Seeing the King Over the Water

In 1691, the exiled James II was presented with a rubricated manuscript whose title page declares it to be a "Collection of Loyal Poems, Satyrs and Lampoons." The collection is vast, with 217 poems over 600 pages, and made up of satire and professions of Jacobite loyalty. In fact, this volume, Osborn b. 111, is our only known source for about 100 poems. Given its sheer size and the expense of its production it seems to resemble what Harold Love, in *English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702*, called "the dinosaurs of scribal circulation": a maximalist volume that seemed to be impossible to exceed and which, rather than announcing the vibrancy of the scribal culture that produced it, perversely heralded its death.[1]

Yet Osborn b. 111 was part of a new manuscript culture that thrived from about 1688 to 1745, encompassing at least 329 manuscripts in the U.S. and U.K. By characterizing the eighteenth century as the age of print culture we lose sight of those political and literary forms that weren't able to operate in the open: the secretive culture that gave us Osborn b. 111 was both vibrant and cohesive. In what follows, I sketch out the contours and characteristics of that manuscript culture.

Studies of Jacobite material culture have proliferated in recent years.[2] Studies of literary Jacobitism, too, continue to flourish.[3] No scholar of Jacobitism, however, has yet methodically addressed the substantial body of Jacobite manuscript literary culture, the point at which material and literary cultures meet. In part this is owing to the difficulty of finding the materials; the genealogy of catalogs' lack of notice of Jacobite manuscript materials is complex, but ends with these materials simply being labelled in catalogs as "poems," "songs," or "political poems." By

tracing the contours of the remnants of literary Jacobite manuscript culture, I will show its extent, vibrancy, geographical and temporal distribution, and some of its key formal and rhetorical traits.

A note on method: my archival research into Jacobite manuscript materials began serendipitously, and took me to libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. While paging through the Bodleian's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, I came across the entry for MS Rawlinson Poet 181.[4] By consulting Margaret Crum's *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford* I discovered that many of the poems sent to Richard Rawlinson as separates, bound into Rawlinson Poet 181, appeared in manuscript in other volumes, which I also consulted.[5] I catalogued each manuscript, cross-referencing its holdings with Crum. James McLaverty directed me to James Woolley, who in turn referred me to Carolyn Nelson's *New Union First Line Index of English Verse*, hosted by the Folger.[6]

Using this index, I found further copies of poems I had seen; in the British Library, the Brotherton Collection in Leeds, the Beinecke, the Houghton, the Lewis Walpole Library, the Firestone, the Folger, Clark and Huntington Libraries.[7] The Folger's First Line Index (hereafter FFL) is an incalculable boon to research of this kind, because its aggregation of several different enormous catalogues means that this information is accessible in the same place for the first time ever. Its records, however, are patchy in their reliability, sometimes perfect and sometime missing poems, reordering them, or adding listings where poems were not to be found in the manuscripts. For this reason at each library I would index each manuscript myself, noting differences with the FFL. In this way I was able to map out an extensive network of manuscripts that shared poems with each other.

I offer this brief genealogy to emphasize the archival basis of this work; it was my archival work that led me to digital methods, and digital methods in turn led me back to more focused close reading of materials I discovered in the archive. There were several limitations to my method: relying on the FFL meant that I would not find manuscripts outside its ambit. Accordingly, it is possible that there is a more extensive, or even a separate, contemporary network of Jacobite poetry composed of manuscripts held at institutions not indexed in the FFL.[8] The FFL does not index French verse or prose of any kind, so some notable prayers, sermons and speeches are excluded from this study.

I created my own first line index of all the volumes of Jacobite poetry I had found. I determined that a volume of "Jacobite poetry" was any volume whose poetry was at least two-thirds Jacobite. This means that commonplace books with accounts, receipts, tables and other writings which also have verse are counted as volumes of Jacobite poetry since the taste of the collector is demonstrably Jacobite, even if the holdings are not as extensive as some more avid collectors.[9] Those anthologies of up to two hundred poems, however, with only forty or fifty Jacobite poems and one hundred a fifty on other topics, I judged to be insufficiently committed to the political dimension of Jacobitism to justify inclusion in this study. Since the primary criterion was that of political allegiance, and since possessing verse of this stripe did represent a risk to the owner (however grave that risk might have been, and it fluctuated over the century), those collectors whose volumes of poetry indiscriminately mixed in Jacobite with non-Jacobite poems I judged to be more committed to the accumulation of verse per se than to the political impetus of that verse.[10]

The twin interests of this study, literary and political, required slightly different analyses of the data which we will see below in different types of network graphs.[11] These graphs reveal which poems occurred frequently among manuscripts and suggest avenues to explore their change over time. I also cross-referenced my index of poems with D. F. Foxon's *English Verse 1701-1750* to note which had ever been printed.[12]

Cataloguing the poems I had recorded showed me also which poems occurred in manuscript volumes with the highest frequency, which in term permitted analysis of the characteristics – whether bibliographical, formal or thematic – that had contributed to that high frequency. Keeping a log of the manuscripts I had examined allowed me to establish what degree of frequency was most standard and establish the extent to which Jacobite manuscript culture was both a secretive practice and an inclusive one. A secretive practice manifests in the proportion of poems in circulation that were available in manuscript alone, and an inclusive and cohesive community can be measured by the extent to which a large body of poems had a high frequency. A similar analysis will reveal which manuscripts are the best connected to the network of Jacobite verse.[13]

Using these methods I was able to establish which poems were likely to be the most popular among Jacobites, which events precipitated the most topical verse, and which of those poems in turn proved most durable. The study also produces a novel and dynamic picture of the birth, efflorescences, and lingering death of Jacobitism as a political and social phenomenon.

My final survey catalogued the 604 poems in the seven largest volumes of explicitly Jacobite verse. I recorded each manuscript in which each poem appeared. Figure one shows a bar chart of

how many times poems appear in the manuscript culture overall; figure two shows the obverse — the number of Jacobite poems contained in each manuscript. Figure three shows a table of the most frequently occurring poems. Figure four shows the frequency with which poems appeared in manuscript versus the frequency of their appearance in print.

The first figure shows a standard power law curve; only four of the 604 poems appear more than twenty times, whereas 242 poems appear only once. A small number of poems were extremely popular with collectors of Jacobite materials; almost half the poems, however, survive in only one copy.

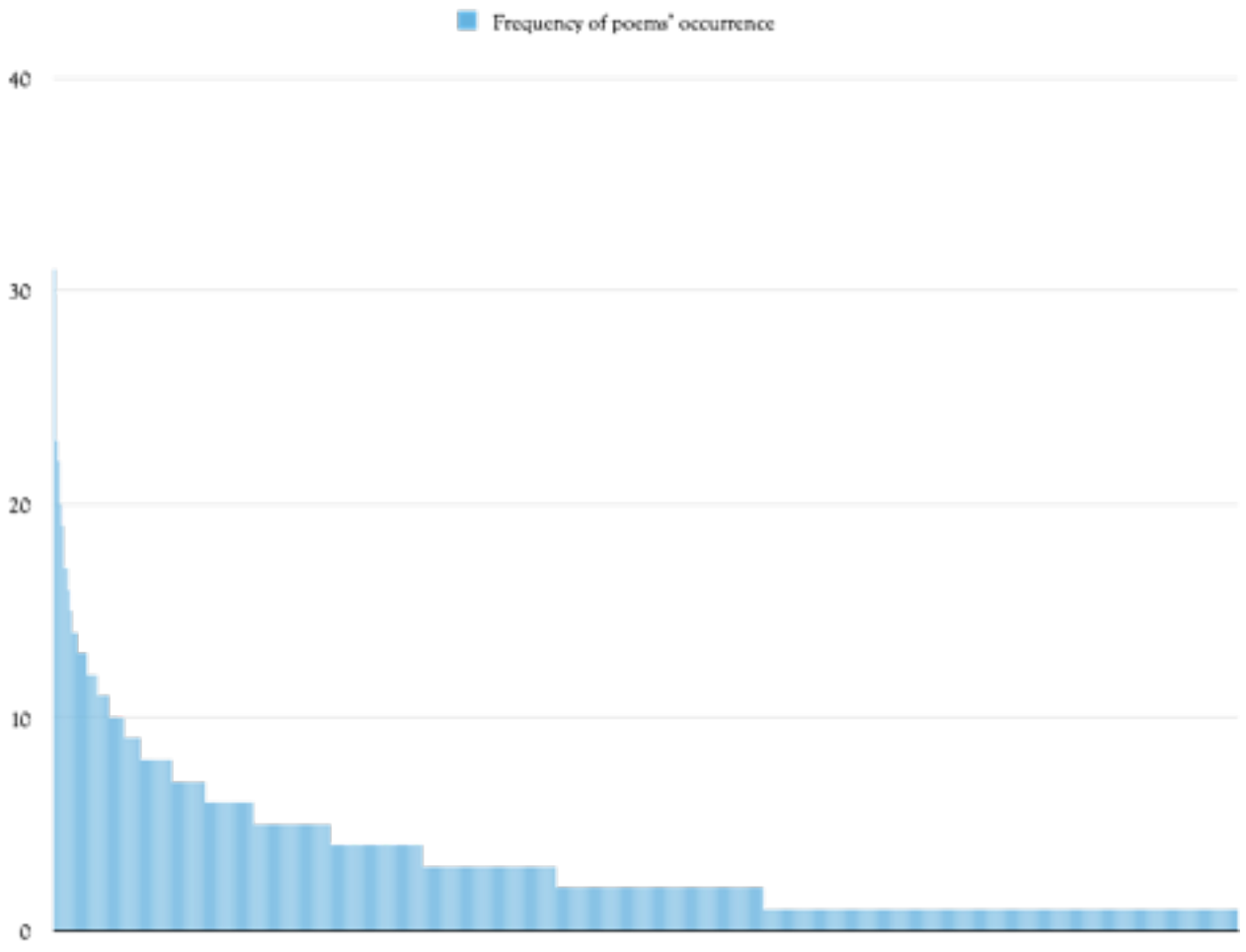

Figure two shows that almost a third of all manuscripts contain only one poem, and that as the poem count per manuscript rises there, are exponentially fewer manuscripts with that number of poems. Single-poem manuscripts are usually separates; single leaves of paper bearing a single Jacobite poem, usually sent by private messenger or by mail. More infrequently, manuscripts with a single Jacobite poem will be larger collections with a single Jacobite poem that the collector came across and incorporated into their own miscellany. These would usually be poems with a high popularity in Jacobite literary culture — like verse on the Sacheverell trial — without overtly pro-Stuart resonances.

