# THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF QUAKER PROSE, 1650-1699: A CORPUS-BASED ENQUIRY

by

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# UNIVERSITY<sup>OF</sup> BIRMINGHAM

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study ascertains what is recognisably distinctive about seventeenth-century Quaker prose compared to other contemporary varieties of prose, and identifies characteristic features of that style. By compiling and investigating through corpus analysis techniques a collection of texts from a wide range of authors, I reveal key elements of the language through quantitative methods not previously applied to this subject. The study is not genre-based nor is it a literary investigation of a single author. The corpus is unusual in comprising texts by many different people within the same community of practice, demonstrating a remarkable uniformity of style and discourse.

Typical stylistic features include a speech-like informal register, idiosyncratic syntax and sentence length, and I suggest reasons why Quakers developed this sociolect. In key Quaker lexis I found unexpected frequencies and usage, including findings that differ from assertions in the critical literature. Corpus analysis provides new insights into early Quakerism as well as establishing a new mode of research. My findings clarify understanding of early Quaker writing, experience and practice, dispelling some present-day misconceptions.

# **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Oliver Roads (1969-2009).

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### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Anti-QDD Anti-Quaker Doctrinal Disputes sub-corpus

BYM Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends

(Quakers)

COERP Corpus of English Religious Prose (University of Cologne)

EEBO Early English Books Online

EModE early modern English

ESTC English Short Title Catalogue

Quaker Friend (used interchangeably)

HC Helsinki Corpus; E3 section of early modern English, date

range: 1640-1710

KJV King James Version of the Bible (1611)

LC Lampeter Corpus, date range: 1640-1699

MM Second Day Morning Meeting

non-QBS Non-Quaker broadside sub-corpus

PDE present day English

Q non-BS Quaker non-broadside sub-corpus

QBS Quaker broadside sub-corpus

Qcorpora Quaker corpora

Qcorpus1Quaker corpus 1 (1650-1670)Qcorpus2Quaker corpus 2 (1674-1699)

QDD Doctrinal Disputes sub-corpus (Quaker)

QMA Quaker Major Authors corpus

### TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

- Linguistic examples from the texts are given in italics, e.g. *false church*.
- Underlining marks a whole phrase or pattern, e.g <u>cleared my conscience</u>; noun + of + spirit.
- Lemmas are presented in small capitals, e.g. FEAR.
- Speech act categories and categories of stance adverbials are given in full size capitals, e.g. WARNING.
- Categories of contingency adverbial clauses are also given in full size capitals, e.g. RESULT.
- Original spelling and capitalisation retained where possible, if used by the printer; i.e. vv for w as in vvatchful (watchful); i for j as in Iones (Jones); v for u as in vnchangeable (unchangeable). However, long s (1) is replaced by s.

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# **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### 1.1 Introduction

The research study presented in this thesis is a descriptive, corpus-based enquiry into the distinctiveness of the prose of the first generations of Quakers in England. Using both quantitative and qualitative analyses, I present findings derived from a fresh approach to Quaker language and discourse. The study uses techniques from corpus linguistics to discover what aspects of Quaker language can be said to be typical of the published texts that have come down to us. No previously published research has attempted this and in this way the present study breaks new ground.

#### 1.1.1 Overview of the study

The early Quaker writings consist of a remarkable collection of texts written by a large number of authors, many of whom did not come from an educated level of seventeenth-century society. The books, pamphlets and broadsides comprise a distinct output from a religious community, dating from approximately the late 1640s to the end of the seventeenth century and beyond.

Runyon (in Barbour & Roberts, 2004) offers an attempt to quantify and classify all the published output as listed by Joseph Smith's (1867) *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*. I summarise his findings in Table 1.1, noting that his categories differ in some ways to my own (see Appendix 2, which classifies only the texts in the *Qcorpus*). He takes no account of word count of course, but in his full list does separate 'works' from folios of 'sheets'. I return again in this thesis to the difficulties researchers have found in categorizing Quaker writings. The material appears in its multi-faceted way to define such tidy delineations.

**Table 1.1**: Summary of types of Quaker writing: 1650-1699 (after Runyon, 2004:567-576)

Categories of tract	Quantity listed
Dispute tracts with Quakers and with non-Quakers	4,937
Proclamations, prophetic judgements addressed to non-Quakers	2,709
Sufferings and exhortations, + appeals for sufferers	1,441
Epistles and letters from groups of Quakers or Quaker individuals	1,362
Exhortations to non-Quakers and political leaders re moral issues	1,026
Ethical testimonies or defence	954
Autobiographical tracts	687
Testimonies to deceased Quakers	431
Miscellaneous (reprints, translations; scientific, scholarly and technical tracts; collected works)	5,523
Total	19,070

A number of studies have investigated all or part of the collection from a variety of disciplinary angles: theological, socio-cultural, and historical. However, they have tended to rely on subjective description rather than objectively observed characteristics and only a handful of them focus in any depth on language. My study fills that gap, offering a broader as well as a more nuanced view through its corpus-based, quantitative evidence. I combine these findings with qualitative analysis as a framework for interpreting my observations. In this way I make a new contribution to knowledge in this field.

My study is a multi-disciplinary one and I identify two distinct contexts that underpin the research. The first is the specialised one located in the field of historical linguistics, narrowed down to a variety of seventeenth-century English. The second, linked one, is the general field of Quaker studies, narrowed down to the topic of seventeenth-century Quaker language. My research question is this: 'what is distinctive about early Quaker prose compared to other varieties of seventeenth-century prose, and what are its typical features?' It is, therefore, the Quaker variety that is central to my study. I make no theoretical claims for

language usage outside that community other than in terms of descriptive comparisons with the Quaker one.

Very few studies have been published that look specifically at early Quaker language. In chapter 2 where I review the literature in these fields, I note only four studies that have that central aim: Harvey (1928), Wright (1932), Cope (1956) and Bauman (1983/1998). Until now, it has not been possible to say for sure what constitutes typical features of early Quaker prose. I claim to do that. Working from a specially designed machine-readable corpus, the 'Quaker Corpus' that I have compiled, I argue that I am able to identify not only characteristic features that occur across the canon of texts but also to provide new insights into Quaker discourses of prophecy and doctrinal disputes. I can confirm with quantitative evidence some of the claims published previously, extend or clarify other claims, and contradict other generalisations offered by writers with no linguistic background. I also show how some of the preconceptions in the general Quaker community today about the beliefs and practices of the first Quakers is part-myth, engendered by later accretions of blurred perceptions of the emerging Quaker movement. To quote Weegman (2014):

While we should admire Quaker tradition, we should be careful neither to idealise it nor the early Quakers. I suggest we require a less reverent attitude towards the received history of Quakerism. (Weegman, 2014:13)

The present thesis is an attempt to go beneath the 'received history' and examine what many of the early Friends said and wrote, and how they expressed those thoughts. Thus I question and test some commonly-held understandings in the literature and in the mind of the general reader. Through this scrutiny of early Quaker language, we gain a clearer perspective of the first two periods of Quakerism, lived out by the first two generations of convinced Friends. The term 'Friend' is used interchangeably with the term 'Quaker' throughout the

present thesis. It derives from their usage in the first months and years from 1647 onwards when the cluster 'Friends of + noun' appears; for example, Friends of Truth/Friends of Christ/Friends of the Lord. An early attestation is dated 1653 in a letter from Margaret Fell to Colonel West. However, many manuscript letters by early Quakers are addressed to 'Friend' regardless of whether the recipient saw themselves as part of the emerging religious movement.

My study contributes new insights into aspects of early modern English and prose discourse as used by members of the Quaker community over a period of nearly half a century. This is the first time that anyone has reported using corpus-based evidence in this field of study. An empirical approach uses the internal evidence of the language as data, rather than simply building an argument from a historical or theological perspective. The objectives of the present empirical study are these: to clarify the discourse purposes of the corpus of texts that are representative of the larger set of extant texts of the period, to explore how these functions are expressed in linguistic terms and to discover the reasons that led the opponents of the Quakers to publish such adverse comments about their written style. Allied to these broad aims are two further strands: to investigate what typical features are present across the writings of many different Quaker authors and whether there is a true homogeneity of usage or sociolect within the community; and secondly, to what extent the enduring Quaker principles, known in the community as a testimony to equality and simplicity, is observable in the language of these writers. By 'sociolect', I do not refer to any particular demographic group's dialect following Biber's (1995) definition, but I adopt the sense given by Louwerse (2004):

Sociolects are group-dependent similarities in language use. They imply that texts by a group of authors ... share more similarities within a group than between groups. Louwerse (2004:207)

The first two generations of Quakers came from all walks of life and social levels, from well-connected, well-educated men and women such as William Penn, Margaret Fell and Robert Barclay to humble tenant farmers or tradespeople. Additionally the presence of many women authors, speaking in their own right and not defined by the men in their families is well documented (see Gill, 2005).

This first study based on the data in the Quaker corpus responds principally to the primary question I posed regarding the characteristics of Quaker writing at this period. New interrogations of these data could prove interesting as new research questions arise (see for example, Roads, 2014:172-181). I suggest further avenues for research in the concluding chapter to the present study.

### 1.2 The relevance of contemporary historical events

The Quaker texts did not of course appear unrelated to external events occurring in England at the time. In fact those upheavals in that society are central to the emergence of the Quaker movement in the seventeenth century and a brief summary is appropriate here of why historical circumstances are germane to an understanding of the Quaker message and campaign of publishing. Quakerism emerged during the turmoil of the English Civil War and the setting up of the Commonwealth after the execution of Charles I. George Fox had a profound spiritual experience in 1647 (described in his *Journal*) which led him to reject the teachings of all the established Christian churches and instead to go inwardly to access the Divine without the intermediation of priests or reliance solely on guidance from the Bible. The preaching that he undertook, explaining his discoveries to anyone who would listen, must have struck a chord with many of his contemporaries. By the 1650s, a group of like-minded men and women had joined him. As Angell & Dandelion (2013:1-2) explain, this gathering of

groups (there was little or no organisation and the term 'Quaker' would not be used until several years later), started to preach, to convince others and to 'witness' to the truths they felt they had found. Their outward behaviours and practices arising from their insights or 'openings' were visibly distinct, such as refusing to conform to social manners and politeness customs of the day by using what they termed 'plain language', by confronting civil authorities, refusing to attend church or pay tithes for the maintenance of the local church, and to wear 'plain' clothes, so as to eliminate the outward distinguishing of social class.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 began a period of persecution for religious dissenters, especially protestant. As Marshall (2006:94) point out, most of the population in England were members of the restored Church of England and there was hostility towards non-conformists for having instigated the civil war. Dissenters of all kinds came under significant pressure and Quakers were severely persecuted. Many had their goods distrained, were taken to court for refusing to swear allegiance and then imprisoned. It was the Friends' impulsion first to preach these radical ideas to the general public, and then to embark on a campaign of publishing their ideas. As Moore (2012:20-22) explains, their beliefs and actions led to many attacks both in print and physically by their opponents. The pamphlet wars they embarked on became increasingly vitriolic until the 1670s onwards when there was a slight lessening of the strictures placed on them by the authorities and those disagreeing with their preaching. The Act of Toleration (1689) reduced the Quakers' sufferings but full liberty of conscience was not available to such dissenters until the turn of the century or beyond. Each of the chapters that follow, touches in different ways on early Friends' struggles as they sought to follow the Truth as they saw it, and how these developing discourse communities responded to those struggles.

