliquaries, for example, were interactive, not merely for display but also used for healing (Hahn 1997). There is, therefore an expectation that an observer will take away something personal from a relic - that a connection will be formed between two individuals, despite the separation of time. The descriptor of 'relic' seems to be reserved for intensely personal items, such as physical parts of the Stuarts with their ubiquitous locks of hair.

Hair

The incorporation of hair into memorial artefacts seems to blur the distinction between artefact and relic. Some of the memorial artefacts already discussed have incorporated hair into their design, like the previously mentioned gold

locket [H.NF 20] and pendant [INVMG.00.116] containing the hair of Charles I, and it is worth expanding the discussion of this phenomenon. By far the most collectible follicles in this study are those of Charles Edward Stuart. Locks of his hair abound throughout British museums, from a fat plait [INVMG.00.141] in Inverness, to a brown curl [RC 70436] in a mourning pendant in the Royal Collection, to a single hair [WHM 2905] in the West Highland Museum. Charles Edward Stuart's hair appears set in different types of jewellery from rings to a gold stick pin [INVMG.00.134]. The would-be prince must have been an 18th-century Rapunzel, judging from the many locks he left throughout his brief travels in Britain.

Hair was a common token of remembrance and memorialisation, as well as affection, as satirised by Pope in his 1712 *The Rape of the Lock*. A keepsake of hair could be kept simply as it was in a box or a locket, or else set into fine jewellery or elaborately worked into patterns, which is well illustrated in the later 19th century by Victorian mourning decor. On a practical level, hair is a durable and hygienic part of the body able to be kept indefinitely, but it is also evocative of the individual. Hair frames the face, varies in colour, and is generally one of the most memorable features of an individual. Even if covered by a wig amongst the upper echelon of society, the natural hair underneath would have been a familiar sight to a spouse or intimate family member. The tradition of hair as a keepsake persists in modern times with many parents keeping a lock of their child's hair from the first haircut. In Maori / Australian aboriginal culture, human hair is woven into artefacts, and tellingly these artefacts are considered to be human remains under aboriginal heritage legislation (Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984). Thus the psychological and cultural importance of hair should not be ignored. These artefacts should not be dismissed as merely one more clipping from Charles Edward Stuart's quiff, as upon examination the implications are much more nuanced and altogether more interesting. Either these artefacts have become institutionalised, and are on display because they have been on display for a long time, or else there is an enduring fascination with the personal connection provided by hair of a person long dead. Hair, perhaps, walks the fine line between the uncanny and the acceptable; it is slightly disconcerting to be in close contact with the remains of a past individual, but it is not repellent

enough to disgust the casual visitor. Charles Edward Stuart's locks of hair are not unnerving mummified remains, but simple keratin growth willingly donated during his lifetime. The other important element, of course, is that the hair (supposedly) comes from a known, and indeed, famous individual. Few people or institutions would think of preserving the hair of an unknown individual for hundreds of years.

Corporeal relics, like hair, bone, or blood take on added significance when they are dissociated from the body. Relics are more holy when removed from normal, corporeal context. Thus a lock of hair from Charles Edward Stuart at the height of his romantic military escapades in Scotland can be idealised and separated from the physical reality of Charles Edward Stuart, the womaniser and drunk of 1788. The artefact, divorced from the reality of the foibles of human character, can preserve and propagate an imagined, perfect hero.

It is not just the Stuart would-be royals that receive the relic treatment. Items associated with Flora Macdonald, the Jacobite heroine of the '45, are treated in a similar fashion. Locks of her hair are to be found in various museums, such as that contained within a gold pendant in Inverness [INVMG.00.137].



Figure 56 Pendant with the hair of Flora Macdonald, faded white with age. INVMG.00.137.
©Inverness Museum & Art Gallery. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

A gold finger ring [INVMG.00.143] intertwines hair from Charles Edward Stuart and Flora Macdonald, their hair and their stories inextricably woven together in this one artefact.

Other personal relics include her stays, a particularly intimate piece of clothing which would have been worn close to her body. These are to be found at Dunvegan Castle in Skye, the ancient stronghold of Clan MacLeod still under private ownership of the chiefs (currently Hugh MacLeod of MacLeod, the 30th chief). Signboards throughout the estate list the main visitor attractions, including clan history and leisure boat cruises. 'Jacobite Relics' are advertised prominently on these signs, such as one in the cafe, while on the outside of the gift shop a board draws attention to the castle's 'Bonnie Prince Charlie Relics'. Likewise, the castle website has a subpage titled 'Jacobite Relics', with a photograph of key objects, such as Flora's stays, her portrait and a broken drinking glass lovingly arranged in atmospheric lighting (Dunvegan Castle website). Clearly, these items are - or are perceived to be - an important tourist draw.

Despite the refusal of Clan MacLeod to declare in favour of the Stuarts in 1745 and their cooperation with the most powerful Hanoverian governmental representative in Scotland, Lord President Forbes, Jacobite associations are emphasised in the clan's self-presented heritage and written into their mythology. Flora MacDonald's daughter married the tutor of a MacLeod chief and the famous Jacobite lady stayed at Dunvegan for a few years, though it was long after her involvement in the '45. Her personal possessions, however, are among the most highlighted artefacts on display. Along with her stays, there is a portrait, a handwritten list of her children, a scrap of lace shawl, a lock of Charles Edward Stuart's hair given to her by him, and a memorial pincushion. The display of relics also includes the spectacles of Donald MacLeod of Galtrigal, who piloted the boat that carried the Jacobite prince and Flora MacDonald from Uist to Skye. Other items included in the case draw attention to the involvement of individual clan members in the last Jacobite rebellion, particularly their representation at Culloden. A silver snuff mull given from 'A MacLeod to K MacLeod in memory of Culloden 1746' and a snuff horn supposedly given by Charles Edward Stuart to Kenneth MacLeod 'for distinguished services on the field of Culloden 1746' both connect the clan to that final, bloody battle.

In a nearby case, with other fine objects of silver and glass, is an Amen glass (engraved with the Jacobite anthem, like those discussed previously in Chapter 3), supposedly given to Donald MacLeod by Charles Edward Stuart for his aid. 'To my faithful Palinurus', states the engraving, referencing the mythical boatman of the River Styx (Dunvegan Castle Visitor's Guide 2003: 29).

At Dunvegan artefacts are used to over-emphasise a romantic Jacobite past, presumably for Clan MacLeod diaspora and tourists. It is notable that the collection is not curated by outsiders or by a national institution, but rather the estate remains the private domain of the MacLeod chiefs. This suggests that the public identity portrayed by the selection and arrangement of objects in the castle's collection is that chosen by Clan MacLeod. These artefacts forge fictive connections to an historical event, but the 'relics' at Dunvegan play to an emotional rather than informational connection with the past. If the cultural work of a relic is to form emotive connections, the objects at Dunvegan are often successful, judging by the reaction of one visitor with a very heavy Texan accent who was overheard telling another visitor how she was near tears while visiting the exhibit.

At the Blairs Museum outside of Aberdeen, there is another collection of artefacts overtly referred to as relics. At Blairs, however, there is an explicit religious connection. The museum occupies the grounds of a disused Catholic seminary and boys' school and nicely illustrates the inextricable, but not exclusive, links between Jacobitism and Catholicism in Scotland. With many religious objects also on display, it is perhaps unsurprising that the language used to describe the Jacobite artefacts is similarly devout. The museum's small but interesting collection of personal items linked to the Stuarts came into their possession via the Scots colleges of the continent (Ian Forbes 2010, pers. comm.) The museum has several important portraits copied from well-known originals, including the important copy of Charles Edward Stuart, aged 12 after Antonio David. The Stuart items are displayed with objects such as priestly vestments, and objects of the building's past as a seminary, including religious toys, well-crafted church finery, and mundane kitchen cutlery. Another Stuart highlighted in the collection is Mary Queen of Scots. Blairs has an important portrait of the Stuart queen as well as a small scrap of linen said to have touched her

decapitated corpse - truly a traditional understanding of an object as a Christian relic.

The treatment of these items as 'relics', the language used on the museum website, might be expected due to its explicit link to the Catholic Church, however the posted interpretation alongside the displays is sober and informational. With Catholic emancipation following the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, Catholic Scots no longer had to go abroad to train and be educated in their faith, nor did they have to practice their faith clandestinely. Seminaries and religious schools could be constructed and operated openly in Scotland, thus negating the need for Scots colleges on the Continent. When the school at Blairs opened in 1829, it became the heir to the Continental Scots colleges and through this connection, became the repository for Stuart items held by the foreign colleges. These included personal belongings, such as Charles Edward Stuart's fine gold watch, with a miniature portrait of his (illegitimate) daughter Charlotte, and a highly decorated gold ring embellished with Jacobite roses and containing a plaited lock of the Prince's hair. There is also a portrait miniature of James Francis Edward (as James III, suggesting a specifically English audience). The Blairs display also includes two medals, one depicting the child James Francis Edward from 1697, and another rarer medal issued following the death of Charles Edward in 1788, showing his brother, Henry Benedict Stuart, as Henry IX.

The treatment of artefacts as relics, however, is not specific to Catholicism. In writing about post-Reformation relics, Alexandra Walsham investigates how 'objects that were emblems and tokens of memory became implicated in the politics of religious identity formation' (2010: 122), and finds a strong Protestant relic tradition in the 17th century. Protestants could also collect remains of martyrs or dip handkerchiefs in blood, however, there seems to be a very clear distinction drawn between these gruesome tokens of remembrance and Catholic relics. It did not offend Protestant theology if relics of martyrs were seen as tokens of remembrance, but these relics were not attributed with healing properties. A notable exception to this are the relics of Charles I, specifically handkerchiefs soaked in his blood. The touch of such a handkerchief relieved the scrofula symptoms of a Deptford maid in 1649 (*ibid.*), showing that there

was room for the royal touch in Protestantism, just as healing could be attributed to a touch of the Bible.

Charles Edward Stuart tartan

One of the most ubiquitous types of Jacobite ‘relic’ are the scraps of tartan purportedly cut from plaids worn by Charles Edward Stuart during his brief time in Scotland. These fabric mementoes are to be found in private and public collections, and also at auction. While today expert textile and chemical analysis can tell if a fabric has been machine or hand-woven, or what dyes have been used, few of these artefacts have been subjected to such forensic scrutiny. Some have a more believable provenance than others, such as a scraps of tartan in the collections of the Inverness and Aberdeen University Museums [INVMG.1991.155 and ABDUA:63392, respectively] that came from Moy Hall, where the prince stayed before Culloden. The Aberdeen University swatch, which is accompanied by a gold straight pin, includes a hand-written note tracing the provenance of the artefact. The note states that the tartan and pin were worn by Charles Edward Stuart three days before the Battle of Culloden and was originally given by him to ardent Jacobite Lady Anne Farquharson-Mackintosh of Moy Hall.



Figure 57 Piece of tartan supposedly from the dress of Charles Edward Stuart. ABDUA:63392. Image courtesy of the University of Aberdeen.

The prince is known to have been at Moy Hall and his stay is notable for the so-called Rout of Moy Hall when some verbal sleight of hand tricked government troops into retreat by making them think that they had stumbled into the whole of the Jacobite army (Craig 1999). Lady Mackintosh gave the tartan memento to Miss Gordon of Balbithan House, where it passed down her line until it came into the possession of Mr. Urquhart of Meldrum, and finally, to an aunt of the 1853 donor. This detailed provenance, originating at a known stopover of Charles Edward Stuart's, is more convincing than the many vague anecdotal biographies attached to other artefacts, however the fabric itself looks suspiciously bright and robust for a mid-18th-century example. It is interesting to note, additionally, that these Jacobite artefacts come from a divided household. Lady Anne's husband and master of Moy Hall, Angus Mackintosh, was a government supporter actively fighting for Cumberland, while she raised a regiment of troops that fought at the centre of the Jacobite line at Culloden. Thus, only one facet of the couple's divided political allegiances is represented in a museum context for posterity.

While the Moy Hall pieces of tartan have detailed provenances, to assiduously ascertain the authenticity of each swatch is unnecessary. Cheape (1993b) noted a willing suspension of disbelief amongst both the organisers and viewers of a 1988-9 tartan exhibit at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York, and only mild critical reservations when it was staged again at the Edinburgh International Festival. It is perhaps more interesting to reflect upon the general acceptance and widespread popularity of these artefacts. Firstly, in comparison to many of the artefacts examined in this study, a scrap of tartan fabric would have been a souvenir within the reach of many. If Charles Edward Stuart did in fact leave swathes of tartan with the ladies of the houses in which he sought refuge, as was reportedly his tradition, these could easily have been cut up and distributed around the neighbourhood, becoming one of the least elite and realistically accessible artefacts examined in this study. He was the recipient of many gifts, including sets of clothes, and he was certainly savvy to the public relations opportunity provided by material souvenirs for his supporters. Unlike the expensive ceramics and glassware already discussed in previous chapters, getting one's hands on a swatch of tartan fabric required little more than

contact with someone who had a chance encounter with the prince, as hundreds of such small tokens could be cut from a single plaid.

How many of these tartan scraps are genuine, are even of the period or are later Victorian fakes is unknown, however their continued popularity in the material record is intriguing. The NMS has at least two examples of spurious tartan [H.1995.143-4] purportedly associated with Charles Edward Stuart, but proven to be machine woven samples from the 1820s. Despite examples such as these, tartan souvenirs of the Jacobite era remain popular in collections throughout Scotland. There is something quite personal about these small snatches of tartan that is more intimate than other artefacts. Nearly all of the artefacts come with the anecdotal biographical detail that they came from fabric *worn* by Charles Edward Stuart. Clothing is a highly personal type of material culture, being worn next to the skin and becoming an extension of the body itself. Like the medieval Christian relics discussed above, the element of touch is an important aspect of these artefacts. In fact, Charles Edward Stuart was probably the recipient of gifts of suits of Highland dress that he never wore. Additionally, there is a strong connection between what was at the time of the Jacobite wars, and later centuries, an iconic and uniquely Scottish mode of dress. There are a few examples of other types of clothing worn by Charles Edward Stuart that appear in collections over the years, such as silk waistcoats, but these are left intact. There is not a comparable body of precious, widely circulated fragments of silk garments as there is of tartan. It is important for these clothing relics to be tartan and it is important for them to be believed to have been worn on the person of Charles Edward Stuart. Furthermore, it is essential that collections with a Jacobite theme have an example of such an artefact. Several interesting exceptions to the tartan-swatch paradigm are a scrap of velvet auctioned in 2010, and bed curtains from Culloden House. The velvet scrap purportedly came from the lining in Charles Edward Stuart's basket hilt sword. This artefact, with a more convincing provenance than most, may not be tartan, but it abides by two other important distinguishing characteristics - that is, being in close contact with the prince's person, in this case protectively swathing his hand, as well as having been on the battlefield. The curtains, from the bed in which Charles Edward Stuart slept before Culloden,

likewise preserve an intimate connection with bodily proximity, as well as being associated with the infamous battle.

Battlefield relics

Along with personal artefacts of the Stuarts or other famous personalities, other objects often given relic status are those from battlefields. Battlefield artefacts are usually highlighted within collections and are sometimes displayed separately from other, related artefacts. The West Highland Museum in Fort William, for example, has an entire display case devoted to artefacts from Culloden. These objects are thus marked out as special or different from the many cases of other items in what is a large Jacobite collection. The forced separation between artefacts excavated from the battlefield and artefacts used, passed down, or curated over time in private and public collections similarly appears at the Culloden visitor's centre. There the artefacts recovered from the battlefield are displayed in a separate room from other objects, marking them as distinct. This room is the culmination of the Culloden museum narrative. It is the final room in the sequence and is presented to the viewer immediately prior to the exit onto the battlefield itself. Visitors transition from the museum space into the battlefield landscape with the detritus of violent conflict fresh in their minds, some perhaps reflecting upon the harvest of lead and iron hidden beneath their feet as they explore the ground made infamous in 1746.

Superficially, it seems that battlefield relics are released from the personal associations of the other 'relics' discussed above. A trampled sporran cannot be directly linked to an owner. Instead, it is a geographical association that invokes relic status. Thanatourism and the habit of curious civilians travelling distances to visit battlefield sites develops more fully after the Jacobite period, most notably during the Napoleonic Wars when tourists flock to the battlefield of Waterloo almost as soon as the battle has ended (Simpson 1816; Waldie 1817; Wordsworth 1822; Semmel 2000). However, there is evidence of a nascent interest in battlefield relics at the end of the Jacobite era. Objects in collections and exhibit catalogues exploit any battlefield connection, including items made by veterans living near a battlefield or working with material taken from the battlefield. A snuff horn [ABDUA:18175] in the University of

Aberdeen's collection is accompanied by a hand-written label detailing its provenance: 'Made in house on Culloden Field by one of the survivors of the Battle', a Mr. Rose of Leanach Cottage. This artefact was not itself present at Culloden, but it was made at that location by an individual who witnessed the event.



Figure 58 Snuff horn purportedly made by a survivor of Culloden. ABDUA:18175. Image courtesy of the University of Aberdeen.

Of course many of the battlefield artefacts examined as part of this study are what one would expect from a post-medieval military context: ubiquitous pieces of mass-made military kit, otherwise unremarkable in most instances. Artefacts such as these are special only for their association with battle. Whether or not these have connotations as 'relics' seems to depend upon the ways in which they are presented by heritage institutions and perceived by viewers. While these items are sometimes billed today as 'battlefield relics', they are quite different from the historical treatment of items like hair and intimate clothing of known individuals.

Weapons of war

Examining the weapons and tools of warfare is not as straightforward as it may seem. Excellent scholarship has been done on weapons from the Jacobite era (NTS 1996; Caldwell 2009), with some surprising finds. As Caldwell (2009) argues, sometimes the biographies and uses of weapons can be less straightforward than originally anticipated. In his survey of Highland weaponry, he found that many objects may actually have been showpieces crafted for George IV's royal visit to Edinburgh in 1820, rather than Jacobite-era tools of rebellion. If, in fact, these ersatz Jacobite weapons were created purely for show on the streets of Scotland's capital, as Caldwell suggests, the meaning behind them changes dramatically. Such an origin relegates them to little more than superfluous decoration and nostalgia. Without the proper provenance, these overtly militaristic objects are rendered impotent and, like other objects crafted after the period of political discord, are devoid of any real political power other than retrospective (and romanticised) commemoration.

Unsurprisingly, it is usually weapons, projectiles, and other military equipment that have been recovered from battlefield contexts, rather than those curated over time as heirlooms, that are most likely to be treated as special (if not necessarily elevated to outright relic status). Examples include a Doune pistol [NMS H.LH 248], an oxter knife [NMS H.LC 67], and two broadswords all recovered after Culloden [INVMG.00.635; HFM]. The swords have very different provenances, one imported from the Continent, while the other was hand-forged. Even though the owners are unknown, the differences in production suggest two very different paths to the battle. While these artefacts are not spoken of in the reverential tones reserved for personal possessions, they are yet treated differently from comparable objects because of their connection to the battlefield of Culloden. Other artefacts like a lock plate from a pistol recovered from Culloden Wood [INVMG.2003.079], spent cannonballs and grapeshot [INVMG.1970.067 and 1985.103.102-3], and a spur [NMS H.ML 28] all found at Culloden have also been deemed display-case worthy, though not overtly treated as relics.

Such artefacts are afforded a special status somewhere between regular artefact and special relic because of their ability to evoke the realities of war. There is a

stark contrast between the politely polished and unused swords of 1820 with excavated finds from the fields of Killiecrankie, Prestonpans, and Culloden: musketballs found in concentrated amounts, sharp fragments of iron, a trigger guard snapped by the force of impact, a cross pendant broken and abandoned on the field of battle. The excavated artefacts - broken, deformed, and corroded - have an immediacy about them that a stylised display of pristine dress swords, shiny snuff boxes, and glittering glassware does not. The authenticity of the excavated items cannot be denied. They are irrefutably the seeds of conflict sown in fields across Scotland. It is the obviousness of their use that brings home the reality of the violent political turmoil of the Jacobite period. These artefacts are not polite; these objects are an undeniable testament to human violence and aggression.

With the exception of the visitor centre at Culloden (discussed further in Chapter 7), artefacts such as the broken and deformed pieces of military equipment and spent ammunition of the battlefield are not displayed in concentrated amounts. While token battlefield finds, like abandoned dirks or recovered cannonballs, can be found in collections throughout Scotland, the systematic survey of the battlefield at Culloden generated a large assemblage, which was given display priority in the purpose-built interpretation space. This display of an archaeologically-recovered battlefield assemblage is exceptional; it is most often the polished, polite artefacts that have come to be the modern face of the Jacobite era. When visually charming and aesthetically pleasing artefacts serve as the mnemonic structure for past conflict, there is a disengagement with the reality of war.

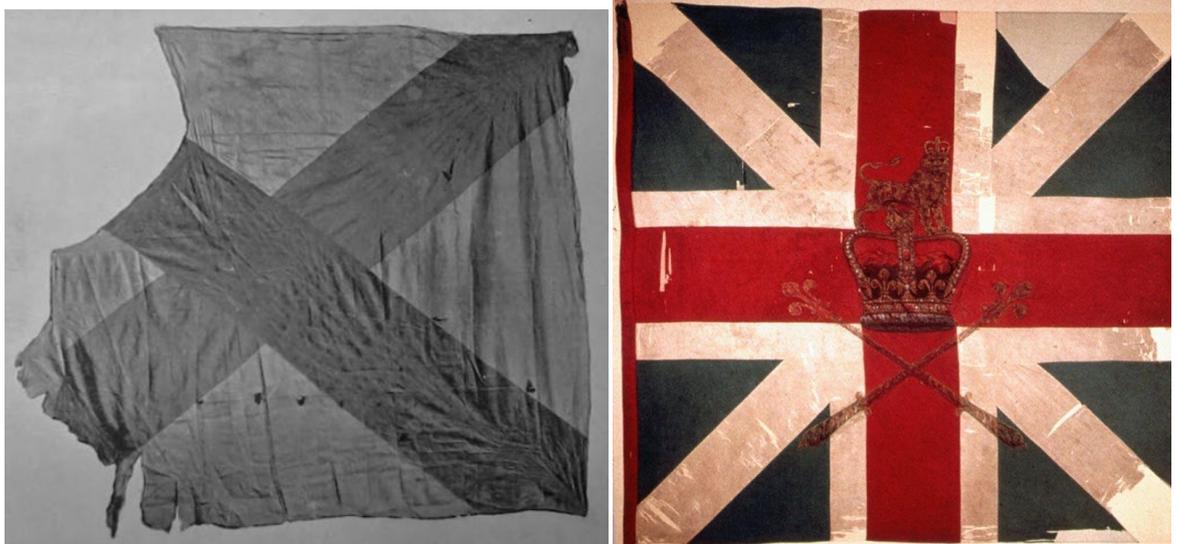
Witness artefacts

These battlefield finds are joined by another set of evocative artefacts: those that were eye-witnesses to violence. Such artefacts include not only those that were physically present during past conflict, but objects made from parts of the natural environment of a battlefield. An example of this is a snuff mull [NMS H.NQ 31] turned from wood from the Gardiner thorn tree. The Gardiner thorn was the tree under which Colonel Gardiner, commander of a troop of government dragoons, died at the Battle of Prestonpans in 1745. The story of Gardiner and the landmark thorn tree has persisted over time due to the fact

that he died just a short distance away from his home, Bankton House. The snuff box, being made from the witness tree, is both a battlefield relic as well as a memorial to the fallen colonel.

Other artefacts prized for their first-hand participation in past events include the faded battle standards that rallied troops in the field and subsequently survived the fighting to be preserved throughout the intervening years. Battle standards taken from an enemy were coveted prizes and protection of such flags was psychologically important on a battlefield. After Culloden a number of Jacobite regimental standards were captured by government troops. Several examples of Jacobite-era battle flags are in the care of the NMS, such as the regimental colour of the Appin Stewarts [NMS M.1931.299.1] which was carried at Culloden and evaded capture (Stewart 1909).

This banner is paired with the now conserved and restored King's Colour of Barrel's regiment [NMS M.1931.299.2]. The sanctity of battle standards can be measured by the medieval tradition of storing them in churches, and the retirement of colours to religious establishments continued throughout the 19th century. These flags undeniably take on the aura of a secular relic. Like the artefacts archaeologically recovered from a battlefield, these items are tattered and fragmentary. They have directly participated in the heat of battle and grimly recall the violence of the battlefield.



Left: Figure 59 The banner of the Appin Stewarts, a yellow saltire on light blue background. NMS M.1931.299.1. Stewart 1909, between pp. 194-5. Right: Figure 60 The colours of Barrel's Regiment. NMS M.1931.299.2. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Artefacts that aspire to battlefield connections

There is another ambiguous subset of artefacts that sometimes appears in collections. These have personal associations with individuals who fought on the battlefield, but are not quite relics. These artefacts are not directly associated with the battlefield, but try to maintain tentative connections with it, and are often personal belongings of non-high-profile individuals. The significance of these items, which belonged to individuals who may have been locally notable but do not carry the same enduring social cachet as a figure like Charles Edward Stuart or the Duke of Cumberland, is uncertain. For example, a box decorated with tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl in the West Highland Museum [WHM 1281], owned by Duncan Cameron. Cameron fought at Prestonpans, but the box itself was not present, nor does it have any other obviously important association, such as being constructed from materials taken from the battlefield. The box, however, is on display in the same case as the many Stuart personal items, suggesting that the connection to Cameron, or the connection to Prestonpans via Cameron, is significant. Regardless of how artefacts such as this originally came into a collection, being displayed is now part of their biographies. Due to their longevity within the collection, they become an unquestioned part of the material record and their display status is taken for granted.

Discussion

Part of the cultural importance of the material culture of the Jacobite wars is its commemorative and memorial functions. Commemorative artefacts recall past events, while memorial artefacts remember an individual or collective death. Such artefacts, like the jewellery and other relics discussed above, did more than just preserve the memory of a deceased person, they also fuelled the continuation of political movements. This is more obvious in the case of the Jacobites, who elevated royal and non-royal high-profile individuals who had died in service to the exiled Stuarts to something like martyrdom. The memorialisation of individuals like Charles I explicitly invoked the idea of martyrdom, drawing upon the religious principles inherent in the belief in the Divine Right of Kings. Thus, memorialisation through material means ensured

that none of the individuals, their actions, or more importantly an individual's over-arching political cause, would soon be forgotten.

Certain artefacts were - and sometimes still are - spoken of in the terms of relics. These tend to be artefacts associated with known individuals or those supposedly from a battlefield. These objects, removed from their original context and use, become almost sanctified. Separation itself lends an aura of specialness and an object divorced from the corporeal body can become an item of devotion because it is removed from the realities of human frailty and failure. A lock of Charles Edward Stuart's hair allows for the image of the iconic and gallant Bonnie Prince Charlie figure, not the impatient, headstrong man who would later descend into alcoholism and domestic abuse. There is a parallel with traditional Christian relics, where a piece of the revered saint is a reminder of individual sacrifice, but a whole body is much more problematic. Corporeality inevitably is associated with sin and human weakness.

A similar separation of battlefield relics from their original intention and use means that otherwise humble objects take on an entirely new significance. A sporran is no longer an ordinary sartorial accessory, but rather is a silent witness to a momentous occasion, its identity arrested at a moment in time. These humble objects are revered not because of any intrinsic value, but because *they were there*. They stand as mute witnesses to the horror of fateful battles. The artefacts themselves are seemingly sentient entities, with powers of observation and memory, though they are only capable of speaking materially. They transmit their knowledge by their tactility - as if an observer could absorb some aspect of past experience by interacting with the battlefield relic. It is not the landscape itself that sanctifies the object; the object has cultural value because it comes from the battlefield of Culloden, but the soil of that battlefield has been sanctified by the deaths of past individuals. It is the human connection that is so emotionally resonant, though in this case the battlefield landscape acts as a link between the object and the long absent anonymous owner. The artefact's link to the absent individuals of the past, its metonymic reference to a missing whole, provides the emotional significance and power behind battlefield relics and defines their relevance over time. Battlefield relics were collected after Culloden and are still valued today because of the tangible link to the past offered by the artefact, which is further animated by the human

characteristics of observation and memory and which serves as a metonym for lost individuals. The psychological key to archaeological 'relics' is to be personal, but not too much so - to bring a person close to an experience without overwhelming them. A tattered regimental colour taken from the battlefield suggests loss and fragmentation, but remains apart from the full spectacle of violence and destruction. While a so-called relic seems explicitly intended to evoke an emotional connection to a lost person or a dramatic event, metonymic objects offer a comfortable distance from which to consider these.

It should be noted that it is with battlefield artefacts that some sort of parity of representation between Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian items is achieved. Whether government or rebel, if differentiation can be made at all, equipment recovered from a battlefield is equally as likely to be curated over time, displayed today, and discussed in terms of relic status. However, the majority of battlefield relics are linked to Culloden, whether because it is the most dramatic and romanticised engagement, or simply because it is the last battle and occurs late in the period of study.