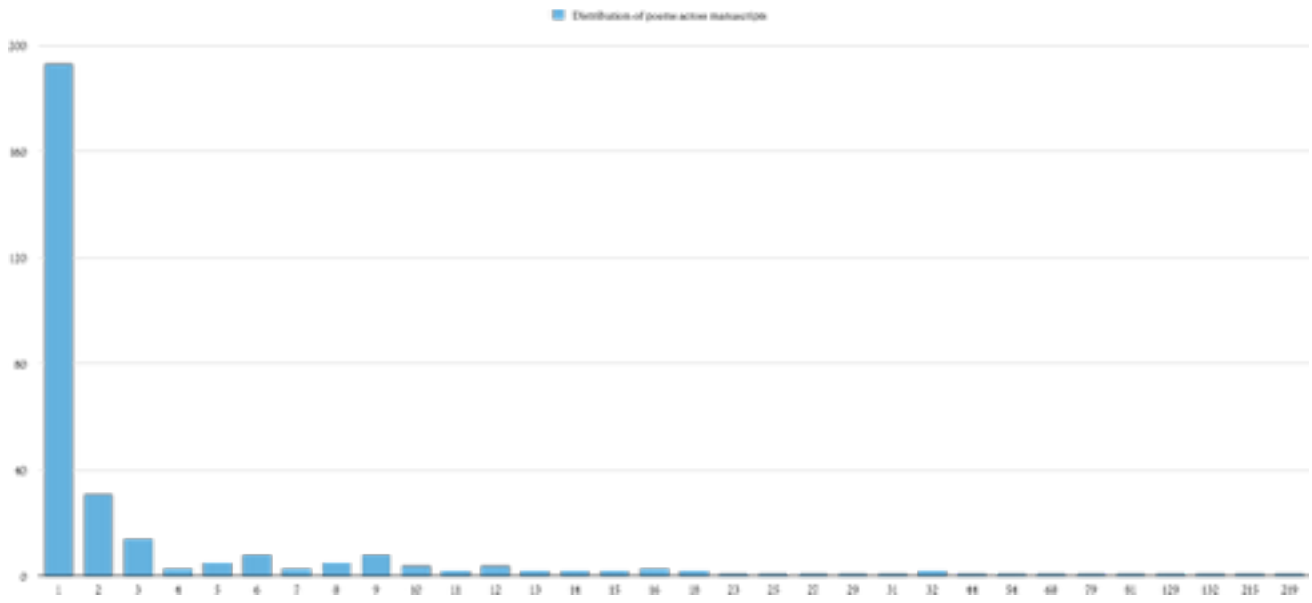

Figure two: distribution of poems across manuscripts

Poem Title	Frequency	Est. date of composition
The Ambodexter	31	1652 (earliest form)
An Epitaph on the late Bishop of Addlebury	23	1714
A Poem Upon Imprisonment	22	1647
Verses found on the Queen's Toilet	20	1709
On Passive Obedience	19	1688
Dr. Lower's Advice	17	1690
Hell's Holiday	17	1714
The Nine Cabinet Council	16	1690
Strange News from St. James's, or, The Coffee-Women Turn'd Courtiers	15	1714
Nero the Second	14	1715

Figure three: the most frequently occurring poems, with approximate dates of composition.

The fourth figure demonstrates an intuitive finding — that with the exception of one poem, the more times a poem appeared in print, the less likely it would be to appear in manuscript. That is to say, the more popular the poem was in the print sphere, the less likely it would be to be valued by collectors. Either this is because regularly reprinted material would be of little value in a community of covert circulation, or because more mainstream political views held little appeal to collectors of subversive literature, or both. Nonetheless, no poem in Jacobite manuscript culture was printed more than nine times. I speculate that the outlier poem, by Roger L'Estrange, which was printed nine times and which appears in 22 manuscripts of Jacobite verse, was both marketable as a piece of Royalist verse from the civil wars, and appealed to Jacobite nostalgia. Of the 604 poems in my index, 120 were printed, leaving 484 poems unprinted and hitherto unstudied.

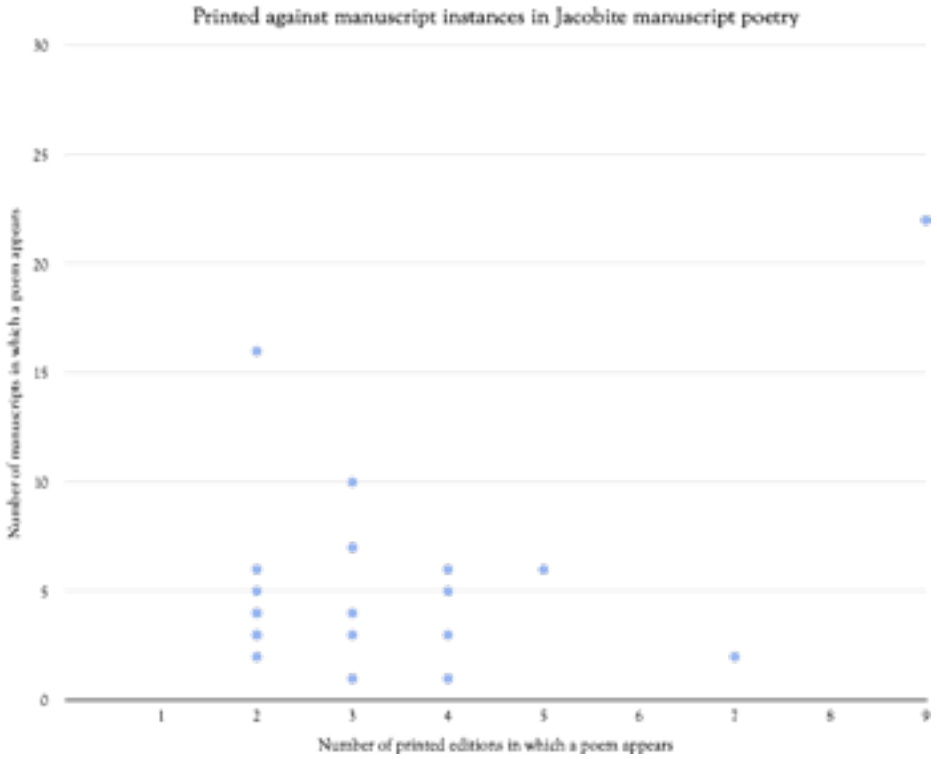

Figure four: printed against MS instances

To illustrate the extent of Jacobite literary manuscript culture's cohesion, using the relational information I had gathered about the disposition of poems into manuscripts, I built my first, bipartite, network graph of the culture.[14]

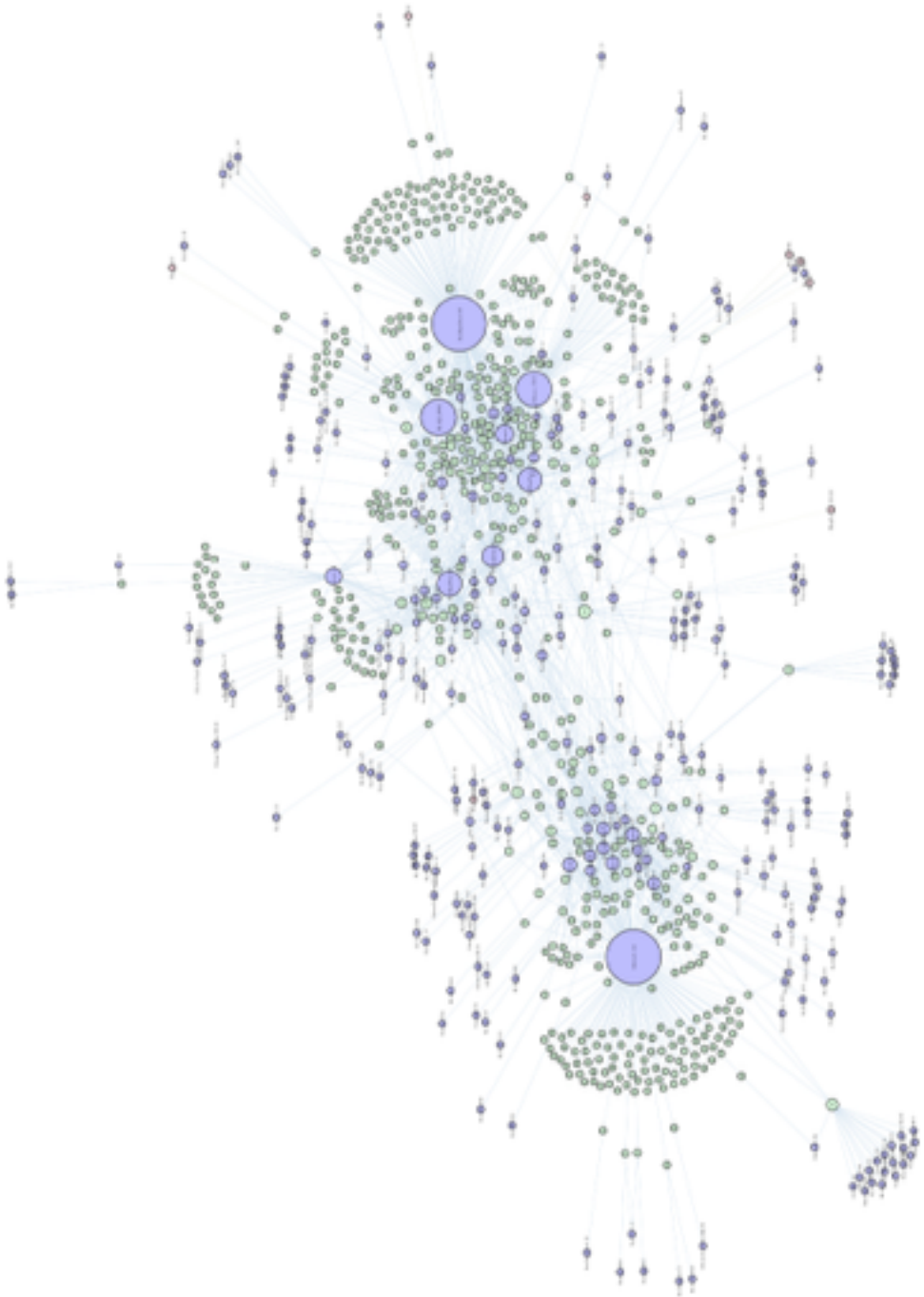

Figure five

This graph, figure five, shows the relationship among the poems and manuscripts of Jacobite manuscript culture. This graph is bimodal, meaning it shows two kinds of entities. The culture's poems are shown in green, and its manuscripts are represented in blue. The manuscripts, in blue, are only connected to green nodes, the poems, and vice versa. Node size corresponds to the number of connections it has; its "degree". This graph is "force directed," meaning that the more closely connected two nodes are, the closer together they are in the image. The graph suggests that Jacobite poetry in manuscript actually existed in at least two separate communities that were only loosely connected. On the left is Osborn b. 111, which is a hub for one community, and on the right Bodley Rawlinson Poet 155, a hub for a second group.[15] Two more observations are immediately evident. A large number of small green nodes bracket this graph. These represent poems for which we only have one manuscript source. This graphical representation shows graphically what it means for such a tremendous proportion of the poems in this culture (242, 40%) to only appear in one instance. Figure six shows a poem that links together these two sub-communities, poem 212, *The Ambodexter*. We will return to this poem in detail shortly, but for now it is enough to note the number of manuscripts, large and small, in which it appears. Figure seven focuses in on the crowd of poems whose only recorded occurrence in Osborn b. 111; figure eight on the group clustered around the other extreme of the network graph, Bodleian Rawlinson Poet 155.