### 1.3 Structure of thesis

My responses to the research question above are presented in five core chapters (chapters 4 to 8), preceded by a review of the relevant literature and a description of my research methods. The first three chapters look at three broad text types and functions respectively. Chapter 4 offers a case study using a sub-corpus of broadside texts in the Quaker corpus; this chapter has the dual function of also introducing certain features of style that I explore in more detail later in the thesis (chapter 8). Chapter 5 moves into the broader field of prophetic discourse, both apocalyptic and exhortatory. These rhetorical types are by far the most common of the Quaker discourses found in the corpus. Chapter 6 investigates the large sub-set of doctrinal disputes texts in the corpus; this type of publication became increasingly frequent during the later part of the seventeenth century, as the Quaker movement developed in response to external events. After that, chapter 7 picks up on some of the initial findings reported in chapter 4 by moving into a different area of language. This exploration concerns lexical usage in early Quaker discourse, going beyond the conventional assertions often made about Quaker language such as second person use (the thee/you/ye distinction), and their refusal to use titles such as 'Sir' or 'Mr.' The final core chapter, chapter 8, draws together the overarching findings, both from the case study and then throughout the entire study, to propose a number of typical linguistic features of early Quaker language and discourse that I argue in the concluding chapter are characteristic of the prose of this seventeenth-century community. As Howgill remarks in an unpublished letter (1654): 'they say none speak like us' (Barclay, 1841:19). The intention of this thesis is, by combining quantitative and qualitative analyses, to show the extent to which this is true and if so, in what ways.

**CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL LITERATURE** 

### 2.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter explained, the present thesis brings together for the first time insights from a combination of disciplines and associated scholarly work. The purpose of the review of the relevant literature in which my study is located is to introduce example or core publications that have been produced previously and to show how my work draws on research and scholarly studies in the fields of historical corpus-based analysis, early modern English, and Quaker studies. I show where there is a gap at the intersections of this scholarship and the way in which my investigation addresses it. I do this using an approach that is new to Quaker studies. My multi-disciplinary study builds on a broad spectrum of literature, very little of which addresses the question of early Quaker language use in a systematic way.

The studies that I introduce and critique in this chapter deserve their place here for several reasons. Some are mentioned because of the insights they offer on practical matters of corpus linguistics and theoretical concerns about principles of design; some present small-scale but important findings on a particular aspect that informs my own work; some help to paint a picture of the historical and theological background to the early Quaker movement in seventeenth-century England and of the burgeoning print culture at the time of the English civil war, interregnum and Restoration in this country. Some of the older texts have not stood the test of time because technology and new methodologies in the field of corpus linguistics move so rapidly. Other works of twenty or thirty years ago still offer insights and words of caution that hold good, regardless of the new methods that are devised. Scholarship in the historical and theological disciplines continues apace. In the realm of Quaker studies, many small pieces of research are carried out by independent researchers working locally, but the combined effect of these individual studies is helping to paint a more comprehensive picture of early Quakerism than any one historian could hope to achieve.

### 2.2 Organisation of chapter

The selective review in this chapter of the relevant sources I propose to present is organised in the following way. Section 2.3 presents studies and other research in the field of historical corpus linguistics, in particular some key texts and resources used to address investigations into some general aspects of seventeenth-century English. This includes research that understands and seeks to solve problems of dealing with partial or insufficient data retrieved from language that is no longer spoken or written by anybody alive today. It is a fact that digitised and searchable historical corpora are, at the time of writing, much less available as resources for study compared with the multi-million word reference and monitor corpora that have been compiled for English and many other major present-day languages. Section 2.4 broadens the historical scope to look at some specific examples of published scholarship relevant to the present study within the fields of both EModE (early Modern English) and seventeenth-century print culture. The literature focuses on how developments in printing and distribution had an impact on the early Quaker movement. This section includes a review of present-day commentaries on early Quaker language, mostly lexical in nature, and predominantly written by non-language or literature specialists. Section 2.5 gives an overview of some important historical studies published in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that seek to describe and interpret the theological background to the emergence of the Quaker movement in the mid-seventeenth century, and the review concludes with a summary, following a brief survey in section 2.6 of some of the electronic resources available now to the corpus linguist wishing to research historical variants of English.

The chapters that follow this one present findings that relate to specific discourse or language features of the Quaker corpus. Because of the wide-ranging nature of my research, I include in the present review only those studies that are important generally in connection

with my research. Other studies are cited because of their relevance to the particular purpose of a specific chapter rather than to the thesis as a whole. In these cases, I provide a brief literature review within the chapter concerned. The full list of References comprises all cited works and resources.

### 2.3 Literature relevant to historical linguistics and corpus design

This section first considers the field of historical corpus linguistics in general and then moves to questions of design, followed by studies illustrating some of the research interests of the community. No such useful general textbooks exist for guidance on historical corpus compilation and design comparable to those for present-day language and referred to in the previous section. I have therefore chosen a collection of works from the pool of scholarly articles and studies reporting on the corpus-based approach.

### 2.3.1 Historical corpus linguistics

The manual to the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Kytö, 1996, but see Marttila, 2011, for the new TEI XML edition) provides a user's guide to the corpus as well as discussions on matters relating to corpus construction. Kohnen (2007b, section 3.1) describes the design of a diachronic corpus such as the *Helsinki* (*HC*) as 'long and thin'. This design differs from that of synchronic or near-synchronic specialist corpora, such as the *Qcorpus*, which may be of a similar size in terms of word count. It is in fact closer to a 'short and fat' model as it comprises a large number of texts drawn from a narrow date range. The introductory article to the *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* (Claridge, 2001) is similarly helpful in terms of compilation description and advice on use. The compilers of this corpus, (covering just a century between 1640-1740, and therefore closer to the 'short and fat' design than the

HC), classify their texts into six specific domains, including one with the 'religious' label. Apart from these two ground-breaking multi-domain historical corpora, two specialist corpora deserve mention: firstly, the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED)* and associated book (Culpeper & Kytö, 2010), important for insights into speech-like discourse in written texts; and secondly, the as yet unpublished *Corpus of English Religious Prose (COERP)*. In different ways these have aided my compilation of the various Quaker corpora that I describe in the following chapter.

Representativeness can present particular problems in some historical corpora in terms of sampling methods where there is an insufficient quantity of texts or text types (see Rissanen et al, 1993:64-65, and Kytö & Pahta, 2012:123-133). There seems to be no ideal solution to the question of whether to include full texts where they exist, regardless of size, or whether to limit all texts to a uniform size of a few hundred or thousand words. In the latter situation, one or two very long texts could skew the findings. Representativeness is a topic that most scholars of all historical and present-day periods feel the need to address but all find the solutions elusive. For example, many of the articles in the comprehensive volume *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (O'Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010) address this topic as part of the overview of their specialist subject. However, the several contributors appear to attach less importance to achieving representativeness particularly in specialist corpora compared to the early days of multi-genre corpus construction.

### 2.3.2 Issues for corpus-based studies in early modern English

Research articles specialising in aspects of EModE corpus analysis started appearing once the first multi-domain historical corpora became available. They appear to have been seen as a wonderful new toy, offering the possibilities of answering many previously

impossible questions about language change and patterns of use. To begin with, corpus-based researchers investigated discrete aspects of grammar, syntax and collocation, often through longitudinal studies, and their findings are still of use as a basis for comparison. Theoretical and empirical studies opened up new vistas and possibilities for research. In more recent times the focus for study seems to have altered; researchers are now less likely to limit themselves to discrete structural or morphological observations. Collections of specialist texts in such genres as medical or newspaper linguistic domains have led the way to different approaches and findings, for example the Corpus of Early Modern English Medical Texts (EMEMT). As Kohnen has suggested on more than one occasion (see Kohnen 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2012), the search is under way for a corpus-based architecture that could reliably combine disparate historical corpora to enable broad, diachronic searches and comparisons across a range of differently constructed corpora. Kohnen's wish is to bring the concepts of 'long and thin' and 'short and fat' to an end, presumably by producing 'long and fat' super-corpora. The aim would be for collaboration to enable corpora produced by different researchers to communicate and 'understand' each other's systems of sampling, markup and so on, but if corpora are to ever link up in this way, more basic questions of compatibility need to be addressed (see Kohnen, 2007b, section 3, for example; for a proposed system of pragmatic annotation see Kohnen, 2012). The Quaker corpus is a small contribution to this growing potential resource (the University of Helsinki VARIENG website contains a continually growing list of available corpora.)

Other articles, research studies and papers of conference proceedings that are relevant to the present study are cited in the specific contexts of my research as reported in the chapters that follow. The recent volume of papers edited by Bennett et al (2013) includes a useful preface giving an overview of the present state (at time of writing) of corpus-based historical

research and new methodologies. Perhaps this is the future format of publications for the student or general reader as successors to the 2005 *AHDS* guide to good practice. The editors (Bennett et al, 2013:9) note the specific problems associated with the compilation and representativeness of many such corpora for languages besides English, in particular the question of the optimal architecture for a corpus and how representative even a large one can claim to be for naturally occurring past usages of language. Some of the ensuing papers that attempt to respond to such central questions address how corpora can best be annotated. Nevertheless, there is benefit in not relying on fully automatic retrieval systems if a relatively small output is under investigation.

Register is another difficult area of investigation when all the speakers of a language variant are dead and where the metadata are lacking. Interpretations of a particular discourse register have to be inferred from both internal and extra-linguistic evidence. Biber and colleagues have been at the forefront of researching such issues of register (Biber, 1993, 1995, 2014). Researchers in the area of pragmatics who use different approaches from Biber include Archer & Culpeper (2003:37-58), who look at sociopragmatic annotation in the fields of historical linguistics and corpus linguistics as well as pragmatics, and Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) on aspects of corpus-based historical sociolinguistics, to select two out of many approaches. They and others are starting to provide a much clearer set of pictures of register and stylistics, which of course leads to new areas of research into this aspect of discourse. What may have seemed clear-cut at the start of the 1990s is now shown to be a much more complex field requiring more nuanced interpretations.

## 2.4 Seventeenth-century English and print culture

We now move to the historical period of English that is relevant to my research. There are two aspects to this part of the review: section 2.4.1 introduces empirical studies into early modern English language, in particular seventeenth-century English, and section 2.4.2 shows how our awareness of the accompanying body of scholarship into print culture has increased over the last thirty or forty years.

### 2.4.1 Early modern English

There is a small but growing set of general works and textbooks that focus on this period of the English language in the British Isles. An early entrant to the field in recent times is Görlach's (1991) introduction to early modern English and also his later anthology on such aspects such as stylistics and rhetoric (2003). Görlach does include a section on historical corpus linguistics in this work (p.23-27) but unfortunately he is unhappy using historical corpora that he claims provide 'questionable bases' for linguists hoping for representativeness. He prefers to rely on 'typical passages' for his descriptions of EModE usage. This begs the question of how we can know what is 'typical', and indeed the present study attempts to argue for certain features of typical Quaker language use but mainly through corpus-based quantitative evidence. Two textbooks for general historical descriptive corpus linguistics come from Barber (1997, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) and more recently Nevalainen (2006). One of the innovations in Nevalainen's approach, which differs in a major respect from both Görlach's and Barber's, is her use of non-literary texts for her descriptions of all the major branches of historical linguistics. This is relevant for the present investigation into non-literary Quaker texts.