Some of the so-called relics discussed in this chapter have religious overtones in the Medieval Christian tradition - the property of healing, for example - however, it is important to recognise the existence of secular relics. As Knight (2010: 230) observes, 'sacred and secular relics share a common purpose, inspiring veneration, promoting solidarity, providing solace, even working "miracles" (at which point the sacred/secular distinction dissolves).' Knight cautions against confusing metaphor with genuine religious ritual, however. In some cases, 18th century individuals did consciously perform religious ritual, as in the practice of the healing ceremony and issuing of touch pieces (discussed previously in Chapter 4). The royal touch and the royal blood, with their healing properties and use within the framework of a set ceremony, could be venerated as legitimate religious objects, in addition to their employment as political propaganda. Thus these objects are neither solely secular nor uniquely religious.

As George Dalgleish (2000: 92) has observed, Jacobite relics were the product of, '[a] combination of the political and religious convictions' and the Jacobite political cause was one 'whose pseudo-religious nature gave rise to a rash of

“devotional” relics associated with the heroes of the cause.’ Therefore it is unsurprising that the ‘relics’ examined here are overwhelmingly Jacobite. There are no comparable examples of Williamite and Hanoverian items treated as relics in the same way as those of Charles I, for example. Though Williamite and Hanoverian memorial artefacts appear in precisely the same forms as those of their Jacobite counterparts, there is a perceptual difference. A unique blend of politics and religion combined to elevate specific Jacobite items to relic status. While secular relics of prominent individuals, like monarchs, and events, like battles, were kept and treasured by both sides, it is Jacobite artefacts that receive the more traditional treatment of religious relics of earlier periods.

The authenticity of the so-called relics - those from the battlefield or those associated with famous individuals - does not seem to matter. Just as with early medieval Christian relics, there can be a disconnect between container and contents. Not all medieval Christian reliquaries contained what they said they did, just as there are doubts that the multitude of lockets, rings and miniatures hold locks of Stuart hair. Dalglish (2000) has noted a change in the speciousness of collectors over time. A century ago such relics were accepted as largely genuine, whereas today the opposite is true. If the term relic tacitly implies an almost religious attitude toward an object, then there is also an aspect of religious belief that an artefact is what it claims to be. One hundred years ago there was a willing suspension of disbelief and a voluntary credulity by collectors, ensuring that such relics entered into public and private collections where they remain today. Jacobite relics flourished at peaks along the historical timeline, first during their contemporary period, but also with notable events like George IV’s royal visit to Edinburgh in 1822, and again several decades later when Victoria began her frequent visits to Scotland (Dalglish 2000). ‘...[O]ne must come to the conclusion that the gentry of Scotland were awash with Jacobite memorabilia,’ states Dalglish (*ibid.*: 96), ‘and if all of the items were indeed genuine relics of Prince Charles, then he must have been a particularly threadbare and ill-groomed young man during the ’45.’ To a true devotee, however, what the relic communicates is more important than the authenticity of the physical matter. Authenticity does not matter because past and present collectors and museum-goers desire and choose to believe that a worn sporan was actually removed from the soil of Drumossie Moor after the battle of

Culloden and that a scrap of tartan and a lock of hair came from the person of Charles Edward Stuart. These artefacts have been ascribed meanings and despite whether their true origins are apocryphal or well-documented, these meanings are now an indelible part of the artefacts' biographies.

The material culture of conflict, whether from the Jacobite period or another time, can be paradoxical, evoking the memory of the loss of individuals and yet somehow dehumanising those individuals by reducing them to inanimate and fragmented artefacts. The fascination with the material culture of war and violence relies upon just the right balance of remembering and forgetting to allow a viewer to indulge in a voyeuristic frisson without having to experience the uncomfortable reality. Thus, the various commemorative and memorial artefacts of the Jacobite era still have relevance today, remaining collectible in the intervening centuries, as will be explored further in the next chapter.

6. Collecting the past

Jacobite, Williamite and Hanoverian material culture does not only interest heritage institutions, but is also popular amongst private collectors. There are many family collections, clan museums and individuals with or without direct links to the historic events of the Jacobite period that have acquired a material piece of this past. Furthermore, there are also Jacobite interest societies, battlefield re-enactment groups, and individuals who want to take part in the cultural memory of the Jacobite rebellions. While some societies are dedicated to remembering Stuart rule, other organisations, like the Orange Order, celebrate the anti-Stuart and anti-Catholic legacy of William of Orange. Whether there is a direct ancestral connection, a personal or scholarly interest, a cultural connection, or a political-ideological platform, there are numerous reasons for the current interest in buying, owning, and displaying Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian objects.

Examining the collection and exhibition practices of artefacts of the Jacobite wars in the intervening centuries since the conflicts can offer valuable information on how the meanings of these objects, and by extension the conflicts themselves, have been perceived over time. It affords a macroscopic view, giving the opportunity to recognise both change and stability by looking at the process of curation of these artefacts from the early antiquarianism of the late-18th century through to the treatment of these items today in the 21st century. This chapter examines the collection of artefacts by institutional bodies such as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, along with notable private collectors, and the appeal of these artefacts to collectors today as measured by the availability of artefacts at modern auctions. A complementary strand of enquiry, the appearance of artefacts in important Scottish exhibitions over time, will be explored in the next chapter.

Antiquarian interest

Observing the shift from contemporaneous collecting to a more retrospective, antiquarian form of collecting is a nuanced exercise; there is no hard-and-fast boundary between the two. The shift arguably occurs at the end of the 18th

century, when Jacobitism no longer poses a serious political threat to the United Kingdom and the Hanoverian dynasty is firmly established in law as well as practice and tradition. A further indication of a move towards antiquarian interest is the removal of personal connections to the events during which the artefacts were made and used. When artefacts ceased to be souvenirs of an individual's involvement in the events of the Jacobite wars and were no longer linked to specific personal life-moments, the motivations for collection and curation changed.

17th and 18th centuries

Contemporary collection of artefacts occurred throughout the period of study, but this predates the existence of a fully-fledged idea of heirloom objects. During the 17th and 18th centuries, individuals did not preserve artefacts simply because they were old, but rather because of their monetary value, or because they were curious in some way. Wealth was tied up in material goods - plate was melted down and re-used for currency, artefacts were broken down and their parts re-made into newer, more stylish items whenever possible. Objects were much more likely to be reused or otherwise refashioned, some only discarded when they were beyond repair.

The acquisition of artefacts during the period of study must be seen as an integral part of everyday experience. Artefacts with political connotations, whether Williamite, Jacobite, or Hanoverian, were selected for specific reasons and with purposeful intent. It is easy to forget, from the perspective of the 21st century, that these artefacts were not created and consumed with the backward-looking intention of heirloom collection. While some artefacts were overtly commemorative, like memorial jewellery or medals recording an important event, they had as much socio-political currency as they did retrospective memory-making ability.

Those items identified as worthy to be removed from the consumer process and treated as heirlooms had to be either rare, exotic, or have important personal associations, like the relics discussed at length in the previous chapter (5). (N.b. arguably some relics, like those of Charles I still had a day-to-day efficacy, if the owner believed in the artefact's continued ability to cure disease and other

ailments). This is best seen in the tradition of cabinets of curiosity, which developed quite late in Britain in relation to the rest of Europe (MacGregor 2007). Ashmole's famous collection was formalised into the eponymous museum that still exists today just a few years before Jacobite unrest began. It is at the time of the period of study that assortments of artefacts are first being codified into official collections in Britain, signalling shifts in the interaction between individuals and artefacts as a focus upon the act of collecting develops. It is a period of change not just politically but also in the ways in which people thought about the material world. From this early period onwards, the collection of artefacts and antiquities became a polite hobby and a status symbol for well-to-do (predominantly) males (*ibid.*).

A notable collection of contemporary artefacts are those included in Bishop Robert Forbes's *The Lyon in Mourning*, previously mentioned in Chapter 1. As already noted, Forbes consciously set out to record his experiences supporting the Jacobite cause and his multi-volume work, compiled over decades, incorporated small artefacts, such as scraps of fabric from the personal dress of Charles Edward Stuart.

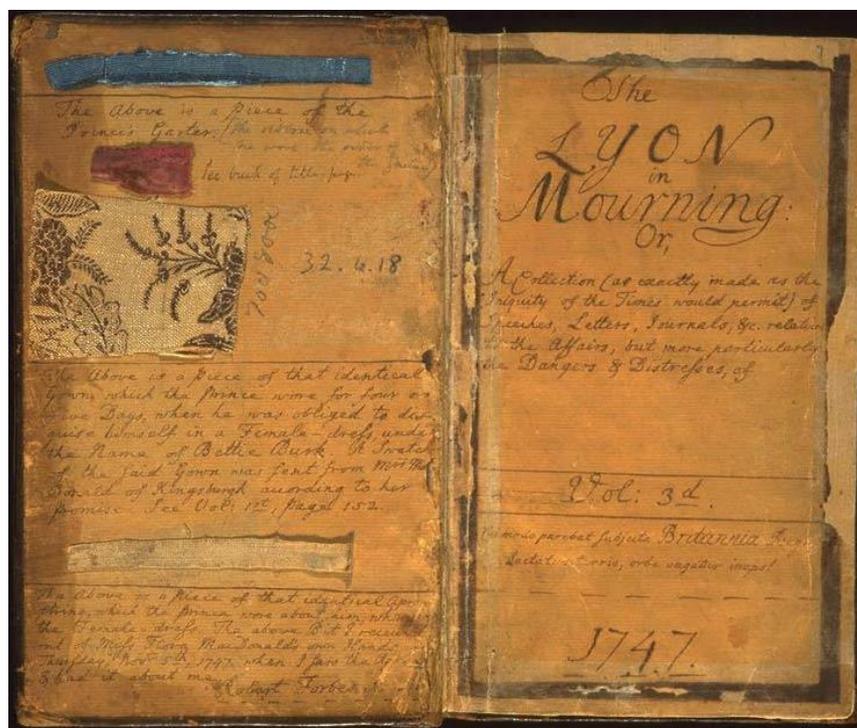


Figure 61 Inside cover of *The Lyon in Mourning*, with scraps of fabric. ©National Library of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Forbes is somewhat of an exception, however, and it is after the end of the period of study that mainstream collecting shifted its focus from foreign and classical curiosities to include British and domestic artefacts. The foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for example, officially occurred in 1783 (Smellie 1792: iii) after a decade of planning and several failed earlier attempts. There was a new nationalistic focus on the material history of Britain, rather than a preference for foreign exoticisms, though these remained popular collectibles. The new Society began publishing *Archaeologia Scotica* in 1792, disseminating to its members their peers' observations on the material past. William Smellie (*ibid.*: iv), reporting on the history of Society's foundation, underlines the change in thought from the previous century. He praised the individual work of antiquaries and historians, while stating that the lack of a repository for scholarship and vehicle for public engagement meant that the knowledge gleaned by learned Scots was not being made accessible to the wider community (albeit a community still limited to an educated, middling-class and above). This is a psychological turning point in the history of collecting in Scotland; a group of interested individuals came together to collect and study the physical past, not solely for private interest or prestige, but for wider educational purposes and for posterity. Furthermore, they took an interest in the domestic material past of Scotland.

The late-18th century provided the social and political stability to allow for the study of an often divisive past. Smellie (1792: iii) refers to the politically tumultuous 17th century as a time when, 'fanatical and feudal dissensions arose, ... [which] produced effects equally pernicious to the objects of the Historian and Antiquary'. He further observes (*ibid.*: iv) that, 'till we [Scotland] were cordially united to England, not in government only, but in loyalty and affection to a common Sovereign, it was not, perhaps, altogether consistent with political wisdom, to call the attention of the Scots to the ancient honours and constitution of their independent Monarchy.' The period of the Jacobite wars disrupted the political fabric of Britain in such a way that studying the material past was fraught with danger. Written 50 years after the final armed Jacobite conflict, the divisions of the past seem distant in Smellie's mind, and the political stability of the late Georgian period allowed for material expression of a separate Scottish historical identity without threatening the Union. Artefacts

of the period were thus freed from the stigma of dangerous partisanship and could be taken into account as parts of Britain's material record, Jacobite relics alongside Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts.

Antiquarian collecting had other, more direct, links to the political machinations of the Jacobite period. Jacobite expatriates living on the Continent contributed to the robust antiquities market throughout the 18th century. For example, Charles Townley (1737-1805), a noted Jacobite, was an avid collector of sculpture, which he left to the British Museum on his death (MacGregor 2007). British Grand Tourists to the Continent, travelling to Italy to improve their understanding of art and architecture as well as to collect tasteful antiquities, often reported catching a glimpse of members of the exiled Stuart court. Government spies used collecting as a means of gathering intelligence on the Stuarts abroad, travelling to the Continent ostensibly for antiquarian interests and meeting with contacts and informants. The best example of this is Philipp, Baron von Stosch, a German diplomat and scholar who spied on James Francis Edward Stuart in Rome in 1715, and who was aided by his close friend and renowned antiquarian (and fellow Hanoverian sympathiser), Cardinal Albani (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, the ways in which monarchs themselves approached collecting had changed over time, as royal collection of material culture began to have repercussions throughout their reigns. The Stuart monarchs had a record of adding substantial personal collections to the royal residences of England and Scotland. Charles II and James VII / II were generous patrons of the arts. Protestant Stuarts were no less dedicated to supporting architectural innovation and fine and decorative arts, as evidenced by the avid collecting and lavish building projects of William and Mary. During the Hanoverian period, however, there were distinct changes in monarchical collecting. George I, frugal as Elector of Hanover and equally frugal once installed upon the throne of Britain, paid little attention to art and architecture, focussing instead on expensive Continental wars, as well as Jacobite conflict at home (Smith 2006). For the first half of the 18th century, Georgian court culture was perceived to be lagging behind other European courts. Rather than lavishly express his royal status through art and architecture, George I strove to arrest the soaring costs of monarchy with cost-cutting actions, like not filling expensive posts that became

vacant, and reining in the indebted Civil List (*ibid.*). Likewise, George II cared little for spending money on art collection and architectural improvements, although his son, Frederick the Prince of Wales, was an avid collector and his successor, his grandson George III, founded the Royal Academy (MacGregor 2007).

It was at this time, at the end of the period of study, that the collection and curation of artistic culture became somewhat of a political bellwether. The use of material goods, from the show of extravagant material culture and dress, to the patronage of artists and architects, had long been a political tool for the elite to manipulate their images at home and abroad. As Eva Giloi (2011: 46) observes of the late 18th century, ‘Kings have long staged their glory through the arts. What changed, over time, was their primary audience’. By the end of the 18th century the British public began to demand access to the collections of the monarch. When George III moved Raphael cartoons to Buckingham Palace, which was inaccessible to members of the public, from Hampton Court, which had been moderately accessible to those wanting to view them, there was public outcry (*ibid.*). From collecting as an elite status symbol of the monarch, illustrated by the building of impressive private collections like those of Charles I and Charles II, public thinking had started to change onto the trajectory that we see today: that a head of state’s collections of cultural objects should be shared with their subjects.

19th century

Since the 19th century, artefacts associated with the Jacobite wars have been highly and consistently collectible. Several peaks in interest can be identified by markers such as clusters of publications and special exhibitions. One such peak occurred during the first part of the 19th century with the interest generated by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, whilst another peak is seen in the early part of the 20th century, with a sudden flurry of publications on Jacobite and Hanoverian drinking glasses (Risley 1920a&b; Read 1923; Francis 1926 & 1936; Fleming 1938), along with the work on the Stuart papers by the Tayler siblings (A. & H. Tayler 1939; H. Tayler 1941), discussed previously in Chapter 1.

The popularity of Jacobite-era artefacts amongst collectors of the 19th century means that there is no dearth of collections from which to choose. Collections belonging to old Highland Jacobite families were started during the Jacobite wars with familial involvement and were built upon over the years. Perhaps the most prominent collectors who showed an interest in Jacobite-era material culture were Queen Victoria and her consort, who avidly purchased Stuart artefacts and funded special Stuart-themed exhibitions, the queen somewhat overemphasising her Stuart lineage by assembling a quantity of the family's material culture. It will suffice to illustrate 19th-century collecting with a brief examination of the collection practices of two very different individuals: Sir Walter Scott and Alexander Carmichael.

Portrait of a collector: Sir Walter Scott

Sir Walter Scott was an avid collector of antiquities and displayed several artefacts of the Jacobite era in his home at Abbotsford. Scott had better access to artefacts than the usual moneyed collector because of his fame and his *de facto* position amongst contemporaries as the acknowledged arbiter of Scotland's past through his literary-historical publications.

In 1893 Mary Monica Maxwell-Scott, the author's great-granddaughter, compiled an illustrated catalogue of the artefacts at Abbotsford, noting their precise arrangement within the house. Maxwell-Scott, like her great-grandfather, wrote historical fiction and the catalogue offers useful titbits of biographical information on the artefacts.

Several key items in Scott's Jacobite collection are associated with Rob Roy MacGregor, the historical personality fictionalised by the author in the eponymous 1817 novel. MacGregor, who was involved in the events of 1715 and 1719, was a well-known character in the 19th-century imagination, thanks to Scott. The collector from Abbotsford owned the infamous outlaw's gun and sword (Maxwell-Scott 1893: 47), as well as his *sgian dubh* (*ibid.*: 62), though no information on provenance accompanies these artefacts. Also in the collection is Rob Roy's sporran. An accompanying letter of thanks from Scott to a Mr Constable confirms that it was a gift from the latter, however no further details are offered on how the artefact came into the possession of Constable (*ibid.*:

61). A similarly unprovenanced brooch has supposed ties to the outlaw's wife, Helen (*ibid.*: 55-6). Perhaps more convincing is Rob Roy's purse, given by the outlaw to Maxwell of Straquhan. After his death, it passed to Thomas Walker, a servant of Maxwell's, before being given by his son to a friend, who gave it to Joseph Train, who finally gave it to Scott in 1816 (*ibid.*: 55). This circuitous but detailed provenance offers more of a biographical trail than many artefacts in modern collections and is all the more convincing for it.

The relics of Rob Roy are significant for their connection to a widely known, dynamic personality even if the real individual is obscured by the literary one. A fictional personality is possibly more attractive to modern individuals than one drawn from real life; readers have access to a character's psychological inner workings and they may feel that they know a fictionalised individual far better than a historical one. In this instance, real-world artefacts serve to make a literary character, albeit one based in history, more tangible. It is not the Rob Roy MacGregor of scant documentary sources that is conjured by the relics at Abbotsford, but rather the dashing hero of fiction. Here the historical material record serves to legitimise Scott's version of MacGregor. The author gains inside knowledge of his subject through a material connection, meanwhile the fictional Rob Roy is anchored in the physical world and made more real than the lesser understood historical Rob Roy.

Scott's collection also contains items associated with Flora Macdonald, in this instance a pocket book embroidered by the Jacobite heroine (*ibid.*: 43). An accompanying letter details its provenance. Alexander Campbell (writing on 6 May 1825), acquired it from his father, Duncan Campbell, Supervisor of Excise in Glasgow. The elder Campbell was sent to the northwest coasts to survey salt stocks, taking his son and wife with him. The pocketbook was acquired in Portree after meeting Flora Macdonald's elderly sister. 'My mother being of the same name, and a native of the North Highlands, an intimacy very soon took place, and the gift of the pocketbook was the result,' explains Campbell, though he continues, 'I am sorry to add that a lock of Prince Charlie's hair, which the book contained at the time it was given, has been lost' (*ibid.*: 44). 'I need not mention the motives which have induced me to do myself the honour,' Campbell continues, 'and to place in your hands this little relic - it is enough to say that it has been given to Sir Walter Scott.' (*ibid.*: 44)

In this instance, the social connection with the living author was more important to the donor than possessing the artefact with the link to the dead Jacobite heroine. The artefact has been used as an important form of social currency to purchase an introduction to Scott and the intellectual cachet of the author's acquaintance. In this way, the artefact performs an important cultural role for Campbell decades after its initial creation. The value of the pocketbook, originally intended as a gift for the Reverend Martin Martin by Flora Macdonald, was later treated as an heirloom by her relations for the fame of its maker. Campbell distinctly recalled the acquisition of the artefact whilst travelling with his family as a young child, when the pocketbook became a souvenir of their tour of the Hebrides, as well as a memento of his mother's ancestral connections to Skye. However, all of these biographical points were eventually superseded by the usefulness of the artefact as a commodity in Campbell's later life, when the artefact became valued for its ability to forge a connection between Campbell and Scott. Campbell's use of the artefact to create a bond with Scott can be seen as an illustration of Mauss's (1990 [1950]) nuanced theory of gift-giving and reciprocity, and the pocketbook's journey from Portree to Abbotsford illustrates the often unexpected ways in which artefacts can act upon successive individuals over time and how an artefact's perceived value can change between owners.

The artefacts in Scott's collection, like the pocketbook that served as Campbell's *entrée* to the author, continued to have a life after the point of collection: some of them continued to be useful and to be used. Amongst Scott's Jacobite relics is a wooden quaich supposedly used by Charles Edward Stuart. In this case, there is a line of ownership leading back to the exiled Stuart prince from Scott, who was given the quaich by a Mrs. Stewart of Stenton in 1825, who received it from the widow of Campbell of Kinloch, who had originally received the gift from Charles Edward Stuart himself. This lineage is recorded on a (later addition) silver band round the rim of the artefact. Perhaps more interestingly is Maxwell-Scott's note (1893: 41) that Scott regularly used the quaich when taking a dram with guests - though the cataloguer is quick to mention that it was only Scott himself who used Charles Edward Stuart's quaich. Other less well-connected vessels from his collection were provided for the use of his drinking companions. Rather than the artefact's biographical narrative

being arrested at the moment of its acquisition as an heirloom, Scott actually drank from the quaich. The author's continued use of the object is perhaps even more meaningful for Scott devotees than its original association with the Stuart prince. In this instance, the artefact is not simply removed from everyday life by being contained in a display case, but rather it continues to interact with human agents that, for Scottophiles at least, dramatically enhances its biographical value.

Scott did not simply collect relics of a historical and parochial past, he also collected objects from his contemporary period, notably artefacts and relics of the Napoleonic wars. Napoleonic artefacts were often seen alongside Jacobite relics in collections and exhibitions (discussed in detail later in this chapter and the next) of the 19th and early-20th centuries. This nicely exemplifies the shift in attitudes toward material culture and the curation of artefacts as heirlooms that had developed by the end of the 18th century. Scott and his contemporaries viewed artefacts from the battlefields of the Napoleonic campaigns as historically significant in their own time and objects currently in use were identified as heirloom-worthy, removed from general circulation, and curated as special examples of material culture. Scott, along with other well-to-do tourists of the early 19th century, personally visited the battlefields of France and the Low Countries soon after the battles, collecting material culture along their journeys (Semmel 2000). They encountered a thriving souvenir market as local villagers stripped the battlefield for anything they could sell. They also visited the battlefields themselves, picking up whatever interesting detritus they could find.

Artefacts from the Napoleonic and the Jacobite wars were grouped together as thematically similar battlefield relics at Abbotsford. For example, a soldier's memorandum book found at Waterloo could be found alongside a piece of oatcake purportedly found in the pocket of a dead Highlander on the field of Culloden. Maxwell-Scott's (*ibid.*: 37) description of these artefacts reinforces the emotive narrative capacity of battlefield objects. 'These pathetic records of two famous battlefields,' she writes, 'while very different from each other, seem to be united by a common interest. Each bears witness to the fidelity, even to death, of its owner, and each reminds us of a fatal day in the annals of a great dynasty.' Here Maxwell-Scott neatly emphasises several of the key

elements of a battlefield relic: pathos - the artefact's ability to evoke an emotional response from later viewers; and fidelity - the authentic piece of history. In fact, the only attestation to authenticity for the oatcake is the paper label in which it is wrapped, written by R. Chambers (the author of the *History of the Rebellion*) which states its dubious provenance with no details as to who originally acquired it.

Despite Scott's avid collecting, many of the artefacts on display at Abbotsford had somewhat dubious provenances. One suspects that much like his grand house, which is amalgamated from different Scottish historical styles into a romantic architectural fiction, Scott did not care overly much for the irrefutable historical authenticity of his artefacts, as long as the overall feel was correct. The collection itself is a blend of historical fact and literary fiction, just like the author's works. That personal relics associated with Scott himself would later become collectible and today can be found amongst the collections of the National Museum of Scotland (Cheape et. al. 2003) seems entirely appropriate.

Portrait of a collector: Alexander Carmichael

Alexander Carmichael, the noted late-19th-century Scottish folklorist who collected folk beliefs, tales, poems, and songs throughout the *Gàidhealtachd*, also collected artefacts. Carmichael was an avid collector of *Gàidhlig*-speaking Scotland's oral, literary, and material heritage. Throughout his travels he also managed to collect a range of artefacts, from the prehistoric to the modern, unabashedly requesting to take away artefacts and curiosities that he found interesting. This he did with the aim of creating a repository of Hebridean culture at a time when *Gàidhlig* communities were still in evidence, but were threatened by emigration to cities and modernisation.

Though ostensibly focused on oral and linguistic traditions, the material realities of day-to-day life are ever-present in Carmichael's research, as seen in his celebrated anthology of songs, poems, hymns, and prayers, *Carmina Gadelica*. In Carmichael's work, material culture 'supplies the background and the texture of life in all forms in the Hebrides in the nineteenth century', states Cheape (2008: 116), and it forms '... the essential "peg" on which the account [*Carmina Gadelica*] seems to be hung' (*ibid.*: 120). Here the world of incantation and folk

belief is anchored to reality by tangible material traditions. Carmichael's work songs are set to the rhythm of a grinding quern stone (*ibid.*: 121) much like the rhythmic waulking songs of weavers, and superstitions are allayed by an array of charms and amulets. Carmichael saw the immaterial history of folk tradition and language as inseparable from the material practices of everyday life; furthermore, he saw both physical and non-physical forms of non-elite Hebridean culture as worthy of study and collection. By the late-19th century, folk culture was worthy of scholarly attention alongside grander national historical narratives, as exhibited by the interest in Carmichael's work by members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The artefacts picked up by Carmichael in his travels throughout the Hebrides range from ancient sculpture to 19th-century farming equipment, and of course, some relics of the Jacobite past. AHRC- and Leverhulme-funded research into Carmichael's life and work has been conducted at the University of Edinburgh since 2009, resulting in a digitised catalogue of Carmichael's writings. Many of the artefacts collected by Carmichael are part of the collection of the West Highland Museum in Fort William, with others having been donated during his lifetime to the Antiquaries Museum, now part of the collections of the National Museum of Scotland.

The majority of artefacts in Carmichael's collection were understandably small and portable, and unsurprisingly, items that reflected folk beliefs such as charms and amulets, were popular. Carmichael also had a great quantity (three wall-cases full, according to Cheape 2008) of artefacts of personal adornment, like brooches. Fabrics and textiles were also attractive collectibles to Carmichael. The importance of tartan has already been discussed (Chapter 2), however it is worth re-emphasising here. For Carmichael, tartan was a quintessential part of the Hebridean identity and weaving was an inextricable component of domestic industry in years gone by. Furthermore, as Carmichael assumed that the fabric he was collecting had been made with locally sourced plant dyes, it linked the artefact to the landscape in which it was produced (Cheape 2008: 118, n.b. as Cheape points out, later analyses of samples of some of Carmichael's textiles at NMS have proven to be the result of imported dye-stuffs, see Quye et. al. 2003).

Among the Jacobite-related artefacts Carmichael collected was a fan [WHM 1992 13 4] supposedly owned by Flora Macdonald. Carmichael's own object label states that the fan was given to Macdonald whilst she was on parole in the home of the prominent London Jacobite Anne Drelincourt, Lady Primrose, in 1746. The fan passed through that lady's family and was given to Carmichael by one of her grand-nieces in 1868. Also in the collection is a creepy (also creepie), or stool, supposedly used by Charles Edward Stuart during the evening before his flight to Skye with Flora Macdonald. Carmichael's notes (Carmichael Watson Project blog 2012) reveal that the creepy, of much local fame, was long curated by three generations of the Macdonald family, until it was given to him by a Rachel MacDonald of North Uist.

These artefacts fall firmly in the category of items with associations with notable personalities. Macdonald's fan is not merely a supposed personal possession, but linked to the heroine's imprisonment, a particularly dramatic point in her Jacobite career. The plain wooden creepy, which would be otherwise unremarkable if not for its purported connection to Charles Edward Stuart's royal posterior, was not just used by the would-be prince, but was used on the night before his escape to Skye. These artefacts, therefore, are more than physical links to past individuals; they capture important moments in time. The narrative capacity of such artefacts must have been attractive to the story aficionado, Carmichael. Their inclusion in his collection show that a century after the period of unrest, Jacobitism was considered an important part of the folk traditions of Western Scotland. These artefacts were preserved alongside folktales, songs, and mundane domestic technologies as part of the Hebridean way of life.