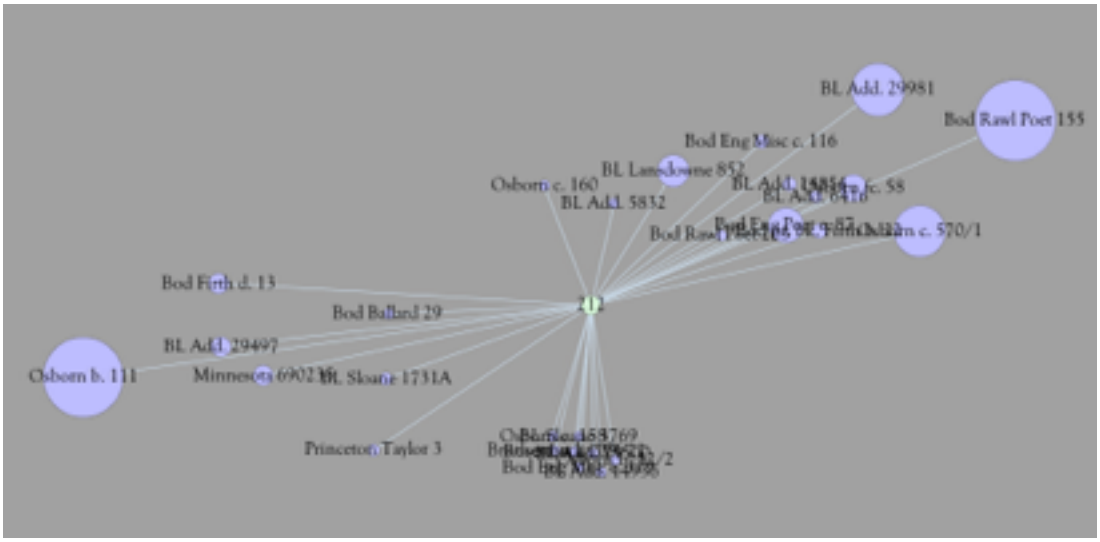

Figure six: The Ambodexter's ego-network

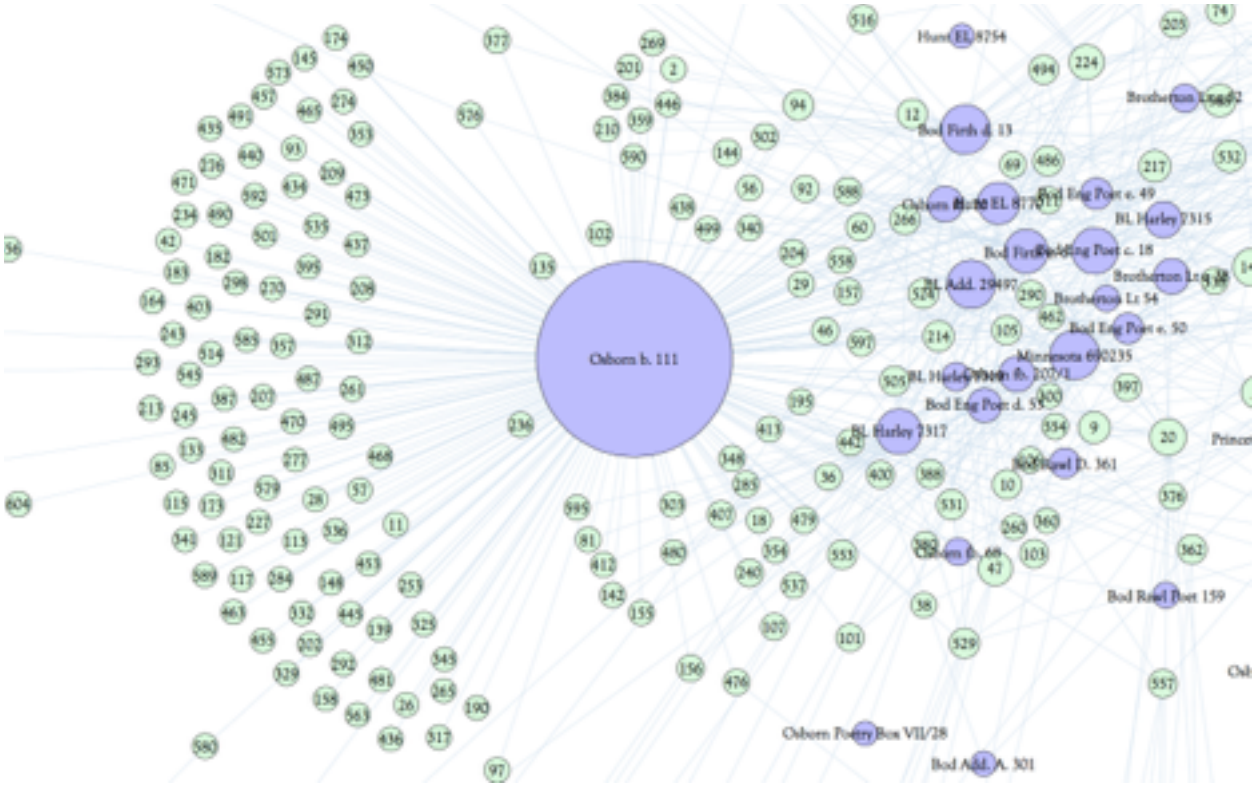

Figure seven: the network around Osborn b. 111

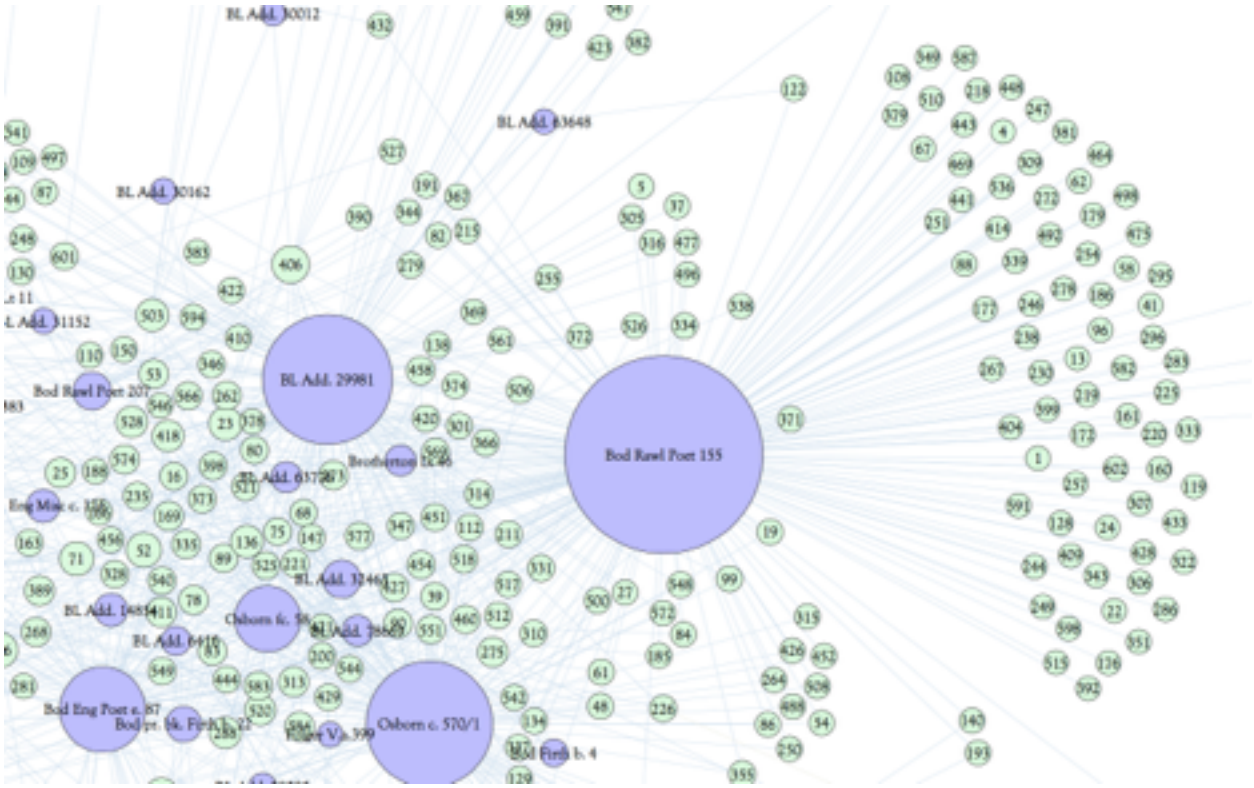

Figure eight: the network around Bodleian Rawl. Poet 155

Both of these manuscripts were produced by professional scribes. Owing to the demands on the time of scribes to make their activities profitable, it is profoundly unlikely that the scribes producing these manuscripts composed these poems themselves. The corollary of this deduction is that the surviving instances are copies whose originals have been destroyed. Since the volumes that contain uniques tend to contain many poems, and to be scribal productions full of copies, we can also assume that these volumes are to some extent repositories of material originally transmitted as now-lost separates. In fact, the crowd of uniques serves to show us how much of the material of this culture has been lost or destroyed. Love casts light on why this might be: "Once related materials had been gathered as bundles of separates, it was often convenient for their owners to

copy them into a bound 'paper book', after which the originals might well be abandoned to the kitchen or the privy. The indexed, fair-written volume … [was] in every way easier to use than what [it] replaced."[16] Simply, it was far easier to read a volume in a fair hand, and a single object offered a much lower risk of discovery than many loose separates.

I would like, however, to complicate the image I have given of "two cultures" of Jacobite poetry, separated in time and in poetic corpus, linked only by *The Ambodexter*. The network graph I showed first is bimodal, meaning that nodes can represent two different kinds of things: manuscripts, or the poems they contain. I present below some monomodal graphs, showing the first poems as nodes, linked when they appear together in a manuscript, and then showing manuscripts as nodes, linked where they share a poem in common. These two pairs of graphs speak to the two linked facets of this archive: the graphs with poems as nodes address the traffic of the culture in literary objects; the graphs with manuscripts as nodes address the material underlay by which that traffic took place.

Figure nine shows the relationships among poems in the culture of Jacobite manuscript poetry. The colors of the nodes represent the communities that the software package Gephi determines in the graph, and node size represents "betweenness centrality."[17] Betweenness centrality matters because it shows which nodes are the most likely to link any other two in the culture together. The central node in the graph is a second, less successful *Ambodexter* — a poem that only appears in two manuscripts, but which in so doing behaves as a hinge between the two communities. Figure ten shows the same graph, but with the nodes resized to show frequency; here

we can see that the frequency of a poem's occurrence does not necessarily correlate to its betweenness centrality.