An example of an important collection of work in the field is the magisterial collection of articles that comprise the third volume of the Cambridge History of the English Language (Lass, 1999) This anthology covers orthography and punctuation, phonology and morphology, syntax, lexis, semantics and literary language of the early modern period, and has become a standard reference for these subjects. Already in 1999 scholars were beginning to carry out research into regional and social variation. This approach has increased in importance as new findings in areal, social and genre-based aspects of usage are published. For example, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2005) provide a useful general survey of historical sociolinguistics of English, including discussions on writers' social networks, literacy and standardisation over the centuries. Promising ideas for future research into Quaker texts may arise from present-day historical research into local and regional Quaker communities. Particularly relevant to the present Quaker investigation are several studies: Culpeper & Kytö (2000) introduce findings and interpretations in an important study for the understanding of speech-like language in a variety of written genres in EModE. Claridge & Wilson (2002), make use of Biber's (1988) ground-breaking multi-dimensional approach for an analysis of style in early modern sermons. Implications from their results help to understand distinctions between preaching styles that rely on an informational approach and others whose linguistic features create a more 'involved' style. For the language of early news reporting that has relevance for politico-religious discourse such as the Quaker texts, see Cecconi (2009), Jucker (2009, ed.) and various research articles on historical news discourse posted on the CHINED News website. These studies are a small selection illustrating the variety of empirical research that goes beyond structure and syntax in EModE. The cumulative effect of this burgeoning area of published research is a pointer to new methodological approaches and theories, thus building up a wider picture of EModE language

and usage that could not have been possible thirty or forty years ago. Other studies that have specific relevance to single aspects of the present study are cited in later chapters and not referred to here.

#### 2.4.2 Print culture in the seventeenth century

Next in this multi-disciplinary survey of the literature, we turn to the field of historical print culture and the contexts in which mass printing flourished in the seventeenth century in England. Historians working in the field of early modern religious print culture in England have painted a picture of a burgeoning and vibrant production of books but also of more ephemeral material such as pamphlets, newspapers and broadside. Printing press technology had begun to develop during the seventeenth century and by the later Stuart period literacy levels were beginning to rise, see Green (2000:24-27), Green and Peters (2002:88) and Raymond (2003:89-91). Hagglund (2013:477-9) provides a good overview of the quantity of output that existed by the middle of the century from an estimate based on the material that has survived till the present day. These studies also contextualise the political difficulties encountered during various periods in the seventeenth century when censorship was severe, as well as how production was affected more positively by the freedoms experienced during the Commonwealth period.

Studies specifically focusing on Quaker print production at this time make clear the underlying energies and conflicts within the emerging Quaker movement. The central importance of printed material is described for the dissemination of the Quaker message, not only across the British Isles but also into mainland Europe and across to Malta and the Ottoman empire, as well as the parallel campaign taking place on the other side of the Atlantic in the American colonies. The survey in the present chapter is limited to seventeenth-century

printing and publication as it concerns the early Quaker movement. The most comprehensive study on this topic is Peters (2005). Her study, arising out of doctoral research, is a comprehensive and readable account of the history and extent of Quaker publishing and dissemination in the mid-seventeenth century. She draws on a breadth of evidence to locate and contextualise the process that Quakers employed in their pamphleteering campaign, showing how this was received by the establishment and general public alike. She explains how the organisation underpinning a successful campaign of travel and preaching originated in a group of Friends in north-west England who planned and supported it financially. Her study also comments on aspects of Quaker pamphleteering and I refer to these several times in the course of the present study. (Peters, 1995:15-72, 153-192; Green & Peters (2002:70-77.) Hagglund (2013:483-486) provides a good summary of the activities of Quaker authors and Quaker printing, including self-publishing, at this time. She draws on the work of historical studies such as Wright (1932), Moore (2000) and her own research in this area. Earlier studies that deserve mention are Davies (2000), who comments extensively and informatively on the apparently high levels of literacy of many of the Quaker writers, including the women, and explains (pp.111-120) how unusual this was for the social origins of the writers at this time. Green (2000) uses part of his study to explore Friends' 'clever use of print', as his index lists it. He explains the Quaker use of the 'open letter' (p.413) as their way of stating their case to their supporters, and as a hook to newcomers to the movement. Texts in this genre, as he terms it, were subsequently published and distributed widely.

Specific reference to the work of the revision committee known as the Second Day Morning Meeting (MM) and its effect on Quaker publishing begins with O'Malley (1982) and is taken further by Hall (1992). (I explain further the nature of this committee in chapter 5, section 5.4.2, and chapter 6, section 6.4.1.) The latter study covers a period beyond the

seventeenth century, but both are important for their insightful interpretations based on the minutes of the MM (right from the start of its work in 1673). O'Malley discusses such matters as the censorship problems faced by Friends, how they were able to finance their publishing activities and to what extent the MM had control over publications from 1673 onwards. Hall's work is a critical account of the administrative organisation and purpose of the Meeting; he reflects on the effects of this central control on Quaker culture and theology from the inception of the committee through to the early nineteenth century. He bases his interpretations on the Meeting's minutes but also on evidence of some contemporary non-Quaker critics writing at the end of the seventeenth century. The minutes themselves appear to not materially affect the language use of the proposed publications, such suggested editing being no more than would be expected of any revision committee. My own examination of those same minutes confirms that impression.

# 2.5 Early Quaker language

This review now takes us from print production to the language and rhetoric of the texts' actual content. The next section considers the body of literature that offers comment and introspection in that particular field.

#### 2.5.1 Seventeenth-century Quaker language use

There has been an interest in how Quakers used language ever since a number of the first Quakers produced tracts and books explaining how they saw their own peculiarities of speech. Such authors include Farnsworth (1655), Zachary (1660), Symonds (1656); see also Bauman (1998:44-62) for examples of Quaker rejection of phatic communication that seemed to the general public as merely uncivil. The aspects of their surface usage that Friends themselves thought were interesting have been well documented in recent times (see for

instance, Ormsby-Lennon, 1991), but generalists (i.e. non-linguists) such as Harvey (1928), Wright (1932:57-73) and particularly Cope (1956) have all attempted qualitative research and commentary into less obvious aspects of Quaker language and discourse. Two of these, Harvey and Cope, have been frequently cited and quoted since the first appearance of their studies, but until the present study, their assertions have not been confirmed or challenged in print. Harvey's work was groundbreaking at the time. A Quaker amateur historian, well respected within the Society of Friends in Britain, he was possibly the first in modern times to set out the peculiarities of Quaker speech ('plain' language in early Friends' terminology). For instance, he examines their usage concerning 'respecter of persons' (thou to one person and you/ye to many regardless of relative social status), no titles or honorifics, plain names for days of the week and months. He notices other usage denoting distinctive meanings for Friends, some of which are explored in the *Ocorpus* in the present study (see chapter 7) but these observations, although contextualised to some extent, are anecdotal and partial. He relies mainly on secondary sources ranging across the first 200 years of Quaker history, but the only other study specifically describing Quaker language use that he builds on is Wright's (1932) study concerning Friends' 'literary life'. It is good at least that he goes beyond the language of George Fox, one of the best-known and prolific Quaker writers, for his representation of the usage of the early Quaker community. His study was important in its time and has been a useful starting point since for historians interested in language and stylistic aspects of Quakerism.

Cope (1956), who takes a literary stylistics approach, provides a more thorough and wide-ranging study, much quoted by historians and theologians since publication. Although his observations were made without the benefit of electronic search techniques, his study is scholarly, detailed and original in its scope. He makes many assertions supported by clear

reference to primary sources. Some are insightful and have stood the test of time and new investigative methods of enquiry; others have doubtful worth. One comment (p.735) concerning the 'agrammaticality' of Fox's 'incantational' syntactic style has been often quoted in print in the years since publication. It is a remark that is puzzling to a linguist although perhaps understandable in lay terms. Nevertheless, this study remained unmatched until Bauman's (1998) ethnographic enquiry.

Harvey and Cope have at least cast their nets beyond the obvious benchmark of George Fox's own language style. One of the arguments of the present thesis is that it is not accurate to assume that Fox's language necessarily equates to that typically used by the whole Quaker community. An important counterweight to the prevailing approach of such studies in Quakerism in the mid-twentieth century is Bauman's important study (1983, revised 1998), mentioned above. He relies on the evidence of numerous primary sources for his investigation, as does Cope, but asks different questions of the data. He criticises previous scholars, who he says limit themselves to ideas about language, not upon its social use (1998:4). His new approach to early Quaker language therefore is functional, exploring the link between linguistic ideology and linguistic practice. He researches how, where and why Friends spoke in the way they did, interpreting written texts to make convincing inferences about Quaker behaviour. The paradox for a religious movement characterised by silence is they had a great deal to say in print about speaking.

Other writers have provided useful insights into aspects of early Quaker rhetoric and stylistic features. Ormsby-Lennon's (1991) study is a philosophical and literary discussion on Quaker and puritan 'speechways', linking their collective written style to historical external events. Hymes (1991:338) in the same volume, comments favourably on Ormsby-Lennon's integrated study of Quaker communicative ways and their 'verbal and nonverbal behaviour'.

Keeble (1995:114-117) compares the Quaker William Penn's 'polite' stylistic register with that of his less educated Quaker contemporaries, bringing into sharp focus the self-conscious awareness of educated writers such as Isaac Penington (see Keiser & Moore, 2005). They comment that Penington himself thought he was too intellectual for his own good (p.137). Robert Barclay did not seek to hide his learning, publishing in Latin as well as English, but Penn, like Penington, strove to accommodate his own English writing style to the prevailing Quaker culture. These two, and others who could write fluently in Latin, (see chapter 8 in the present thesis) worked hard not to let it show. See, for instance, Keeble's *The Politic and the Polite in Quaker Prose* (1995:113-125) for a study on Penn's literary manner. As a member himself of the MM, Penn was also influential in modifying the earlier excesses of Quaker outbursts in print. My chapter 8 explores this theme further.

Fox's language has been intensively studied by several scholars and the works of two of them have provided a useful starting point for my study on Quaker lexis, presented in chapter 7. The two in question are Alexander (1983), who has published a painstakingly prepared pamphlet-sized appendix in the form of a study guide to accompany Rufus Jones's edition of Fox's *Journal*. The other is Ambler (2007). His extensive personal exploration over many years to try and understand Fox's mind and linguistic expression has resulted in a very useful glossary to accompany a collection of extracts in Fox's original language. The glossary provides definitions or explanations of elements of Fox's language that might cause difficulty for the general reader, as well as those lexical items that Ambler feels have changed their meaning since the seventeenth century. This professional theologian and non-professional linguist has produced a more scholarly and convincing piece of work than Alexander. Both authors lay themselves open to disagreement or criticism through their honest offering of such specific definitions and contextual explanations of Fox's usage. Chapter 7 in the present thesis

makes frequent reference to their scholarship while also subjecting their observations to corpus-based analyses.

The final work that focuses on Fox is Hinds (2011), who offers a broad approach to Quaker rhetoric seen primarily through the lens of George Fox's *Journal*. Her approach is a mix of the literary and historical aspects of early Quakerism and her theme is 'the words, habits and practices of early Quaker culture' (p.3). As literary criticism, the study is an important addition to our understanding of the cultural implications of Quaker language and religious practice. The importance of her work as regards the purposes of the present thesis depends on the extent to which one sees Fox as epitomising Quaker language use and rhetoric generally. As I hope I have made clear, my research adopts a different theme and I argue that Foxian usage is not necessarily the same as all Quakers' usage at that time. However, as a tailpiece to this part of the review, I draw attention to Fox's own comments on language including his prescriptive comments on correct usage as he saw it. Assertions on language abound throughout his published output, (see Fox, 1660, and Fox & Hookes, 1673.) These comments, arbitrary by modern standards, do not however form part of my present research.