Carmichael and Scott offer interesting counterpoints for collecting in the 19th century. Their modes of collecting differed as greatly as their backgrounds. Carmichael was an amateur, who struggled (and failed) to be accepted as an equal with the elite members of the Society of Antiquaries. His interest in folklore and folk custom attracted him to everyday artefacts as well as those that were notable for their curiousness or personal associations. In comparison Scott was the pinnacle of literary Scotland who built himself a grand estate at Abbotsford and stocked it with a fine collection of foreign and domestic antiques and artefacts. Furthermore, there are differences in the persons from whom

they collected. Carmichael, a *Gàidhlig* speaker, was able to access the homes of common folk in the Hebrides, who he solicited for anything of interest. Scott, on the other hand, had access to some unique artefacts because of his fame. Overall, Carmichael sourced his collection from a much humbler segment of Scottish society than did Scott. By contrast, Scott acquired his artefacts through international and inter-regional webs of elite connections, some of which were donated to him by individuals eager to have an association with Scotland's most famous contemporary author.

Though Jacobite artefacts comprise but a fraction of the objects in the collections of Carmichael and Scott, they are nonetheless included. For 19th-century collectors of Scottish material culture, a few choice Jacobite items were necessary. Lacking from such collections, or at least underemphasised by the collectors, were Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts. This is understandable in the case of Carmichael, collecting from amongst the *Gàidhlig*-speaking population of the Highlands, but less so for Scott, whose fiction sought to reconcile the romanticism of the Jacobite cause with the sober Georgian government that allowed readers of the 19th and later centuries to enjoy his novels from within a stable and mutually beneficial Union.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Prominent collectors sometimes lent artefacts from their collections to special exhibitions, which will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. Other artefacts were periodically shown to smaller interest groups, like the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, fellows of the Society presented papers on the structures, documents, and artefacts of the (particularly Scottish) past, displaying interesting personal possessions and donations to their growing collection at their meetings. The Society's Museum of Antiquities became the basis for Scotland's later nationalised collections (today's NMS), thus this early collecting has had a direct impact upon the scope and variety of artefacts in the modern-day institution. Amongst the many ethnographic, prehistoric, and medieval artefacts shown to members were artefacts from the Jacobite wars. Many of these artefacts remain in the NMS collection today, and many have already been discussed in the course of this thesis. Of interest here is the long-term collection practices of the Society of

the Antiquaries of Scotland, as a way of understanding how the material culture of the Jacobite wars has played a role in the assembling of a collection that came to encompass the national identity of Scotland.

Though small in number overall, especially in comparison with prehistoric artefacts, the material culture of the Jacobite wars was steadily popular amongst Fellows of the Society. A survey of the exhibition, donation, and purchase of such artefacts from 1855, when the Society began issuing its *Proceedings* (the successor of its original publication *Archaeologia Scotica*), until 1985, when the group no longer took responsibility for the collections of the reformed National Museum, resulted in the identification of a total of 133 artefacts (Table 2).

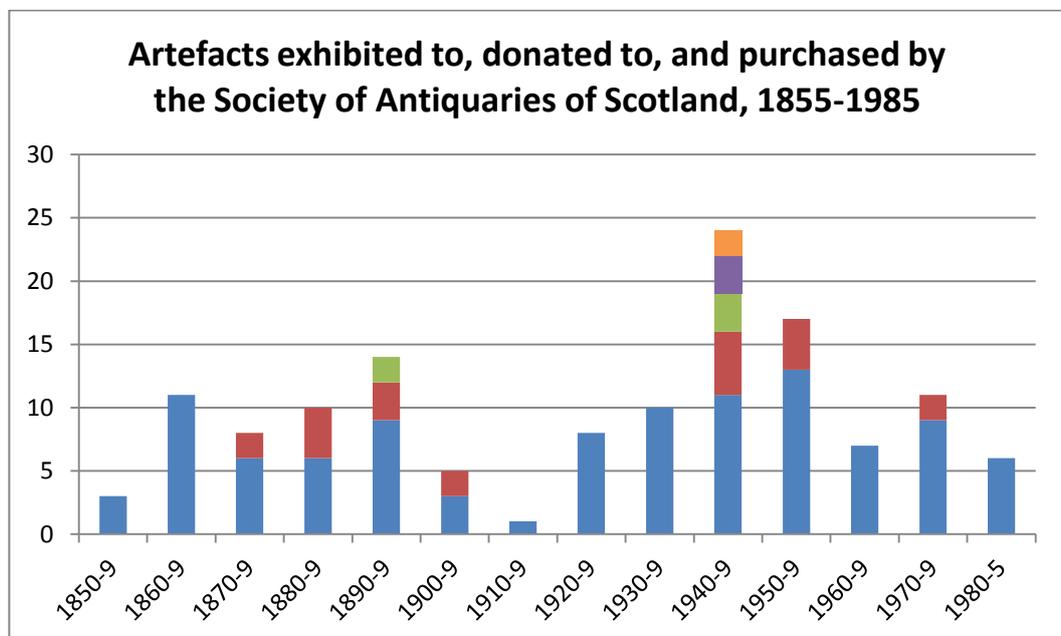


Table 2 The exhibition, collection, and purchase of artefacts of the Jacobite wars by decade, 1855-1985. Donations of 2 or more artefacts by the same person appear in separate colours.

The appearance of Jacobite-era artefacts at the Society, whether exhibited, donated, or purchased, remained modest but steady over time, with a noticeable trough in the second decade of the 20th century when the First World War interrupted all accession and display activities. There was a particularly high amount of Jacobite-era artefacts given to the Society in the 1940s and 1950s, aided by the acquisition of multiple items from already-established collections, like that of the family of Clanranald. The vast number of artefacts

logged in this survey (90) were donations, with the society purchasing an additional 33. The many unsolicited donations suggest that Fellows and members of the public self-identified their Jacobite-era artefacts as important to the nation's past and felt that they belonged in the museum.

Jacobite artefacts were more numerous than their Williamite and Hanoverian counterparts, as well as battlefield artefacts - a trend that will be seen throughout the remainder of this chapter. Table 3 shows the political affiliations of artefacts, along with a separate category for battlefield artefacts.

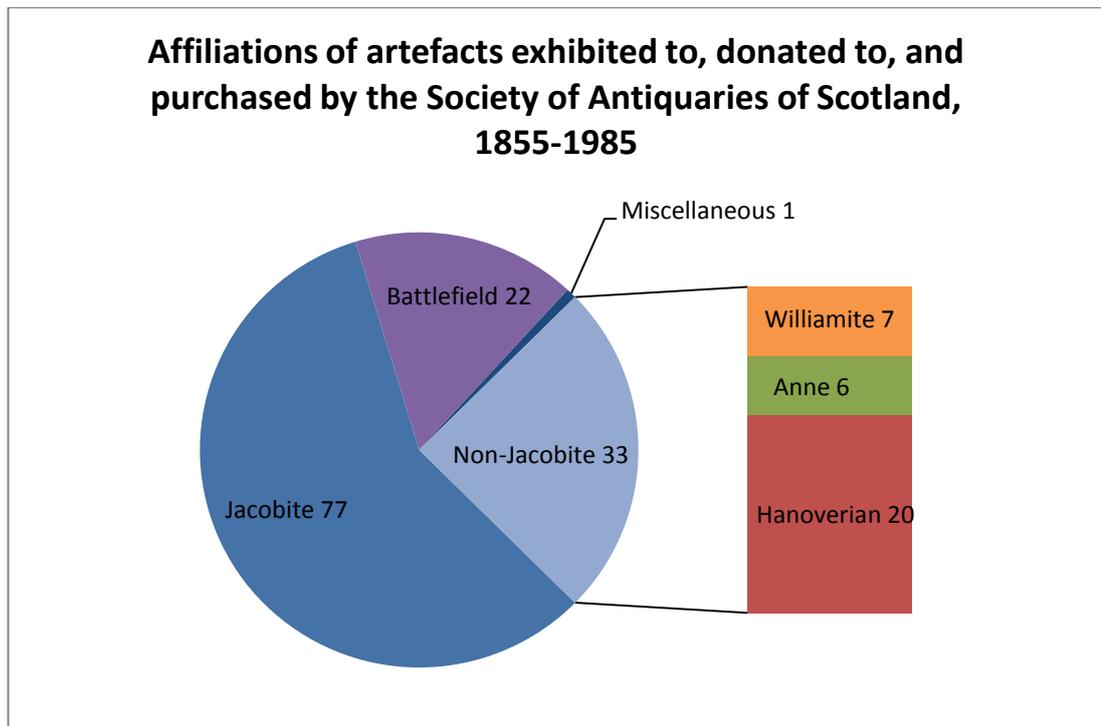


Table 3 Political affiliations of the 133 artefacts identified in the survey. Battlefield artefacts are also included.

Artefacts with Jacobite associations formed over half of the artefacts logged and far outstripped those of their political rivals, as well as artefacts linked to the battlefield. Battlefield artefacts are considered separately because they are often not linked to any one political cause, they simply have an association with a particular field of battle, or else are rumoured to have been carried by a past individual throughout a military campaign. Artefacts evincing support for William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II have been united under the problematic label 'non-Jacobite' (discussed in Chapter 1), but these are further categorised individually. The most numerous of these 'non-Jacobite' categories,

unsurprisingly, is Hanoverian material culture. Again, these artefacts occur at the end of the period of study, which is materially represented in greater numbers. Artefacts of William (and Mary) and Anne are comparable in number. There is a particular paucity of Williamite artefacts, which are generally better represented at modern auctions (discussed later in this chapter), but otherwise these numbers are not surprising. Amongst public and private collections, as well as at auction, artefacts evincing Jacobite sentiments are more numerous, though those of their counterparts, as well as objects associated with battlefields, make up highly visible minorities.

Charles Edward Stuart was the most popular individual amongst artefacts with personal associations, far outstripping any other personality. The most popular associations for artefacts - those individuals associated with 5 or more artefacts - are shown in the table below:

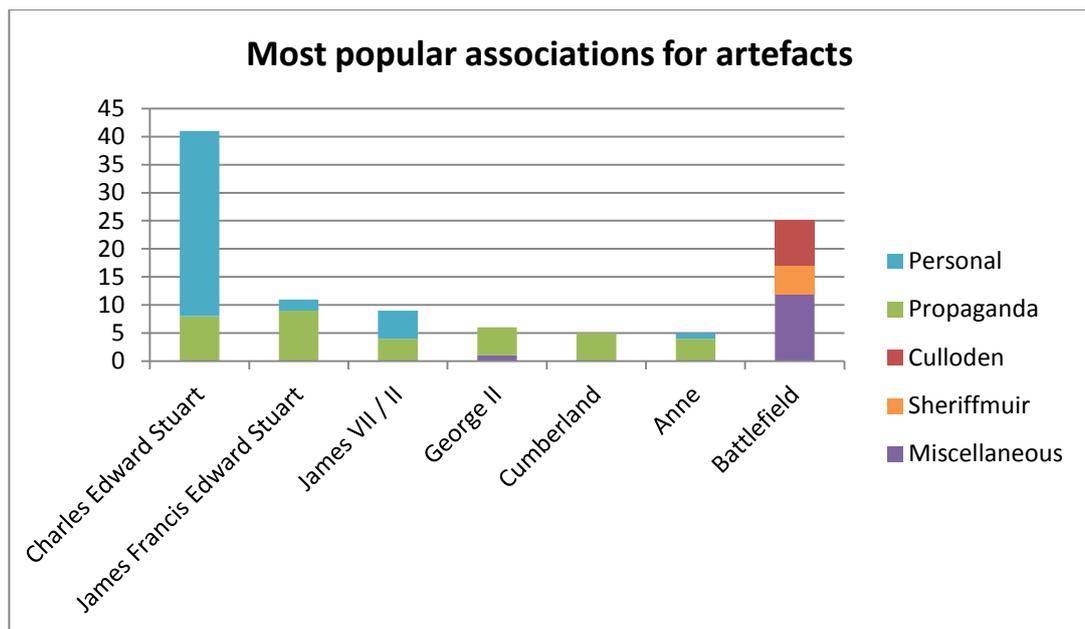


Table 4 The associations of artefacts subdivided into the categories of personal connections or propaganda pieces; Battlefield artefacts are subdivided to show important concentrations of artefacts linked to Culloden and Sheriffmuir.

Unlike those items associated with Charles Edward Stuart, the other artefacts associated with specific individuals were largely propaganda pieces, not those with personal connections. Battlefield associations were the second most numerous category of artefacts with the battles of Culloden and Sheriffmuir

forming notable subsets. Once again, artefacts from the latter part of the period of study are the most numerous.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland recorded a wide variety of artefact types added to the museum collection, from fine jewellery to workaday home furnishings, silver-mounted swords to scraps of fabric. The artefacts can be grouped into several broad thematic categories (Table 5).

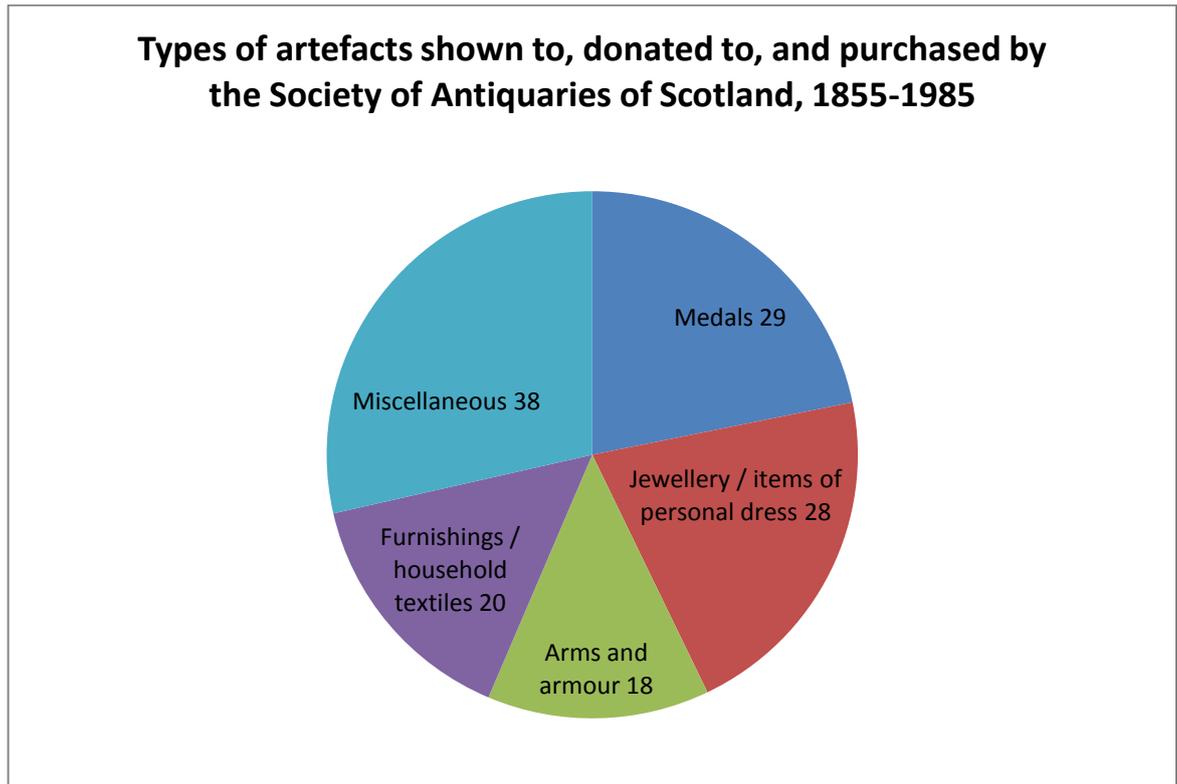


Table 5 Artefacts grouped into thematic categories.

Commemorative medals were the single most popular type of artefact that appeared as both donations and purchases over the years, recording important events on the historic timeline. Such artefacts have attracted scholarly interest over time with numismatists such as Hawkins (1885), Woolf (1988), and Sharp (2008) all cataloguing medallic expressions of the Jacobite era. As discussed in Chapter 4, medals were widespread and readily available, ranging from base metal issue to finer silver- and gold-gilt examples. Equally importantly, these propaganda pieces offer the official narrative of important events. Medals were the ways in which monarchs and would-be monarchs expressed themselves to the wider populace, and for brief unregulated periods of time, also provided an open market for private craftsmen to offer their own interpretations.

Other ways of expressing a political identity were through jewellery and personal dress, including rings, brooches, pendants, buttons, and clothing. This was another category of artefacts popular with the members of the Society and the donors to their museum. These include some important and valuable artefacts, like the Four Peers ring (discussed in Chapter 5). Furnishings, household goods, and domestic linens, were also of interest. Most of these were items with which Charles Edward Stuart interacted during his time in Scotland in 1745-6 when he relied upon the hospitality of Jacobite families throughout the country. Such artefacts include sheets in which he slept and a tankard from which he drank.

The final thematic category of artefacts identified is that of arms and armour, including swords, dirks, pistols and targes recovered from battlefields or else passed down through families. Battlefield curiosities, like an iron dagger found at Sheriffmuir were clearly popular. Like comparable artefacts in museums throughout Scotland, the battlefield relics exhibited and donated to the Society were often of dubious provenance. All of the battlefield finds were chance finds, as systematic battlefield survey and excavation were not yet contemplated by archaeologists. These chance finds from known battlefields were earmarked as significant, despite unsecured contexts. Other artefacts were donated to the museum because of anecdotal biographies, purportedly carried by a donor's ancestor during the campaigns of 1715 or 1745, for example. It is the willingness and desire for contemporaries to believe such artefacts were genuine and their desire for the artefacts to be in the national museum collection that offers insight into the continued importance of the events of the Jacobite era.

Today only a fraction of these artefacts are displayed in the Chambers Street museum, contrasting sharply with smaller museums. The West Highland Museum in Fort William, for example, displays a full range of Jacobite-era artefacts collected throughout the 19th and early-20th centuries. While the display of Jacobite-era artefacts in today's NMS gives a modern display interpretation of a select number of artefacts, other institutions, like the West Highland Museum offer an illustrative look at the inclusive collecting practices of the past 200 years.

20th century - present

The collection of artefacts of the Jacobite wars that began with the likes of Rev. Forbes and others involved in the politics of the period gave way to the nostalgic, retrospective collections of individuals like Scott. This practice continued throughout the following century, with a noticeable peak in interest in Jacobite-era material culture at the beginning of the 20th century. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, there was a flurry of scholarship on Jacobite themes by researchers like Alistair and Henrietta Tayler. Eighteenth century political drinking glasses were especially popular with collectors at this time, embracing both Jacobite and Hanoverian sentiments, as well as other political causes like parliamentary reform and local elections. Large-scale exhibitions like the 1911 Scottish National Exhibition of History, Art, and Industry in Glasgow celebrated the Scottish past, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Rehabilitated by Walter Scott and his Victorian successors, the Jacobite wars remained of popular historical interest, along with a more general interest in the 18th century as a whole. The 18th century was the formative period upon which was founded the Whig narrative of linear progress through time, culminating in the modern achievements celebrated by fairs and exhibitions in the late-19th and early-20th centuries.

By looking at a few examples of prominent collecting from the beginning of the 20th century until the present day, one can see the emergence of dedicated Jacobite collections, with the interest in Jacobite artefacts outstripping that of Williamite and Hanoverian items. Additionally, an elite market for Jacobite-era artefacts develops with some items changing hands at staggering prices.

As collectors became farther removed from the time period of interest, it follows that fewer artefacts were sourced directly from individuals with a personal connection to the events of the Jacobite wars. Artefacts were no longer collected from those with living memories of the period and first-hand knowledge of an artefact's provenance. After a century and a half, only the sometimes confused anecdotal biographies of artefacts survived. From the 20th century onwards most collectors acquired artefacts through antiques dealers and auctions (which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter). This was no

longer a personal act of collection, where the collector engaged with an individual who had a direct connection to the artefact's biography, like the childhood memories of Scott's correspondent, Campbell, who was present for the acquisition of the pocketbook from Flora Macdonald's family at the beginning of the 19th century.

Portrait of a collector: Prince Frederick Duleep Singh

An important collection of Jacobite artefacts is the legacy, fittingly enough, of another family of royal exiles, the Duleep Singhs of the Punjab. Frederick Duleep (also Dalip) Singh, avid Jacobite collector, was the younger son of the last Maharaja of the Punjab, Duleep Singh. His father was deposed by the East India Company in 1849 after the Second Anglo-Sikh War (Singh Madra 2007). Then just a young child, the elder Singh was separated from his mother, and indeed any other Indians aside from the most trusted servants. Singh's British caretakers launched a strict regimen of anglicising the toppled maharajah. In 1854, Singh took up exile in Britain, famously presenting the Koh-i-Noor diamond to Queen Victoria at the insistence (some would say coercion) of Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India (*ibid.*). At first the former maharaja stayed in and around London close to the court of Queen Victoria. After a tour of the continent, however, Singh settled in Scotland at Castle Menzies from 1855-8, followed by a tenancy at Auchlyne. In the 1860s he returned his residence to Southern England, where he raised his family, eventually emigrating to France (*ibid.*).

The deposed maharaja was sometimes an uncomfortable expatriate. Converting to Christianity as a young man under British influence, he later returned to Sikhism (*ibid.*). He wished to return to India, but was only permitted to do so in two instances: to collect his mother in her old age to bring her to Britain, and again after her death to scatter her ashes. Both visits were strictly overseen by British authorities. His wish to have his body sent to India after his own death was denied. Whereas Duleep Singh had an understandably mixed relationship with his forced Britishness, his son seemed to embrace it, especially British monarchism (Visram 2009). Frederick Duleep Singh took a particular interest in the Stuarts, from Charles I onwards, and amassed an impressive collection of

Jacobite artefacts that now form the core of the Jacobite display at the Inverness Museum and Art Gallery.

The collection includes a number of interesting artefacts, from fine jewellery and miniatures to prints and portraits. The artefacts exhibit Frederick Duleep Singh's interest in representations of the Stuart monarchs, rather than a broader interest in the non-royal Jacobite personalities or the battlefield memorabilia so often found in other collections. Charles I is the most prominent subject. Amongst Frederick Duleep Singh's collection of artefacts are many pieces of jewellery that include the king's portrait or monogram, along with *memento mori*. For example, a gold pendant [INVMG 00.116] also contains both a lock of the Charles's hair as well as a fragment of the executioner's block (discussed previously in Chapter 5). Frederick Duleep Singh's artefact collection was augmented by a large assemblage of paintings, portraits, and engravings. An inventory of Blo' Norton Hall at the time of his death in 1926 gives an indication of the picture collection *in situ*, where the faces of Charles I, Charles II, James Francis Edward Stuart and his sons all mingle with the likes of Queen Anne (as Princess of Denmark), the Duke of Cumberland, Elizabeth of Bohemia, and Oliver Cromwell, this last hung irreverently upside down (a display quirk which the Inverness Museum maintains today). While Jacobite portraits and miniatures outnumber their Hanoverian and Parliamentarian counterparts, it is important to note that they do appear together as constituent parts of late-17th- and early-18th-century British royal history.

Unlike collectors of the previous century, Frederick Duleep Singh assembled his collection from auctions and antiques dealers rather than personal connections. An inventory circa 1908 (Stuart Relics in the possession of Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, Oct 1908) notes that his half-length portrait of Charles Edward Stuart as Charles III [INVMG 00.401] by Pompeo Battoni, for example, was purchased from the Duke of Fife's sale, and a portrait of Henry Benedict Stuart as Cardinal York was obtained from amongst the possessions of Lord Young sold by Christie's, while other items, like a seal of Charles Edward Stuart and his wife, Princess Louise of Stolberg, were purchased abroad. Various letters from dealers in art and antiques show that Duleep Singh's agents were constantly on the lookout for items to tempt the Jacobite collector.

A policy from the Royal Insurance Company, Limited (policy A.R.5648776) lists several of the more valuable artefacts in the collection, many of which are still in the collection of the Inverness Museum and Gallery today, though there are a few notable absences. A terra cotta bust of James VII / II, purchased in Monte Carlo, is no longer in the collection. Also missing from the current collection are articles of dress of Charles I. Two linen shirts and a nightcap of the king's that are mentioned in correspondence as well as the aforementioned insurance policy were supposedly left in a trunk of other clothes with the staunch Royalist Jermyn family of Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk, by Henrietta Maria prior to Charles's execution and her escape to France (H. I. Jarman to Sophia Duleep Singh, 23 Jan 1936). The Jermyn family had strong ties to Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and the future Charles II. These had been purchased by Singh from the Rushbrooke Hall Sale [Lot 285], auctioned by Knight, Frank, and Rutley (1919: 36) in December 1919. Upon the death of Bamba Sutherland, Frederick Duleep Singh's last surviving sister, the museum was forced to purchase the remaining parts of the Duleep Singh collection and it is likely that it was unable to secure the bust of James VII / II and the clothing of Charles I at that time. The location of these artefacts today is uncertain, though they may perhaps be tracked down in the future.

Though Frederick Duleep Singh lived in southeast England, latterly at Blo' Norton Hall (Norfolk), he temporarily loaned his assemblage of Jacobite artefacts to the Inverness Museum in 1908, where he intended to dispose of at least part of the collection after his death. Upon that event in 1926, the collection was nearly broken up with artefacts to be split equally between the museum and his surviving sisters, the Princesses Sophia Duleep Singh, a famous suffragette, and Bamba Sutherland. A long-term loan of the princesses' portions of the collection to the museum was negotiated in 1935. Sophia expressed a wish to keep her brother's collection intact (letter to Provost Mackenzie, 13 Oct 1935) and wanted the artefacts to be housed in Scotland. In a letter dated 20 August of that year, she wrote '[b]eing a staunch Jacobite myself, ... and loving the country near Culloden, I am particularly anxious that this collection should go to Inverness'.

Sophia exhibits a fictive kinship with the Jacobite landscape and politics of the 18th-century Scottish Highlands; though she and her siblings resided in southern

England for most of their lives, she felt that the artefacts themselves should be returned to their perceived home in the north. The artefacts in the Duleep Singh collection do not all have a secure provenance. Finely crafted jewellery and *objet d'art* like these would have circulated throughout the upper echelon of British aristocratic society both north and south of the border, however, the Duleep Singhs intended that the artefacts be displayed in proximity to Culloden. Affection for the landscape presumably played a role in this decision, but moving the collection to Inverness has specific ramifications for the artefacts themselves. Again there is a forced association between object and place. Like battlefield relics, whose biographies are arrested at the point of conflict and forever rooted to a particular landscape, Jacobite artefacts can never quite escape the inevitability of the failure of 1746 for hind-sighted collectors. In the Duleep Singh collection, decades of Stuart rule, from Charles I onwards, leads inexorably to the battle on Drumossie Moor; nearly a century of Stuart kingship is conflated into that last, lost battle. 70 years after the Duleep Singhs lent their collection to Inverness, a new visitor centre was constructed on the battlefield and more artefacts arrived at Culloden (to be displayed alongside those archaeologically recovered from the battlefield itself). One can easily imagine the Duleep Singhs lending their artefacts to the modern visitor centre, had such a facility existed, though the number of Hanoverian artefacts on display may have given them pause. The battlefield setting lends the artefacts at Culloden an enhanced emotive capacity, and perhaps an added authenticity, which one assumes fuelled Sophia Duleep Singh's desire to house her brother's collection at Inverness, the closest cultural institution to the battlefield. One does not travel to Norfolk to feel close to Charles Edward Stuart. Even though Jacobite artefacts once circulated throughout Britain, it seems more authentic if they are viewed in Scotland. The loan of the Duleep Singh collection to Inverness and the collection of artefacts assembled by the current battlefield visitor centre emphasises the centrality of Culloden to Jacobite mythopoesis. The battle looms large in the collective understanding of the Jacobite wars and has important ramifications for material culture of the period, whether directly related or not.

Despite Sophia Duleep Singh's stated desire for the collection to go to Inverness, the official transfer of artefacts to their permanent home was a laborious

process of valuations and legal manoeuvres which dragged on for decades. She died in 1948, leaving her share of the collection to the museum, however, at that time her sister requested the return of certain items, namely a valuable Charles I miniature (after van Dyke) [INVMG 00.010]. Bamba Sutherland desired that this and various other items be forwarded directly to Christie's or Sotheby's for auction, the proceeds of which she would share with the museum (A. Fraser Limited 1948). The proposed sale never occurred and she died in 1957 after a lengthy period of illness, at which time the museum purchased as much of the remaining portion of the collection as it could, securing perpetual public access to Frederick Duleep Singh's collection (MacDougall 1959).