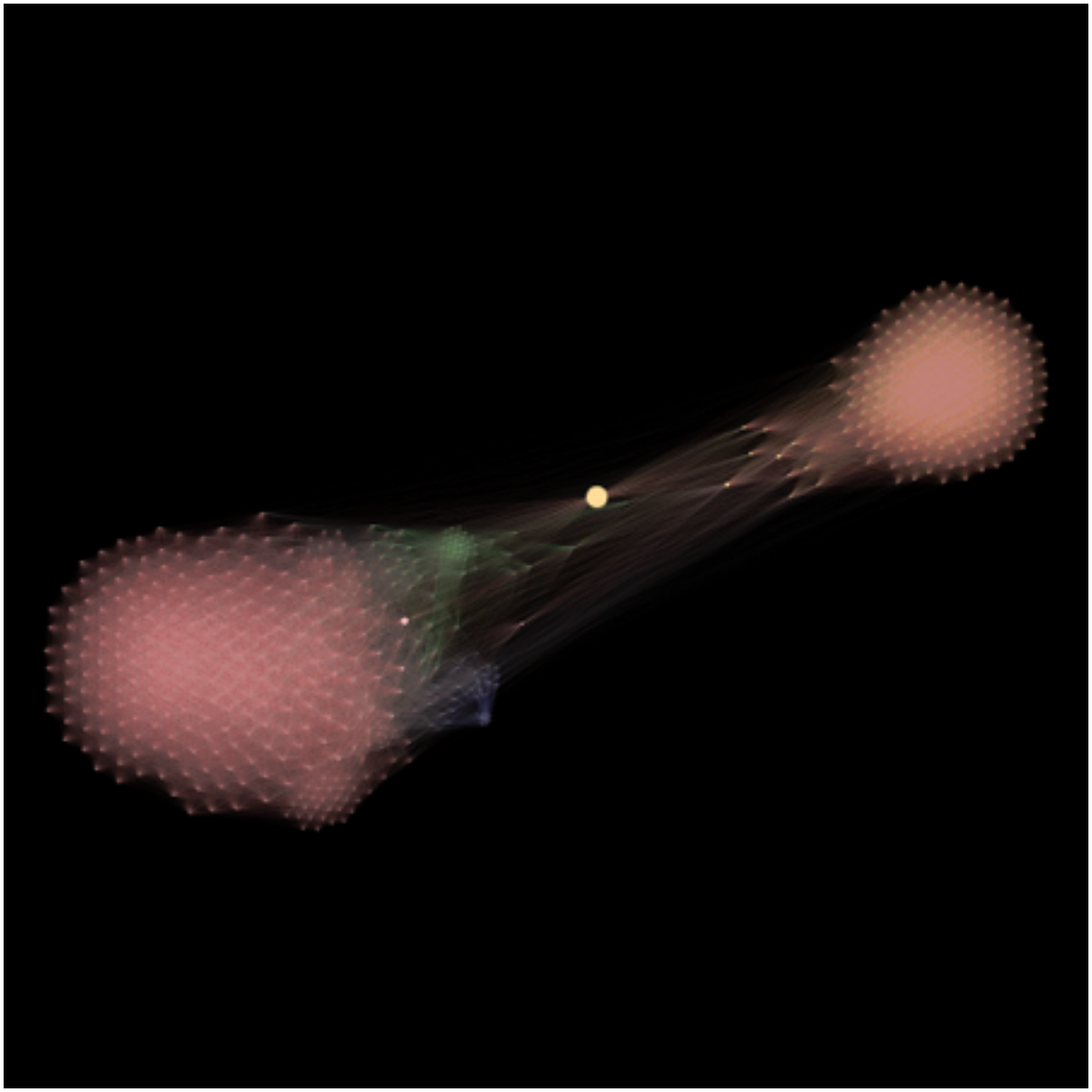

Figure nine

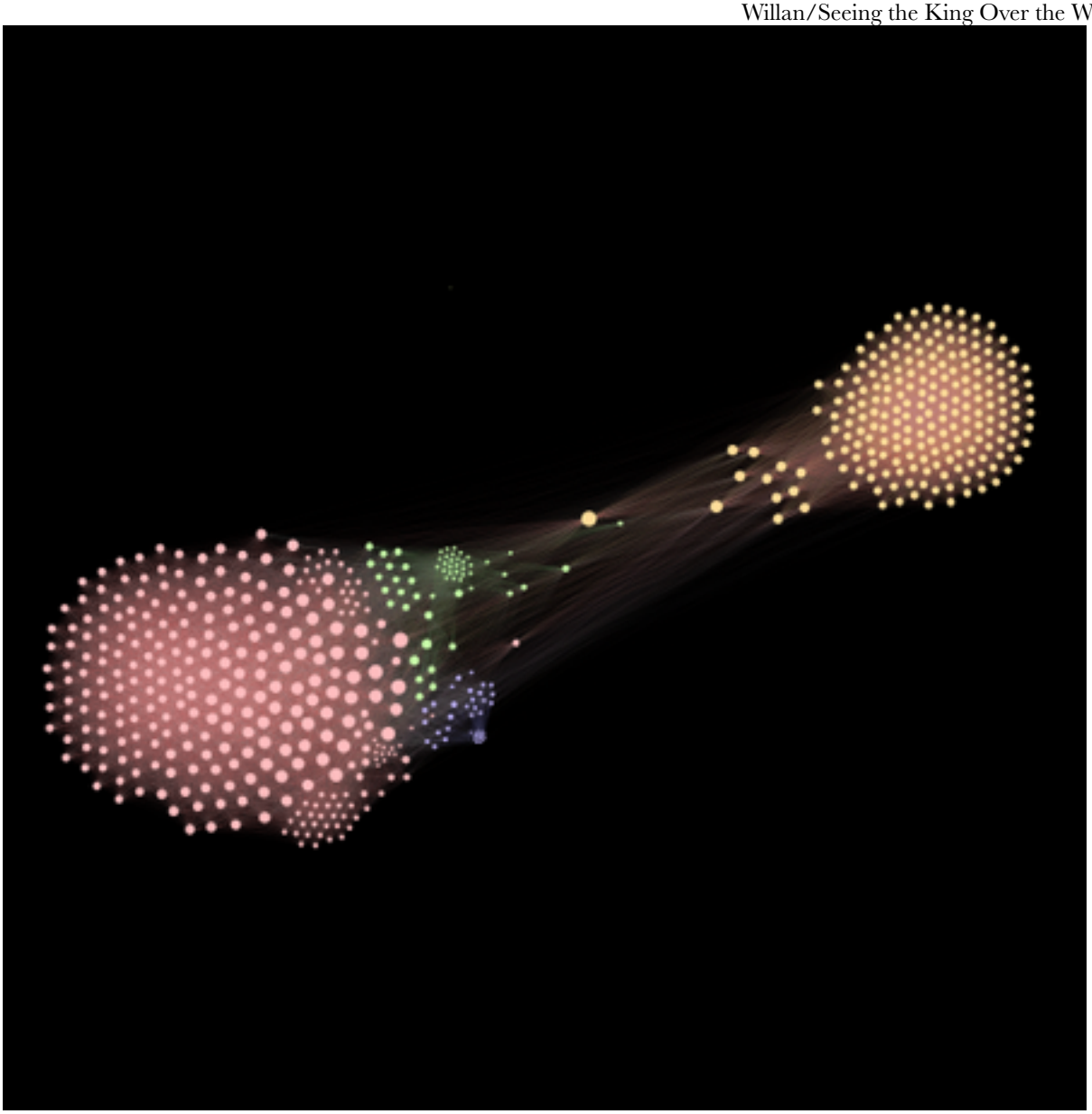

Figure ten

To return to the information presented by figure nine, we can get a sense for the most passed-around, and most diversely-passed, poems by measuring eigenvector centrality among these poems and the filtering for frequency.[18] All of the poems with an eigenvector centrality greater than 0.75 *and* a frequency over 5 are found in modularity class two — the group of nodes in this graph shown in red. This is what you could term one visualization of the functional core of the

culture, and it produces a list of 59 poems. But on reflection, this might be a skewed finding, overweighting modularity class two; eigenvector centrality correlates high frequency with high influence, and assigns high scores to nodes inasmuch as they are linked to high frequency nodes. When measuring influence, what factors beyond frequency should we consider? To say that the poems in that class are the most "central" in this way might just be an emergent phenomenon of the size of this subgroup of the culture, rather than speaking to the traffic of the culture as a whole. Other metrics offer different solutions; measuring closeness centrality shows that the only poems with a closeness centrality of *less than* 1.5 and a frequency of higher than 5, with the exception of Poem #231, are also in modularity class two.[19] This suggests that modularity class two is in fact relatively isolated from the other classes, or subgroups, of poems. In fact, 10 of the 15 poems with the highest *betweenness centrality* are in modularity class three, (shown here as green nodes), with the other five in modularity class two, the red nodes. This is a more balanced finding.

The conflicting results of these different algorithms might seem to discourage faith in their probative value. But considerations of scale are important; the poems that these different ways of calculating centrality anoint as the most important amount in total to at most 10% of the corpus. How else, without these methods of measuring the facts emerging from the relations among manuscripts, could we narrow our focus so sharply and with such confidence in the social and historical accuracy of our decisions. This is not so much as distant reading as distant archival analysis performed to enable close reading.[20]