It is clear from the above survey that many people, from the early Friends to the present day, have commented and made observations about Quaker language use, although very few have approached the subject from any of the disciplines in linguistics. Generalisations and anecdotal observations are frequent.

### 2.5.2 Seventeenth-century Quaker history and theology

The penultimate part of this review focuses on an awareness of the external parameters of the changing historical background to a turbulent period in English history, that of the years between approximately 1650 and the end of the seventeenth century. It was this political

and religious setting from which the frustrations and radical new insights of the first Quakers started to emerge. They saw their use of language as both political and theological, although they would not have so described it. Assertions about their language without an understanding of the historical contexts would be meaningless. Compared to the body of research into linguistic aspects of early Quakerism, this part of the literature is bountiful. Selection is essential. Historical studies and specialist writing in the field of Quaker studies have changed emphasis over the century or so of commentary in this field.

The benchmark work is surely that by Braithwaite, whose two volumes on early Quakerism appeared in the first part of the twentieth century (1912, revised 1955; 1921, revised 1961). Later editions and revisions of both works have appeared since their first publications and a new anthology is forthcoming (see Moore, 2012). As Moore explains (p.7), this project aims to revise and extend our knowledge of the second period of Quakerism (broadly speaking), based on much new published and unpublished research never before brought together in one study. Her bibliography (2012:22-26) is an indication of how much scholarship needs to be incorporated in a new approach to the Quaker history narrative. In between these two sets of studies a century apart, other historical overviews and narratives have enabled generalist readers to learn more about early Quakerism and its beliefs and practices (Brinton, 1953/2002; Gwyn, 1986; Smith, 1989, 1990; Dandelion et al, 1998; Barbour and Roberts, 2004; Keiser and Moore, 2005; Dandelion, 2007; Graves, 2009; Guiton, 2012). This list comprises a selection of studies that either focus uniquely on Quakerism or include significant sections on Quakerism within a longer comparative study. Gwyn (1989) offers a clear interpretation of the early Quaker sense of the biblical apocalypse, as do Dandelion et al (1998). Smith's (1989) study looks at that topic but also at Quaker and other denominational prophesying in a wider sense (pp.21-26; 66-72; 342-348), and for more on this, see chapter 5 in the present study. These representations of early Quaker theology help to contextualise some of the findings in that chapter.

In addition to these longer works, there are many short articles in the anthology edited by Angell and Dandelion (2013) that cover the whole Quaker period up to the present day. Part I offers excellent introductory texts on Quaker history, pages 13-62 cover the first two periods up to 1691. The section on *Quaker Theology and Spirituality* (pp.141-273) has an article on *Quakers and eschatology and time* (Gwyn). There is also *The politics of compassion* (Guiton, pp.220-222), and *Leadings and discernment* (Birkel, p.247). This anthology is a very comprehensive study, long overdue, that draws on important recent scholarship in many areas of Quakerism throughout its history in many countries. The authors are already known for their research specialisms and the suggestions for further reading point in that direction. No article in the comprehensive anthology investigates Quaker language, however, thus confirming the gap in our knowledge that the present study seeks to fill.

Other studies rely less on previous published work of colleagues, drawing more explicitly on primary Quaker sources for their interpretations; this allows the reader to make independent evaluations of the authors' interpretations. Barbour and Roberts (2004) provide extensive text extracts to support their assertions, as do Keiser and Moore (2005) in their study of Isaac Penington's theology and its expression. Graves (2009) gives us an important insight into Quaker preaching, based on such relevant speech-like written texts as have survived. His chapter (pp.183-205) on metaphorical use by Friends is one of the best to have been published recently. This analytical study considers five key metaphor clusters which Graves identifies as serving several functions, including 'a means of summarizing and conceptualizing a world that made psychological and theological sense to the speakers and listeners' (p.201). Graves's scholarship could well also be included in the small collection of

sources on Quaker language. Further corpus-based research using his insights could prove very useful although beyond the scope of the present thesis. The selection of studies in this section aims to provide a balance between authors who are themselves Quakers as well as other interested writers who see the Quaker movement from the outside.

In many ways, it is difficult to separate those works whose focus is primarily historical or literary from other studies which may be seen more as theological. Nevertheless, this next part of the review concentrates on sources that are mainly theological in conception. It is beyond the scope of the present study to comment extensively on theological matters other than how they affect findings in the data. However, the radicalism of early Quaker practice and how Friends differed from all other Christian denominations in their experience of the inward Light (Christ) is inevitably reflected in their linguistic expression of these experiences. Scholars present different approaches to these major themes, both over time and across cultures. Quakerism itself has developed across the world into many different facets arising out of the early insights, each tradition of which ('liberal unprogrammed', 'evangelical', 'conservative') has elements of original Quaker spiritual understandings, or 'openings' to use Fox's term. The present study has made general use of the following works: Barclay (1676); Gwyn (1986); Smith (1989; 1990); Dandelion et al (1998); Davies (2000); Brinton (2002); Dandelion (2007). Individual chapters in the present thesis cite sources from the literature when referring to specific aspects of belief and practice as expressed linguistically. Besides those works just listed, it is important to mention the various editions of Quaker Faith and Practice (earlier editions were known as Christian Faith and Practice) published by Britain Yearly Meeting (formerly London Yearly Meeting). The 5<sup>th</sup> edition (2013) is the one referred to in the present thesis. Other Yearly Meetings around the world have their own publications;

I make it clear here that comments in the present thesis about present-day Quakerism refer to the liberal form based on meeting in silence that is predominantly found in Britain.

#### 2.6 Electronic resources

This review is completed with a mention of several electronic resources or websites. These are: the Oxford English Dictionary (OED Online) and Early English Books Online (EBBO), and freely available historical corpora such as the Corpus of Early English Correspondence. Not yet available off-campus outside the University of Cologne but open to visiting researchers is the Corpus of Early English Religious Prose. I have benefitted from access to all of the above, as would any similar researcher of early modern English material. Online software and tools include WordSmith Tools 5 and Wmatrix 3.0. The semantic tagging facility in the latter is of innovative use to researchers although results are less satisfactory at present for non-present-day texts. VARD 2, an interactive piece of software for dealing with spelling variation in primarily early modern English texts, unfortunately became available too late for effective use in my research. It is an invaluable tool for automatically replacing modern forms of words for spelling variants (after training a sample text) and can increase efficiency of output collection of frequency lists and the generation of concordance lines. Research for the present thesis was conducted by manual checking of variants before lemmatising in places where I deemed that to be productive. Increasingly, more general and specialist historical corpora are becoming available through the generic website *The History* of the English Language (HEL).

# 2.7 Summary

This review of relevant and background literature to the several fields of (historical) corpus—based research, early modern English as a variety, Quaker language and print culture, and early Quaker history and theology, indicates a rich field for the testing of quantitative results and claims in the literature. Unfortunately, very few works provide specific, testable assertions, as section 2.5.1 explains. Development in the field of Quaker studies moves slower than it does for corpus linguistics, where sources can quickly become dated. I hope the present selection of sources from all the disciplines shows awareness of which works remain of value and which ones should be consulted with an awareness of the time that has passed since publication. Many of the sources in my survey that start from a Quaker or historical position are either essential or make at least some contribution towards a background understanding of the historical contexts and underlying rhetorical purposes of the texts, but few apart from the language-based sources introduced in section 2.5 are of primary use for the present exploration. My study, the first to apply corpus-based methods of enquiry to early Quaker language, reveals a gap in the body of scholarship and one that I have sought to fill in the course of the present research project. It would have been good to compare, test, critique and build on the findings of others, even for non-Quaker texts with similarities to the early Quaker collection. Such comparisons, as chapter 8 shows, are not yet available, through either digital, searchable corpora, or in published works of scholarship. The purpose of the present project is to meet that need.

# **CHAPTER 3: CORPUS DESIGN AND RESEARCH METHODS**

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Quaker corpora that form the basis for the present research and provides an overview of studies in the literature that relate to historical corpus design. It continues in section 3.2 to document the process adopted for compiling and investigating the texts. Section 3.3 describes the complete *Qcorpus*; section 3.4 describes methods I devised for various quantitative and qualitative investigations, including issues that arose during the refining of the project. In section 3.5, I introduce the sub-corpora and additional corpora that I created or made use of for certain comparison purposes.

# 3.1.1 Aspects of historical corpus design

A number of general issues particularly important for historical corpus design are discussed in the literature. Kohnen (2007b), for example, provides a comprehensive description of the principles and challenges regarding historical and diachronic corpora; his paper contains useful references to many key papers published in recent years on the subject. Secondly, a recent collection of articles, *New Methods in Historical Corpora* (Bennett et al, 2013), exemplifies the increasingly varied directions of study in this field. The editors say the book focuses on 'central issues' such as achieving representation in a historical corpus, and how to ensure the future usefulness of such resources when languages, historical periods and research aims are developing along such disparate paths.

Narrowing the scope of discussion now, I turn to an aspect relevant to the present study: the issue of how the research question can determine the design of a proposed new corpus. In this way the purpose and the construction are intimately bound together. For Biber et al (1998:251) this is an essential first step. Conversely, Rayson (2006: section 3) suggests that this is not the only approach. He offers a process model in which he envisages two main kinds

of research question: type 1 is used to investigate a particular linguistic feature at the level of a word or grammatical construction; in contrast, type 2 uses a top-down approach to examine, for example, how certain features characterise a text. He then goes further to posit a type 3 approach which involves compiling and annotating a corpus, carrying out analyses and only then devising a research question. Type 3 is closer to the method that I used for the present project; it is an iterative process in which the questions are continually refined and developed, as the introduction to the present study has set out.

# 3.2 Construction and design of the Quaker corpus

This section describes how I located and selected the texts, my reasons for the beginning and end dates for the corpus as well as the reason for the omission of texts between 1670-1673, more detailed information on the selection and sampling of texts and finally, summaries of the *Qcorpus* in tabular and graphic format.

#### 3.2.1 Selection of texts

My interest in the Quaker material stems from my own membership of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain and my close acquaintance with much of the seventeenth-century printed material held at the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain, otherwise known as 'Friends House Library'. It occurred to me that although much has been studied in connection with the historical, theological and sociological aspects of this literature, no studies have employed quantitative methods of research into Quaker language and discourse of these texts or any other Quaker material. Corpus linguistics methods would provide the tools and techniques for this new approach. Therefore, before embarking on the investigative stage of the project, I needed to create an electronic version of a sufficient

quantity of textual data. Very little at the initial stage was available to me, an individual researcher, in machine-readable form. Some transcribed texts are freely available from the Digital Quaker Collection of the Earlham School of Religion in America, although they contain a number of errors and omissions. I would have been limited by just the better-known early texts had I relied on that source. The full-text versions of Quaker texts from the Early English Books Online (EEBO) source was at this early stage not accessible to me as I was not yet a doctoral candidate. I decided to limit my collection to pamphlets and other printed holdings available in Friends House Library. In that way, I could be certain of verifying the artefacts at first hand in terms of edition and physical state of each copy. The retrospective cataloguing project of all pre-1800 items held by the Library taking place at the time was of great value and I had become interested in the language of the mass of writings by many early Friends, whose names were largely unknown to me at that time. This lack of acquaintance proved to be an advantage when making the collection as I was not influenced by prior knowledge; randomness came easily. I therefore embarked on my own transcriptions, keyboarding the texts into electronic format from either microfilm or original paper copies, courtesy of the Library. It was a lengthy undertaking. The end result is the Qcorpus, an example of a sociolect of early modern English in use in the second half of the seventeenth century.