The collection of Frederick Duleep Singh nicely illustrates the practices of a turn-of-the-century collector (albeit one with a fascinating family history in his own right), acquiring artefacts from a variety of sources, both domestic and foreign. Perhaps Frederick Duleep Singh's family history, his father an ousted royal, attracted him to the material culture of the Stuart family, with a particular focus on Charles I. His close ties with the court of Queen Victoria, a life lived in Southern England, and an education at Eton and Cambridge fully immersed Frederick Duleep Singh in the life of a British aristocrat. His collecting proclivities were both subversive, celebrating a deposed royal family, and yet very British. Unlike his father, Frederick Duleep Singh exhibited none of the questions of identity that compelled the elder Duleep Singh to re-convert to Sikhism and nurse a lifelong desire to return to India. Much like the Jacobite cause itself, Frederick Duleep Singh was safely removed from the initial political unrest that changed his family's fortunes; by the reign of Victoria both the Duleep Singh family and the Jacobite wars were and suitably assimilated into British culture.

The Drambuie Collection

Discussion has so far been limited to the activities of private and institutional collectors. In the 20th century, however, corporate collection resulted in one of the most important dedicated collections of Jacobite artefacts - that of the Drambuie Liqueur Company. Drambuie actively collected Jacobite art and artefacts, predominantly glassware, over the course of 15 years beginning in the early 1990s. The company's Jacobite connection dates to 1746, when Charles

Edward Stuart supposedly gave the recipe for the liqueur to the MacKinnons of Skye as a reward for their help during his flight. Lacking material gifts to bestow, Charles Edward Stuart instead shared his own personal recipe for a whisky concoction (Nicholson 1995: 7).

The collection was originally founded to 'reflect the rich artistic culture and history of Scotland' (*ibid.*: 7), which would in turn emphasise the essential Scottishness and historical tradition of the Drambuie product. It was assembled by purchasing pieces at auction, as well as house sales, all overseen by curator Robin Nicholson. What originally started as a selection of Scottish paintings and portraiture took on an additional specialisation in Jacobite artefacts and glassware after the company acquired the Spottiswoode Amen Glass [Figure 13 in Chapter 3] in 1991, one of the finest examples of engraved Jacobite glassware in existence. This high-profile purchase became the core of Drambuie's Jacobite collection. Over the years more artefacts, particularly glassware, were added to the collection, however it remained first and foremost an art collection; both art and artefacts were judged by their aesthetic value (Nicholson 2012, pers. comm.). What Nicholson (*ibid.*) classed as 'memorabilia' - that is the unprovenanced curiosities found in many other collections - was not included in the Drambuie collection. Acquisitions were scrutinised for artistic merit and scrupulously researched to ascertain that they were of the contemporary period. Thus the resulting collection was one of visual appeal as well as authenticity of provenance, uncluttered by the often spurious relics seen in other collections of artefacts from the Jacobite era. This rigorous adherence to authenticity and focus on high art in the Drambuie collection subtly reflected upon its own corporate image. The company's founding myth, linking it to Charles Edward Stuart and the 1745, is somewhat dubious. By insisting on historical accuracy and security of provenance when assembling an art collection, the Drambuie company reinforced the legitimacy of its own historical narrative, whereas a collection of spurious 'memorabilia' would have done just the opposite (*ibid.*)

A change in management in 2005 prompted a partial sale of Drambuie's corporate art collection. Much of the 19th- and 20th- century art was auctioned by Lyon & Turnbull in January 2006. The Jacobite collection was kept intact, though it is currently split between several institutions, including the Scottish

National Portrait Gallery, which features some of the collection's highest profile pieces: glassware.

Glassware was always the core of the Drambuie Collection's material culture, nicely complementing the company's product line. Aside from the Spotswoode Amen glass [PGL 1501]¹, other important items include an enamelled portrait glass [PGL 1502] commissioned by the 9th Earl of Kellie, Thomas Erskine for use in Jacobite toasts late in the 18th century, and a rare firing glass with portrait of Charles Edward Stuart [PGL 1507]. The glassware in the Drambuie Collection is of the highest quality and offers a wide range of types from the more common wineglasses to glass mugs, tumblers, goblets, cordial glasses, a champagne flute, and a decanter. Only about a third of the glassware in the collection possibly dates to the period of open rebellion in 1745-6. The rest post-date the cessation of conflict from 1750 onwards, which is broadly applicable to most extant Jacobite glassware. In addition to glass, Nicholson also acquired a number of medals from the collection of numismatist Noel Woolf. Many of these, along with some portrait miniatures and approximately half of the Drambuie glassware, are currently displayed in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (SNPG). Other miniatures, medals, and a lady's fan are currently on loan to the visitor centre at Culloden. Prior to this, before the auctioning off of the 19th- and 20th-century material, the Drambuie Collection was toured throughout North America in 2005 and exhibited at the Fleming Collection in London from September through December of that year, the only time items from the collection had left their corporate gallery in Edinburgh. Whereas access to the artefacts in the collection was once restricted to the private gallery in Drambuie's corporate office, the 2005 touring exhibit and the long-term loan of items to two prominent locations in Scotland have made the collection more publicly accessible than ever before.

Public v. private collections

Unlike public institutional collections, like the local and national museums throughout Scotland, the collections of individuals and corporations have a different *raison d'être*. Firstly, such collectors are not limited to any

¹ The accession numbers referenced in this section refer to those assigned by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The accession numbers for artefacts on display at Culloden are unknown.

overarching collection philosophy, unless it is self-imposed. Their remit is not to acquire specimens of national or local historical interest for the provision of public access, nor is it to provide an educational historical narrative: private collections are freed from any constraints. Private and corporate collectors are limited only by their own finances. Public institutions are often dependent upon securing grant funding and working within already stretched budgets, and these financial concerns are only exacerbated at times of economic uncertainty. Financial independence and ready money to put toward acquisitions enabled the Drambuie Liqueur Company to purchase some incredibly impressive artefacts over the course of its collection period. Most notably, it secured the Spottiswoode Amen glass for £66,000.00 in 1991, at the time the highest price ever paid for a Jacobite glass. Furthermore, it resulted in Sotheby's directly contacting the company when it had a collection of Jacobite glasses to sell (Nicholson 2012, pers. comm.) In this way, the Drambuie Company was able to acquire an intact collection. In return, the company received a good deal of publicity and has even used its historical glassware as a marketing tool. For £3,250.00 the company offers a gift set of spiced and sweetened 45-year-old whisky packaged in a hand-blown decanter accompanied by a hand-etched copy of the Spottiswoode Amen glass. Included in the package is a leather-bound book about the company's impressive collection of Jacobite glass. Here artefacts and a well-known part of Scottish history have been utilised to support a constructed corporate identity. Drambuie may have appropriated Jacobitism and its material culture as a marketing tool, but it has also enhanced the understanding of Jacobite glassware and assembled an impressive array of objects.

While collections like Drambuie can make important contributions to the maintenance of the material past, they are problematic in that they are *private*. Access to artefacts in these collections is restricted. Furthermore, once a collection is assembled, there is no guarantee that it will remain intact. Unlike public collections, which provide long term stability for curated artefacts, private and corporate collections have a shelf-life of sorts: many collections assembled over the course of a few decades will only stay intact as long as the primary collectors are still active. When a private collector dies, for example, the collection might stay intact for another generation or it can also be sold off

en masse or disassembled by beneficiaries. This was the case for the Edward V. Phillips Collection, which was auctioned by Hall's in November 2012. Phillips, a Cotswolds grain merchant, collected 18th-century glassware beginning in the 1970s. After his death in 2011, the collection was dismantled. Likewise, corporate collections are likely to last only 10 or 15 years, until economic changes or changes in managerial structure occur (Nicholson 2012, pers. comm.). Though so far the Jacobite portion of the Drambuie Collection has been kept intact, like any artefacts in private hands, their futures are uncertain and out with the control of academics or the interested public. Thus, the assembling and dismantling of private collections are closely tied to market forces, which will be examined in more detail below.

Auctions

The private collecting practices discussed in the previous section underscore the fact that there is a lucrative market for artefacts that fall within the remit of this study, which affects the availability of information on and access to such objects. While in some cases auctioned artefacts disappear from view into private hands, modern auctions themselves offer an interesting and convenient set of data in printed or online catalogues. The frequency of relevant items coming up for auction, their quality, list price and whether or not they successfully sold all speak to how collectors interact with Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian artefacts. By examining auction data, one can extrapolate a public interest in the subject matter and can cautiously gauge current attitudes toward this material culture today.

1897 Sale of artefacts from Culloden House

The auction data compiled for this study has been limited to the first decade of the 21st century, however, an important early auction was the sale of artefacts at Culloden House at the end of the 19th century, which will serve as a comparison for later auction activity. In the summer of 1897 the contents of Culloden House were auctioned. In 1746, Culloden House was the residence of the President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes, Lord Culloden, who was for a time the Government's only representative in Scotland during the

tumultuous events of 1745-6. Forbes was well-respected by both his contemporaries as well as modern historians, being largely recognised for his fairness and pragmatism in attempting to maintain the government's order in Scotland. As such, he is one of the leading personalities of the final Jacobite war, though he has less of a material presence than the likes of Charles Edward Stuart or the Duke of Cumberland. It was not only the man, but also his property that played an integral role in the events of 1745-6. Culloden House served as the headquarters for Charles Edward Stuart for several nights previous to the battle of Culloden in April 1746, and afterwards, housed both the Duke of Cumberland along with captured Jacobite prisoners. Culloden House was rebuilt in 1790, but the property stayed in the possession of Forbes's descendants until the death of the latest Duncan Forbes in December 1897 at which point the contents of the house were auctioned off. This event was reported in the local newspaper (the Inverness *Northern Chronicle*) and, due to popular demand, a special souvenir catalogue (A. Fraser & Co. 1897)² with photographic plates was published.

In the years after 1746, Culloden House became the repository for relics discovered on the nearby battlefield. Along with a large selection of battlefield relics, the auction included star items of furnishing used by Charles Edward and the Duke of Cumberland, as well as several personal relics of these individuals. A carved wooden table (item 408:34), previously in the home's old dining hall, that served both Charles Edward Stuart and the Duke of Cumberland during their respective stays at the house was purchased by Mackintosh of Mackintosh of Moy Hall for £393 15s 0d (£22,467.38). A plate in the catalogue (between pp 34-5) shows the table laden with battlefield relics. Another star item from the house's collection was the mahogany tester bedstead and valances (item 605:47) slept in by Charles Edward Stuart prior to the battle. This was purchased by J. Lawson Johnstone of London for an astonishing £750 0s 0d (over £42,000.00).

² All citations in this section are from this publication with the catalogue item number and page number listed for each artefact. All estimations of modern currency equivalents were calculated using the historic currency converter available through The National Archives (nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency), and calculated at the rate c.1900. The modern equivalent is shown in parentheses after the original amount.

The catalogue entry for this artefact is in a large, bold font, standing out amongst the other items listed, clearly one of the important lots. Another artefact highlighted for its importance, though fetching a more modest sum than the bedstead was a letter (item 702A: 52) signed and sealed by Charles Edward Stuart, granting a Commission as Lieutenant in Cluny Macpherson's regiment to William Mackintosh, which sold for £99 15s 0d (£5,691.74). The biographies of these artefacts made them highly collectible. Firstly, their authenticity was undisputed. Their long residence at Culloden House in the possession of the Forbes family secured their historical pedigrees without a doubt. Additionally, especially in the case of the bedstead, they represented key moments in time. Charles Edward Stuart went to sleep the night before Culloden as a serious threat to the throne of Great Britain at the head of an army of subjects. The next day he was on the run, his supporters scattered. The biographical elements of authenticity, personal association with key personas as well as an association with the battle of Culloden are what led contemporaries to pay vast sums to own these artefacts.

A substantial array of Culloden battlefield relics was offered at the auction, which seem to have been eagerly snapped up by buyers. Cannon balls from the battlefield (15 in total) were bought for prices ranging from £2 2s 0d (£119.83) to £5 0s 0d (£285.30). A premium price, £6 0s 0d (£342.36) was paid for one cannon ball (item 612: 47) taken out of the turf wall of Leanach Cottage. Three of the cannon balls (items 625-7: 48) purchased had been found in the late-18th century and curated at Culloden House for over 100 years, though the catalogue does not specify when the others were found. Likewise musket balls were sold for amounts ranging from £1 0s 0d (£57.06). Today, with buckets of musket balls from British battlefields for sale on eBay and Minié balls available for a pittance on American Civil War battlefields, the sale of a musket ball for over £50.00 is a surprising price. This highlights the fact that contemporaries saw the artefacts at Culloden house as important and valuable collectibles, not just curiosities. Artefacts from the Jacobite wars were securely in the realm of heirloom object at this point in time. These were undoubtedly made all the more precious for their secure provenance. Furthermore, by this point in the 19th century, as already seen in collecting practices, opportunities to acquire artefacts from those with first-hand knowledge (or in this case, inherited first-hand family

knowledge) of the biographical elements of objects were few and far between. Finally, it is worth emphasising that the sale at Culloden House was limited to an extremely narrow portion of society with the purchasing power to pay premium prices. It took place within a closed exchange system whereby the artefacts of the wealthy and prominent stayed within that same aristocratic social circle. These were transactions between members of the upper echelon of society, contrasting sharply with the interactions of Alexander Carmichael and residents of the Hebrides, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Along with ammunition, a collection of pieces of weaponry from the battlefield was also sold, ranging from a rather modest unspecified old iron weapon (item 632: 48) for £1 5s 0d (£71.33), to pistols sold for £6 5s 0d (£56.63) and £7 10s 0d (£427.95), to a spur found 12 inches beneath the ploughsoil £13 10s 10d (£770.31). Swords (items 643: 48, 645:49, 646: 49), a blade (item 649: 49), a *sgian dubh* (item 648: 49) and a bayonet (item 650: 49) ranged in price from £3 0s 0d (£171.18) to £40 0s 0d (£2,282.40). A dirk in its sheath (item 639:48), which had been recovered from the battlefield, was purchased for £48 0s 0d (£2,738.88), and a Lochaber axe (item 644: 49) fetched £79 0s 0d (£4,507.74). By far the most monetarily valuable battlefield artefact on offer was a decorated targe (item 702: 52), which sold for £157 10s 0d (£8,986.95). Again, these prices reinforce the very expensive nature of the sale, but more interesting is the range of artefacts sold. The amounts and types of military equipment on offer suggests the sheer amount of material available on 18th century battlefields, even after they were picked over by the combatant armies. When systematic archaeological survey of the battlefield was done in 2000, hundreds of artefacts were unearthed with a clear pattern of distribution (Pollard 2009), despite in excess of 200 years of slow degradation of the resource by local collection practices.

Another type of battlefield relic sold at the auction was what can be termed as witness relics: parts of the natural environs of the battlefield that had been there at the time of the fighting. Two fragments of the stone upon which Charles Edward Stuart supposedly stood during the battle (items 668-9:50) were purchased for £0 5s 0d (£14.27) and £0 6s 0d (£17.12), making them amongst the cheapest items available at the sale. Also available was a fragment of a birch tree (item 676: 51) said to have been one of a pair between which the Jacobite

army encamped before the battle, and upon which they supposedly hung their kale pots for cooking. According to the catalogue, the wood had been charred by their fires. This artefact was purchased by the Earl of Moray for £1 0s 0d (£57.06). The very kale pot purportedly used in the charring of this tree was also for sale (item 710: 53), purchased for £52 0s 0d (£2,967.12). Artefacts that have witnessed important historical events are still popular in private and museum collections today, though as evidenced here they vary in their emotive capacity. The kale pot fetched a significantly higher price than the stone fragments, presumably because it has a particularly good attached narrative. Also, the kale pot is an intact artefact, whereas the fragments of stone are incomplete and non-descript. It is interesting that the wooden fragments of birch were worth treble the value of the stone fragments. Again, this could be due to a more compelling story, but perhaps even a small detail like the charring of the wood made the artefact that much more interesting or authentic than the otherwise unmarked stone. It is possible, of course, to construct a more visually appealing artefact out of wood, which can be carved. Possibly this wood was purchased with the intent to be made into something more aesthetic, like a snuff box [NMS H.NQ 31] made from the Gardiner thorn tree from the battle of Prestonpans.

Two unique personal items connected with the Duke of Cumberland and Charles Edward Stuart were also auctioned. A finely carved walrus-ivory and bone domino box (item 670: 50) was left by Cumberland after his stay at Culloden House. The box is decorated with an interlaced monogram and a royal insignia, which have been cut from the solid ivory. The item was purchased by Mackintosh of Mackintosh for £55 0s 0d (£3,138.30). Likewise, Charles Edward Stuart's walking stick (item 647: 49), discovered after the battle leaning against the bed in the room he had occupied was available for purchase. The walking stick was sold to a Colonel Warrand for an unspecified amount, but given as a gift to Queen Victoria. It is interesting to observe that this artefact was singled out for royal presentation. It had a secure provenance, was of a quality fit for royalty, and spoke to the Queen's interest in Stuart artefacts. One would assume that the finely carved ivory domino case of the Duke of Cumberland would have been equally presentation-worthy, having an irrefutable family connection as Victoria was a direct descendent of the House of Hanover, the

Duke of Cumberland being her great uncle, but it is the Stuart relic that found its way back into royal hands.

Along with household and battlefield artefacts, the Culloden House auction offered many prints and engravings whose subjects included James VII / II (item 484: 38), James Francis Edward Stuart and Maria Clementina Sobieski (item 485: 38), Charles Edward Stuart (items 487: 39, 496: 39, 513: 40, 518: 41, 562: 44) and his daughter, the Countess Albany (item 489: 39). Other prints included a Hogarth engraving of Lord Lovat (item 488: 39), as well as scenes from the military engagements of 1745-6 (items 493: 39, 508: 40, 516: 41, 519: 41, 529: 41). The focus on Jacobite personalities in these numerous prints and engravings must be attributed to the tastes of the Lord President's descendants, particularly the last Duncan Forbes, who erected the memorial cairn to the clans on the battlefield in 1881. Hanoverian portraiture is far less evident, with only an engraving of George II on horseback (item 560: 44), and an engraving of the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden (item 561:44). This collection of prints and engravings closely resembles that of Frederick Duleep Singh: predominantly Jacobite but with a few key Hanoverian individuals included for contrast. In the case of Duncan Forbes, however, his ancestor was irrefutably pro-government, suggesting how much the Jacobite cause had been rehabilitated by the end of the 19th century.

The vast majority of the artefacts auctioned in the Culloden House sale were battlefield relics. The great house's proximity to the battle, both geographical and temporal, lent an authenticity to these artefacts almost unparalleled by other collections. The Forbes family occupied the property for over two-hundred years, providing a continuity of ownership that led to the careful and reliable curation of artefacts from the battlefield of Culloden. This excellent battlefield assemblage was further augmented by unique and securely provenanced artefacts with personal associations with both Charles Edward Stuart and the Duke of Cumberland, and rounded out by a collection of prints and engravings with a largely Jacobite flavour.

Unlike many other auction publications, the catalogue of the Culloden House sale offers a wealth of information about the auction results. This contrasts with the Rushbrooke Hall Sale of 1919, which included the Charles I relics that so

interested Frederick Duleep Singh. An anonymous type-written note dated 17 March, 1920 that was pasted into the inside cover of the Rushbrooke Hall Sale catalogue examined for this study remarked, '...there were very few references to this sale in the daily papers, and then only to the tapestry. As this is the case, it scarcely seems worth while trying to get the prices fetched by the pictures, neither do we know how you would be able to obtain them as Messrs. Knight Frank & Rutley are not auctioneers of the type which supply prices willingly.' Then as now, information about sale results and buyers can be difficult to access, posing challenges to studying artefacts in the auction market. From the exhaustive catalogue of the Culloden House sale, however, we know that a variety of individuals purchased a great range of artefacts, though there were some high profile repeat bidders that laid claim to some of the best and most expensive items on offer. These were not hobbyist collectors, but serious connoisseurs willing to pay large sums of money for a piece of the past. Mackintosh of Mackintosh, for example, spent a great deal of money and acquired many artefacts to add to the collection of Jacobite artefacts at the Clan Mackintosh seat at Moy Hall. In fact, many artefacts from Moy Hall were eventually deposited in the Inverness Museum and Gallery. There were also many single-item purchasers who paid (comparatively) smaller sums for a musket ball or a fragment of stone - souvenirs of battle already outwith living memory.

Modern auctions 2000-present

Part of the purpose of this study is to interrogate the cultural resonance of the artefacts of the Jacobite wars with British society today. One of the ways to do this was to note artefacts at auction. For this study, activity at four different auction houses was regularly monitored, to track items with Williamite, Jacobite, or Hanoverian associations. Auctions were actively monitored from June 2009 - January 2013, as well as multiple keyword searching through digitised back catalogues from 2000 onwards. A brief exploration of eBay was made at the beginning of the study, however, this was not deemed a fruitful vein of research, as very few items of interest were identified. Instead, research focused on the auction houses of Bonham's, Lyon & Turnbull, Sotheby's, and Christie's. Bonham's and Lyon & Turnbull have a notable British / Scottish focus and both offer periodic Scottish-themed sales, whilst Sotheby's

and Christie's offer a more international scope. Bonham's, founded in 1793, was originally a British-based and British-focused auction house, though it expanded into the North American market by acquiring Butterfield's 2002 (Bonhams 2013). It is still based in London, but has satellite offices in Edinburgh, Chester, and Oxford, along with American and European offices. Lyon & Turnbull was founded in 1826 and has been historically based in Edinburgh, though it now boasts London and Glasgow offices (Lyon & Turnbull 2013). They have long had a strong Scottish focus and have handled collections important to this study, like the Drambuie Collection. One additional auction not held by one of these 4 is also included. The sale of the Edward V. Phillips collection of glass in 2012, conducted by Shrewsbury-based auctioneers Hall's, was incorporated into the auction data because of its important array of Jacobite glassware. The majority of items identified as having Williamite, Jacobite, or Hanoverian significance were to be found at Bonham's and Lyon & Turnbull, with the exception of a few specific types of items. By monitoring auction lots at the well-known giants Sotheby's and Christie's, one can see the world-wide appeal of specific types of objects, like highly popular and collectible Jacobite drinking glasses.

Items coming to auction are by necessity fine examples of their type. Like museum objects, there is a bias in the artefacts meaning that only those of the highest quality are visible. Even if the artefacts at auction represent only a part of the material record, meaningful observations can be made. Though only a limited pool of the current population has the interest and income to actively collect fine antiques, the popularity of artefacts at auction must necessarily represent a similar interest amongst the wider portion of society that is not actively collecting. This auction data will be rationalised with evidence from current permanent and special exhibitions of artefacts from the Jacobite wars at public institutions to provide a fuller picture of current attitudes towards these artefacts.

Results of survey of auctioned artefacts

After four years of logging the occurrence of artefacts from the Jacobite period at auction, it is apparent that these objects are still highly collectible and of interest to buyers. The survey of artefacts at auction at Bonham's, Lyon & Turnbull, Christie's, and Sotheby's was as exhaustive as possible, though it is

acknowledged that it is impossible to locate and identify every pertinent artefact. Items at auction during the four-year period of study (2009-2013) were much more likely to be noted as these were being monitored in real-time, rather than being located via searching through back catalogues of auctions, which can give variable results. The table below shows the frequency of artefacts at auction over the period of 2000-2013.

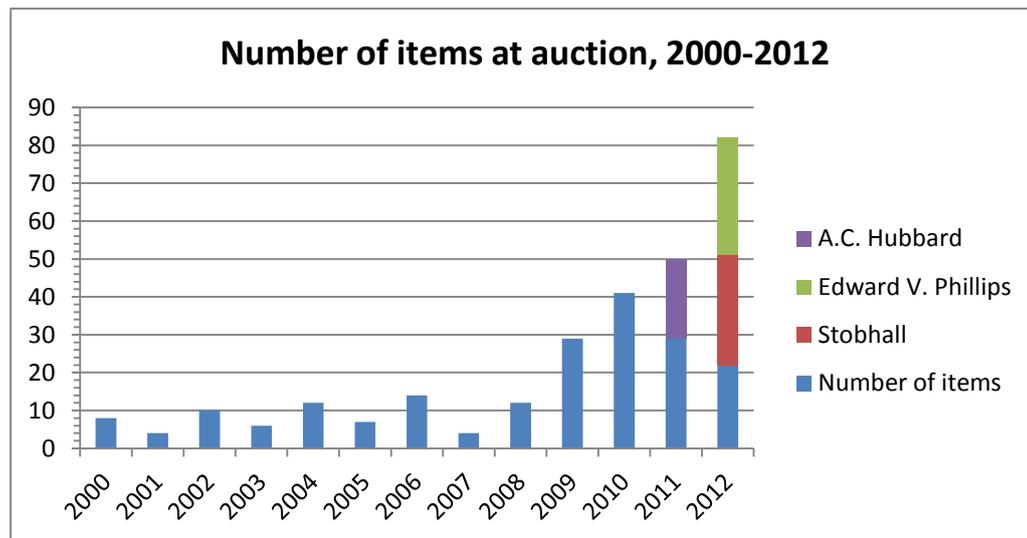


Table 6: N.b. 2011 and 2012 included several large sales of Jacobite-era collections: Bonham's A.C. Hubbard glass sale, the Lyon & Turnbull sale of items from Stobhall, and Hall's sale of Edward V. Phillips's 18th-century glass. These have been indicated in the chart.

From 2000-2008, which relied on searching through digitised catalogues of past auctions, the occurrence of pertinent artefacts stays within the range of approximately 6-12 artefacts per year. Once auctions were monitored in real time, however, there is a noticeable increase in frequency, even excluding 3 sales heavily weighted with Jacobite-era material. In sifting through back catalogues, artefacts of interest were located with strategic keyword searching that was intended to narrow results to a manageable amount without being too specific. In all cases Jacobite keywords were far easier to employ. A simple search of 'Jacobite' itself was generally successful. Again, just as museum displays are quick to highlight a partisan political connection, these Jacobite associations were eagerly emphasised in auction catalogues as major selling points. Other search keywords included the names of prominent personalities, as well as events like battles. Searching for artefacts supporting William and

Mary, Anne, and the Georges was somewhat convoluted, as British monarchs lend their names to stylistic periods. This often resulted in a high number of irrelevant results that then had to be analysed.

Despite these limitations nearly 300 artefacts relating to the Jacobite wars came to auction from the year 2000 to January 2013 at the auctioneering establishments monitored for this study. Some of the artefacts sold during the course of research were actually resales of items acquired 10 or 20 years previously, mirroring Nicholson's previous observations on the lifecycle of corporate collecting. These tended to be some of the most highly collectible and monetarily valuable artefacts, suggesting that collection of such items is temporary; their acquisition is either a monetary investment or a prestigious artefact acquired at the end of a period of active collection.

Artefacts identified as pertinent to this study include those with visible political associations with an individual or event, and those that are contemporary to the Jacobite wars. The period of study was broken into subcategories. The early part of the period covers the reign of William and Mary, from the flight of James VII / II in 1688 until the accession of Anne in 1702. The middle part of the period of study covers the reign of Anne and the Hanoverian succession until 1740. The date range here is noticeably lengthier, though many of the artefacts in this category fall comfortably into the first two decades; these primarily deal with the Hanoverian succession of 1714, the 1715 rebellion, and the marriage of James Francis Edward Stuart and the birth of his children in the 1720s. The late part of the period is defined as that material culture dating to the years immediately before and after the final rebellion, encompassing 1740-55. 1755-70 is considered immediately post-conflict and captures the transition from wartime propaganda to nostalgic commemoration, at least on the part of the Jacobites. While there was no longer open conflict, Jacobitism was still provocative and both it and government propaganda were used to express divisive political viewpoints throughout the 1750s and 1760s. Artefacts from 1770 onwards were not included in the study.

The numbers of artefacts that fit into these categories are as follows:

Period	Date range	No. of Items
Early	1688-1702	47
Middle	1702-1740	59
Late	1740-1755	136
Post	1755-1770	44
Unknown	-	10

Table 7: Artefacts by period and date range

As anticipated at the outset of this study, the vast majority of artefacts at auction relate to the period of the 1745 rebellion. Reasons for this have been previously discussed (Chapter 1), but it is worth highlighting again that as the final conflict of the Jacobite wars, the 1745, is the most recent. It provided history with some of the best-known characters, like Charles Edward Stuart and his adversary the Duke of Cumberland, as well as resulting in the Battle of Culloden, the most prominent engagement of the Jacobite wars, which has endured in popular imagination. Furthermore, the years immediately after the events of 1745 saw changes in material technologies and ever-expanding markets for material goods. Artefacts from the period of the 1745 were simply more numerous and are more likely to survive today.

Another key strand of enquiry of this study is to look at the discrepancy in visibility between Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian artefacts. Table 8 shows a breakdown of artefacts that exhibited recognisable political associations. Here Jacobite artefacts are in the majority with over 75% of auctioned items with identifiable political allegiance (212 in total) evincing Jacobite support. The frequency of Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts are roughly equal at 10% (that is 27 and 28 artefacts respectively). Artefacts relating to Queen Anne are expectedly far fewer, due to her short reign (1702-14). A Stuart by birth, but the direct inheritor of the Protestant William and Mary, her artefacts cannot fit comfortably into either the Williamite or Hanoverian camps. Here they are isolated as their own subset. In the survey of auctioned items, only 9 pertaining to Anne were recorded.