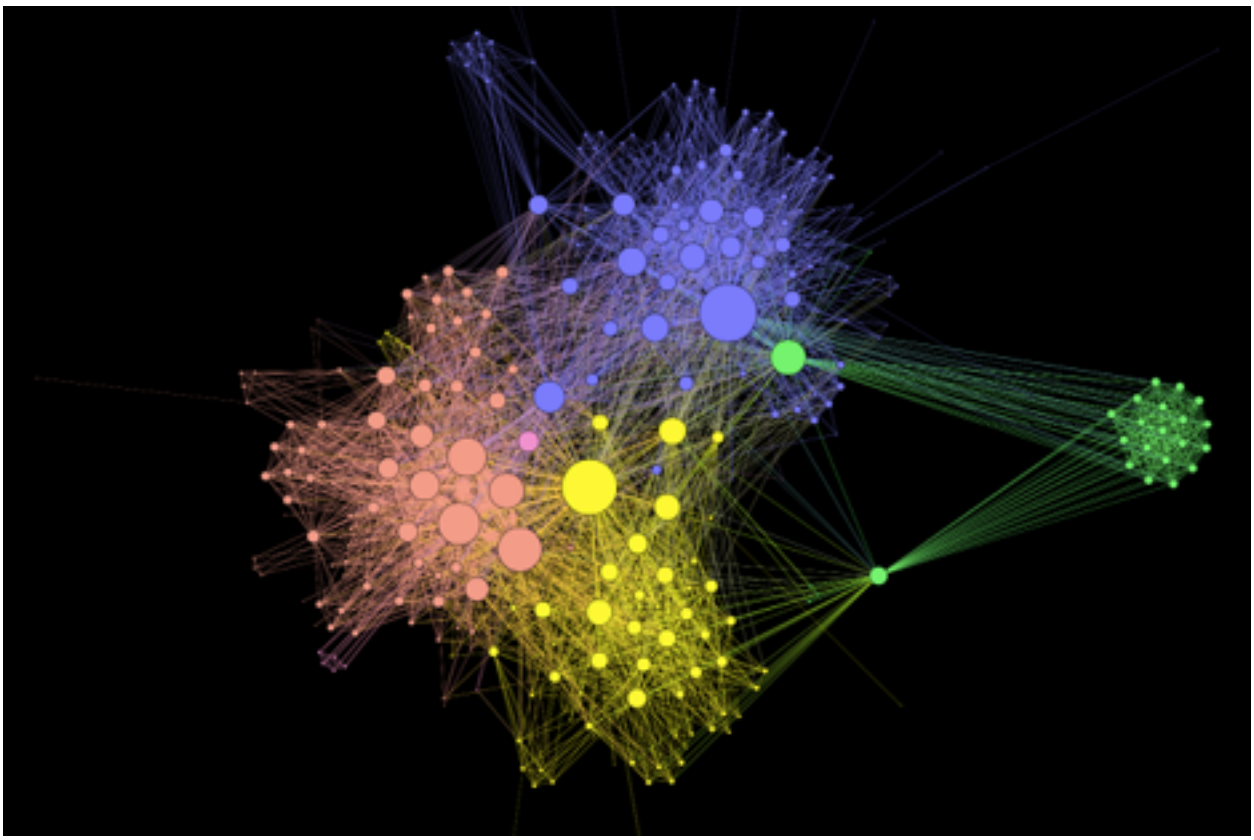

Figure eleven

Figure eleven shows the graph with manuscripts as nodes, linked with edges where the two manuscripts share an edge in common. Size correlates to "degree", which means that the larger a node is, the more poems that manuscript contains. There is a strong overlap between the poems that we saw in the red group, modularity class 2, and the large salmon-colored group of manuscripts here; a busy center of the graph.[21]

A graph like this one with a more "complete" center prompts us to think about the relationship between the heart of this graph and its periphery.[22] Figure twelve shows the manuscripts containing fewer than 40 poems, and figure thirteen those with more than 40.

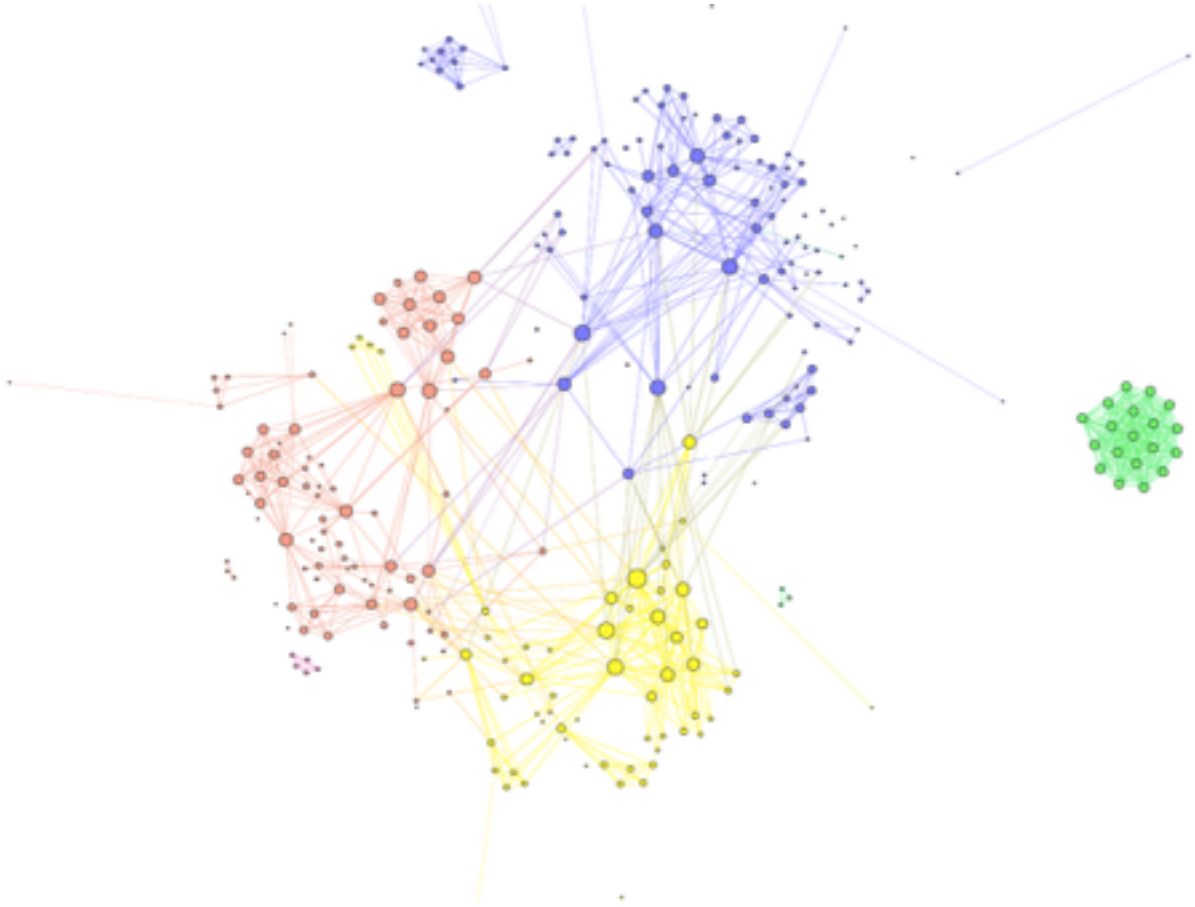

Figure twelve

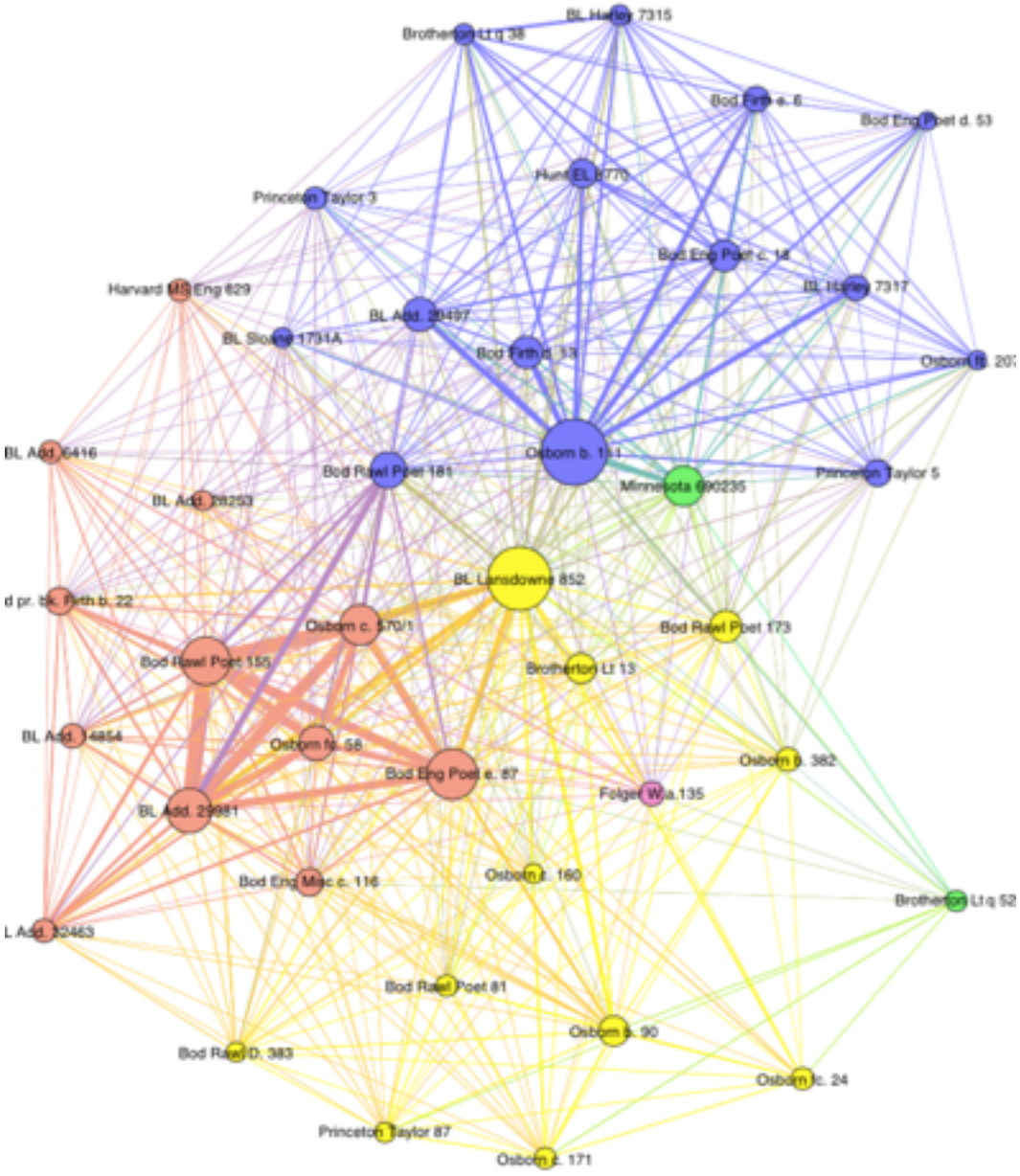

Figure thirteen

This is one way of looking at the material heart of Jacobite literary manuscript culture. The center of the material record may well not align with historical centers of political importance. *The Ambodexter* appears in most of the largest manuscripts in this graph: Osborns b. 111, c. 160, c.

570/1, fb. 207 fc. 24, fc. 58; Bodleys Eng. Poet c. 18, e.87, Eng. Misc. c.116, Rawlinson Poet 181, Rawlinson Poet 155, Pr. Bk. Firth 22; BL Lansdowne 852, Add.s 29981, 14854, 6416; Huntington EL 8770; Princeton MS Taylor 3, and U. Minnesota MS 690235. The community in yellow shows manuscripts whose owners were predominantly in London in the middle of our period (1700-1730); the blue nodes are from slightly older manuscripts (1680 — 1705), the salmon-colored nodes are from 1710 — 45, and often have a connection to Oxford. Figure fourteen makes a striking counterargument to the implication of the bimodal network graph with which we began, that Bodley Rawlinson Poet 155 is the major opposing hub to Osborn b.111. The truth of their relationship is far more distributed than a polar opposition around which two subcultures cluster.[23]

Whether this archive is understood as a set of material or of literary relations, however, network hubs are a persistent feature of our attempts to visualize it. Hub nodes score poorly on connectivity because they have many "weak ties."[24] Figure fourteen graphs the clustering coefficient of nodes against the number of poems that each node contains; the neatness with which the points fit a logarithmic curve shows that large manuscripts are unwieldy objects in all senses. And it shows that an archive cannot simply be reduced to a set of network graphs without rooting that analysis in a material and textual understanding of its contents. On the other hand, the smallest manuscripts, containing the fewest poems, are also of vibrant material and political interest; small manuscripts are the objects best suited to managing the possibilities and dangers of surveillance. Evaluating the extent of clustering might be a good way, manuscript to manuscript, to index that

management. Perhaps the higher the clustering score, the better the physical object is fitted to avoid surveillance.