#### 3.2.2 Representativeness and date range

There are several competing approaches to the construction of a corpus that can be said to be representative of the language community it aims to stand for. For historical data this can be problematic because of a lack of sufficient material in machine-readable form. Representativeness is an important issue for the present study. In order to claim, as I do, that

there are distinctive features of Quaker style, lexis and discourse that are traceable throughout the canon of seventeenth-century Quaker texts regardless of the writer, the data must be as robust as possible in order to stand as representing that material. For instance, builders of corpora have differed over the advantages of sampling either text extracts of equal size or of including full-text items regardless of size (see for example, Sinclair, 1991:19; Biber, 1993:252; Meyer, 2002:44; Nelson, 2010:58-9). The *Qcorpus* contains both full texts and text extracts and section 3.3 below sets out more details. I arrived at this compromise because of the large variation of full-text sizes available to me. The shortest text in *Qcorpus1* has 602 words (Robeson, 1662) and the shortest in *Qcorpus2* is a London Yearly Meeting minute from 1696 containing just 428 words. The largest file, an outlier with 13,686 words, comes from Isaac Graye (1657). My findings are dependent on the confidence with which I can make generalisations from probabilistic data about the distinctiveness of early Quaker style and language, as well as the identification of certain typical features. My confidence is firmly based on the comprehensive variety of text types, sizes, authorships and dates that are the basis of the corpus.

I planned first to include as many of the very early texts as was feasible, dating from 1650. I knew of the existence of the MM revision committee set up in 1673 and mentioned first in chapter 2, section 2.4, the sole purpose of which was to receive and consider manuscripts proposed for publication. Prior to this date, there was no structured control over the quality and substance of published tracts. George Fox set up rudimentary controls through the Kendal Fund (Moore, 2000:24) but very little in the way of papers survive to indicate what was required to be altered or held back (Peters, 2005:10; Allen, 2013:37; Hagglund, 2013:483-485). There is a point of view that the existence of the MM and its work might contaminate investigations into post-1673 publications. This 'contamination' would be in

contrast with the unmediated, and as far as we know, uncensored publishing that Friends undertook prior to the 1670s. I originally decided not to spread the net beyond that date because of the possible editorial influence of the committee's work but I now argue that this is to miss the point of the present thesis. I therefore added texts that were published after the MM began its work, so that the full *Qcorpus* covers texts both pre-1673 as well as through to the end of the century. I am, after all, researching into 'Quaker language'. We know that after 1672 there is a closer scrutiny by the Meeting of the published output, resulting in some convergence of style and message (see Hagglund (2013:483-486). However, two points are important here:

- i) Historians' opinions seem to vary on the extent and quality of the suppression of style by the MM in the manuscripts submitted for scrutiny. O'Malley (1982) is convinced of the Meeting's effectiveness in effecting change and although Hall's (1992:82) concluding remarks portray the Meeting as a 'positive almost creative body, ... offering tender guidance, filtering out the irrational, fanatical, repetitive, illiterate or untruthful', he does allow that some flexibility was in play. My corpus evidence shows that the Meeting's effective suppression should not be taken for granted (see Roads, 2014:179).
- ii) The members of the Meeting (including Penn) were Quakers themselves, and so the published output can still safely carry the 'Quaker' label. My study does not aim to produce a literary criticism of any single author but it does look for characteristics of Quaker style and discourse that may be found in a body of published texts at this time.

I refer in the present thesis to the entire Quaker corpus as the 'Qcorpus' but where I present or interpret data from either the earlier or the later sub-corpus, I refer to Qcorpus I or

Qcorpus2. Of the many studies on early Quakerism that use evidence directly from primary sources, most have focused on the very first period, but with varying end dates. Some scholars have seen the end of the Commonwealth period as a clear boundary, others have chosen the mid-sixties as a stopping point; few venture beyond the 1670s. An end must be drawn somewhere, and I chose 1699, a simple marking of the end of the century. I aimed to have sufficient texts covering the final twenty years although there is evidence that the nature of Quakerism was changing significantly by that time (Braithwaite, 1961; Moore, 2000, 2012). Chapter 8 investigates the linguistic aspects of that point.

# 3.3 The complete *Qcorpus*

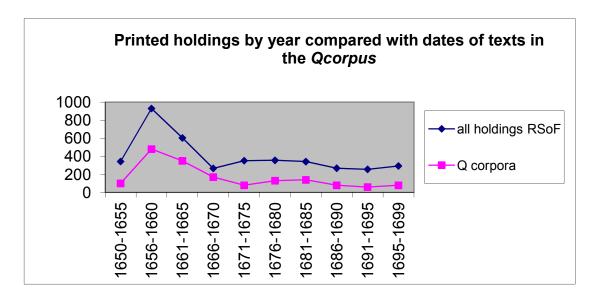
My aim in building the *Qcorpus* was to include as wide a range of writers as possible and my broad criterion for the compilation was to reject nothing once I had established the parameters of date range, unless the state of any original copies contained so much unreadable text as to render them useless for present purposes. However, some selection or exclusion was necessary within the general aim of randomness. Some of the texts are multi-authored or anonymous, so a precise list of authors is not possible; the list of primary sources in the List of References for the present study cites only an author's name, based on the statement of responsibility in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC). A few of the names of authors available to me appeared twice. In early Quaker publications, the author named on the title page of an anthology-style pamphlet or listed in a catalogue is not necessarily the main author of any of the texts in the publication. Provided the total word counts for a single author did not exceed 8,000 words, I accepted those texts for inclusion with very few exceptions, as I explain further below.

For the sake of breadth of text type and organisation, I decided not to exclude entirely the foremost early Quaker writers, such as George Fox, Isaac Penington, William Penn, Robert Barclay, Edward Burrough and James Nayler, but for my study it was important that data from these writers did not unbalance the overall pool of textual sources. My interest is in the full range of early Quaker prose style. Table 3.1 shows the ratio of full texts to text extracts for each *Ocorpus*. For completeness and because at this early stage I did not know the directions the enquiry might take, I included some authors whose output was of full booklength. I did not want to skew the data by unbalancing the range of texts by a few very long ones and so for the small group of book extracts, I varied my starting location within each text. Even in these cases, some extracts comprise a complete chapter or anthology 'article' within a book length publication. These are the exceptions to the general word size maximum of approximately 8,000 words and their presence allows for possible variation in the text organisation of longer full texts. However, as we shall see, the Quaker texts do not on the whole adopt clear discourse structures (see chapter 4, section 4.4). The final dataset, therefore, comprises a representative corpus of 205 texts written by Quakers, published between 1650 and 1699 in the British Isles. Table 3.1 below sets out the details of the two sub-corpora.

**Table 3.1**: metrics for texts, authorships and word counts in the *Qcorpus* 

	number of texts	number of different authors	approx total word size	approx ratio of full texts to extracts
<i>Qcorpus1</i> (1650-1670)	130	114	409,508	82:5% : 17.5%
<i>Qcorpus2</i> (1674-1699)	75	74	228,489	84% : 16%
Qcorpus1 & Qcorpus2 combined	205	188	637,997	83% : 17%

The texts are all of the same class of texts, that is, politico-religious pamphlets, books, and broadside publications. There are differences of text function, as my thesis will make clear, but I have made no attempt to influence the inclusion or exclusion of such subcategories. I considered too, the question of distribution by year of the texts in the corpus. I felt that as some years yielded greater activity on the part of Quaker publications than others (for instance 1659, reflecting the current political situation in England at the time of the collapse of the Commonwealth and the likely imminent restoration of the monarchy), those peaks of productivity should be mirrored in the shape of the distribution. I confirmed that shape by plotting a graph of the publication dates of the corpus texts, and mapping them against the total holdings of tracts covering the same period in Friends House Library, London. As Figure 3.1 shows, there is a reasonably good match between the *Qcorpus* and the total Library holdings for the date range in question.



**Figure 3.1:** holdings by date (year) of publication of all printed items in the catalogue of the Library of the Society of Friends, London compared with all items by date (year) of publication of texts in the Quaker corpora.

#### 3.4 Research methods

This section first describes the choice of comparator corpora appropriate to the study and the limitations encountered; it continues with reasons for the approach I developed for analysis, including standard corpus linguistic techniques at the start of the project and the refinement of digital tools and methods as the research progressed.

#### 3.4.1 Comparator corpora

The present study adopts a topic-based approach to the research questions presented in chapter 1: 'What is distinctive about early Quaker prose compared to other varieties of seventeenth-century prose, and what are its typical features?' The initial aim was large: to explore features of collective writings by Quakers in order to identify typical features occurring across the canon. In addition to the Quaker corpora described above, I made use for comparison purposes of the E3 section of the Helsinki Corpus (henceforth HC) as well as the Lampeter Corpus (henceforth LC). The present study has also made use of the small subcorpus of texts in the 'religious' domain in the LC, although the label is a rather narrow definition in Quaker terms. Owing to the LC's shorter date range the size for its EModE period is much larger than the E3 section of the HC. Both these multi-domain representative historical corpora provide sufficient data approximating to the date range of the *Qcorpus* and both corpora include textual markup. On occasion, the King James Version of the Bible (KJV, 1611) provided useful data in spite of the early year of its publication. I was also able to make some use of the Corpus of English Religious Prose (COERP) currently under development at the University of Cologne. The discourse types in my sources proved quite different from the sermons and religious instructive texts in the COERP, but simple word frequency comparisons were at least possible at the start of the present project. As the course

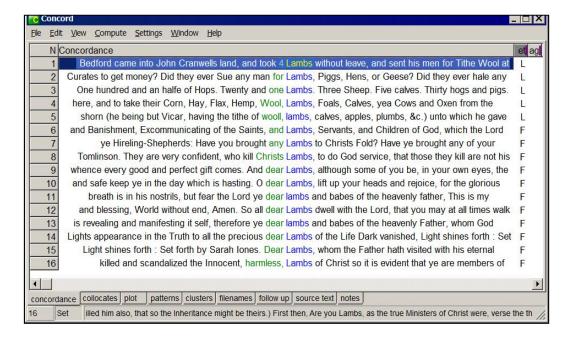
of the research study progressed, a greater variety of more specialised corpora has become available, although none offers the close match of domain(s) for comparison that would be ideal for this study, such as 'dispute' texts. Chapter 6 in the present study explores this category of text.

#### 3.4.2 Development of analytical methods

I made use of the standard tools of corpus analysis, which is to say frequency lists and concordance lines. I explain here briefly how I made use of the tool in *WordSmith Tools* for generating and interrogating concordances. By searching on a 'keyword' or search word or string, it is possible to produce a list of all occurrences of that item, with a small amount of co-text, normally a certain number of words or characters (determined by specific research needs) either side of the node item. Variant spellings can be accommodated. Once the lines are visible, the researcher can sort to the first or second word to the left or right, for example, thus uncovering patterns of natural language in use that may not be apparent in a manual reading of a text. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 present two examples of concordancer output. In Figure 3.2, collocating words to the 1st left are shown in red. In Figure 3.3, the second order sort shows collocations in green to the 1st left of the node column; the SET column on the far right is used to code for L (= literal sense) and F (= figurative sense).



Figure 3.2: illustrative concordance lines for both node spelling variants denied and denyed.



**Figure 3.3**: concordance lines for *lambs*, and illustrating the use of the 'SET' column.

Words or phrases collocating with the node item are thrown into sharp relief visually and nuances more easily detected. The visible co-text of each line can be increased to suit the

research aim and it is also possible to locate and visit the textual source of each line within the corpus. If tagging or other coding has been added to the texts, it is possible to sort on those (as shown in Figure 3.3). Other tools in the application offer refinements to these basic methods. In the present thesis, I present selected concordance lines to illustrate context or frequencies that are of interest.