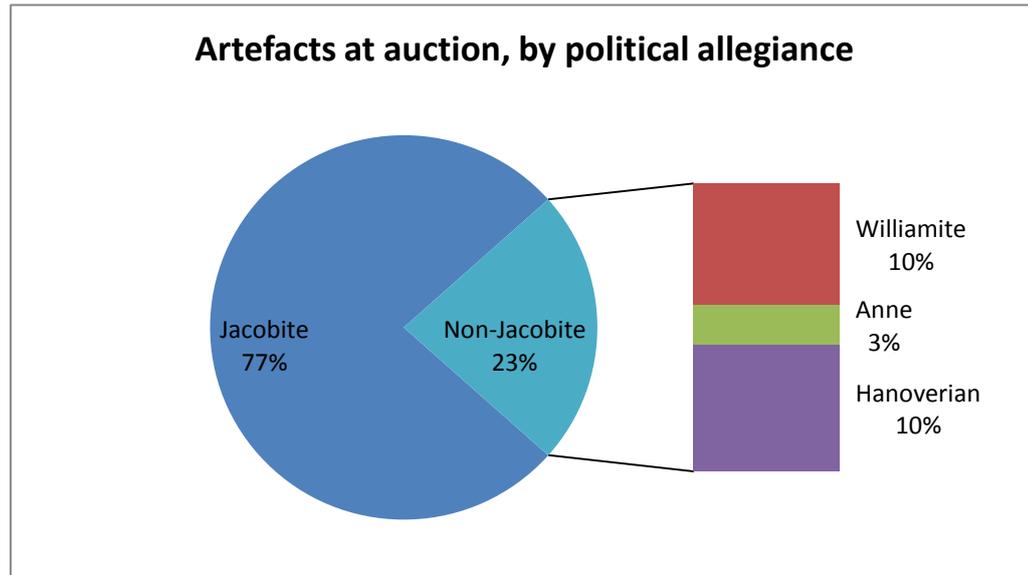


Table 8: A breakdown of the 276 artefacts with identifiable political allegiances.

Several types of artefacts appeared at auction more frequently than others. These can be interrogated further by separating them into categories of political allegiance, as in the table below.

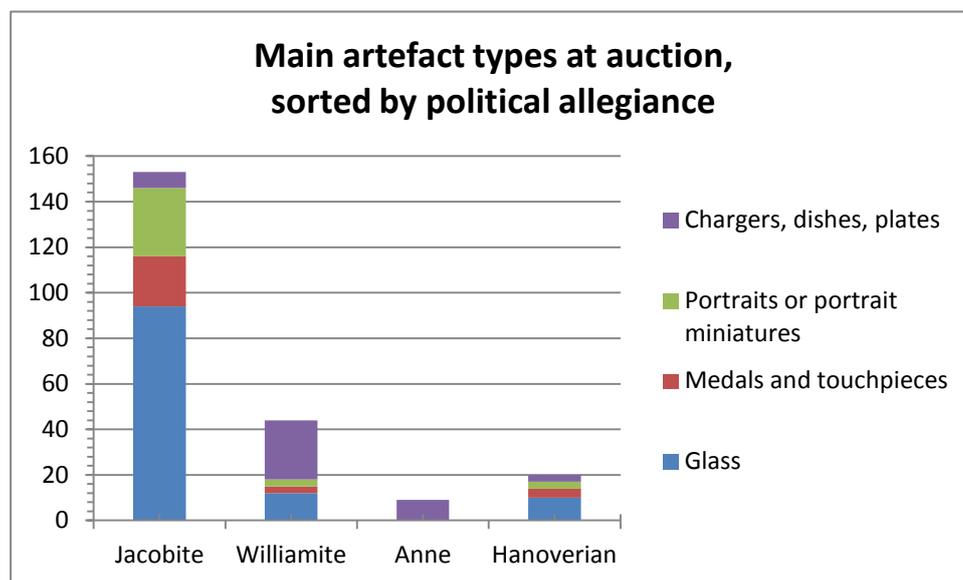


Table 9: Main artefact types at auction sorted by political allegiance

Glassware was by far the most prevalent type of Jacobite-era artefact at auction. 116 lots of Jacobite-era glass were sold between 2000 and 2012 at the auction houses monitored. Most numerous were Jacobite glasses at 94 lots, while Williamite and Hanoverian glassware was comprised of 12 and 10 lots respectively. Ceramic chargers, dishes, and plates were the next most

numerous category of artefact type at 45 lots. The majority of these (26 lots) were of Williamite interest. This reflects a wider trend visible archaeologically and in museum collections. As discussed in Chapter 4, ceramic flatware adorned with the faces and initials of William, Mary, Anne, George I, and George II were commonplace in the material record. This is the one category of artefact in this study where examples of Jacobite artefacts are rare. The other two most common types of artefacts at auction were 35 different lots of portraits or portrait miniatures, as well as a selection of medals and touch pieces numbering 29 lots. No other artefact types appeared in such concentrations, with snuff boxes, pincushions, broadswords, and teapots combining in a miscellaneous mix of artefact types that equated to about a third of the total auctioned lots recorded. Again, the data from auctions seems to reinforce observations made by analysing museum collections. Glassware, ceramics, and medals were the most common tools of propaganda during the period of study and are some of the most numerous and widely distributed artefacts extant today. Portraits and portrait miniatures were also important forms of self-representation for those vying for political ascendancy in the 18th century and still remain popular.

There were several notable recurrent symbols that appeared on auctioned artefacts. The most common were the Jacobite rose, prevalent on glassware, and the images of royalty and would-be royalty, as seen in Table 10. Charles Edward Stuart was the most prominent face, appearing on 54 different lots, while William - referenced either alone or along with his wife (only one lot portrayed Mary individually) - appeared on 44 lots. The only other frequently recurring image was that of James Francis Edward Stuart, whose face or cypher graced 24 different lots. Somewhat surprisingly, the Duke of Cumberland, George I, George II, Charles II, and Henry Benedict Stuart all appeared on auctioned lots 10 times or fewer. With the exception of the Jacobite rose, which was a widespread symbol and particularly popular on glassware, political allegiance was most likely to be asserted via a figurehead. James Francis Edward Stuart and his son were most often invoked as the images of Jacobitism, while William III served as a symbol for Protestant rule throughout the period of study and indeed still survives in popular culture today.

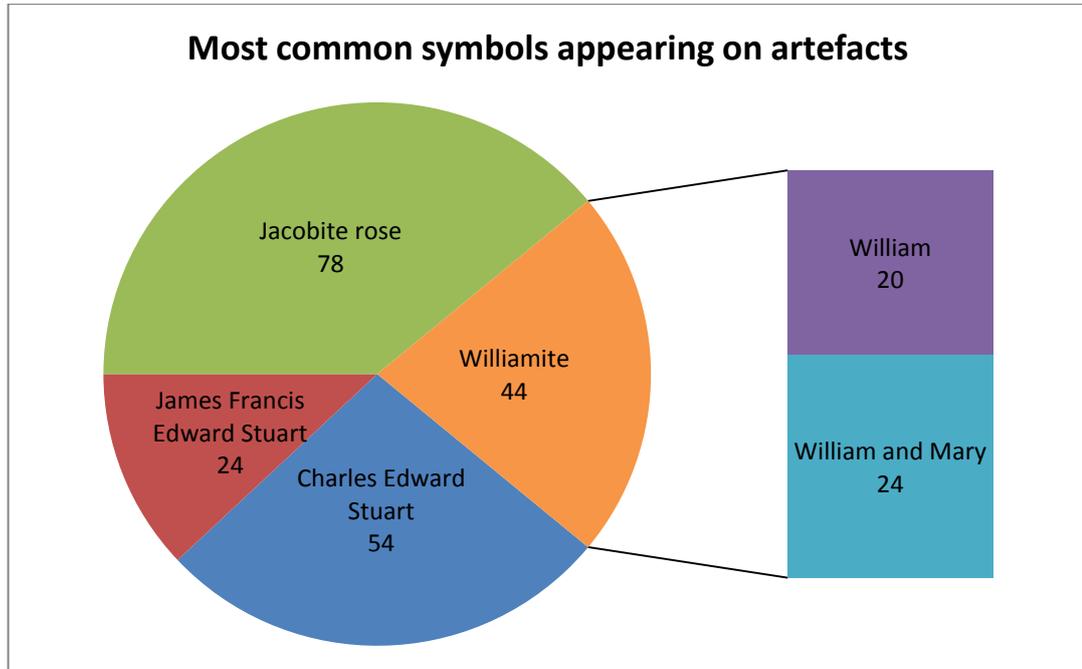


Table 10: The four most prevalent symbols appearing on auctioned artefacts, three of which were figureheads. A total of 200 artefacts incorporated at least one of these symbols.

Discussion

From their origins in the 18th century and throughout the 19th century, artefacts of the Jacobite wars were collected and curated by individuals and amassed in personal collections. These were passed down through families until, in shows of civic-mindedness, they were eventually donated to the burgeoning public collections, or else purchased by these institutions as family lines died out. This highlights a wider trend: the shift from the artefact as a personal possession, to an heirloom, to a part of a shared past. By the 20th century, these artefacts were not simply personal relics and family heirlooms to be locked away. This illustrates a change in the philosophical attitudes towards artefacts of the past with the introduction of the idea that heritage should be publicly accessible for the educational benefits of all.

While more artefacts from the Jacobite era are publicly held today than in the past, there are still many in private ownership. The collectability of post-medieval artefacts, including Williamite, Jacobite, and Hanoverian objects, has an impact on scholarship and research. There is a robust market for such items and they are rather more likely to be in private hands than other archaeological

materials. There are obvious complications to studying artefacts that continue to be in private hands, like knowing their location and gaining access to them. However this sustained collectability is also indicative of artefacts that still have dynamic life paths and biographies that are being augmented every day. These artefacts are being acquired and sold, moving across communities and continents. They are still coveted, sought out, collected, and researched by a variety of individuals. They are, in short, still relevant to modern society as evidenced by their desirability. They are valued for their historical associations, as investments, to round out specialist collections, or for the pure joy of ownership. There is a vitality to such artefacts that can be arrested once absorbed into an institutional collection. Whereas illuminating research and robust reinterpretation can take place at prominent public institutions, more often than not the understanding of an artefact stops at its acquisition. Studies such as this one attempt to continue interrogating the material culture of the Jacobite wars, recording what is already known as well as adding new information, augmenting the ways in which we think about these artefacts and our interactions with them.

Monitoring modern auctions has offered a quantitative way of interrogating much more generalised observations made when reviewing institutional collections. The auction data reinforces one of the original hypotheses made at the start of this study: that while Jacobites, Williamites, and Hanoverians materially expressed their politics in the same modes, Jacobite artefacts are more apparent in the material record today. Jacobite connections are emphasised at auction and in displays and are easier to locate. They are also unambiguously political. Ruling British monarchs, like William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II, had an institutional material culture that may or may not have indicated a true investment in their political ideals. They were heads of state whose images were normalised throughout the material culture of the time period. Jacobite material culture, however, is intentional and self-consciously political. These artefacts are highly visible today at auction and in museum collections. Does this material representation outstrip real-world socio-political support in their contemporary time period? Undoubtedly yes. The long-standing interest and emphasis on Jacobite material culture does not reflect the political reality of the 18th century. In this sense, the material

culture of the Jacobite wars is misleading. The continued popularity of this material culture will be explored further in the following chapter, which considers the exhibition of Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian artefacts over time.

7. Exhibiting the past

As mentioned in the previous chapter, artefacts from the Jacobite period have been regularly exhibited since the 19th century. Similar to the survey of artefacts at auction, a brief survey of artefacts exhibited over a period of time can suggest how society has materially expressed the Jacobite wars. In this section several Scottish exhibitions are examined, spanning over one hundred years of display history. Each of these exhibitions offered collections of historical material, some with a specific focus on the Jacobite period. This section explores the roles played by artefacts from the Jacobite wars in the construction of Scottish historical narratives by looking at the range of artefacts exhibited and their interpretations at notable Scottish exhibitions. These exhibitions include the 1903 *Highland and Jacobite Exhibition* in Inverness, the 1911 *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry* in Glasgow, the 1938 *Empire Exhibition* in Glasgow, the 1996 *The Swords and the Sorrows* exhibit in Edinburgh, the 2010 *Rebels with a Cause: Jacobites and the Global Imagination* exhibit at Holyrood, and the 2011 *Imagining Power: the Visual Culture of the Jacobite Cause* at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Finally, reflections are made on the preferential treatment of specifically Jacobite artefacts in modern institutional collections.

1903 *Highland and Jacobite Exhibition, Inverness*

The *Highland and Jacobite Exhibition* in Inverness was held at the Caledonian Hotel during the summer of 1903. The exhibit was comprised of artefacts owned by prominent collectors and private individuals, who had been solicited by circulars (*Highland and Jacobite Exhibition: 1903*) sent by the organisers, the Free Library Committee of Inverness. The number and variety of artefacts listed in the catalogue of the exhibition attest to their success, and the objects took over two floors of the building, the uppermost 'set apart almost exclusively for Jacobite pictures and relics' (*ibid.*: v). The exhibit celebrated bygone Highland life with a range of antique kitchen items, domestic craftwork equipment, and even geological samples. With a floor entirely devoted to Jacobitism, however, the defunct 18th-century political movement was presented by the organisers as integral to Highland life as everyday agricultural and domestic tools.

Loans of artefacts came from a number of old Jacobite families, like the Camerons of Lochiel, the Cluny Macphersons, and the Lovats who lent relics of their executed ancestor, along with many single-item lenders. Amongst the artefacts on show were many curiosities linked to Charles Edward Stuart, such as a waistcoat worn at Holyrood, a pair of cufflinks, and a set of pistols. Personal items of Flora Macdonald are also well-represented, like a bit of lace and her wedding ring.

These are the now familiar sorts of personal relics that have been cropping up throughout this study that attracted the attention of both public and private collectors. Some unique items in the catalogue come with snippets of biographical information, such as a set of pipes which belonged to 'a very old woman' on Skye, whose ancestor was found dead on the battlefield of Culloden still clutching them in his arms (*ibid.*: 29). This is a particularly dramatic battlefield relic in the vein of Sir Walter Scott's Highlander's oatcake; it is an emotive relic of dead soldier. Another interesting Culloden relic was a silver heart brooch purportedly smelted from English coins picked up after Culloden by the piper Duncan Ruagh Macrimmon of Glenelg. The brooch combines otherwise mundane and readily-available components (coins) and transmutes them into something very different. A luckenbooth brooch would be otherwise indistinguishable from the many others which abounded in the period, but its association with the Battle of Culloden sets it apart as a curiosity worthy of collection and display.

Another brooch, in the possession of Flora Macdonald and thought to have been worn by Charles Edward Stuart when in the guise of Betty Burke has an amusing attached anecdote. It was passed down from the Jacobite heroine to her son, Captain James Macdonald of Flodigarry, before it disappeared whilst stored in a cupboard. It was rediscovered when a new tenant purchased the house in 1842 and broke the cupboard open, discovering the brooch between the cupboard's lining and the wall.

Like the other collections of artefacts examined thus far, the 1903 exhibition featured a wide variety of battlefield relics, particularly those from Culloden. However, artefacts from other engagements were also present, such as pistols captured from government soldiers by Highlanders at Prestonpans, a Highland

sword from Falkirk, a bridle from Sheriffmuir, and curiously, horseshoes from the 1690 Battle of Cromdale. The battlefield artefacts on display in 1903 follow the usual patterns, highlighting those with an emotional hook, like artefacts found upon the person of a deceased soldier, but equally interested in any of the more mundane parts of the accoutrements of war: buckles, weapons, and projectiles.

A few non-Jacobite items made their way into the exhibition, though these were very few in number. Most notable amongst these is the box of dominoes from the Culloden House Sale (discussed previously in this chapter) which had been left at that property by the Duke of Cumberland. Six years following that sale, the set of dominoes was being shown in the near neighbourhood to its former home by its new owner.

The artefacts exhibited in Inverness in 1903 have unusually rich biographical elements recorded in the printed catalogue. This speaks to the pride with which the lenders viewed their treasures. Even seemingly prosaic artefacts have engaging back stories excitedly offered to the public of Inverness by the objects' owners. Furthermore, there is the local nature of the exhibition. Many artefacts relate to events that occurred in and around Inverness, as well as the Highlands more broadly. In addition, many of the artefacts exhibited were lent by established Highland families whose ancestors participated in the Jacobite wars and who were in possession of the oral histories of their family heirlooms.

In Table 11, one can see the different associations linking the exhibited artefacts to historical events and persons. Personal relics of Charles Edward Stuart were by far the most numerous. These were tallied separately from official propaganda artefacts, such as medals featuring the would-be prince. The next most popular association was the battle of Culloden, unsurprisingly as the exhibition was held in Inverness near the battlefield. Flora Macdonald outstripped James Francis Edward and Henry Benedict Stuart as the second most popular individual if measured by associated artefacts. The only Williamite or Hanoverian to be linked to artefacts on display was the Duke of Cumberland. Again, artefacts related to the 1745 are the most numerous.

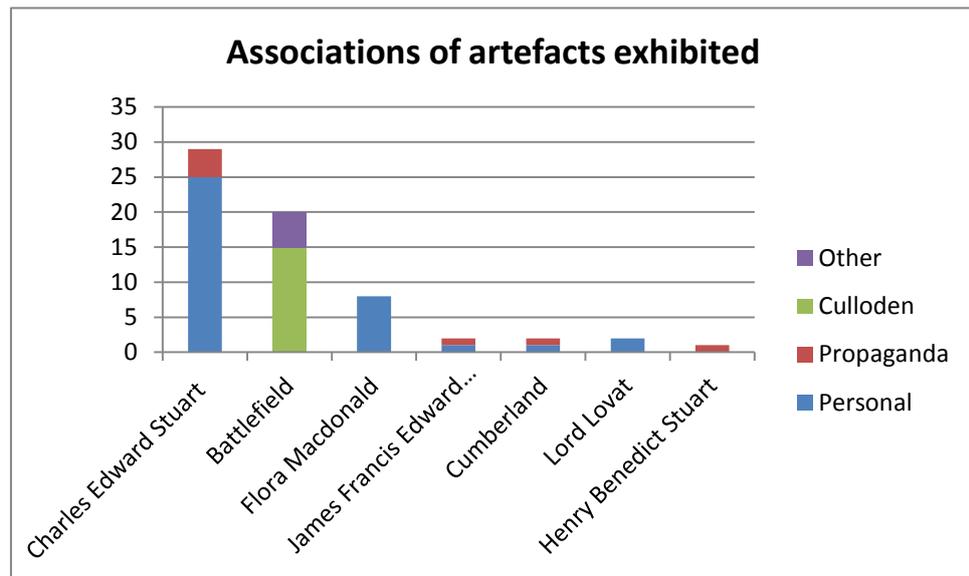


Table 11: The associations of Jacobite-era artefacts displayed at the 1903 Highland and Jacobite Exhibition, Inverness.

With a dedicated section of the exhibition given over to their display, Jacobite-era artefacts figured prominently in the 1903 conception of Highland history. Again, there is a dearth of corresponding Williamite or Hanoverian material culture. The printed catalogue of the 1903 exhibition provides an unusual amount of information on the artefacts displayed and offers an excellent resource for the comparison of this exhibition with those in the rest of this section.

1911 *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry, Glasgow*

The *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry* in Glasgow in 1911 offers another look at early-20th century display practices in regards to Jacobite-era artefacts, but on a much larger scale than the 1903 Inverness exhibition. The 1911 exhibition was one of a series of major exhibitions in Glasgow and shows a distinct change from its predecessors, the 1888 and 1901 *International Exhibitions*, which focussed on modern industry, art, and recreation. In contrast, the 1911 exhibition included a celebration of British, and particularly Scottish, history. Many Jacobite-era artefacts were exhibited at the Palace of History, a building dedicated to the display of prehistoric and historic artefacts arranged in interconnected galleries. Artefacts from the Jacobite wars were

scattered throughout the Palace of History, though for this discussion they have been loosely grouped thematically.

Personalities: North and Mid Galleries

While portraiture is not featured in this study, representations of prominent individuals were an important and popular part of historical exhibits. The Palace of History offered many paintings, prints, and engravings from the Jacobite period, along with portrait miniatures. Throughout the exhibition Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian individuals appeared side by side in frames on gallery walls or in display cases. For example, a matched pair of miniatures (*Scottish Exhibition*, 461B & 462B: 126)³ featuring James Francis Edward Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart, each wearing a Garter ribbon and other symbols of state, appeared alongside other Stuart monarchs, like Mary Queen of Scots (numerous), Mary II as Princess of Orange (459B: 126), and Charles II (460B: 126). A separate case of ‘Stewart Miniatures’ included the usual suspects, as well as Elizabeth of Bohemia (12: 133) - the Stuart matriarch of the Hanoverian dynasty and that house’s lineal connection to the British throne. Again, James Francis Edward Stuart and Charles Edward Stuart appeared in this case, along with kings and queens from Robert II onwards. Here Protestant and Catholic Stuarts alike were represented, with Jacobite royalty and their consorts juxtaposed alongside their officially-recognised predecessors.

The North Gallery had a separate selection of cases for ‘Personal Relics, etc’ of famous Scots historical figures. In this part of the gallery Jacobite relics were displayed alongside cases with Protestant ecclesiastical mementos like parts of pulpits and communion ware, and personal items associated with John Knox. This display of Protestant history included a large collection of Covenanting artefacts. Concurrent with this militant, dissenting Protestant focus, there were various artefacts associated with Mary Queen of Scots. Other notable personal relics displayed included those of John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, including the infamous punched-hole breastplate (discussed previously

³ All citations in this section are from the *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry*. Glasgow: 1911 with the catalogue item number and page number listed for each artefact.

in Chapter 5) he wore to his last battle at Killiecrankie (2: 143), and a memorial ring (17: 144) containing a lock of his hair.

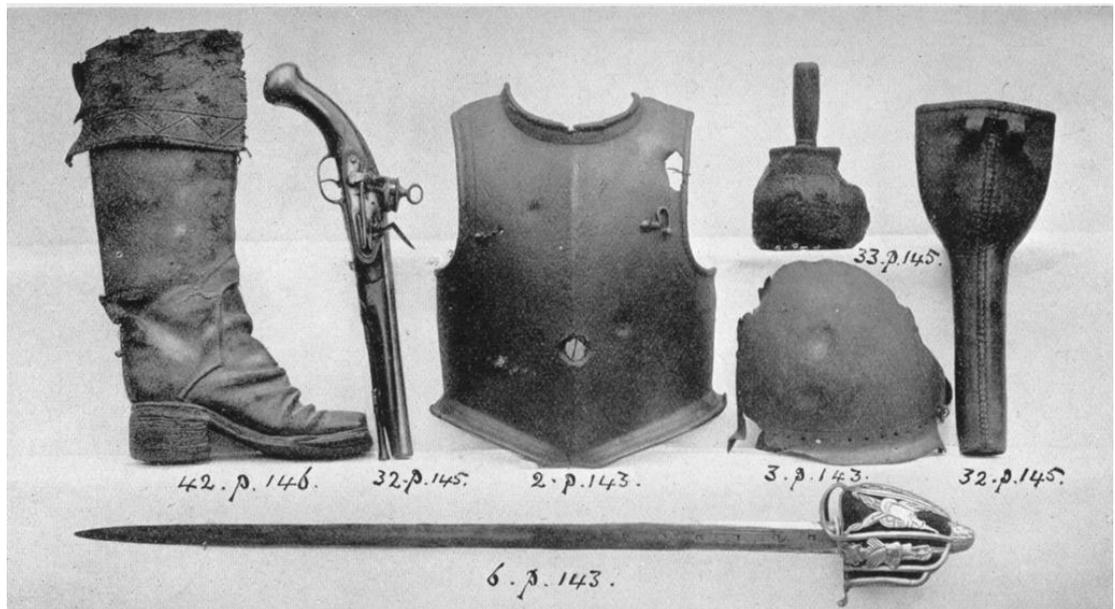


Figure 62 Covenanting artefacts, including the breastplate of John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry. Glasgow: 1911, between pp. 142-3.

Next to this case was a collection of artefacts with Jacobite associations. The contents of North Gallery Case 16 are reproduced in the table below as an illustration of artefacts *in situ*.

Artefact	Association	Period	Personal relic or propaganda
broadsword	Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat	Late	personal
hair	Charles Edward Stuart	unknown	personal
pistol	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
bracelet	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
silver watch	James Francis Edward Stuart	unknown	personal
rapier	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
quach	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
brooch w/ hair	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
locket w/ hair	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
snuffbox	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
ring	Charles Edward Stuart	unknown	propaganda
razor and strop	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
quach	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal

snuff mull	James II (VII)	Early	personal
cufflinks	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
ring w/ hair	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
ring	CR, Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
shoulder clasp	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
medal	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
fan	Flora Macdonald	Late	personal
chatelaine	Flora Macdonald	Late	personal
ring	Flora Macdonald	Post	personal
watch	Flora Macdonald	unknown	personal
bowl	Flora Macdonald	unknown	personal
slippers	Flora Macdonald	unknown	personal
sporrán	Charles Edward Stuart, Culloden	Late	personal battlefield
purse	Charles Edward Stuart, Flora Macdonald	Late	personal
textile	Charles Edward Stuart, Flora Macdonald	Late	personal
pistols	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
locket w/ hair	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
miniature	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
biretta	Henry Benedict Stuart	unknown	personal
waistcoat	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
ring	Henry Benedict Stuart	unknown	propaganda
rattle	Charles Edward Stuart	Middle	personal
cup	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
creepy (stool)	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
ring	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
knife	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
claymore	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal
pistols	Charles Edward Stuart	Late	personal

Table 12 Contents of Case 16, North Gallery, Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry, Glasgow 1911.

The above table exemplifies the array of artefacts that materially represented the Jacobite cause (for this particular case is entirely comprised of Jacobite artefacts) at the Palace of History, from fine jewellery to mundane domestic items and weapons. Out of these 41 items listed, there were many mementos of Charles Edward Stuart's time in Scotland, objects gifted to members of noted Jacobite families and more of the ubiquitous locks of his hair. Whilst artefacts associated with Charles Edward Stuart were the most numerous in the display of personal relics, these were accompanied by a sizeable minority of objects connected to Flora Macdonald. Many were artefacts associated with her role in

the events of 1745-6, however, personal items not associated with her role as Jacobite heroine were also shown. Almost all of the artefacts displayed in this section, and indeed, the exhibition as a whole, date to the last Jacobite conflict of 1745-6.



Figure 63 View of the North Gallery. **Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry. Glasgow: 1911, between pp. 12-3.**

A jumbled mix of narratives coexisted side by side in the North Gallery, evincing very different political viewpoints, from Mary Queen of Scots to Covenanting, Jacobites and their opponents. What all of these artefacts share is a common theme of upheaval: deposed and executed monarchs, armed rebellion, and individuals executed for treason. Nearby, another case displayed artefacts of naval heroes, like the cutlass of John Paul Jones and a plait of hair of Horatio Nelson. This is the context in which the Jacobite artefacts were displayed: these collections of personal relics emphasised political turmoil and violence. They exhibited an interest in conflict as a driving force in history and famous personalities as history-makers, perhaps unsurprising in the politically-charged years before the First World War.

Further relics of the Jacobite period were displayed in the East and Mid Galleries, hidden amongst mundane domestic artefacts of quotidian life. Alongside wooden trenchers, cups, and cogs, was a wooden butter dish (81: 608)

supposedly used by Charles Edward Stuart whilst at Newmill-on-Teviot. Also displayed was a whisky bottle from which the prince supposedly drank while at Culloden House (102: 748). Other artefacts on display in this section were a tortoiseshell snuffbox supposedly once in Charles's possession (210: 681) and another snuffbox with matching spoon carved from wood taken from the battlefield of Culloden (213: 682). These somewhat unconvincing artefacts were displayed not simply for their roles as examples of historical material types, but for their tenuous connections to the events of 1745-6. There was no shortage of display material for the 1911 exhibition. Despite their questionable degree of importance to the material representation of the Jacobite era, these artefacts were accepted and allocated space by the Palace of History's organising committee.

Also in the East Gallery were artefacts of convivial drinking culture, much like those examined in Chapter 3. Eighteenth-century punch and toddy ladles represented both Hanoverian and Jacobite support. These were decorated with coins of Anne (18: 685) and George II (19: 685) as well as one decorated with a Papal coin (2: 684) from Touch House, a known repository of Jacobite material culture.