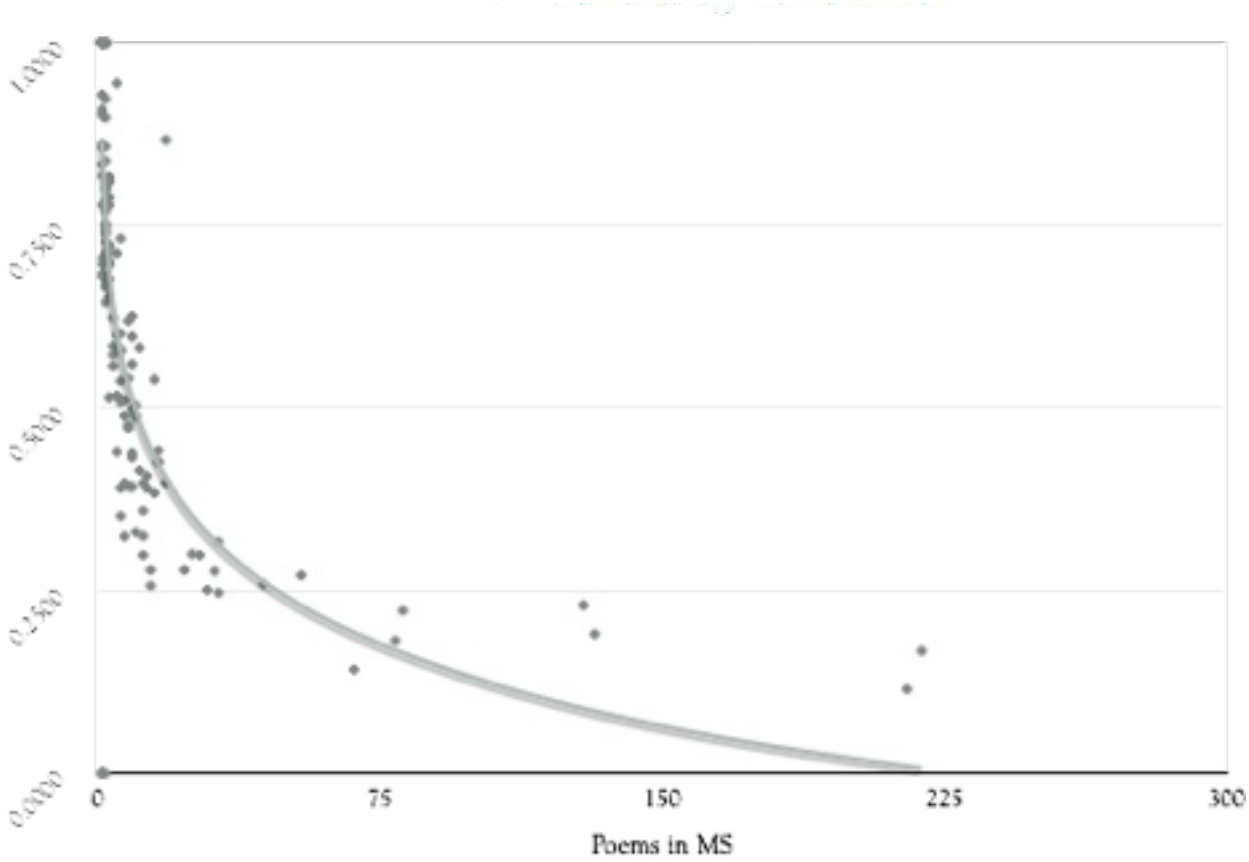

Figure fourteen

Returning to the graph of the overall culture we can observe that few poems are held in common by the main sub-groups of Jacobite manuscript circulation. The only poem present in almost every major manuscript is *The Ambodexter*, appearing in thirty-one separate manuscripts. This poem binds together the culture of Jacobite poetry in manuscript. Through the detailed analysis of its changing forms over time to which we now turn, and with the backing of the network graph of the manuscript culture, and having arrived at a conclusive demonstration of its

centrality via this data visualizations, I would suggest that this poem, *The Ambodexter*, is broadly representative of the culture at large.[25]

The Ambodexter is the most frequently occurring poem in the canon of Jacobite poetry, and the only poem to unite every sub-community of Jacobite manuscript poetry.[26] Considering the danger of keeping copies and the ease of disposing of them, in addition to the more usual attritional forces of history, we must imagine that many more copies existed and that the poem was extremely widely read. There are four versions of the poem. The first predates James II, and is from 1684 at the latest. The second dates from the reign of William III, the third of George I, and the last of his son, George II.

Appropriately, considering the cyclicality of time that was central to many Jacobite poems, *The Ambodexter* has its origins in the civil wars. A *terminus a quo* for the date of the poem can be deduced from Osborn b. 52, volume two; the collector of that manuscript, Sir John Pye, died in 1684. The poem reads as follows:

I love with all my heart
The Independent part
My Conscience gives consent
To obey the Parliament
The Roundheads now you see
They shall true Jus^{tc} see
For righteous is the Cause
The fight for Roundheads lawes
This is my mind & heart -
Though none will take my part

The loyal Cavaleere
So hatefull doth appeare
To be on Charles his side
I ever have deny'd
They shall be put to flight
Wch for King Charles do fight
To fight for such a King
Will Englands ruine bring
In this opinion I
Resolve to live & dye[27]

This is the basic form of all versions of *The Ambodexter*. When read as two poems in trimeter, the meaning is politically orthodox; when read as one poem in Alexandrines with internal rhyming as well as end-rhyming, it is politically subversive.[28] The content of the poem, particularly "The

Roundheads now you see They shall be put to flight" implies that the poem is spoken during the civil war, but the fact that Royalists referred to Charles I's son as Charles II immediately upon his father's death means that the poem could apply at any point from 1642 to 1660.

The second version of *The Ambodexter* is found in Yale Osborn b. 111. The volume is usually dated from 1689-93, though internal evidence suggests 1692/3 as the most likely specific date.

I Love with all my heart
The Prince of Orange part
And for the Parliament
My Conscience gives consent
For Righteous is the Cause
To Fight for Orange's Laws
This is my mind and heart
Tho' none do take my part

The Loyall Party here
Most hatefull does appear,
I ever have deny'd
To be of JAMES's Side,
To fight for such a King
Will England's ruin bring
In this opinion I
Resolve to Live and Dye.[29]

The "heart"/"part" rhyme stays constant, but the obsolescence of "Cavalier" means that a new rhyme needs to be found for "appear." That "loyal" perseveres as a principal descriptor – especially in opposition to "the Parliament" – serves as an index of the extent to which early Jacobites perceived themselves as the inheritors of civil war Royalism. This version of the poem is shorter, omitting lines 4-5 from the earlier version. While this alteration seems to entail the loss of no significant semantic content, by dropping the key word "obedient" the poem neatly side-steps the bugbear of the early Jacobite cause: the 1688 Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary. The locution "To obey the Parliament" had a come into a specific meaning in 1692 that it had not possessed fifty years earlier. For a speaker to claim that "To obey the Parliament I ever have denied" was to make a pointed claim that to be non-juring, which not all who felt Jacobite sympathies were. The change between the earliest version and this second iteration additionally

shows the extent of Jacobites' alienation from the apparatus of state. Where Royalists felt loyalty to one institution of government over another, Jacobites felt disenfranchised by both the executive and parliamentary branches. The excision of "justice" from the Jacobite verse makes it less equivocal and more pessimistic; without the declarative "They shall true Jus[tc] see Wch for King Charles do fight" the assertion of righteousness that follows rings hollow.[30]

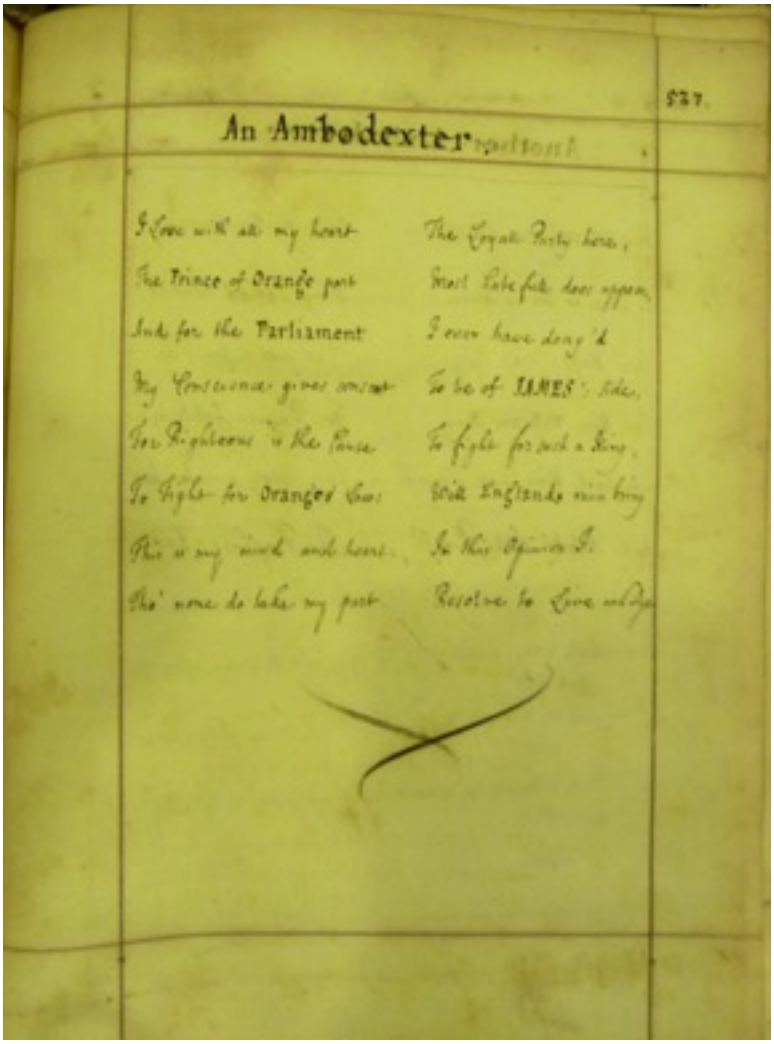

Figure fifteen, Osborn b. 111, 527, showing the second version of the *Ambodexter*.