The corpus is not tagged for parts of speech, neither did I use other labour-intensive markup schemes. The preparation stage of building the corpus took some years; were I to begin now with the newer resources available and with knowledge acquired during the research, I might have chosen to annotate for certain features. An exploratory attempt to include PDE grammatical part of speech tagging ('POS'), proved not fit for purpose. There are nevertheless advantages in a 'clean' corpus (without added annotation), as Rissanen (1992:202) and Sinclair (2004:190) have both asserted. A corpus with interpretive annotation can encourage limitations to the quality and type of retrieval. This is so even in the area of objective markup such as POS, where results may turn out to contain more ambiguities than the output appears to generate. Another criticism is the danger of creating of a cluttered or inaccurately annotated corpus relative to the intended purpose. Denison (2013:18, 22-23) claims that some standard tagsets can be too inflexible for historical text analysis owing to the vagueness of some word classes. Annotation is only as good as the intended purpose(s) to which it is put. Patterns or occurrences may be unwittingly missed without careful postediting or software training. However, a new approach has been proposed by Marttila (2014) in his doctoral work on combining the disciplines of the scholarly editing of historical texts (primarily manuscripts) with corpus linguistics methodology. He points the way to a new 'documentary editing' of digital material by creating metadata-rich multi-version texts through new analytical tools (2014:126).

#### 3.4.3 Issues in refining the project

I began work using the metaphor proposed by Jucker et al (2013) of 'fishing' or 'trawling' the data, looking for patterns of interest. I started by generating frequency lists and inspecting promising results in terms of high-ranking content lexis (see for example, Hunston, 2002:1-24) I also tested the data in order to attempt to replicate previous studies that investigated various grammatical and syntactic features of EModE. Over time, I was able to identify and eliminate from further examination several areas where the data presented no unusual results, nothing significant that would not have been frequent in other domains or in non-Quaker provenance of text. Areas of research at syntactic levels that I rejected included multi-word verbs (following Claridge, 2000) and seventeenth-century word order (Baekken, 2005). Morphological enquiries such as negative prefixation (Kwon, 1997), second and third person endings (Harvey, 1928; Görlach, 1991; Bambas, 1998; Bauman, 1998; Walker, 2007) also produced unoriginal results. Other exploratory studies were more fruitful. I created a body of texts that came close to the size needed for a small reference corpus by combining the two HC and LC datasets. I used the keyword tool in the WordSmith Tools suite to retrieve a first indication of lexical items and concepts indicating 'keyword' status in the Quaker data. I refined and developed several exploratory investigations before concluding that the unusualness of the Quaker style, observed by so many writers, lay in the syntactic, rhetorical, pragmatic and lexical areas of linguistics. The impressive aspect is that so many Quaker writers across a wide geographical area were capable of producing a collection of texts in a relatively homogenous style. I carried out a large number of manually-coded searches using the 'SET' tool in *WordSmith* (see Figure 3.3 above). This facility enabled a greater confidence in the final output of searches, as I could observe and make decisions on the exclusion of extraneous 'noise' on a case by case basis. The present project does not claim to make use of more than relatively simple extraction techniques; nevertheless, I was able to retrieve valuable quantitative data on which to base my interpretations.

As the project developed, I utilised other tools for semi-automatic retrieval, principally the 'POS' (parts of speech) and 'Semtag' (semantic tagging) annotation tools in *Wmatrix*. The POS tool, principally designed for PDE, enables a concordancer to retrieve occurrences of, say, all adjectives in a text, although for historical texts the output needs to be carefully checked for errors. Archer et al's (2002) introduction to the USAS semantic tagging category system ('Semtag') summarises the tool thus:

The semantic tags show semantic fields which group together word senses that are related by virtue of their being connected at some level of generality with the same mental concept. The groups include not only synonyms and antonyms but also hypernyms and hyponyms ... Each item has one syntactic tag and one or more semantic tags assigned to it.

Texts are uploaded into the online application and can be processed to generate a variety of output data. The hierarchy contains 21 major discourse fields expanding into 232 category labels. There are 21 labels at the top level of the hierarchy, of which the letter S, for example, represents 'Social Actions, States and Processes' (see http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas for a full set of fields in the system). Within that general field, S9 contains tagging for the sub-category 'Religion and the supernatural'; for the present research, I made use of just that field (see chapter 8).

**S9 Religion and the supernatural -** Terms relating to religions and the supernatural: Examples [not exhaustive]: prototypical, after-life, Anglican, apostolic, ark, astrology, baptised, Buddhism, canonised act of contrition, Bible studies, born again, carol service, church going, evil eye, god fearing, holy spirit, near death. (*USAS Semtag guide*, 2002:2)

#### 3.4.4 Qualitative approaches

Where possible, I provide quantitative evidence to support my claims for aspects of distinctiveness in early Quaker prose; however, some enquiries are more productive if a qualitative approach is adopted. I used non-quantitative methods in chapter 4 when comparing visual and broad content differences between Quaker broadside and non-Quaker broadside texts and I present some qualitative insights into biblical figurative use in those Quaker texts. I offer an interpretation of rhetorical organisation in Quaker texts through largely qualitative inspection. In chapter 6, enquiries into the differences between Quaker and anti-Quaker writing are exemplified through three case studies and I provide generalised summaries based on those six texts. Chapter 7 on Quaker lexis is largely qualitative in interpretation; although I provide relative frequencies, there is no seventeenth-century reference corpus available as a benchmark for making general claims about frequency levels in Quaker writing.

# 3.5 Construction of sub-sets of the Qcorpus and additional corpora

Table 3.2 summarises the four sub-corpora (drawn from texts in the *Qcorpus*) and two additional Quaker-related corpora used for analytical purposes in my research project. The broadsides texts are the basis for investigations reported in chapter 4; the doctrinal disputes texts appear in chapter 6, and chapter 8 discusses comparison data using the *Quaker Major Authors corpus* (henceforth *QMA*).

**Table 3.2**: metrics for sub-sets of *Qcorpus* and additional Quaker-related corpora

Sub-sets of Qcorpus	Word size	Number of texts
Quaker broadside sub-corpus (QBS)	26,730	18
Doctrinal Disputes sub-corpus (DD1)	125,833	32
Doctrinal Disputes sub-corpus (DD2)	62,723	17
Additional corpora		
Non-Quaker broadside sub-corpus (non-QBS)	27,257	28
Anti-Quaker Corpus Doctrinal Disputes (Anti-QDD)	450,534	18
Quaker Major Authors Corpus (QMA)	543,246	18

The main objective of the present study is to explore the distinctiveness of early Quaker prose; therefore any meaningful comparisons must be with contemporary texts. There would have been little point in making comparison use of the *British National Corpus* since any findings would only throw light on seventeenth-century usage in general and not specifically on Quaker language. Throughout the project, the resulting difficulty of this limitation has been the necessity of working with the scarcity of historical corpora that met the specific requirements of my research questions.

It became apparent during the project that there was a need for comparisons with writers who were opposed to the Quakers in various ways. I firstly compiled a collection of anti-Quaker texts, available in searchable format on *EEBO* and catalogued in the Friends House Library holdings as 'Adverse'. Chapter 8 describes this corpus in more detail but I note here that the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* was compiled with care to include all full-text material, fairly evenly balanced across the date range and from a variety of denominational or establishment authors. Secondly, towards the conclusion of my research phase, I decided to create a new corpus of texts from the very Quaker authors that I had previously decided to exclude

(selected using similar principles to the construction of the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*). This body of texts is the *Quaker Major Authors Corpus*. I based my criteria for selection of authors in the *QMA* from the range of descriptions of prominent early Quaker writers referenced in a collection of articles in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Angell & Dandelion, eds, 2013) as well as in other general sources on early Quaker history such as Braithwaite (1912; 1921), Bauman (1998) and Barbour & Roberts (2004).

Issues arose during the compilation around the selection of authors for inclusion. The first issue concerns George Fox, who is represented in only a small way in spite of his prominent status among early Friends. This needs an explanation. Fox's *Journal*, although the most widely known of all early Quaker texts, is not included, and the reason for the omission is its textual unreliability for the present purposes. The *Journal* was not written down by Fox himself but dictated to another Friend. After Fox's death it was revised and edited before publication by Ellwood, and later by a succession of other editors. (For a review of the thinking on the editing of the *Journal* see Corns, 1995:99-111, and Wright, 2011:278-282). Moreover, one of the criteria for the inclusion of texts in the *QMA* was the presence of at least some stylistic merit. Fox had many excellent qualities in his writings, but most critics agree they lack literary merit. Ambler (2007) describes his style well:

[Fox] lacked the education and the inclination to structure his thoughts rationally. There is therefore much repetition, digression and even confusion in his thought ... Explanation and clarification were not his strong points. (Ambler, 2007:vii)

The second issue is the justification of the inclusion of a longer text by Edward Burrough (died 1663, aged 29). The reason for this is the recognition of Burrough's important influence among early Friends as much as any perceived literary qualities of his

writing. With regard to the prose style that we might expect in a Quaker, Keeble (1995) quotes Penn himself:

I have endeavoured to express my self in Plain and Proper Terms, and not Figurative, Allegorical or Doubtful Phrases; that so I may leave no room for an Equivocal or Double Sence; but that the Truth of the Subject I treat upon, may appear Easily and Evidently to every common Understanding. (Penn, 1687, quoted in Keeble, 1995:114)

Penn is justifying his choice of stylistic expression as one that will be understood by all readers, whether educated or not. It is for others to judge whether he succeeds in achieving plainness and clarity without artifice in his writings and the quotation above does show an elegant turn of phrase in spite of Penn's best effort at plain simplicity. Isaac Penington's polished writing style, according to Moore (2000:209), even outshone Penn's.

In summary, as my interest is chiefly stylistic and syntactic, I decided that the resulting collection met my comparison requirements. Chapter 8 presents results of findings in this corpus.

#### 3.6 Conclusion

I followed where the data led me in order to carry out the investigations presented in the present thesis. These investigations required approaches drawing on several linguistic disciplines. The methods of enquiry that I needed to develop have covered such fields as discourse and rhetoric analysis, grammatical and syntactic study, historical pragmatics (including speech-related phenomena), lexical and semantic analysis, and aspects of literary stylistics. I have combined quantitative findings with qualitative observations. In short, my study is a unique combination of descriptive linguistics and the study of early Quakerism, investigated through the prism of corpus analytical tools.

I originally collected the data because of a desire to understand more about Quaker writing in the seventeenth century. As a Quaker myself, I knew many of the text extracts from the period, published in successive editions of *Quaker Faith and Practice*. I was already familiar with the use of corpus linguistic analysis techniques and could apply them to this proposed new piece of research. The investigation was suited to Rayson's type 3 approach described in section 3.1 of the present chapter. In other words, I began with the data in the form of raw textual material, not the research questions; these arose and developed naturally as the enquiry progressed.

The next chapter begins the sequence of five chapters that present findings and discussions on facets of the *Qcorpus*. It takes the form of a pilot study of a sub-set of texts produced in broadside format and uses that initial study as a basis for linguistic investigations reported in the subsequent chapters. I return to features indicating typicality in early Quaker prose in the penultimate chapter which revisits these features in a wider context. The concluding chapter evaluates the importance of new knowledge and understanding derived from my research.