Likewise, nestled amongst various examples of historical textiles and clothing was a sampler sewn in 1736 by Agnes Morrow (5: 632), previously discussed in Chapter 3. In the Historic Costume section were several artefacts with personal associations with individuals involved in the Jacobite wars, like a gentleman's suit purportedly belonging to Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, who fought with Lord Kenmure in 1715 (5: 722), the tartan coat and kilt of Donald Stewart of Dunkeld, who was out in the 1745 (159: 623), and a brocade gown reportedly worn at the wedding of the staunch Jacobite Earl of Kilmarnock (7: 722). These were joined by an embroidered linen waistcoat (11: 722) and blue silk garters (11A: 722) both supposedly worn by Charles Edward Stuart. These connections to prominent Jacobites were highlighted in the official catalogue of the Palace of History displays, suggesting a public interest in such biographies. Like the butter dish and wine bottle used by Charles Edward Stuart, these articles of clothing were both good examples of their kind, as well as having connections to colourful individuals.

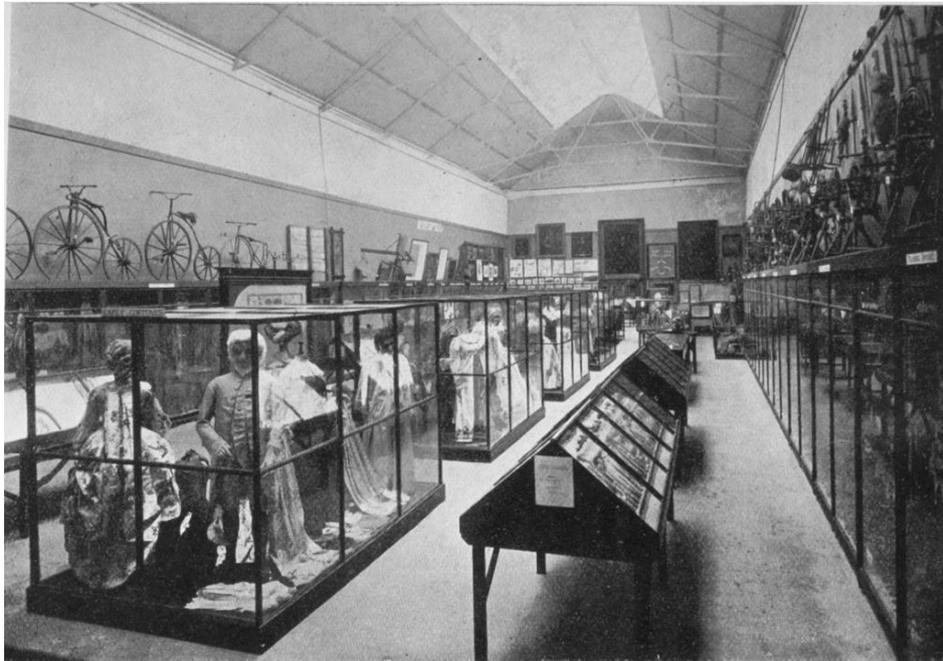


Figure 64 East Gallery with historical dress display in the centre. Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, & Industry. Glasgow: 1911, between pp. 548-9.

In the Mid Gallery a diamond ring owned by the Earl of Kilmarnock (1: 475), one of the four peers executed in 1746 for his involvement in the events of 1745, was displayed in amongst unrelated documents and family papers. The ring is somewhat confusingly placed. Its strong provenance, being passed down through one family since it was given by the unfortunate earl to the minister of Kilmarnock before his execution, seems to belong more to the North Gallery relics discussed above. In fact, such relics were scattered throughout the entirety of the exhibition, sometimes being grouped thematically, but often not. In some instances, like that of Kilmarnock's ring, the linear timeline of history is jumbled together, conflating several centuries of Scottish history and defying any thematic grouping. It suggests that the Palace of History organisers were overwhelmed by the amount of artefacts at their disposal and sometimes struggled to fit them into a cohesive narrative.

Artefacts of war: West Gallery

The West Gallery featured a display of naval and military history. Mixed in amongst 19th-century standard-issue kit, like regimental buttons, buckles, and army-pattern swords, were various commemorative items, such as a medal commemorating Cumberland's victory at Culloden (132: 223). The colours of the

battalion of Sir James Kinloch (part of Lord Ogilvie's regiment), which had been carried at Falkirk and Culloden, were displayed alongside colours from later conflicts. Here, the standards of rebel and redcoat from campaigns spanning a century of military engagements mingle freely as equal parts of Scotland's martial past. Printed images of soldiers from various Scottish regiments throughout the years accompanied these artefacts, including three different views of the battlefield of Culloden. Lest the exhibition visitor be taken in by the drama of the battle, lengthy catalogue entries narrating the imagery reinforced a staunchly pro-government stance, embracing the accepted Whig historiography of Jacobite defeat that ensured later progress and order. At Culloden 'the Rebels were subdued' and the Duke of Cumberland defeated 'disturbers of the public repose' (*ibid.*: 229), reminding the audience that Glasgow was staunchly Whig during the events of 1745.

Amongst an array of 18th and 19th century weapons were examples of political partisan pieces of the Jacobite era. A backsword (44: 309) showed an image of St Andrew, labelled 'St. And.', along with 'Prosperity to Schotland and No Union' while on the reverse side, 'For God, My Country, and King James 8'. A broadsword lent by Earl of Strathmore (46: 309) featured an almost identical inscription. Another backsword on display was supposedly left after Falkirk by a wounded Jacobite soldier (52: 310). It was not only Jacobite adherents that expressed their royal allegiance on their weapons. Though the inscription is much less elaborate, one of the dirks on display in the arms and armour part of the exhibition expressed loyalty to George I (44:333). The knife blade was fashioned from a dragoon's backsword with a plain hilt and mounted in pewter with the simple inscription 'G.R.' The reuse of an earlier blade and modest materials suggests that, unlike the finely made and probably imported Jacobite swords, this dirk was crafted locally.

Other weapons had anecdotal associations attached to them. For example, 'Prince Charlie's sword' was displayed, its provenance listed as being 'in the possession of an old Perthshire family called Malcolm since 1790' (*ibid.*: 327). An iron-mounted dirk (35: 332) with a 'very rudely carved' hilt was said to have belonged to a blacksmith hailing from Loch Tayside. The blacksmith reputedly carried the dirk throughout the actions of the 1715 before passing the weapon on to his son, who carried it in the '45. A sporran worn at Sheriffmuir by

Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon (42: 340) and one worn by Robertson of Woodsheal at Culloden (56: 341) were likewise displayed. From the opposite end of the political spectrum, the exhibit included two war-scythes which were given to citizens of Dumfries to defend the town against the Jacobites in 1745 (92:328).

Several artefacts from the Battle of Culloden were displayed, like the Oxter knife (64:335) recovered from the battlefield (discussed in Chapter 5). In amongst various heraldic carved panels and royal arms in the South Gallery was the banner of the Appin Stewarts, which was carried at Culloden (129: 933), previously discussed in Chapter 3. Likewise, several battlefield relics were displayed alongside a selection of historical 18th-19th century pipes, chanters, and other musical instruments. One set of pipes was said to have been played throughout the 1745-6 Jacobite campaign by the Duke of Atholl's piper (1: 958), while another was the so-called Flute of Fife, thought to have been played at Culloden (12: 959). It is notable once again that these items are displayed within the wider context of similar artefacts. Whilst their biographies mark them out as curiosities amongst other banners or musical instruments, they are not treated differently in display. There is the suggestion of 'relic' about them, however, they are not separated from the wider body of material. Rather, they appear next to otherwise similar artefacts. It is only for the purposes of this study that they are being singled out for attention.

The weapons on display at the 1911 exhibition gave a well-rounded picture of 16th through 19th-century militaria, from workaday sporting pieces and army-issue standards to ornate ceremonial objects. Whilst artefacts with Jacobite and Hanoverian associations have been highlighted here, these were but a fraction of the objects on display. The artefacts discussed above follow the patterns previously mentioned throughout this thesis: items are delineated as special because of an association with a famous individual or event, or have been found on battlefield soil. The vast majority of arms and weapons exhibited in the West Gallery in 1911, however, had no such overt connection to an identifiable political cause or persona. Instead the displays celebrated British military history with a focus specifically on Scottish object types, as seen in the many Highland dirks, sporrans, and targets exhibited. This large collection of arms and armour was shown when Continental Europe was experiencing an

increasingly hostile political environment. Several years before Britain would be embroiled in the First World War, however, there was nothing to problematise such a display of military artefacts. This contrasts sharply with the nature of the historical exhibits on the eve of another world war at the 1938 *International Exhibition* in Glasgow, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Discussion

The Palace of History in 1911 did much to uphold the romantic and idealised 19th-century version of the Jacobite wars. Almost all of the material culture on display with an identifiable political affiliation focused on Jacobitism. A breakdown of the political affiliations of artefacts is represented in the table below.

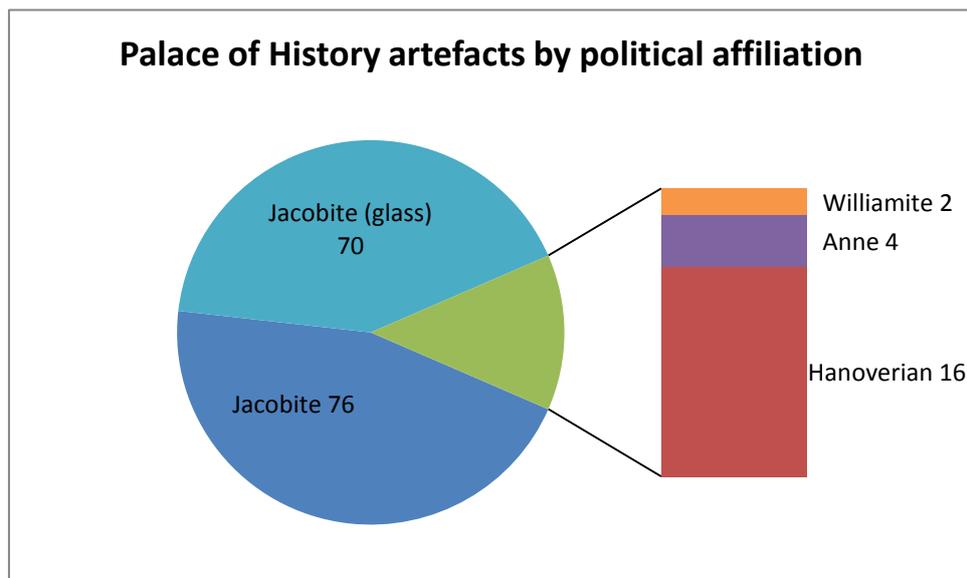


Table 13 Palace of History artefacts sorted by political affiliation, out of a total of 176 artefacts

Only a fraction of the 176 artefacts identified as pertinent to the politics of the Jacobite wars supported William and Mary, Anne, George I, or George II. An approximately equal number of artefacts had battlefield associations. Over 140 artefacts, however, were linked to Jacobitism, bolstered by an exhaustive display of Jacobite glassware.

In agreement with the other exhibitions and auctions examined thus far, the material culture of the Palace of History particularly favoured Jacobite royalty

and largely recalled the final, failed conflict of 1745 (Table 14). Artefacts with personal associations with Charles Edward Stuart outnumbered all other types, though there was also a noticeable group of propaganda items that used the prince's image. The next most numerous category of associations, which encompassed both Jacobite and non-Jacobite political affiliations, was battlefield artefacts, Culloden again the most prominent amongst these. James Francis Edward Stuart and Flora Macdonald were the next most-invoked associations, though numbering far fewer than Charles Edward Stuart. The remainder of artefacts evincing political affiliations did not cluster around specific associations, with the exception of Jacobite glassware, which largely used the repeated symbol of the Jacobite rose.

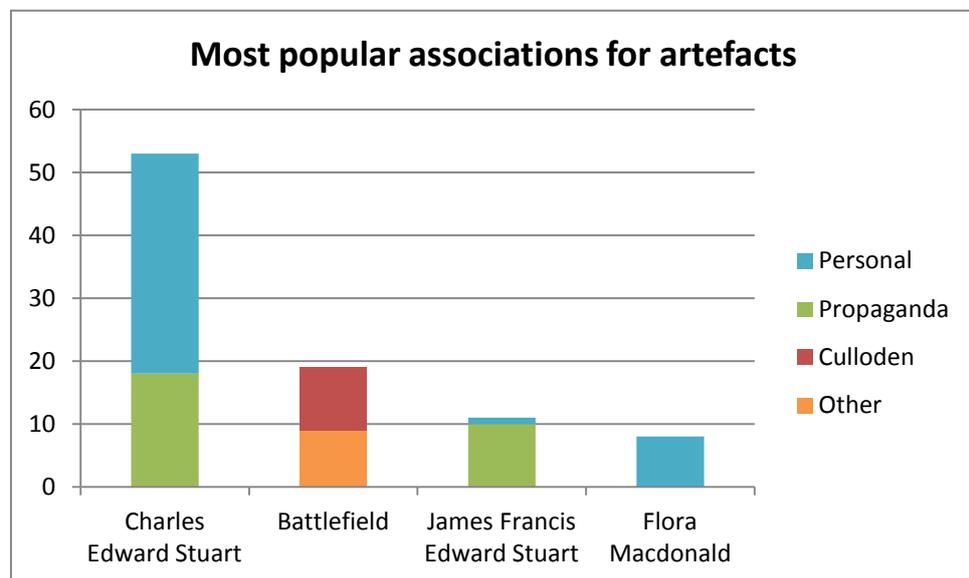


Table 14 Most popular associations for Jacobite-era artefacts on display in 1911

The frequency of Jacobite artefacts, especially in contrast to the dearth of Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts, should not be confused with 20th-century support for Jacobitism. Neil G.W. Curtis's (2012a, in press 2013) in-depth analysis of the politics behind the exhibition can offer a more nuanced picture. In researching the main organisers of the event, Curtis found a staunchly Conservative political presence. In the 1911 exhibition, organisers were negotiating the celebration of Scottish exceptionalism but safely within the context of the British Empire. In this staunchly pro-Unionist, Protestant, Conservative exhibition, the events of the tumultuous 18th century were looked back on with nostalgia from a position of political stability and the security of

presenting a long-dead cause. While Jacobite artefacts comprise a colourful minority of objects on display, they did not subvert the 20th-century politics of the exhibition organisers.

1938 *Empire Exhibition*, Glasgow

Two decades later, and on the eve of another global conflict, another major exhibition was held in Glasgow. From May - October 1938 Bellahouston Park hosted the *Empire Exhibition*, with the stated aim, in the immediate run up to the Second World War, to show the modern technological and cultural triumphs of both the United Kingdom and the Empire. Furthermore, the exhibition was meant to reinforce relationships between the United Kingdom and Empire and Commonwealth nations. Organised and hosted by Scotland, there was a subsidiary aim to specifically promote Scottish industry and culture, as well as 'direct attention to Scotland's historical and scenic attractions' (1938a: 34). The past was seen as an important, if small, part of this overwhelmingly forward-looking exhibition. Unlike the 1911 event, which was purposely retrospective, the 1938 exhibition embraced Britain's future. With the spectre of another world war, however, this future was somewhat uncertain and the organiser's aim 'to emphasize to the world the peaceful aspirations of the peoples of the British Empire,' was unfortunately proven to be idealistic when war broke out the following year.

The Scottish displays were allocated two buildings, the North and South Pavilions. Whilst the entire grand exhibition was seen somewhat as a Scottish gift to Britain and the Empire, the North and South Pavilions were highlighted as 'Scotland's special contribution' (1938b: 4). They two displays were funded through a government grant of £20,000.00, along with public subscription in excess of £15,000.00 (*ibid.*).

The North Pavilion contained displays that dealt with social health and wellbeing, including motherhood, infant and child care, education, treatment of infectious diseases, medical history, along with municipal infrastructure, housing, and urban planning (*ibid.*: 173-4). The North Pavilion was presided over by the large Statue of Service, a symbolic representation of civic duty and

governmental stewardship. Juxtaposed alongside this celebration of modern health and welfare, was the South Pavilion, which held the Hall of History, ‘in which the colourful past of Scotland [was] outlined’ (*ibid.*: 115). Throughout the displays, the past was distinctly separate from the present. As the authors of the official guide state, ‘Contrasts between the past and the present are given whenever possible’ (*ibid.*: 115). In the South Pavilion, alongside the Hall of History was the Hall of Voluntary Services, where past met present. The authors of the guide had very distinct ideas about how a visitor was to experience the Scottish exhibits, with ‘one-way traffic ... insisted on’ so that the displays could ‘be seen in their proper sequence’ (*ibid.*: 117). Furthermore, visitors were urged to see The Clachan (replica Highland village) as a continuation of the displays seen in the Hall of History (*ibid.*: 122). Whereas the 1911 Palace of History used Scotland’s past as a way to create a modern identity, setting a trajectory for Scottish national identity and non-verbally reinforcing the role that the past plays in helping to define the present and the future, in the *Empire Exhibition* of 1938 the past was isolated from the present.



Figure 65 St Andrew in the entrance hall of the Scottish Pavilion South, home of historical and archaeological artefacts. The Exhibition generated a large quantity of material culture itself. ©Stanley K Hunter, Scottish Exhibitions Study Group. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The artefacts on display in 1938 were much the same as the 1911 exhibition, though greatly reduced in number. While the 1911 exhibition was dedicated to Scottish history, historical and archaeological artefacts comprised only a minute portion of the *Empire Exhibition*. The historical sub-committee had several criteria for the artefacts displayed in the South Pavilion: a desire to display privately-owned or otherwise publicly inaccessible artefacts, to focus on artefacts other than books and manuscripts, and to restrict the timeline of history presented by stopping at the end of the 18th century (*ibid.*: 8). The artefacts gathered by the selection committee were arranged thematically, and displays included prehistory, heraldry and heraldic objects, arms and weapons, burghal histories, and Roman artefacts from the Antonine Wall, as well as a range of Scottish domestic and agricultural objects. Along with these were several different types of ‘relics’ (*ibid.*: 174) from Covenanters, Scottish men of letters, including a special selection of relics of David Livingstone, and of course, Stuart and Jacobite objects.

The selected Stuart artefacts were almost all related to Mary Queen of Scots, including the prayer book the ill-fated queen took with her to the scaffold (*ibid.*: 24). Items of dubious distinction made it into the display, like the embroidered bed hangings supposedly in her chamber whilst she was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle. These were displayed at the exhibition despite the fact that James S. Richardson’s expert assessment in the official catalogue casts doubt on the veracity of this provenance, arguing that the style of embroidery suggests a later date (*ibid.*: 24). Also displayed was the portrait of Mary Queen of Scots in the collection of the Blairs Museum, still on display there today.

The 1938 *Empire Exhibition* organisers did not provide an itemised catalogue of the historical and archaeological displays as did the organisers of the 1911 exhibition, however the official guide to the Scottish Pavilions does offer highlights of the artefacts on display, like a white cockade and one of the secret portraits of Charles Edward Stuart (*ibid.*: 39). Furthermore, we know that items like one of Frederick Duleep Singh’s portrait miniatures of Charles Edward Stuart appeared at the exhibition. The Jacobite relics section also included some curious items unlike those seen previously at such exhibitions, such as an admission ticket ‘to one of the secret Jacobite meetings that followed the unsuccessful rebellion,’ according to the catalogue entry’s author, James

Stewart Murray (1938b: 39). There were the usual types of artefacts associated with Jacobite martyrs, in this instance the silver-gilt plate used by Lord Balmerino when in custody, as well as the sword of the Earl of Kilmarnock (*ibid.*: 39), both attainted and executed in August 1746. There was also a forged copy of Lord George Murray's orders before Culloden, issued by government agents 'to secure popular approval for these executions and for Cumberland's butcheries,' explains Murray (*ibid.*: 39). This pointed jibe at the Duke of Cumberland suggests that the author of the catalogue entry for Jacobite items was not entirely unbiased in his opinions of the past.

Other Stuart and Jacobite artefacts were found throughout other displays, like silver altar vessels and a mass bell from the Chapel Royal at Holyrood Palace with the cipher of James VII, which are shown amongst a collection of other gold and silver. These artefacts (1938b: 24) were smuggled out of Edinburgh by the chaplain, Father David Burnet, in December 1688 when a mob attacked the palace. The chaplain fled northwards and deposited the artefacts at Preshome in the Enzie, Speyside, before they eventually became the property of the Catholic Church in Scotland. While these artefacts have an exciting history that illustrate the flight of James VII / II from Britain and the beginning of the Jacobite period, they were displayed alongside similar ecclesiastical materials, rather than treated as Jacobite relics like those discussed above.

Other artefacts of interest to the Jacobite era appeared amongst other displays. A dress (*ibid.*: 25) embroidered by Margaret Graham of Inchbrakie, which was worn to one of Charles Edward Stuart's Holyrood Balls in 1745 was shown as part of a display of historical costume. Similarly, in the display of pottery and glass, which including china, Rockingham teapots, and claypipes, was a Jacobite drinking glass (*ibid.*: 36) with a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart and the motto 'Audentior Ibo' (pictured in plate between pp. 36-7). Due to its more limited nature in regards to historical and archaeological material, the 1938 exhibit did not offer an exhaustive array of Jacobite glassware as had its predecessor.

A subtle homage to Jacobitism also appeared in the display of period rooms (Scottish Pavilions guide: 42-6), which showed 4 recreated rooms spanning the 16th through early-19th centuries. One of these recreated rooms was described as a bedroom 'in the house of a Laird of Jacobite sympathies shortly before the

'45' (*ibid.*: 47 image caption). It is difficult to tell from the photograph of the display what was particularly Jacobite about it. The room was less decorative than the earlier Restoration-era living room of a merchant's Edinburgh townhouse, implying that the Jacobite room was ostensibly from a country residence. Alongside the bed, there was a small table and chairs, set with a punchbowl and toasting glasses, suggesting that the fictional resident had just partaken of convivial entertainment. Also in the room was a medicine chest and strongbox, as well as a broad sword, gun, and pair of Doune pistols, conjuring an air of military readiness. Here Highland Jacobitism is again emphasised as an important part of the Scottish past, or at least, it provided an exciting background narrative for a display of furnishings meant to pique the imaginations of viewers.

More Jacobite-era artefacts were to be found in the display of arms and weapons. While none of these are catalogued in detail, the author of the entry on arms and weapons in the official exhibit guide, noted collector and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland J. Milne-Davidson (*ibid.*: 17-8), states that the display included '[i]nteresting swords' with so-called "Jacobite" inscriptions, which he says were most likely presented 'to strong adherents to the House of Stewart, and likely for Propaganda' (*ibid.*: 17). One can assume that these inscriptions are the usual 'Victory to Schotland and No Union' and 'God Bless King James VIII'. Other weapons on display were 'those "taken at Culloden" and kept as relics by Government Officers, well satisfied with victory' (*ibid.*: 17). Here, as in every other exhibition looked at as part of this study, battlefield relics feature heavily in the interest of organisers and visitors alike.

The Scottish Pavilions struck a balance between parochial patriotism and the celebration of Scotland's place in the wider British Empire. Whilst a Scottish (particularly West of Scotland) focus was unavoidable, the exhibition as a whole was much more truly international than earlier exhibitions, not the least for the participation of other Empire and Commonwealth nations like Canada, South Africa, and (then) Rhodesia. The organisers of the Scottish pavilions disavowed overtly nationalistic displays, asserting that the North and South pavilions had 'a complete absence of the blatant type of propaganda so frequently used as a political method to-day,' and rejected 'the crude and ineffective self-advertisement practised [sic] by some other nations' (1938a: 117). This may

have been true in reference to contemporary politics, however historical politics were not so unbiased. Eighteenth-century politicised material culture displayed in 1938 had a largely Jacobite emphasis, with little in the way of Williamite or Hanoverian material featured. This is by now no surprise, as the previous examinations of exhibitions shows a clear trend to focus on Jacobite material culture to the detriment of Williamite and Hanoverian artefacts throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

In his foreword to the Scottish Pavilions official guide (1938b: 6), H. J. W. Hetherington, Chairman of the Scottish Committee for the exhibition and Principal of the University of Glasgow stated the aims of the displays as follows:

It is the hope of those who have had a hand in this work that the Pavilions may achieve in some degree the purpose which inspired their making - that all who see them, especially the young people of our own land, may be stirred to affectionate pride in the past and present of Scotland, and encourage to seek and to serve its greater future.

Though the past was much less of a focus in 1938 than it was in 1911, it was still seen as important. Like the 1911 exhibition, Scotland was situated comfortably within the aegis of empire and Scottish and British identities were not mutually exclusive or antagonistic. Unlike the division that began to appear in later decades, at this time what was good for the United Kingdom and the empire was also seen as good for Scotland. Within this cooperative mentality, Jacobitism was a topic safely in the past and could be celebrated, or at least over-emphasised, to Scots and international visitors alike.

1996 *The Swords and the Sorrows*, Culloden

The visitor centre at Culloden hosted a special exhibition from April through September of 1996 to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the battle. Understandably, the exhibition primarily dealt with the events of 1745-6, and had an explicit focus upon military artefacts. Weapons featured heavily, particularly those of Scottish craftsmanship. An array of broadswords, backswords, dirks, targets, pistols, powder horns, and muskets illustrated 18th-century warfare. Many of these artefacts had been carried at the Battle of

Culloden or other engagements of 1745-6 and passed down through families, but a few had even been recovered from the battlefield itself. While the main focus of the exhibition was the material culture of warfare, a variety of other objects was also on display, like personal possessions of some of those who fought at Culloden. These were not just weapons, but the everyday items needed by armies on the move: the campaign kettle of Charles Edward Stuart, a medical officer's mobile drugs cabinet, watches, spurs, and bagpipes. The exhibition sought to bring together artefacts not previously displayed (National Trust for Scotland: 2) and produced an excellent and meticulously researched published catalogue.

Introductory statements by the Dukes of Atholl and Argyll, their ancestors participating on either side of the conflict, each emphasised the events of 1745 as a civil war and saw the 1996 exhibition as a way of achieving some sort of parity. The Duke of Argyll (*ibid.*: 21) felt that the exhibition countered the 'gaudily coloured haze of romanticism' and '[saluted] the courage of brave men - on both sides'. The Duke of Atholl (*ibid.*: 20) evinced similar sentiments, and remarked upon the 'return' of artefacts to Culloden. Like the Duleep Singh family at the beginning of the 20th century, there was the sense that Culloden was the natural home of this special set of material culture. Furthermore, by 1996 the battlefield was seen as a space of reconciliation (Ferguson 2007) for a divisive political past, and the artefacts of conflict had an important role to play in reinterpreting that past. Clearly it was the National Trust for Scotland's wish that both the battlefield and its material legacy inspire a re-evaluation of the history of Culloden. Popular reactions in the press, however, failed to engage with the physical aspects of the exhibition at all. Instead, they largely focussed on contemporary politics surrounding Scottish nationalism.

In the week prior to the exhibition's opening, several instances of vandalism marred preparations. 'Murderers' and 'British genocide' were scrawled on the Cumberland stone in red paint while a signboard was stolen (Watson 1996). Neal Ascherson's (1996) reflections upon the anniversary of the battle were dramatically entitled 'The Day that Scotland Died', and while mentioning the ambitious exhibition, failed to engage with it in favour of waxing poetic about the landscape of Drumossie Moor, where '[n]obody goes ... without inhaling its gloom' and where the battlefield 'feels more like the killing-ground of mass

murder than a battlefield'. The occasion of the exhibition served as little more than an excuse to discuss both the past and present in highly politicised terms. Comment soon shifted its attention to possible attendees of the official commemoration event. First came a report (Brogan 1996) that then-Scottish-Secretary Michael Forsyth had demanded an invitation to attend, an allegation quickly denied by the Scottish Office. Next there was uproar in the press that Forsyth would *not* be in attendance after being invited (Watson 1996). Alex Salmond, then as now leader of the SNP, stated 'It is probably very wise for Mr Forsyth to stay away since, if he was representing a figure from the battle, it would most probably be Butcher Cumberland' (*ibid.*). Salmond (*ibid.*) then ironically assured the public that though representatives of the SNP were attending the commemoration events, they '[had] no plans to turn it into a political event as that would not be appropriate.'

Despite the political turmoil surrounding it, the exhibition has to be seen as a success. It brought together a wealth of well-researched material culture from various sources, and advocated a more nuanced approach to the events of 1745-6. In this way, the 1996 exhibit can be seen as a precursor to the current display at the newer visitor centre, completed in 2008. The low-profile, purpose-built building takes advantage of the battlefield space to display artefacts. Furthermore, it offers a much more balanced approach than other displays, consciously juxtaposing Jacobite and Hanoverian viewpoints alongside one another.