The third version of *The Ambodexter* dates from after the Act of Settlement of 1701, and most likely from after George had acceded to the throne in 1715:

I love with all my heart	~~~~~	The Tory party here
The Hannoverian Part	~~~~~	Most hateful do appear
And for the Settlement	~~~~~	I ever have denied
My conscience gives consent	~~~~~	To be of James's side
Most righteous is the cause	~~~~~	To fight for such a King
To fight for George's Laws	~~~~~	Will England's ruin bring
It is my mind and heart	~~~~~	In this opinion I
Though none will take my part	~~~~~	Will always live and dye.[31]

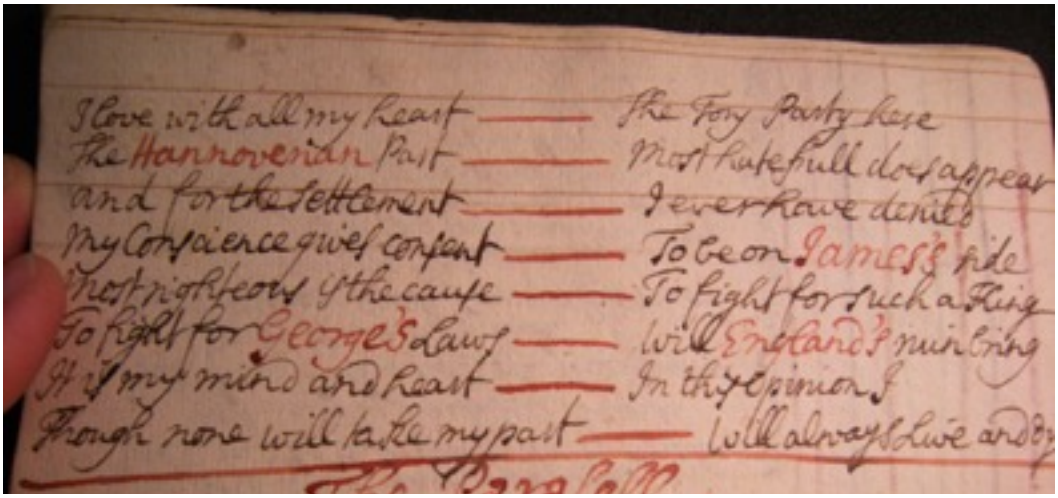

Figure sixteen, Bod Rawlinson Poet 203 fol. 41[v] [32]

One key substitution is of "Tory" for "loyal." Claiming that all Toryism was "of James's side" was certainly false, but this poetic appropriation aggrandizes the Jacobite cause. The substitution of "Settlement" for "Parliament" names the new cause of Jacobite resentment, the 1701 Act of Settlement. In a way this substitution marks the victory of the Williamite administration: Tories were forced to participate in parliament. The replacement of "Parliament" with '"Settlement" goes some way to explaining the wholesale radicalization of the Tory party in the first line. If Jacobites were to be forced to participate in the party politics that they felt had been initiated by the ousting

of the rightful monarch in 1688, then playing up the magnitude of the Jacobite cause was a means of saving face. The existence of non-Jacobite Tories implied that some who self-identified as Tories also accepted the Hanoverian succession (while still differing with Whigs about matters of foreign or economic policy, for example). This act of re-centering the Tory party on the Jacobite cause is a tacit admission, in the context of the second version of this poem, of the fact that Jacobitism was beginning to become a fringe movement, rather than a mainstream cause.

This third iteration is the most prevalent version of *The Ambodexter*.[33] Of the manuscripts containing the version of the poem, only Osborn c.160 differs in substituting "Stewart" for "Tory" in the first line. Other differences between the many copies of this poem are incidental: "To be for George's laws" rather than "To fight for" (Osborn c.570/1), "Britain's ruin" rather than "England's ruin" (Osborn c.160) and "the Settlement" (Osborn c.570/1, Bod Eng Misc c.116, Osborn fc. 58), "that Settlement" (Osborn c.160) and "their Settlement" (BL Add. 29981), each expressing a different shade of distaste or disenfranchisement.

The final version of the poem dates to shortly after the accession of George II, as indicated by its title:

> OF GEORGE AND CAROLINE
> An AEnigma upon King Georg's Coming to ye Crow-
>
> I Love with all my heart - The DisLoyall Party Here
> The Good King George's Part- Most Hatefull doth appear
> And for the Parliament - I Always have deny'd
> My conscience gives consent - To be of James's side
> For righteous is the Cause - To fighte for such a King
> To Fight for George's Lawes - Would England's ruin bri-
> This is my Mind & Heart - In this opinion I
> Tho none doe take my Part Resolve to Live and Dy[34]

The title's reference to Queen Caroline dates this poem to the accession of George II, in either 1727 or 1728. That the Jacobites now refer to themselves as "the disloyal party" marks the drift of Jacobitism further out into the margins of political discourse. While the Jacobite party was truly "loyal" and the *status quo* in Britain an aberration, the return of James II or his son was implicitly a natural restoration of normality. With Jacobitism now (however ironically) "DisLoyall," the hypothetical restoration of the Stuart line is troped as a deviation from the norm. "Parliament" returns in place of "Settlement," likely because at this point the Act of Settlement was over a quarter of a century old and a thoroughly settled feature of the British political landscape. The speaker now denies "for the Parliament," and his opposition of "James's side" to the King and Parliament implies a further alienation, even suggesting that the restoration would be an act against all the executive and legislative bodies of the country — an act of war undertaken by an implicitly foreign body.

Jacobites who shared this poem with one another were not just sharing a clever statement of fealty, nor were they only sharing a poem whose reading experience mirrored their own political experience. Reading and circulating *The Ambodexter* also reproduced elements of the secrecy of Jacobite literary culture. The poem's transparent formal subterfuge declares the need for secrecy while making the "true" meaning very clear, inducing in each reader a feeling of seeing past the surface and into the substance of things. These readers of the poem were, however, pre-selected to perform this rather shallow form of deep reading.[35] Manuscript poems passed between people who know, or know of, each other do not circulate in a public sphere. They are circulating within a closed community predicated on and sustained by that circulation of subversive poetry. To pass *The*

Ambodexter around was both a sign of your political commitment and literary acumen and a sign of your faith in your fellow Jacobites' commitment. It was a statement of your confidence in their abilities to "pass" in public, to see into the depths of things, and in their common connection — in direct defiance of the poem's claim that "none do take my part" — to a group of fellow subversives and *cognoscenti*.

In these four versions of *The Ambodexter*, we can see Jacobitism's roots in civil war Royalism, its later equation of William III with Cromwell, its slide into marginalization with the succession of George I, and ultimately its transfiguration into something akin to a foreign power.

So why, among the six hundred Jacobite poems that were circulating in manuscript, was *The Ambodexter* the most successful and the longest lasting? A constant among all extant versions of the poem is its form: the two short poems when read vertically that form one long poem with the opposite meaning when read horizontally.[36] The simple fact of this form, however, is not sufficient to explain what made this poem such a popular favorite. A second ambodexter exists, surviving in only two copies:

King William's cause shall thrive	When the Sea burns
As sure as we're alive	King James returns
Then happy are they	That are on his side
That King William obey	For Rogues shall be tryde
Our Good King shall Flourish	This year ninety two
And Rebels shall Perish	This Prophecy's true.[37]

The reasons for this ambodexter's relative failure to achieve popularity also explain part of its cousin's success. A rhyme word of the final couplet ("ninety-two") anchors the poem in a specific year, meaning that any later iteration of the poem would have to rewrite at least one of the last two

rhymes. The sense of this ambodexter is also less intuitive; the pronouns "That" in lines three and four include an elided "They," which is less obvious at a first reading. The present tense of the poem ("As sure as we're alive King James returns") also makes it less suitable for scribal publication. Since collectors of Jacobite poetry in manuscript would know the chronology of the construction of their personal aggregations of verse, a poem proclaiming success in the present tense would, practically immediately turn into a reminder of failure. A poem proclaiming success in the future is much more effectively proofed against time. By using the present tense this second ambodexter also proclaims its own forthcoming obsolescence.

While the more popular ambodexter explicitly profits from being in the future tense, avoiding references to particular dates and keeping its proper nouns and time-specific details out of the poem, it shares with the less frequently occurring version a distinct pessimism or ruefulness about the Jacobite cause. The copy-text for the second iteration of "I love with all my heart" is Osborn b. 111, the volume presented to James II in exile. The cover is stamped with James II's arms and W. J. Cameron writes that "my own impression is that [the volume] was designed to reassure the exiled court that a strong body of Jacobite feeling still existed among Protestant Englishmen."[38] However, the closing couplet of the poem bespeaks a profound sense of alienation: "It is my mind and heart — In this opinion I / Though none will take my part — Will always live and dye." Rather than giving the impression of a reassuringly strong body of feeling, this couplet sounds a gloomy note.

The most compelling reasons for the poem's success lie in the form of the poem itself and the way that reading and circulating the poem replicated in miniature the experience of being a

Jacobite in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain. The poem's form, of two poems read one way and a longer poem of the opposite meaning when read the other way, enacts the difficulty that Jacobites faced every day of passing as docile and obedient citizens without compromising their internal ideological disobedience to the apparatus of the British state. The full-length lines, when read horizontally, make up Alexandrines, which have strong French — and therefore implicitly Jacobite — associations. Furthermore, this poem enacts a fantasy that Jacobites can pass entirely, even to the extent of seeming positively Williamite or Hanoverian, while their behaviors or utterances can be sublimated into or contained by an overarching Jacobitism. Even juring citizens who took the Oath of Allegiance, under the logic of this poetic structure, could feel that their core commitment to Jacobitism remained intact despite their declared loyalties to the reigning King.

Despite the opulent physical presentation of Osborn b. 111, Jacobitism did offer a fairly bleak prospect amid increasing persecution of Catholics and harsh penalties for those, like Francis Atterbury or Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, accused of working for the restoration of the Jacobite court to the British throne. The closing lines of *The Ambodexter* quite accurately depict what will come of the movement: not enough Britons will take the speaker's part, and the cause will decay into sentimentality and chiefly antiquarian interest before the close of the eighteenth century. As Pittock suggests in another context, this poem is written in "a tongue which … betokened the exclusion it lamented."[39] This excursus into *The Ambodexter*, its formal sleights of hand, its intricate, biting political referentiality and its sense of belatedness suggests the widespread presence of those attributes in the rest of the archive of Jacobite poetry in manuscript.

The circulation of Jacobite poetry in manuscript was, in a sense, a self-sabotaging endeavor: the social community predicated on, and sustained by, the exchange of material artifacts was at odds with the explicit semantic values of those artifacts. Manuscript circulation desired to propagate itself; the poems themselves desired to extinguish the very circumstances that gave rise to the necessity for manuscript circulation in the first place. Visualizing the distribution and inter-relations of those poems and manuscripts reveals the centrality of *The Ambodexter*, a poem which itself performs and embodies the very ambivalence characterizing the culture that birthed it. Network visualizations and conventional archival study provide two more complementary ways of seeing the King over the water.