# CHAPTER 4: THE BROADSIDE TEXTS IN THE *QCORPUS*; AN INITIAL CASE STUDY

[The features of early Quaker language constitute] a style, a selecting and grouping together of elements from various aspects of speaking and behaviour, elements that a structural analysis would not connect, elements that go together because a group of people have put them together. (Hymes, 1991:338)

#### 4.1 Introduction

The *Qcorpus* contains a variety of text types, mainly pamphlets, book extracts, published open letters and prose broadsides. It is the broadsides that comprise the dataset for this first part of the exploration into early Quaker prose style. The chapter has two aims: a) to carry out a linguistic investigation into the 18 broadside texts (henceforth *QBS*), and b) to use the findings from this preliminary study as pointers towards further avenues of enquiry. The results from those are presented in chapters 5 to 8.

#### 4.1.1 Statement of aims

The purpose of the present chapter is two-fold:

- a) To identify a small sub-corpus of a similar format contained within the *Qcorpus* in the present case that is the 18 items in prose broadside format; and then to trial a series of linguistic enquiries in potentially promising areas of prose style. The findings that indicate the potential for more detailed analysis based on the whole *Qcorpus* are then followed up. The following chapters present results from this work.
- b) The prose broadside production type itself merits investigation. Quakers made extensive and effective use of the format, and until now, little attention has been paid to such text types in the published literature, whether Quaker-authored or not. The broadside texts in the corpus were published at an important period in English history, and a crucial period in Quaker history.

The question I address, therefore, is this: 'What can we learn about Quaker prose writing in general, and Quaker broadside texts in particular, from an investigation covering both macroand micro-levels of analysis?'

#### 4.1.2 Approach used in the QBS study

I developed an approach for this two-pronged investigation as follows: The *Qcorpus* (*Qcorpus1*), minus the 18 broadside texts, acts as a comparator along with texts from the *Helsinki* (*HC*) and the *Lampeter* (*LC*) corpora that cover the same period. Findings from a new small corpus comprising non-Quaker prose broadside texts of the period (henceforth non-*QBS*) which I created specifically to act as a closer match to the *QBS* than any other corpus of the period can offer, provides a series of useful comparisons. The non-Quaker broadsides are not intended to be representative but were selected randomly from broadside texts available on *EEBO* that conform to the dates range of the Quaker broadsides. Bibliographical details are listed in the References. The initial findings bring to light several features that suggest more detailed analysis through quantitative studies, arranged here in 'top-down' manner:

- Broadside text types as physical material objects
- Rhetorical discourse types found in the *QBS*
- Pragmatic features: a) communicative and speech-like features (interjections, personal pronominal use, continuous and perfect aspect verb forms; b) deontic predictive SHALL/WILL -forms
- Lexical and figurative features
- Coordination

All the relevant findings are then compared with quantitative results from the *non-QBS* sub-corpus. Finally, lexical characteristics and figurative language are examined. As this list indicates, the present study investigates Quaker language style in a broad sweep that encompasses both breadth and depth, and draws on a number of different linguistic

disciplines. I considered the question that prose broadsides might constitute a distinct genre, but rejected the idea, concluding that there is no measure of distinctiveness in either the content or the function of this material that is sufficient to separate the prose broadside as an artefact from other similar cheap publications such as pamphlets. There must have been a reason for the Quakers' choice of broadside format, and cost and speed of production is probably a principal consideration. McShane (2011:344-345) explains that printers needed little skill or time in the production of single-sheet products, compared to pamphlets or books, especially for commissioned broadsides such as those required by Friends.

#### 4.1.3 Organisation of chapter

The chapter presents findings and discussion following this structure: section 4.2 answers the question: 'what is a prose broadside as a text type?' Comparison analyses are presented for Quaker broadside texts and non-Quaker contemporary broadside texts. Section 4.3 goes more deeply into pragmatic features of *QBS* discourse and language that express a vivid sense of immediacy in these texts. Section 4.4 investigates aspects of biblical figurative language and distinctive lexis that early Quakers employed. A quirky use of simple cohesion and connectors is examined in section 4.5; this feature bears upon the apparent levels of literacy of the writers of the text. Finally, section 4.6 brings together the observed features and discourse variants that warrant further analysis within the full *Qcorpus*. These areas are dealt with in this way in the chapters that follow: 'warning language' (chapter 6), the nature of Quaker 'dispute' texts (chapter 6), Quaker lexical characteristics, (chapter 7), and finally, certain distinctive stylistic features compared with non-Quaker styles (chapter 8). However, not attempted in this thesis is any further analysis of figurative language beyond that

contained in the present chapter. For work in this area see Cope (1956), Bauman (1998), Keiser & Moore (2005), Peters (2005), Graves (2009), among others.

### 4.2 Prose broadsides in the seventeenth century

Prose broadsides (or 'broadsheets') are single sheets of paper printed on one side only and forming one large page or half-page. These were intended to be pinned or nailed up in public places or freely distributed, rather like present day flyers; their original use was mainly for disseminating royal proclamations and other official documents from the likes of councillors and lord mayors. Often they were legalistic in tone and purpose. Other categories included religious texts, notices of meetings and theatre playbills (see McShane, 2011:341-342; Findlay, 2010:569-570). There have been a number of scholarly studies into verse broadside texts, and also broadside ballads (which had quite different and often scurrilous purposes) but there is almost no published research into prose broadside texts. I report in this chapter on various aspects of this seventeenth-century text type, as exemplified in the *QBS* sub-corpus.

#### 4.2.1 Background to the QBS Corpus

The 18 texts were published between 1658-1675, with a total word count of 26,871. As Fortescue et al (1908) note in their preface, early Quakers discovered the broadside text type to be a very effective campaigning tool at a time when pamphleteering in general was becoming more prevalent.

In no less than fifteen instances, Thomason notes that a broadside, or as he usually terms it a 'Libell,' was scattered up and down the streets during the night. In a few other cases he states that a pamphlet or broadside was given away in Westminster Hall, fastened on a church door, or distributed by Quakers. (Fortescue et al, 1908)

During the seventeenth century people increasingly used the broadside format for political or religious agitation; many of the texts were in verse with the name of a suggested tune to sing them to. These publications were known as broadside ballads and became very widespread. The price for a cheap single sheet was usually 1d at this time. This and more detailed background information is covered in Glaister (1960). Broadsides were so inexpensive that they were frequently seen as common property to be shared, borrowed, taken off walls where they had been pinned up and passed on. They could be read aloud to a group of people, perhaps non-readers standing around a broadside publication in a public area (Harris, 2010). McShane (2011:341-347) paints a picture of the widespread existence of broadsides in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain. She emphasises not only the enduringly low cost of copies in this era and their inevitable ubiquitousness but also the importance of the artefact as an 'instrument of social domination' by the establishment. However, as we shall see, the Quaker campaign was neither popular nor a product foisted on the population by a social elite.

## 4.2.2 The quantity and nature of the Quaker broadside holdings

Because of the ephemeral nature of these publications, designed to be read and then thrown away, we cannot be sure today of the ratio of official documents to ballads, political or religious material. A very rough estimation of the 611 broadsides (ballads and other verse as well as prose) in the *EEBO* database for the period 1655-1675 indicates approximately 46% (285 items) from official sources and approximately 8% from Quaker sources (49). The Library at Friends House, London holds approximately 140 Quaker items catalogued as broadsides and published between 1655-1675. Licences for printing tracts of all kinds were tightly controlled in the 1650s and even more so from the Licensing Act of 1662, known as

the Clarendon Code (Green & Peters, 2002:75). The state censor, Roger L'Estrange, carried out extensive searches for the next decade and beyond, and Friends were obliged to consider self-censorship (Green & Peters, ibid). Some did modify or suppress submissions for publication; others, together with courageous printers such as Giles Calvert (not himself a Quaker), chose to publish without state permission (Hagglund, 2013:481-2). As many publications, especially broadsides, were unlicensed by the censor, the authors needed to be anonymous. It is all the more surprising therefore to find that each of the 18 broadsides in the *QBS* is attributed in print to a single, named individual, although the printer's name is always omitted.

These 18 texts range in size from 28cm x 17cm to 35cm x 25cm; other broadsides of the period in Friends House Library, not in the present sub-corpus, can be as large as 58cm x 35cm: (e.g. *To Parliament now sitting at Westminster* (1659), which is on better quality paper and with the embellishment of some red ink, an uncharacteristically expensive publication for Quakers at the time.) According to Green & Peters (2002:70), the first Quaker broadside was published in 1655 by George Fox: *An Exhortation to you who Contemne the Power of God.* Six of the *QBS* are clearly open letters and ten of the remainder have specific 'recipients' in view who are addressed as *thou* or *you*. Both Quakers and Baptists adopted the form of a published open letter as a tool in promoting their message to their supporters and the general public (Green, 2000:411). The extensive early broadside holdings in the Friends House Library, as well as those held elsewhere, are therefore of value in the context of the present study.

#### 4.2.3 The broadsides sub-corpus

This section presents a description of the appearance, layout and discourse structure of the Quaker broadsides and introduces a comparison with the non-Quaker broadsides mentioned in section 4.1, although it is important to remember that printers and writers display a great variety in all of these and one should not over-generalise from the results of the present case study. I repeat here details of the size of the two BS sub-corpora:

Table 4.1: metrics for Quaker and non-Quaker broadside sub-corpora

	Word size	Number of texts
Quaker broadside sub-corpus (QBS)	26,730	18
Non-Quaker broadside sub-corpus (non-QBS)	27,257	28

The Quakers' broadsides are evidently produced as cheaply as possible and many of them have as much text as can be squeezed onto one side of paper, regardless of the size of paper chosen. There is often very little 'white space'; indeed, in a few instances the printer has had to use a smaller font size for the last few column inches in order to keep to the required single side of paper. The name of the author is frequently slipped in right at the foot of the page. The Friends who signed their name (openly) showed considerable bravery in contravening the law. None of them would have been licensed to publish.

The visual blocking of a broadside was probably chosen by the printer, sympathetic to the Quaker cause. For example, sometimes one wide column or two narrower ones were created, some being separated by a central vertical line. If the addressee was the king or the current 'head of state', the usual large initial letter of the first word of the text was embellished by a woodcut. Five of the eighteen texts are printed without paragraph breaks,

just one block of print; of the remaining thirteen some have clearly defined paragraphs but others may have just two where the structure of the text would have required more (in terms of present-day English expectations), or just a few unevenly distributed paragraphs. It is not clear to what extent the printer (also probably working illegally at that time) would have sought to improve the visual layout. A detailed analysis of the texts reveals in several cases a clearer internal logical structure than that given by the surface visual impression. By contrast, the non-*QBS* have a more professional appearance, the official ones may be in black letter type (with a 'gothic font' appearance, see Plate 4.1 below), some have detailed pictures from woodcuts and are set out pleasingly.