2010 Rebels with a Cause: the Jacobites and the Global Imagination, Edinburgh

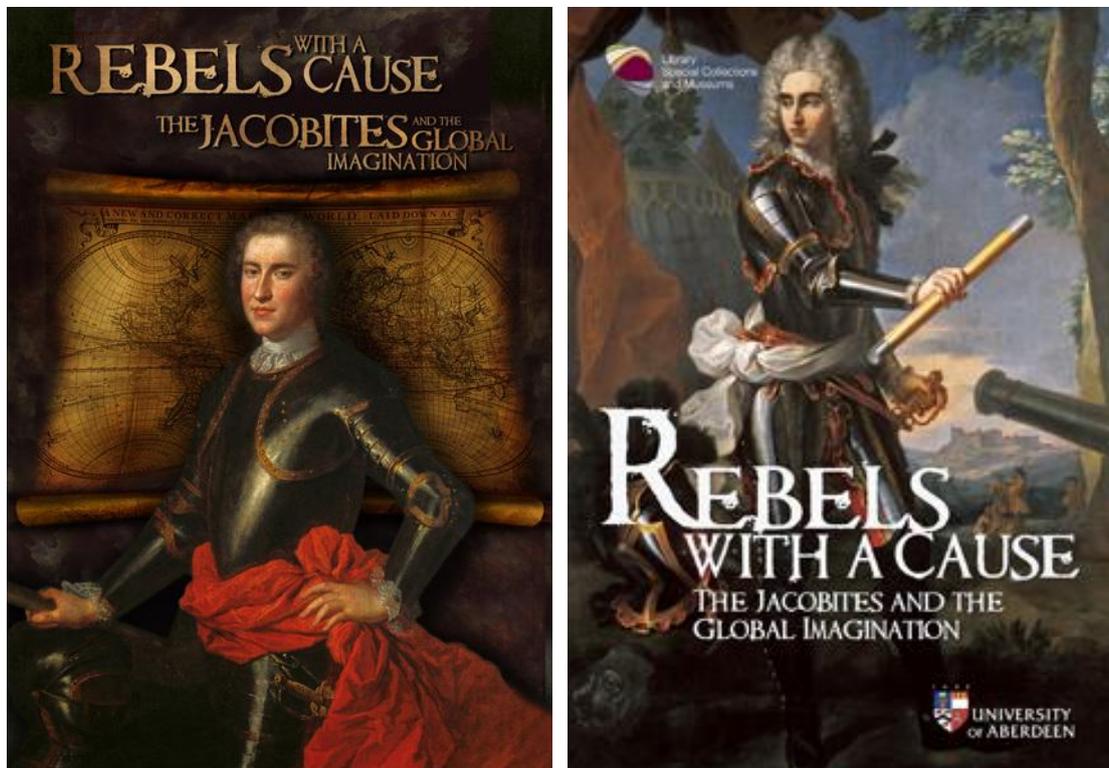
From October 2010 through January 2011 objects from the University of Aberdeen's collection were on display in the Scottish Parliament Building at Holyrood. Even before the exhibit opened, debate surrounded the idea of a Jacobite-themed exhibit in Scotland's parliamentary headquarters. There was an assumption by curators and the general public alike that the display would be necessarily political. In fact, reaction to the exhibition appeared in the media before it even opened. Tory MSP Alex Johnstone (Whitaker 2010), offered a pre-emptive warning to SNP politicians not to use the display as a political platform

a full month before the exhibit opened to the public in *The Scotsman*. 'It's important that this very important period of Scottish history is properly represented and not abused by Scottish nationalists,' stated Johnstone (*ibid.*) continuing, 'I would urge MSPs of all parties to respect Scottish history by not using what will be an excellent exhibition for political gain.' Brian Adam (*ibid.*), then-MSP for Aberdeen North, a member of the SNP, dismissed Johnstone's criticisms, accusing him of being 'stuck in the 18th century,' and insisted that the public 'should not take any notice of the Tories and should instead come along and make the most of this exhibition.' Much like *The Swords and the Sorrows*, the gathering of a collection of Jacobite-era material culture had an immediate impact on modern political dialogue.

The online version of this exchange attracted a long list of comments from internet users, ranging from casually dismissive to vitriolic *before any of them had even seen the display*. Egregious spelling errors aside, the public commentary fell into two camps. Firstly, there were those that mocked *The Scotsman* and the Tory MSP for what they saw as a non-story; that is, they were of the opinion that the nuanced political situation of the Jacobite era was generally understood by average Scots who were in no danger of being duped into thinking that the 18th-century conflict was a simple Scotland v. England affair. Opposed to this were commentators that expressed support for Johnstone, espousing fears that the SNP would manipulate the exhibit for its own nationalist and anti-Union ends. In fact, these fears proved unfounded because the SNP, whether through astute political calculation or general indifference, did not embrace the Jacobite material in the way feared by critics.

The artefacts featured in the exhibit were all taken from the collections of the University of Aberdeen and featured items such as the quaich [ABDUA:18083] previously discussed in Chapter 3, and a double-edged basket-hilted sword inscribed 'PROSPERITY TO SCHOTLAND AND NO UNION' [ABDUA:10012] like those discussed earlier in this chapter. It also displayed documents, like a Jacobite army recruitment slip, and a letter penned by Charles Edward Stuart in exile. One of the star objects from the university collection was an ostrich egg elaborately carved with the cipher of James VIII and Jacobite symbols.

Organisers felt the need for caution when assembling this event; the exhibition was not de-politicised but rather neutralised (Curtis 2012b, pers. comm.). This was done by focusing on the international impact of Jacobitism and the role it played in contemporary European politics, as well as the effects of a Jacobite diaspora in the second half of the 18th century. There was a general assumption by all involved - curators, parliamentary officials, and outside design firms - that this was potentially contentious subject matter, and the exhibit was carefully and consciously crafted to resist political appropriation (*ibid.*). All text and display content was vetted through a review process. The most questionable element of the exhibition, perhaps, was the somewhat dramatic title *Rebels with a Cause* and was a marketing rather than curatorial decision (*ibid.*).



Left: Figure 66 The promotional poster for the *Rebels with a Cause* exhibition at Holyrood, featuring a swashbuckling image of Field Marshal James Keith, brother to George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal. Right: Figure 67 A redesigned poster for the same exhibition at the University of Aberdeen, this time featuring George Keith. Both images courtesy of the University of Aberdeen.

In reality, *Rebels with a Cause* was not a politically inflammatory exhibition hijacked by the SNP for political gain. There was no negative feedback relating to the exhibition itself once it opened. The public feedback submitted via

comment cards failed to engage with the exhibit at all. Instead the comment cards served as a ready-made soap-box for anonymous political punditry, notably how the responder felt about Jacobitism, Unionism, or Scottish independence (*ibid.*), irrespective of the material culture presented. Though visitors failed to directly engage with the artefacts and information on display, the exhibition did evoke sometimes passionate responses from members of the public - including uninformed rants. This suggests that amongst the Scottish public, Jacobitism is paradoxically well-known and misunderstood, despite the efforts of museum professionals and academics throughout Scotland who have sought to present the Jacobite era in ever more nuanced terms over the past several decades. *Rebels with a Cause* illustrates the challenge of presenting a multifaceted and complex history to a public that presumes knowledge of the subject. Neil Curtis (*ibid.*), Head of Museums at the University of Aberdeen and co-curator of *Rebels with a Cause*, was left with mixed feelings; the exhibition achieved a balanced portrayal of Jacobite-era politics by exploring the global impact of Jacobitism, however, there was frustration with the public's lack of engagement with the material presented.

2011 *Imagining Power: the Visual Culture of the Jacobite Cause*, Edinburgh

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery (SNPG) opened an exhibit in December of 2011 (running until 31 Dec 2015) entitled *Imagining Power: the Visual Culture of the Jacobite Cause*, which explores the self-representation of leading Jacobite - and a handful of Hanoverian and Williamite - personalities. The exhibit takes advantage of the SNPG's collection of Jacobite portraits, along with a number of works on loan from the Drambuie Collection (previously discussed in Chapter 6). As the exhibition title suggests, it focuses on the ways in which individuals expressed their authority, achieved primarily through official portraiture, as well as paintings and printed propaganda, such as engravings. Like *Rebels with a Cause*, *Imagining Power* attempts to strike a politically neutral stance. In this instance, the exhibition focuses on self-representation. It does not seek to comment upon the validity of the Jacobite cause, only to represent it as the Jacobites themselves saw it. *Imagining Power* uses the titles that Jacobite individuals used, thus Charles Edward Stuart is the Prince of Wales and James

Francis Edward Stuart is James III or James VIII. Like *The Swords and the Sorrows*, and *Rebels with a Cause*, this is an unapologetically Jacobite-themed display, however, it attempts to limit the potential modern political repercussions of such subject matter by focusing on the aesthetic conception of power in the 18th century.

At the centre of the *Imagining Power* exhibit is a display of related Jacobite-era material culture. Most prominent amongst these artefacts are 13 pieces of glassware on loan from the Drambuie Collection, including the impressive Spotiswoode Amen glass [PGL 1501]. Alongside of these are various miniatures, medals, badges, and boxes. Many of the medals are Jacobite pieces, with several exceptions. There are medals commemorating the Jacobite defeats at Carlisle [PG 1337] and Culloden [PG 1340], as well a Queen Anne medal [PG 2768] commemorating the failure of the attempted 1708 invasion, and a 1689 medal [PG 2911], celebrating the flight of James VII / II and the arrival of William of Orange. It is worth noting that these last two items were purchased by the SNPG in 1989 and 1992 respectively, whilst many of the other medals were purchased in the first few decades of the 20th century, perhaps indicating a later gesture towards balancing out the political viewpoints.

Overlooking these artefacts are the faces of James Francis Edward Stuart, his sons, and Flora Macdonald, along with General Wade, the Duke of Cumberland, and George I. There are monumental scenes of the baptism of Charles Edward Stuart, the marriage of James Francis Edward Stuart and Maria Clementina Sobieski, and the Battle of Glenshiel. At the entrance to the gallery are propaganda prints and engravings. Many of these portraits, prints, and artefacts are from the later part of the period of study, c. 1745 and after.

The incorporation of artefacts into a gallery exhibit mainly comprised of two-dimensional artworks brings an added level of immediacy. While flat paintings adorn the walls - some positioned high up away from the viewer - the glasses, medals, and snuffboxes on display in the central case offer a striking contrast of tactility. These are close to visitors and are scaled to life. These artefacts fit well here for, as previously discussed (Chapter 4), the symbols and imagery of power were shared between painted / printed image and object, thus *Imagining Power* encompasses art and artefacts alike. This juxtaposition of objects

alongside portraiture offers a holistic look at aristocratic Jacobitism. These are the possessions and the likenesses of Jacobite elite. It is particularly striking to be at the display of drinking glasses while surrounded by the visages of Jacobitism, evoking the closeness of convivial drinking and toasting, where one would share a glass surrounded by friendly faces. The display setting of the Drambuie glasses in the *Imagining Power* gallery remains true to that company's original collection rationale. These artefacts were acquired for their craftsmanship, their authenticity, and their aesthetically pleasing form. There is, however, an uncertain fate for these artefacts after their loan agreement expires in 2015. Until then, *Imagining Power* manages to bring together the best of private and public collecting: artefacts acquired through the ready capital and flexibility of collection practices of a corporate entity, along with the public accessibility and thoughtful interpretation of a trusted public institution.

Recent exhibition practices

Several interesting observations can be made after considering the three most recent special exhibitions of Jacobite-era material culture, *The Swords and the Sorrows*, *Rebels with a Cause*, and *Imagining Power*. Firstly, divisiveness has to be assumed to be inherent when dealing with Jacobite-era subject matter. Each of these exhibitions carefully walked the line between making their subject matter exciting and attractive, whilst avoiding any type of value judgement on the actual politics of the Jacobite cause. As seen in the case of *The Swords and the Sorrows* and *Rebels with a Cause* in particular, contentiousness from the political sphere and the general public is often unavoidable, despite all efforts to minimise it. This contrasts sharply with the SNP exhibition, which seems to have largely escaped the politicised critiques drawn by the other two exhibitions. Perhaps it is the display setting that makes the difference. Culloden is an emotive location that for some is associated with deeply-held beliefs. Anything displayed in the Scottish Parliament Building will be politicised automatically. The quiet, institutional, art gallery setting of the SNP exhibition, however, has sapped the strength of any potential political vitriol. Whatever one's perception of Jacobitism is, the individuals whose portraits are displayed in *Imagining Power* undoubtedly had an impact upon Scottish history and

therefore naturally belong in the collection of the nation's collection of portraiture.

More generally, these three exhibitions highlight the challenge of academically engaging with past conflict. These were each carefully constructed to minimise any potential offence while offering academically sound representations of past events. They sought to do this through the use of material culture. However, especially in the cases of *The Swords and the Sorrows* and *Rebels with a Cause*, the artefacts themselves were overlooked in favour of political grandstanding. Public comment started well before either of these exhibitions even opened. This illustrates the limits upon curatorial control, as well as attesting to the resonance of the politics of the Jacobite period in modern society. The artefacts that had been carefully selected and cautiously interpreted were not points of discussion in and of themselves, but rather formed a backdrop for dialogue (or in some cases diatribe) of politics past and present. In the case of *Rebels with a Cause* in particular, the items on display set the scene for heated political debate, but without measurably influencing the course of that debate. Material culture, which is so important to remembering and understanding the past, is impotent in the face of real-world, current politics. When 18th-century Jacobitism is conflated with current debates about Scottish nationalism, the ability of artefacts to impact meaningfully upon public perceptions is limited.

Bias or balance?

As evidenced by the dedicated special exhibitions of the material culture of the Jacobite wars discussed above, these artefacts are popular, but how faithfully does their institutional display and interpretation represent the Jacobite era? Modern museums are quick to highlight the Jacobite-associated items in their permanent collections. More often than not, these are aesthetically appealing pieces, replete with an exciting history or a romantic provenance that offer an irresistible opportunity for signboard interpretation. Assuredly romanticism continues to obscure the rigorous intellectual appraisal of the material remains of the Jacobite period and consideration must be made as to how they differ in display from other objects, particularly in comparison to other 18th century artefacts. Jacobite artefacts tend to be more prominent and are over-

represented in public institutional collections. For example, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow has a prominent display of Jacobite artefacts in the 'Scottish Identity in Art' display. Despite the fact that Glasgow remained staunchly pro-government throughout the Jacobite wars, there are no corresponding Hanoverian or pro-Union items on display, though there are such items in the museum's stores. The NMS achieves a better balance of Williamite and Hanoverian material culture alongside Jacobite-themed objects. The Chambers Street institution, like other museums, has a wealth of other late-17th and early-18th century material on display, however, artefacts from the Jacobite wars are kept separate. While it is easy to see why such a thematic distinction would make curatorial sense, it creates an artificial division between, for example, a Jacobite snuff box and a Williamite toasting glass on one hand, and an otherwise un-affiliated but contemporary quaich on the other. Jacobite-era artefacts are separated out from their material contemporaries, giving undue weight to their importance in the material record and perhaps falsely representing the breadth and scale of the political movement that they represent. They undoubtedly represent both the material practices and politics of a certain class of people in certain parts of Scotland, however, they are by no means representative of the majority. The Burrell Collection, which like the Kelvingrove Museum and Gallery is part of the Glasgow Life collective under the care of Glasgow City Council, has a large collection of 18th-century tablewares on display, none of which are overtly political. Likewise, the Perth Museum, administered by Perth & Kinross Council, has a dazzling display of the work of Perth silversmiths and 18th-century glassware. These two collections offer the broader context for the study of Jacobite-era artefacts. Artefacts examined in this study would have been a mere fraction of the 18th-century material world, though this is easily forgotten by members of the public and dedicated researchers alike when presented with case after case of Jacobite paraphernalia in some of the public collections in Scotland.

By displaying these artefacts as separate from the material whole, modern museums perpetuate and reinforce the aura of specialness that surrounds Jacobite-era objects. Though this is done for obvious practical reasons like ease of visitor access and thematic continuity, it is worth questioning the practice. It is not suggested here that such objects should be displayed differently. It is,

however, worth highlighting the fact that the ways in which these artefacts are displayed has an impact upon how they are perceived, and furthermore, how modern visitors perceive the historical political causes they once represented. Furthermore, this has a potential impact upon current and future politics, if the trend for discussing Jacobitism and proto-nationalism in tandem continues.

At the Culloden visitor's centre, installed in a brand new building with redesigned displays in 2008, a much more balanced approach is attempted with mixed results. The centre seeks to create parallel narratives of both Jacobite and Hanoverian events. The political sides appear on opposite walls of an intimate corridor, the path between which is left open except for a few stand-alone displays in the centre of the aisle. The idea is to create a fluid pattern of movement between the two political viewpoints, meandering from one set of information boards and artefacts to another, juxtaposing Jacobitism and Hanoverianism alongside one another in time and space (See Fig. 67 below).

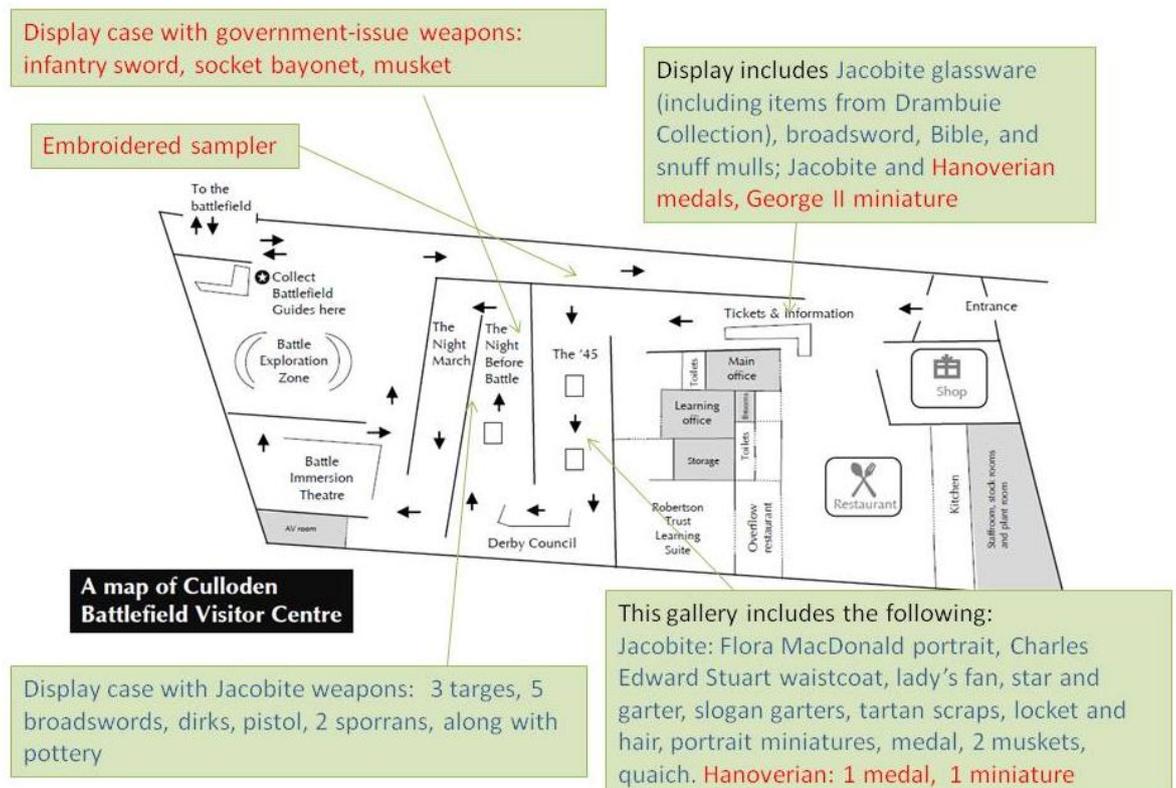


Figure 67 Map of Culloden visitor centre. ©National Trust for Scotland, with author's annotations

As the visitor snakes through the chronologically ordered display cases, it is noticeable that, despite the attempt to seamlessly incorporate the government

and Jacobite objects, there is a tacit focus on the Jacobite artefacts. There are more Jacobite items on display than Hanoverian and they are, in fact, more excitingly presented. For example, basket-hilted swords and Highland targes are arranged in an eye-catching collage versus a modest display of a few government-issue arms. The eye is immediately drawn to the visually-rich display of Jacobite objects.

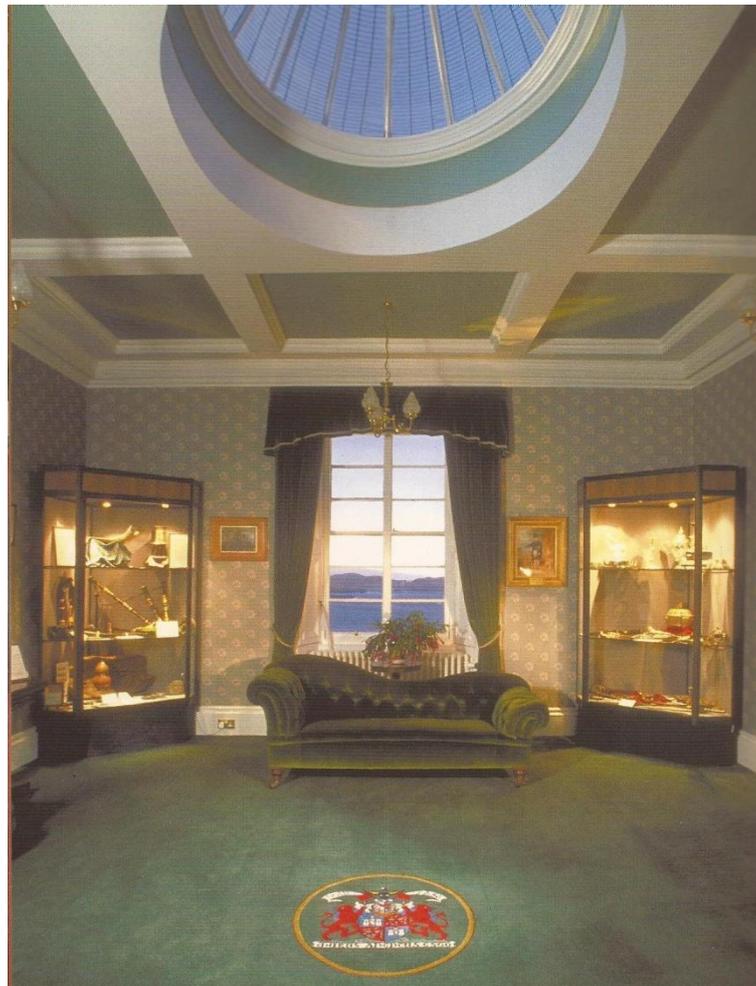


Figure 68 Jacobite memorabilia, particularly relating to Flora Macdonald, discreetly displayed at Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye. Unlike public institutional collections like that at Culloden or the West Highland Museum, the artefacts at Dunvegan Castle are not focal points, even though promotional literature highlights the castle's collection of 'relics'. *Dunvegan Castle Visitor's Guide 2003: 22.*

The West Highland Museum in Fort William has an impressive array of Jacobite artefacts, which are allotted an entire room to themselves. This is an unapologetically Jacobite-themed display. Aside from a dozen pro-Hanoverian medals commemorating events like the Jacobite losses at Carlisle and Culloden, as well as the retreat from Derby, there is little of the government perspective

in the museum of the former garrison town. The bulk of the collection consists of items with Stuart personal associations, as well as one case with a few battlefield artefacts. These artefacts include a government regimental badge [WHM 1421] found on the field at Prestonpans. A powder horn [WHM816] said to have been carried at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689 by Stuart of Ardshiel, while a Jacobite battlefield relic, is not displayed alongside the artefacts from the battlefields of the 1745, but rather is situated downstairs from the main Jacobite display on the ground floor of the museum (See Fig. 69 below).

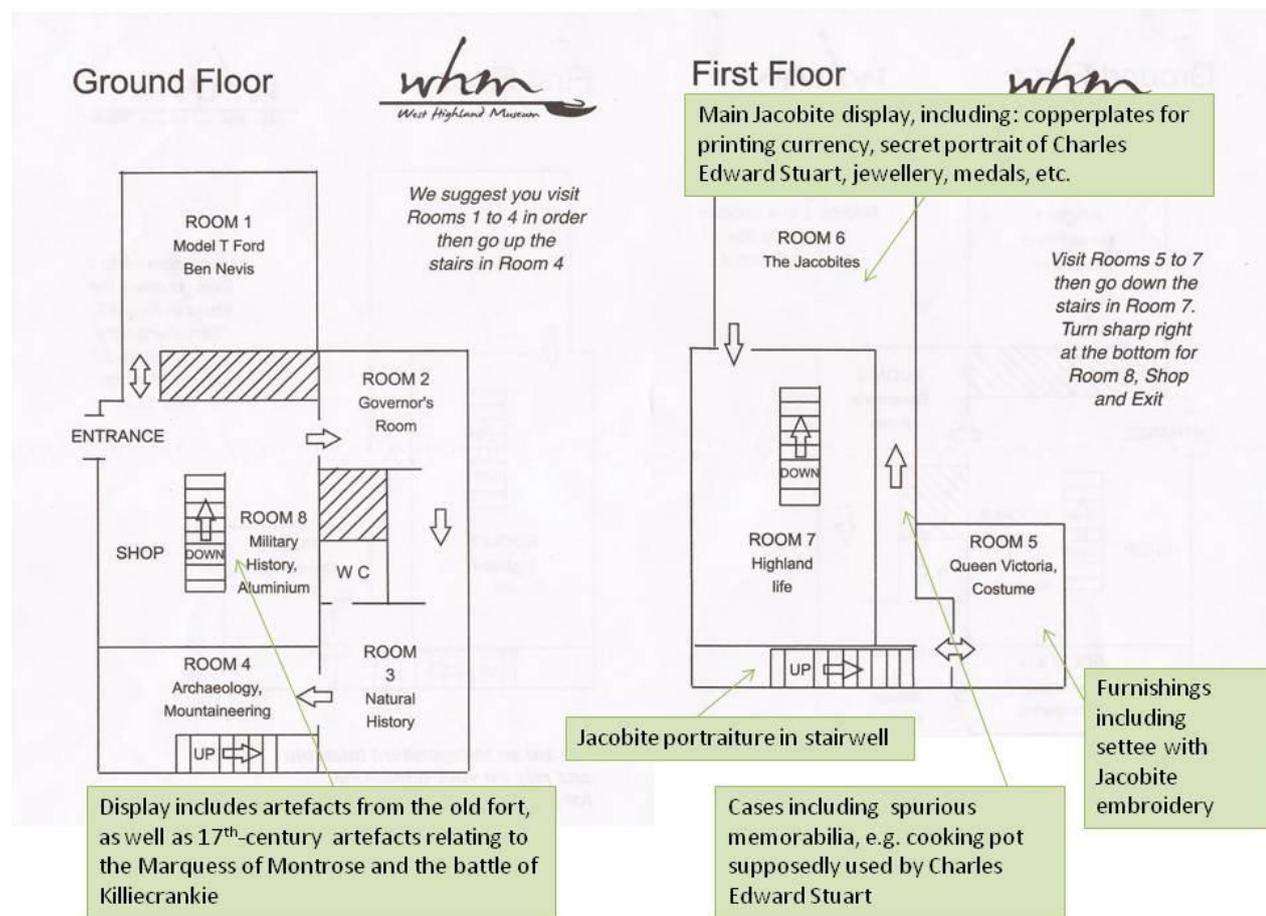


Figure 69 Floor-plan of West Highland Museum. ©West Highland Museum, with author's annotations

While it fits in chronologically with other artefacts from the 17th century, including a few artefacts associated with the Marquess of Montrose, it is separated from thematically similar battlefield artefacts. By separating the artefacts from earlier periods of Jacobite unrest, museums risk losing the continuity of roughly five decades of the Jacobite political movement and its repeated military actions. The placement of artefacts like the Killiecrankie

powder horn in a ground-floor hallway means that they can easily be overlooked, which once again reinforces the idea that the 1745 is the main attraction.

Each of the institutions discussed above offer very different ways of dealing with the display and interpretation of Jacobite-era material culture. They engage with their artefacts and communicate the nuanced political situation of late-17th and 18th-century Scotland with varying degrees of success. The characters of these institutions are quite different and they are not meant to be directly compared or contrasted, but rather are cited here as examples of the ways in which the material culture of the Jacobite wars is presented today. There will never be a perfect way for museums to present the past; it must necessarily be parsed and narrativised for public consumption. What is clear is that the artefacts of the Jacobite era help to form our understanding of that historical period and its people, and the mediation of museums has a direct impact upon our engagement with that material culture.

Discussion

Human interactions with objects are subjective and changeable, and thus the meanings of artefacts to members of a society shift over time. The late-17th- and 18th-century artefacts researched for this study are not static, but also speak to modern conceptions of a past historical period. Since the end of the 18th century Jacobitism has been a small but significant part of Scotland's material past. The 19th century brought a renewed focus on Scottish history and Scotland's place within the United Kingdom. As Curtis (2012a) argues, Scotland in the late-19th and early-20th centuries was not seeking an independent political identity, but rather aspiring to be a discrete nation securely embedded within the British Empire. There was patriotic pride, but without independent aims. One could not explore Scottishness and Scotland's relationship within the wider United Kingdom without reference to the political turmoil of the Union and the Jacobite era, though the tensions of that conflict were not always fully explored. The material culture of the Jacobite wars was part of the nostalgic and anti-industrial Celtic revival in the latter part of the 19th century, which carried on into the 20th (Cheape 2008:130), as linguists, folklorists, and antiquarians struggled to record the quickly disappearing traditions of life in the

Scottish Highlands and Islands. Thus Jacobitism was romanticised by being removed from its socio-political context and by being treated nostalgically.