[1] Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[2] The landmark study of Jacobite poetry is Murray Pittock's *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Jacobite material culture has been extensively addressed by Pittock in *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), and by Neil Guthrie, in T*he Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[3] A full review of recent studies of Jacobitism exceeds the scope of this article, but of particular relevance are Lawrence Lipking, "The Jacobite Plot." *ELH* 64.4 (1997): 843-855, Toni Bowers, "Tories and Jacobites: Making a Difference." *ELH* 64.4 (1997): 857-869, Howard Erskine-Hill, "Twofold Vision in Eighteenth-Century Writing." *ELH* 64.4 (1997): 903-924, Daniel Szechi's *1715: the Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) and *Britain's Lost Revolution?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), and Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2002).

[4] *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which Have Not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series: With References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts*, Volume 3, Falconer Madam, (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1895).

[5] Margaret Crum, *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. 2 vols, (New York: Modern Language Association, 1969).

[6] James Wolley's "Finding English Verse, 1650-1800: First-Line Indexes and Searchable Electronic Texts," *Bibsite*, The Bibliographical Society of America, 2010.

[7] I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Houghton Library for an ASECS/Walter Jackson Bate award to study its holdings; to Yale's Lewis Walpole Library for a fellowship to study their materials, to Princeton's Firestone Library for an RBSC grant to study their holdings, to UCLA's Center for a 17/18th Century Studies for an ASECS scholarship to spend time in their archives, and to a Stanford Modern British History and Culture grant for making it possible for me to undertake the necessary travel to survey materials in Britain. This study does not yet include manuscripts from sources like the Folger, the University of Minnesota, Portland library in Nottingham, the library at Trinity College Dublin, the Public Record Office, the Brotherton library in Leeds, the National Library of Scotland or the National Library of Ireland, still less private collections in England and Scotland which I suspect would hold more manuscripts for inclusion in later iterations of this study.

[8] Indices that I have not consulted include musical historical sources, and the Trinity College Dublin Department of Manuscripts' "Verse: Cumulative First-Line Index", and Michael Londry's *Hilda Londry Collectio*n. These latter two items alone amount to roughly 6500 items. The FFL, however, indexes around 100,000 items, making its catchment area large compared to the material overlooked. I consider the possibility of a separate contemporary network unlikely, though logically possible.

[9] For a clear example of such a volume, see Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet c. 116.

[10] For an example of such a manuscript see Yale Osborn fc. 24.

[11] In this exercise I have been inestimably helped by *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse 1660-1714*, especially by volumes 5 (1688 – 1697, ed. W. J. Cameron, 1970), volume 6 (1697 – 1704 ed. F. H. Ellis, 1970) and volume 7 (1704 – 1714, ed. F. H. Ellis, 1975).

[12] David F. Foxon, *1701-1750, A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with notes on contemporary collection Editions* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2003, 2 vols).

[13] Questions of dating complicate this analysis, since a compendious later eighteenth-century scriptorium product (like British Library MS Add. 29981) will make its owner appear far more "connected" than would a contemporary collection kept by an amateur who added only those poems that came into their ambit.

[14] All network graphs were made using Gephi. See Mathieu Bastian, Sebastian Heymann, and Marc Jacomy, "Gephi: an open source software for exploring and manipulating networks." *International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media,* 2009.

[15] The manuscripts comprising these communities are historically separated. Osborn b. 111 and the manuscripts surrounding it are by and large rather older, between 1688 and 1705. The manuscripts on the other "side" of this culture date from between 1700 up to about 1745 or so. The front endpaper for c. 570 reads "Satirical Poems written after the death of | Queen Anne, on the coming in of the House of Hanover" — I was able to determine that c.570 was put together around or shortly after 1735, making it one of the latest-dated manuscripts in the community. BL Add. 29981 dates from about 1717. Bodley Rawlinson Poet 155, the opposite hub, dates to shortly after the accession of George II around 1728/9.

[16] Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 134.

[17] Betweenness centrality measures how often a node appears on shortest paths between nodes in the network. See Benny Chor and Madhu Sudan), "A geometric approach to betweenness," *SIAM Journal on Discrete Mathematics* (1998): 511–523.

[18] Eigenvector centrality, unlike betweenness centrality, assumes that a node's centrality is the sum of the centrality of the nodes with which is shares an edge. Rather than measuring least path distance, then, eigenvector centrality measures clustering and the extent of a node's embeddedness within a cluster.

[19] Closeness centrality measures the centrality of a node *in the entire graph* rather than within a cluster or as a "bridge" between any two randomly chosen nodes. Poem #231 is "An Epitaph on Passive Obedience, Anno Aetatis 1688." It appears in 19 manuscripts.

[20] Franco Moretti's *Distant Reading* (New York: Verso, 2013) offers a methodological synecdoche for the approach he has practiced and fostered among others at Stanford's Literary Lab since 2007. Matthew Jockers's *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013) shows a methodologically similar but differently pitched approach. My network graphs perform a distant reading of literary phenomena and their interactions with their material substrates.

[21] For the key work on the modularity function, see Vincent D Blondel, Jean-Loup Guillaume, Renaud Lambiotte, and Etienne Lefebvre, "Fast unfolding of communities in large networks", *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment,* 2008 (10): 1000-1012, and R. Lambiotte, J.-C. Delvenne, M. Barahona, *Laplacian Dynamics and Multiscale Modular Structure in Networks,* 2009.

[22] In network theory, a "complete" graph is one in which every node is connected to every other node.

[23] By transitioning from a bimodal graph to a monomodal graph, we reduce to an certain extent the visual rhetorical distortions wrought by a "force directed" graph, which pushes unconnected nodes away from one-another. Because in a bimodal graph like objects (manuscripts and manuscripts, poems and poems) are separated from one another by the interpolation of unlike objects, force direction exaggerates the effect of one object's not being connected to another.

[24] For the definitive studies of "weak ties," see Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology,* (1973): 1360-1380, and "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory 1* (1983): 201-233.

[25] The only mention of the poem in contemporary scholarship is in Kathleen Constable's *A Stranger Within the Gates: Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Irishness* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000). She claims Padraic O'Pronntaigh as the author for this poem: "Thus O'Pronntaigh's surviving manuscripts are, for the most part written in Irish and concern wholly Irish subjects, but ... he was also fluent in English, as evidenced by the poem he penned in the MS which is included in Egerton 172 (British Library)" (29). The earliest form of the poem predates O'Pronntiagh by almost 100 years. The poem's anonymity is what permitted it to become common cultural property in the way that I trace here. Although *The Ambodexter* has an ESTC number, that record shows the poem handwritten in the back cover of a printed text.

[26] I have so far found copies of versions of *The Ambodexter* in the following MSs: Bod Rawl Poet 155, Osborn c. 570/1, Rosenbach Library MS 239/22. BL Add. 14854, BL Add. 14936, BL Add. 29497, BL. Add. 29981, BL Add. 5832, BL Sloane 1731A, Bod Ballard 29, Bod Eng Misc c. 116, Bod Eng Misc e. 319, Bod Eng Poet e. 87, Bod Firth d. 13, Bod pr. bk. Firth b. 22, Osborn b.111, Osborn c. 158, Osborn fc. 58, BL Sloane 3769, BL Add. 6416, BL Lansdowne 852, BL Add. 75500, Brotherton Lt 106, Osborn b.52/2, Princeton MS Taylor 3, U. Minnesota MS 690235, Osborn c.160, Bod Rawl Poet 203, Hunt EL 8770, and Nottingham Portland MS Pw V 745.

[27] Osborn b.52/2 fol. 178. This and all other transcriptions are as lightly modernized as possible. This is in part to preserve the time-specific flavor of each manuscript at the time of its transcription, and in part to capture the specific register of each manuscript. Another version of this civil war-era poem appears at Leeds Brotherton MS Lt 106 at fol. 144^{r} with 'Anabaptist' in the place of 'Independent' at line two, and at Rosenbach 239/22 with "warring" for "Loyal."

[28] For other Jacobite artifacts that have a double meaning when looked at from a second perspective see Niall MacKenzie's "Double-Edged Writing in the Eighteenth Century" in *Literary Milieux: Essays in Text and Context presented to Howard Erskine-Hill*, eds. David Norbrook and Richard McCabe (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 140-68, and the glasses in Geoffrey B. Seddon's *Jacobites & Their Drinking Glasses* (Woodbridge, CT: Antique Collector's Club), 1995.

[29] Osborn b. 111, 527.

[30] This pervasive sense of nostalgia and loss in Jacobite poetry is sensitively analyzed by Lipking in "The Jacobite Plot." Lipking puns on "plot" as both story and secret connivance, and finds in both historical Jacobitism and present-day scholarship an addiction to "a standard descending arc or archetype" (844).

[31] Bodley Rawlinson Poet 203. Text is in red where Rawlinson used red ink.

[32] This volume can be dated to after 1713 in part because this copy of *The Ambodexter* follows a transcription of Alexander Pope's *On a Lady who Pisst at the Tragedy of Cato*. Addison's *Cato* was not staged until 1713. Later poems in the manuscript, referring to a fire in London in 1715 while George was at the theater also date the volume.

[33] It can be found in Osborn c.570/1, Bod Eng Misc c. 116, Osborn fc.58, BL Add. 6416, BL Lansdowne 852, BL Add. 29981 and Osborn c.160.

[34] Osborn c. 158 f. 4^{r}. The slip has been inexpertly pasted in and so the rightmost letters of the separate have been lost.

[35] I have found no printed copies of this poem, nor is any registered in Foxon. As to the difficulty of "deciphering" the poem, recall the flourish below it in Osborn b. 111, also present beneath the "When the Sea burns" ambodexter overleaf in that volume. The intertwined swash flourishes graphically describe the way that the two halves of the poem are to be interlinked rather than considered separately.

[36] Erskine-Hill's article "Twofold Vision in Eighteenth-Century Writing" suggests that seeing things in two ways at once was a key trope of Jacobitism. Erskine-Hill makes his case through a longer passage of literary history than is treated here, but argues convincingly both that the Jacobites' imaginative world was a twofold one and that a degree of twofold vision is necessary now to supplement the Whiggish historical narrative with the Jacobite experience.

[37] Osborn b. 111 p. 528. The second copy, in Bod Rawl Poet 155 p. 71, is eight lines long and begins "King George's cause shall thrive When the Sea burns." These two copies are not included in the count of *The Ambodexter* beginning "I love with all my heart." It is possible, of course, that the burning the poem image is too inflammatory, in all senses, to be plausibly deniable.

[38] W. J. Cameron, "Textual Notes," *Poems on Affairs of State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), V: 531.

[39] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 9.