Thoughtful, informative work has been done on the romanticising of (particularly Highland) Jacobitism during the 19th and 20th centuries by scholars such as Pittock (1995) among others (Barron 2003; Caldwell 2009). The cultural legacy, real or imagined, of Jacobitism still resonates today with modern Scottish society and is perceived to be an integral part of Scottish history, whether or not a majority of Scots were actually Jacobites. It is not simply evident in the tatty tartanry available at tourist gift shops, but in the persistent emotive connections evident in film, literature, news media, and conversations with average individuals. Visit Scotland's 2009 Year of Homecoming was predicated upon the belief that a Scottish cultural diaspora would travel great distances during a recession to attend clan-themed days out, castle visits, and parades. With the reinstatement of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and the election of the Scottish National Party (SNP) to a majority combined with the tercentennial anniversary of the Act of Union in 2007, tracing the roots of Scottish nationalism has been at the forefront of scholarly attention for the past decade. Whether correctly or not, there has been an increased emphasis on interpreting Jacobitism as proto-nationalistic as well as anti-Unionist. Scholarly discussion of the nature of the Jacobite political movement, especially its relationship with the development of Scottish nationalism (MacInnes 1999) and Union politics (Stephen 2010; Harris 2010), has remained popular throughout the first decade of the 21st century. As Scotland re-examines its role within the United Kingdom during a referendum on independence in 2014, such topics will continue to be relevant for the foreseeable future.

In this sense the artefacts of the Jacobite period continue to perform cultural work that exceeds their original remit, as later generations ascribe their own updated social and political values with the passing years. The artefacts of the Jacobite era are legitimating current political ideologies just as they once legitimated political ideologies of the 18th century. By linking artefacts and beliefs, ideologies are anchored to a material reality, making them more durable. When linked to an object from the past, ideologies are given time-depth and historical authority.

Individuals of the 19th, 20th, and now 21st centuries have sought to understand the historical Jacobite era through its material traces. When examining the exhibition practices of the material culture of this period, one is able to trace the development of a canon of Jacobite-era artefacts throughout the 20th century. The same types of artefacts (and in some cases, the same artefacts) were exhibited again and again, becoming entrenched in the public institutional understanding of the Jacobite wars and materially embodying the period of study. The continued emphasis on specifically Jacobite artefacts over time has helped to rationalise a largely marginal political movement. In recent years, the display and exhibition of politicised material culture of the Jacobite era has become embroiled in contemporary political debates. The popularity of artefacts of the Jacobite wars - their collectability over time, their early inclusion in public institutional collections and special exhibitions, and their continued ability to provoke political responses - has meant that they occupy prominent, highly visible places not just in our modern museums and galleries, but in our minds.

8. Conclusions

Over the course of research many different artefacts have been examined, bringing together a variety of different materials and types, each contributing in some way to the furthering of a political agenda during the period of study. Politicised artefacts of the Jacobite wars were identified as a useful research theme and separated from the archaeological record for closer inspection, though they have been carefully re-contextualised within their contemporary and modern socio-political contexts. Over the course of research it became apparent that domestic, everyday artefacts were highly politicised and were employed alongside weapons and other tools of war to further a military agenda. This domestic context is underutilised by scholars of past conflict but it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated the rich potential in following such avenues of enquiry. Not only does it reflect more widely upon the society in which conflict occurs, but an approach such as this offers a way to connect with non-combatant civilians, especially women, who are often underrepresented in studies of past conflict.

Furthermore, the dual micro- and macro-scale approach has attempted to provide a holistic look at the material culture of the Jacobite wars, bringing the multiple facets of these artefacts back together to better understand the whole. Upon closer inspection, it has been found that these artefacts, ubiquitous in collections throughout Scotland and the rest of the U.K., operate in far more nuanced ways than are apparent at first glance. Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian artefacts engaged in a political dialogue using mutually understood modes of material expression. Despite political allegiance, largely there is continuity over time, with material political expressions appearing at predictable intervals, like after a battlefield victory. There are occasional peaks in material expression at seemingly unusual times, like when a cause suffers a setback, suggesting that material culture was both celebratory propaganda, as well as ameliorative and aspirational. Furthermore, material culture did not always correspond to trends in other types of visual imagery or print. While many visual motifs were shared between artefacts, paintings, and prints, the objects examined in this study suggest that artefacts could operate differently from other expressive media. A survey of the material culture of the Jacobite

wars has highlighted the fact that it worked in complex and sometimes unexpected ways, and indeed continues to be relevant to modern society (discussed further in the next section).

The outcome of this research has been an updated assessment of the material culture of the Jacobite wars with fresh interpretations of artefacts informed by up-to-date theoretical perspectives. Often times the artefacts of the Jacobite wars are under-interpreted. They are academically overlooked and taken for granted, due to their continued popularity. This is not an entirely undiscovered resource, however, it is an underutilised one. There was several centuries' worth of assumed knowledge surrounding these artefacts that needed to be challenged. The key methodological approach was that of artefact biography, however, this meant not just filling in biographical details, but rather interrogating the nature of what constitutes an artefact's biography. This study has offered critical assessments of recent exhibitions of Jacobite-era material juxtaposed alongside earlier 19th-century exhibitions. It has also introduced an entirely new set of data for artefacts at modern auctions, highlighting excellent resources not previously examined. Furthermore, it has explored artefacts in institutional collections, many of which are on public display. Artefacts on display and at auction serve as important touchstones of the past, influencing the ways in which individuals understand the Jacobite era. Following Pearce (1994a), it is asserted that such objects are received by individuals in unpredictable or unexpected ways, as each viewer brings their own emotive reactions, despite the fact that an artefact is rooted in a historical event. Thus, this study has also considered the emotive capacities of artefacts and how their institutional presentation and interpretation can influence our reactions. Furthermore, new analyses of collections and collecting practices over time have provided time-depth, looking at the early donations to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland through to the modern Drambuie Collection. Unlike other assemblages of late-17th- and 18th-century material, collections of Jacobite-era artefacts are what Pearce (1994b) terms souvenir or fetish collections; artefacts from the Jacobite period were collected and preserved due to personal connections with individuals or events (souvenirs) or because they were able to spark the imagination of a collector or induce a frisson of emotion (fetishes). This contrasts with the systematic (*ibid.*) collections - that is, seriated, didactic

groupings of artefacts - that underpin modern museums. The artefacts in this study have not been actively collected over the centuries to serve as exemplars of artefact types or to show technological processes over time, but rather because the politically expressive artefacts of the Jacobite period were emotionally and culturally valued by past individuals and continue to resonate with collectors and museum-goers today.

Thus, this research has explored the materiality of the Jacobite wars, moving beyond the extant object catalogues and isolated studies of single artefacts to reflect upon the corpus of Jacobite-era artefacts as a whole. Research embraced both the material properties of these artefacts along with their social significance over time; it is an attempt to critically assess the material culture of the Jacobite wars 'with sensitivity to the real, material qualities of things and to the corporeal, culturally nuanced, sensory modalities through which those qualities are experienced and valued' (Dudley 2012: 5). This thesis brings research on the material culture of the Jacobite wars up to date, offers fresh approaches to the interrogation of this subset of artefacts, and expands available resources for future study.

Continued relevance

The artefacts of the Jacobite risings have been of institutional and public interest since the 18th century and it is clear from current display and collection practices that they are still popular. Jacobite artefacts are particularly important to the concept of Scottish history and Scottish identity, often to the detriment of Williamite and Hanoverian items, which are often underemphasised or non-existent. It is safe for the casual heritage tourist to assume that a Scottish institution will have a requisite display, or at least a mention of the Jacobites. Thus the material culture of the Jacobite era, the personalities memorialised by it and the political messages contained therein, still maintain a sense of currency in modern Scottish society.

Until now the scholarly work done on these artefacts over the past two hundred years has been based largely on aesthetics. Archaeology, and particularly material culture studies, has hardly engaged with the material culture of the

Jacobite wars, leaving the investigation of this body of evidence to the scholarly approaches of historians, art historians, and literary scholars. An archaeologist and material culturist brings a way of viewing the material past that is different from other disciplines, employing a different theoretical framework, an appreciation for raw material and contemporary use, and looking more closely at the web of social connections linking an artefact to shifting networks of people and things over time. The theoretical perspectives laid out at the outset of this thesis have enabled a richer, more nuanced assessment of the material culture of the Jacobite era. It is apparent that these artefacts were not simply material markers on a historical timeline, but have performed real cultural work over time. Material culture underpinned the late-17th and 18th-century political establishment. Images of soldiers either reinforced military strength or else undermined (by feminising, ridiculing, or demonising) the military prowess of the enemy. Political authority was asserted through material means, as kings and would-be kings employed the material symbols of royalty and reinforced ties of mutual obligation through gifts. Individuals enacted loyalty and rebellion through everyday artefacts and personal dress, as well as the actual weapons of war.

Equally fascinating are the changing social and material practices in the period of study. This created a perfect storm of increased political participation and increased access to material forms of expression, which led to a flourishing of politicised material culture that is still very much evident in society today. Immediately following the period of study, by the closing decades of the 18th century, party politics in Britain created a flourishing market for objects of political propaganda, from the electioneering glasses of the Georgians to printed handkerchiefs, political expression through material goods only increased with the availability and affordability of mass manufactured items. Practices that were only just beginning in the period of study expanded rapidly, and developed into the politicised material culture recognisable to modern individuals who are well acquainted with campaign buttons, rosettes, bobble-heads, bumper stickers, tea towels, and other propagandistic paraphernalia. Just as an individual of the Jacobite era would have once raised an engraved glass to toast their preferred monarch, today we drink from mugs with political slogans and

party symbols. The material practices of the Jacobite era are readily recognisable to modern individuals, though at that time they were still nascent.

The artefacts of the Jacobite wars also engaged, and continue to engage, in the process of memory work, recording and interpreting events and propagating viewpoints across centuries. Commemorative artefacts remembered an individual or celebrated an event while memorial objects recalled the deaths of specific individuals. Such artefacts were not simply retrospective, but were intended to further a political agenda, keeping the past alive in the present. This memorial material culture, objects with personal associations with known individuals and those with connections to a battlefield, blur the line between artefacts and relics. These artefacts are entangled with quasi-religious and folk beliefs. The blood-soaked cloth of a martyred king could heal, as could a touch piece, which physically preserved the royal touch that cured the King's Evil. There is an emphasis on the tactile, and to a lesser extent, on sight. The artefacts most often treated as relics are those that are corporeal, like hair, or those that have touched the body, such as clothing. Other relics were silent witnesses to violence or death. Artefacts recovered from the battlefield or from the natural world, like trees and stones, that were physically present at scenes of violence are transformed from otherwise unremarkable artefacts into items that offer an especially powerful connection to the past.

The artefacts of the Jacobite wars aid present individuals in understanding and memorialising the Jacobite era today, but they also continue to help us navigate complex political identities. We turn to the material culture of the Jacobite wars as a way to express current issues of Scottish national identity and Union politics. There is an inability to separate historical and modern politics. The material culture of the Jacobite era is ever in danger of being co-opted for use in the present, as seen by the knee-jerk public reactions to exhibitions like *Rebels with a Cause*. Archaeologists and museum professionals agonise over the use of non-inflammatory terminology when discussing the artefacts of the Jacobite wars and take care not to offend with new displays because this body of material culture is still politically relevant and capable of provocation. At the same time, there is a limited capacity for this material culture to substantially change current political debate, rather it is used to strengthen already-held beliefs.

One of the ways in which the current relevance of the material culture of the Jacobite wars can be measured is through the examination of collection and display practices over the centuries since the Jacobite period. The late-17th and early-18th centuries were times when ideas about material culture were changing, from the increased ready accessibility of new objects, to the developing notion of curating and collecting heirloom objects. This ultimately resulted in the idea that artefacts of historical importance should be made available to the public in the 19th century. These changes meant that artefacts from the Jacobite period, especially the last decade of the period, have survived in quantity, making a study such as this possible. There are, however, challenges for the 21st century. The very popularity of these artefacts among private collectors can limit access to varying degrees. Economic stagnation has impacted upon the funding of public institutions, in turn affecting acquisitions, while the changing financial situations of private and corporate collectors has led to the sale of artefacts. The breaking up of the Drambuie collection is an excellent example of such instability. A change in corporate policy led to a dismantling of the 19th- and 20th-century art collection, though fortunately the Jacobite material has been kept intact and is currently on loan to public institutions. This arrangement is not permanent, however, and the fates of these artefacts are beyond the control of heritage institutions.

Reconciling artefact and narrative

Theoretical perspectives on the practice of artefact biography underpin this research, however, it soon became evident that the artefacts in this study necessitated a flexible approach. For example, it was necessary to utilise both biographical and life-history approaches, as they are labelled by Joy (2009). Certain artefacts attracted biographical associations that were inextricably linked to human social contexts, while others offered little more than scant life-history clues as to their past use, wear, and repair. Knappett's (2004) ideas on the affordances of artefacts have been particularly useful. Considering the possibilities of artefact use by past individuals has allowed for thoughtful speculation where known biographical details were lacking. Furthermore, exploring the affordances of artefacts requires creative critical thinking and

entertaining multiple possibilities, resulting in a deeper engagement with the material under investigation.

The artefacts encountered in this study mirrored Marshall's (2008) dichotomy of 'lived' and 'inscribed' objects. Some artefacts originally designed for quotidian domestic use later gained notability due to a biographical event, while others were consciously crafted as heirloom objects. Though the origins of such artefacts are quite different, biographical circumstances meant that their trajectories over time became increasingly similar: both 'lived' (e.g. the milking stool sat upon by Charles Edward Stuart) and 'inscribed' (e.g. a commemorative medal) artefacts of the Jacobite wars were curated similarly and survive in collections today. Other subcategories developed by theorists of artefact biography were less useful. The distinction between 'biographical' and 'protocol' (Hoskins 2006) artefacts, for example, was much more muddled in the material examined for this study. So-called protocol artefacts - those everyday commodities meant for use and disposal - could become 'biographical' artefacts, acquiring notability and being identified with a specific time and place, years after their original use. The example used to highlight this is musket balls, utterly disposable at their time of creation and yet evocative of moments in time when collected from a battlefield years later.

One of the overarching concerns of exploring artefacts through biography is the problematic practice of linking artefact and narrative. While the human stories that collect around an artefact can enhance our understanding of the object and its era, fixing that artefact to set points in a linear timeline fails to engage with the full lifespan of the object and its changing contexts. Furthermore, considering artefacts on a purely human timescale threatens to enforce a univocal understanding of how an object operated in past society, often obscuring its significance over time and geographical space. This reliance upon linear, human narrative is sometimes exacerbated by the author's methodological preference of pursuing a social-biographical approach, as many of the artefacts in this study are directly associated with specific individuals: the challenge is to explore an artefact's linear, human narrative without succumbing to a complacent acceptance of Whitley's (2002:219) 'biographical fallacy'. Working in a modern historical period when some artefacts can be linked to known individuals and events seemingly makes narrative indispensable. In the

case of the material culture of the Jacobite wars, often an artefact has been preserved over time due to an anecdotal connection to an individual or event, which ultimately relies upon a mutually accepted narrative. In addition, the artefacts themselves have become physical repositories of narrative, serving as reference points on a linear timeline. The tactile record informs modern conceptions of the events of the Jacobite time period, influencing the ways in which the era is understood and remembered by later societies, serving as mnemonic touchstones around which histories can be constructed. Items accumulated and arranged by museums and individual collectors offer a material representation of a past world, and these displays become the historic 'truth', the widely shared cultural memory of persons and events of the past. Artefacts, as physical remains of the past, can be used to lend a sense of incontrovertible validity to univocal interpretations of the past.

This results in a tension between artefact and narrative that, at least over the course of this study, cannot be fully resolved. Instead, both the narrative and non-narrative capacities of material culture have been explored. While artefacts can underpin a linear narrative of past events, they can also operate freely of such constraints, expressing that which cannot be expressed in words. Artefacts can stand in for nameless individuals; they can express absence and incompleteness. Paradoxically, the material culture of the Jacobite wars can both define and elide individuality, forever recalling a moment in time of an individual action, and alternatively reducing participants to nothing more than metonymic objects. Material culture can contain multitudes, offering a flexibility not found in written or spoken language. For example, the sheer scale of the debitage of war can more eloquently express the reality of the violence, chaos, and broken bodies of battle more successfully than linguistic sources. Material expressions of political authority, like the overwhelming awe of royal regalia, embodies power better than any official proclamation. In these instances, the material record moves beyond the constraints of language and linear narrative, speaking instead in a widely understood material language.

The material culture of conflict

The research presented in this thesis explores a wider material culture of conflict. The concept of polite war has been investigated, achieving a delicate balance between materially representing unpleasant topics such as war and violence whilst retaining a pleasing aesthetic that offers distance from the historical reality. In the Jacobite period, political agendas were furthered and loyalties reinforced through convivial practices. Drinking, taking snuff, and smoking tobacco were pleasurable social activities that had their own specialised politicised material culture. The attractive politeness of decorative domestic artefacts and the material culture of aristocratic social habits colours our perceptions of the Jacobite wars, as it did the perceptions of the conflict in its own time. Divisive political causes and even open warfare are made more palatable when presented in aesthetically pleasing ways and when associated with convivial activities. The material culture of non-battlefield settings offers a psychological distance, putting a polite gloss upon the realities of political factionalism and rebellion.

This does not suggest, however, that contemporaries of the Jacobite era were themselves entirely divorced from social and political upheaval. From 1688 until 1745, skirmishes and battles were fought in Scotland, England, and Ireland with occasional outbreaks of related civil unrest and political instability occurring in between. It does, however, have real implications for how we perceive these conflicts today. The distance maintained between artefacts and the historical realities of the events they were meant to commemorate can be problematic. This separation between the material culture and its associated violence, political discord, and death is dangerous because it allows for the idealisation, romanticisation, and sanitisation of past events that can affect how we experience the past in the present. There is a danger of looking at only one part of the archaeological evidence - the pleasant, pretty version of the past made possible because of the temporal distance between the modern scholar and the 18th-century subject matter. This contrasts sharply with excavated battlefield artefacts, which often more successfully communicate the reality of violent political discord. By contrasting the 'polite' material culture of the middle and upper classes with that of excavated battlefield finds, the dual nature of

Jacobite-era material culture can be seen. The ways in which political and military conflict were being interpreted into material forms was just beginning in the period of study, but it is in a form recognisable to later historical periods.

The archaeology of modern conflict often has to negotiate uncomfortable subject matter and is tasked with materially representing conflict, violence, and political unrest. The research presented here is but one facet of a much broader strand of enquiry: how to materially represent uncomfortable topics like war and violence is something with which societies, particularly modern British society, still struggle. It is left to archaeologists (Horning 2006, 2007, 2010; González-Ruibal 2008) to negotiate the interpretation and presentation of this uncomfortable material past.

This thematic thread could be pursued with great time depth throughout the past, from prehistory to the present. Images of violence and war are found throughout the ancient world, from cave paintings to pottery, small personal items to monumental sculpture. Roman builders asserted the might of the Empire along the Antonine Wall with images of soldiers cutting down Picts on a distance slab [NMS X.VF 27]. In contrast to the violence of medieval warfare are the delicately carved effigies of the nobility, with every detail of their armour and arms picked out in stone as if ready for battle, yet lying in peaceful repose. Such artefacts illustrate the vacillation between a style of material culture that straightforwardly celebrates violence, and one dedicated to its idealisation, where there are but hints of the latent potential of power and aggression.

By the turn of the 19th century, there was a distinct change in cultural interaction with the artefacts of war as well as with fields of battle. Interest in battlefield artefacts was apparent at the time of the period of study, but increased dramatically at the end of the 18th century. The battlefields of the Napoleonic Wars were the first to see wide scale battlefield tourism and pilgrimage (Simpson 1816; Waldie 1817; Wordsworth 1820; Semmel 2000). The villages nearby to where battles were fought catered to tourists by dealing in battlefield souvenirs, while great campaigns and battles were honoured with commemorative glassware and ceramics. In the 20th century, a vast and varied amount of battlefield souvenirs, as well as commemorative and memorial material culture for the First World War was generated (Saunders 2003, 2004,

2007). Private homes and museums alike abounded with non-military personal objects crafted by soldiers of the First World War, who used the readily available detritus of industrialised warfare to create mementoes like decoratively embellished shell-case umbrella stands (Saunders 2003, 2004). What would develop into a fully-fledged trade in material expressions of conflict in the 20th century has its roots in the tentative beginnings of commemoration and souvenir-collecting in the Jacobite era.

The Jacobite era was a transitional period with changing material practices that are recognisable to modern individuals. The later material reactions to political contest and open conflict in the 19th and 20th centuries can be seen in their nascent forms during the time of the Jacobite wars. The collection and curation of Jacobite-era material culture, which tentatively began in the contemporary period, flourished immediately after the Napoleonic period, peaking during the middle of the 19th century, and again during the first few decades of the 20th century. It is no coincidence that the collection and exhibition of artefacts of the Jacobite wars peaked in later years of global military turmoil. It is likely that a reciprocal relationship developed: the ways in which conflict was being represented in those later periods helped to inform how individuals, institutions, and collectors responded to Jacobite-era material culture, whilst the material memory of the Jacobite wars informed how individuals from later periods understood and interpreted conflict in their own time. Those who had visited the fields of Napoleonic battles, or who had acquired souvenirs of the Crimea or owned First World War trench art would apply the same interpretive constructs and consumer instincts to the objects of the past.

There is, however, an intriguing contrast between First World War trench art - by far the most well-studied category of conflict material culture - and the artefacts examined in this study. Unlike the everyday and domestic artefacts that were politicised and utilised to further a political agenda in the Jacobite period, trench artisans of the First World War took the materiel of modern warfare and turned it into anodyne domestic knickknacks and collectibles. There are two very different processes at work here. One imbued non-military artefacts with military significance, while the other demobilised the material essentials of war, as if they sought to domesticate conflict itself. It is possible that the sheer overwhelming amount of materials generated by industrialised

warfare in the later period meant that its presence was rationalised. Soldiers of the First World War were inundated with vast quantities of material that they appropriated to express their non-military identities, while individuals in the late-17th and 18th centuries adopted newly available specialised domestic material goods to express political identities and wage war in a non-battlefield context. Thus the material culture from two temporally close, recognisably modern periods exhibits different material expressions of conflict, begging further exploration in future research.

The material culture of the Jacobite wars

The material culture of the Jacobite wars is just a small portion of a wider material culture of conflict. There is a large body of material culture relating to the Jacobite wars, some with irrefutable provenance, some spurious, but all of it informative. Taken in total, it provides a valuable resource for investigating both the past and present. Singling out artefacts with a very specific theme - that of the Jacobite wars - risks overemphasising their importance in the material record. The artefacts examined in this study are but a fraction of the material record of the late-17th and 18th centuries. While here they serve as a way to interrogate the material expressions of political agenda in the Jacobite era, in reality they must be taken as a minute part of a much larger whole. Artefacts of the Jacobite wars abound in public and private collections because they are attractive, engaging, and collectible, however, they are outnumbered by a vast amount of apolitical, non-elite, and equally important workaday material culture.

Furthermore, there is a bias in favour of Jacobite material culture. While Williamite and Hanoverian material culture exists, it is often less obvious and has no dedicated collections. Jacobite material culture is simply more visible and well publicised. In addition, it is easier to spot intentionality in relation to Jacobite material culture. Evincing support for Williamite and Hanoverian politics did not require a specialised form of material expression, as these were established political majorities. Though artefacts often incorporated politicised symbols, like royal portraits, the faces, signs, and symbols of the ruling monarch were popular decorative tropes. It is difficult to ascribe active political support

to artefacts such as these, distinguishing them from tacit acceptance and complacency of a recognised government. While Jacobite material culture is more visible in the material record, it is important to remember that Jacobitism was a minority opposition political cause, albeit one with geographical concentrations. The visibility of Jacobite material culture should not be confused with widespread support.

It has been argued throughout this thesis that Jacobites had more of an impetus to create, use, and curate specialised political material culture, as absent monarchs struggled to maintain a physical presence, but material representation was equally important for Williamites and Hanoverians. The Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian political causes each employed the same material tropes and the artefacts in this study should be understood as part of a continuous dialogue, where all parties were using the same material dialect. This is made all the more interesting by the few contrasting cases: Jacobites did not have an answer for the domestic ceramics emblazoned with the images of reigning monarchs, like the royal portrait tin-glazed earthenware; and perhaps most notably, there is a dearth of Williamite and Hanoverian relics in contrast to the many Stuart relics, though battlefield relics usually transcend political division and apply to Jacobites, Williamites, and Hanoverians equally. In all other varieties of artefacts examined in this study the opposing sides of the political divide are each represented, though Jacobite artefacts usually outnumber those of their political opponents.

Whether or not Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian material culture translated into real-world political and military support is difficult, and often impossible, to gauge. Some artefacts can be linked to known individuals who fought on one side or the other, but many more only suggest the sympathies of a past individual, or attest to the interest of later collectors. What is clear is that this material culture was widespread, used by each political faction in similar ways, and that it survives well today. It evidences a politically-minded public that expressed itself through various material means and that these artefacts are still relevant today.

The material culture of the Jacobite wars offers a way to understand how people of the past materially represented political strife, and how this material culture

can define the ways in which we view past and modern conflict today. It exemplifies the ways in which past individuals materially represented power and authority, and the ways in which material symbols were employed to show an individual's right to rule. Jacobite-era material culture shows us the ways in which late-17th and 18th-century individuals materially expressed loyalty and resistance. Furthermore, these artefacts are examples of how people of the past commemorated and memorialised important events. The collection and curation of these items over time illustrates the continued vitality of such artefacts in the centuries after their initial creation. The Jacobite era was a time of political, social, and economic change, when political culture and social practices combined with new technologies to produce material means of expression that are recognisably modern.

Further study

The artefacts of the Jacobite wars are worthy of continued study and fresh interpretations can offer more nuanced understandings of late-17th- and early-18th-century artefacts, as well as providing insight into how societies materially express conflict and violence. These artefacts do not simply illustrate a politically turbulent past, but reflect in equal measure upon our own understanding of conflict, political identity, and material expression.

The focus of this study has been on artefacts in the public institutions of Scotland, but there are a variety of avenues for future study, including expanding the study to include more private collections and exploring international collections. Additionally, it is important to continue to try to locate some of the artefacts mentioned in antiquarian studies and old exhibition catalogues, the whereabouts of which are currently unknown. Likewise, there is a desire to continue to try to build biographies for these objects, which the time limits of a thesis precluded. The process of uncovering the biographical details of an artefact is painstaking and, much like genealogy, full of dead ends and largely furthered by the fortuitous discovery of unexpected information. Continuing to investigate these artefacts over the next few years would yield additional details of their past use and ownership. This could be achieved by

the focused targeting of specific artefacts, or specific sets of artefacts from a single collection.

Further work will also include the publication of some of the themes explored in this thesis, which will be edited down and submitted as discreet articles. One of the challenges encountered in this research has been the lack of published resources for the material culture of the Jacobite wars. Despite the popularity of Jacobite-era artefacts in private and public collections, as well as their frequency at auction, few scholarly publications have focused on such artefacts. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, the material culture of the Jacobite wars has most often been presented through exhibition catalogues, which have not always offered the appropriate format for rigorous academic interpretation. Thus, the dissemination of the research presented in this thesis is seen as an important part of the overall research project, and is one of the ways in which this author can make a real contribution to the subject area.

There is also scope for further contributions to the ways in which archaeological artefacts are electronically catalogued. The initial act of locating as many artefacts as possible for this study proved challenging, due to the poor cataloguing practices of many museums. For this reason an index of artefacts examined in this thesis has been appended, which will be maintained as further study continues. The practical knowledge gleaned from several years spent accessing a variety of artefacts at different institutions throughout Scotland could be translated into future educational outreach projects with the aim of improving cataloguing practices at Scottish collections, with a specific focus on making records more easily accessible to researchers and members of the public alike.

This research has intended to provide a well-rounded study of the artefactual heritage of the Jacobite wars, but it is merely a starting point. Each artefact examined in this study offers a complex web of material and social associations, connecting and contradicting one another. Trying to tease out the meanings of artefacts and identify the cultural work they have performed over time has kindled fresh observations but has also raised more questions. Interrogating and engaging with the ambiguous political motives and the changing social practices

in this period makes it all the more attractive for further study. Uncovering the significance of the material culture of the Jacobite wars means examining the artefacts at co-existing points in time, as well as sifting through their multiple layers of meaning. Exploring the cultural work performed by these artefacts illustrates their resonance in modern society and illuminates their continued endurance in popular imagination, giving insight into past and present alike.

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