# By the King. PROCLAMATION

For due Execution of the late Act of Parliament against Importing Cattel from Ireland, and other Parts beyond the Seas,

#### CHARLES



he Kings Pajedy being advertised, That since, and contrary to the said late Act, great numbers of Cattel have been brought from Ireland into several parts of this Realm, and fundey fraudulent practices uled, to evade the faid Act, and the Hop-

Realm, and tunder traudulent practices used, to shade the laid Act, and the Noze feitures and Penalties thereby impoled: His Majetry therefore (by the Advice of His Privy Council) doth hereby firially Charge and Command, That the laid Act be duely observed, and in no wife eluded by any fraudulent contribunce whatsoever. And foralmuch as his Pajetry is informed. That amongst other undue practices, the Officers (who by the laid Act are appointed to be Seizors) after the Seizure made, by underhand agreements between them and the Owners, or some on their behalf, have made colourable Sales to them, or for their use, of the Cattel seized, at small and unvaluable Prices, intending thereby, and other like frauds, to aboid the laid Act: His Waselv doth strictly Charge and Command the Conother like frauds, to about the land Art: his Pajelty doch frietly Charge and Command the Con-flables, Tythingmen, headboroughs, Churchwardens, and Overfeers of the Poor, to make due Seizures according to the land Art, and to take especial care that the Cattel leized be sold for the Seizures according to the law Ar, and to take especial care that the Cattel leized be fold for the full and real value thereof, and that the moneys arising thereby, be duely disposed, as by the said Act is directed, Without any frant or collusion. And His Majesty Emilleth and Commandeth the Justices of Peace of the respective Counties, and especially those who live near the place where such Cattel thall be landed, friendly to enquire into all adules tending to evade the said Act, and bind over the Discovers, as well the Owners and Importers of the Cattel, and their Agents, as the Officers that Mall Soize the saine, to the next Allises or Sessions to be held for the County where such Seizure shall be, and cause them to be Indused and woscents for the confederacies and other fuch Seizure thall be, and cause them to be Indicted and prosecuted for the confederacies and other practiles against the laid Act.

And his Pageity both further direct the Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, and other Officers of his Poets where such Cattel shall be landed (if any be) forthwith to certific his Daiby Council, the Mumbers, and the Mames of the Duners or Importers thereof, and the Parith or place into which they that be first brought, to the end such further directions may be given, and proceedings had, as shall be agreeable to Judice, and that the said Ax of Parliament may be inviolably ovserved.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the Thirtieth of September, 1667.

# GOD SAVE THE KING.

#### In the SAVOY.

Printed by the Assigns of fohn Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1667.

(15.)

Plate 4.1: By the King, a proclamation for due execution of the late act of Parliament against importing cattel from Ireland, 1667 (Wing 1566:44).

Those broadsides that were paid for by individuals, for instance the widow ('relict') of William Guthrie, are less impressive in appearance though still less cluttered or tightly packed than most of the *QBS*. The texts are more conventionally organised, paragraphing is used for all but the shortest texts and proclamations.

All of the Quaker texts except one contain the name of the author. (The exception is the broadside tract which, rather than the Friend's full name, simply has the initials F.B. printed at the foot.) These 17 instances of public attribution by individual Friends is not by chance, judging from the total broadside holdings in Friends House Library. Out of 288 seventeenth-century broadside items, 78% are attributed to one or more Quaker by name. Of the 64 non-attributed remaining texts, 13% are published on behalf of a group of Quakers, the rest being published by the authorities or individual non-Quakers. Unlike many of the pamphlets in the *Qcorpus*, there are no broadsides with named multiple authorship and none in this sample is completely anonymous. The non-Quaker texts in the comparator sub-corpus are taken from the *EEBO* non-ballad broadside collection and are limited to publication dates of between 1655 and 1675; 17 of them come from a search in the 'broadside' keyword field in *EEBO* and the remaining eleven are taken from the Thomason collection. Thus in all there are 28 texts and most of them are considerably shorter than the *QBS*. The full bibliographic list for both broadside sub-corpora is listed in the References.

A close study of the 18 Quaker examples, plus a visual inspection of many other broadsides held at Friends House Library, indicates the following characteristics likely to be present in a typical Quaker broadside. There is a clear impression of a unified approach in the writing emanating from the same discourse community. The list, shown in Table 4.2, is matched with characteristics from the 28 non-Quaker prose broadside texts; these listed characteristics should not be seen as exhaustive features.

**Table 4.2**: summary comparison of *QBS* and non-*QBS* visual and content characteristics

#### **Quaker broadside characteristics**

- printed on just one side of a folio or half-folio sheet in roman type and on cheap paper.
- by just a single author signed at the foot of the page.
- addresses a group directly, e.g. a local or national community; priests or scholars, rulers, magistrates or the 'government'.
- has required the printer to fit as much text as possible into the allotted space
   very little 'white space' allowed.
- starts with a clear opening salutation to the ostensible readership and a short but simply expressed closing section.
- has a large, undecorated initial letter, except when addressing monarch or other rulers, when a simple woodcut is used for that letter. No pictures or other decorations are used.
- typically between 1,000 and 2,000 words long.
- promotes the Quaker message strongly

### Non-Quaker broadside characteristics

- printed on just one side of a folio or half-folio sheet in either roman or black letter type. Paper quality varies, not always cheap.
- signed by authority, professional person (legal) or occasional private individual.
   Sometimes anonymous.
- sometimes addresses a group directly, or to authority if there is a grievance; otherwise to the general public as readership.
- sometimes well-set out and more expensive-looking, including pictures and coloured text. Often much 'white space'.
- if from authority, then impressive headings with heraldry and woodcut images; otherwise simpler heading.
- frequently, a decorated initial letter.

- texts serving as proclamations or notices have very few words; other texts variously up to 3,000 words
- numerous and diverse communicative purposes.

- persuades or warns the reader(s);
   some make public some injustice or suffering.
- quotes often from the Bible, woven into the text.

One of the Quaker broadsides is used in the present chapter as exemplar for the whole sub-corpus. This is a published open letter to King Charles by Anne Clayton, written c.1660 at the time of the restoration of the English monarchy after the collapse of the republican experiment known as the Commonwealth. The text, shown as Plate 4.2 below, contains 973 words and is interesting for several reasons. The most striking sociolinguistic factor is the manner in which a woman writes to her new king, addressing him informally as 'dear heart' and using the second person singular thou-form. This is a letter apparently between equals although it is not known whether the king received the original. I will refer to specific language features throughout the present chapter, using this text among other examples to illustrate my points.

etter

ET thy mind Oh King, attend on Reading, Hearing, And Hand-maids, but mind it till thou art truly reformed into the way of Truth and Life of him that brings Salvation near, thorow the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; which Gospel is to be Preached to all Nations before the end come, though it be Foolishness to that Wildom that stands not in the Power and Demonstration of the Spifit that gives Life and Liberty to the Just; for the world by wisdom knew not God, and it pleased him by his infinite Wisdom thorow the Foolishness of Preaching to save them that Believe; and this is the infinite Wildom of the invisible wise God, who is incomprehensible and full of Glory; Oh this infinite wise God, that founded all things in Wildom, and man by his Earthly Knowledge cannot find it out; this is he that hath given unto us a Saviour, him that is the Light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be his Salvation to the ends of the Earth; and all must come to the measure of him in themselves, to the manifestation of his man Salvie mediate in Tanahand Title themselves. tion of his pure Spirit, which is Truth and Life, that comes to know the depth of the Wisdom of God; the Mystery of this Kingdom stands not in words, but in power, and demonstration of the pure Spirit of Life, which Spirit breaths thorow and helps the infirmity of all that trust to it, and believes in it; and blessed are all they that are joyned to it, for it ever lives to make intercesfion with fighs and groans that cannot be uttered.

So dear Friend, if thou wilt be endowed with pure Wisdom from above, wait in love and so-

berness of mind, to receive the Spirit of Life from God, and that is more than all the World, and will be more comfort to thy foul, than all the Dominions that the Earth can afford; for the first man is but of the Earth Earthly, but the second is the Lord from Heaven, the quickning Spirit, which Spirit if it be received, is it that works the Reformation, for it is grieved with Evil where ever it meets with it, at home or abroad; & fo long as Iniquity bears Rule, it suffers, & it interceeds unto God from whence it came: Oh dear Friend, that this were descended into thy lowermost party, that thou might feel him rife, and Eternally know the power of his Resurrection, then assure dly thou wouldst suffer no Evil to be done in thy Name, nor in thy Nation, and then the fruit fithy Goodness would spring forth, and thy Glory and Renown spread unto the Nations round about thee, and this wholfome Wildom would be a Crown of Glory to thee, and as a Royal Diamond in the hand of the Lord thou wouldst be found, and thy Name would be had in Everlatting remembrance, with succeeding Generations; which if thou dost not mind the Glory of the Lord, and be tender of the birth Immortal, and relieve the Oppressed; then thy Name will

xot, as others that is gone before thee.

Oh therefore feek the Glory of God, and the good of his People, that thy Soul may live and be refreshed with his verue; so with diligence and suffering, wait to know the coming of the just One in thy own particular, the manifestations of his Eternal Spirit, that thou mayit answer his Love, which must be with his own, if ever thou please him, who thou seest rents the King-dom from men, and overturns, and will overturn till he come to Reign whose Right it is, even

them that will fear him, that they may give Glory to his Name.

So dear Heart, as the Lords Love bath been large unto you, mind the Wildom that will an-So dear Heart, as the Lords Love bath been large unto you, mind the Wildom that will answer his dear Goodness unto you; for it was his Love indeed unto you, and great cause you have to remember it, and not to let his Benefits slip out of your mind, lest you forget his Goodness which hath been great unto you; for this I can say, who am the least of many thousands, as in the Mystery and Life of Truth, which reveals the secrets of the Lord, that I saw and felt in the Spirit that reacheth over Sea and Land, your Coming before you came, and my spirit breathed to the Lord for you; and I selt three, and one was a Woman, and that I spoke of then, that my spirit reached forth unto three; and they said you werethree Brethren, but I said that one of the three that I felt was a Woman, and still that did abide with me: and now that you are of the three that I felt was a Woman, and still that did abide with me; and now that you are come, my spirit breaths to the Lord, desiring him to subdue that in you, that will not glorisie him, that the Kingdoms may not be rent from you; So mind the lear, and remember how he rent the Kingdoms from Saul because of his Disobedience, and he sthe same still, holy and pure, and though he wait to be gracious, yet he will not alwayes stree with man, but he will take to him his great Power, and rend the Kingdom from man, and will overturn, overturn, till he come to Reign whose Right it is, the SON of Equity the KING of Justice; So in Love to the Right has Notice that the Son and the Son of Equity the KING of Fusion. nd Fear Rule the Nations, that thou mayst be found in the Land of the Living.

From a Lover of thy Soul, ANNE CLAYTON. This section has given an overview of the visual aspects of seventeenth-century prose broadside texts and an indication of what their functions were. In an age of widespread illiteracy, such public texts became an important part of disseminating information, along with chapbooks and early newsbooks (Levy, 1999; Raymond, 2003; Jucker, ed., 2009). In the next section, we move on to a presentation of the discourse organisation and linguistic aspects.

## 4.3 Rhetorical organisation and content of the Quaker broadside texts

Section 4.3 aims to establish whether seventeenth-century Quaker prose broadsides have a distinctiveness about their surface language features and their purpose which is distinguishable from the sample of available texts found, for instance, in the HC and LC.

#### 4.3.1 Discourse functions in the *QBS*

Results from my analyses show the following aspects of discourse functions to be present in the *QBS*:

- a strong and urgent sense of personal communication from the writer to the reader(ship), directly addressing an individual or a group of individuals and often using exclamatory features indicating a mode of orality.
- 2) an expressed urgency about the spiritual nature of events happening **now** and also in the immediate past but very relevant for **now** (the deictic sense of 'now' as in the seventeenth century). Action is required on the part of the reader(ship).
- 3) prophetic communication.

William Brend, writing in 1664 from prison, provides good instances of all three aspects. He addresses his published message to the magistrates in London ('O ye rulers in England'), using a *we/you* framework, addressing them ('you and your officers') with many rhetorical questions, such as 'why will you deal so unadvisedly in this matter of so great concernment?' His exclamatory style is also evident in phrases such as 'Oh! will not the sound of this go over all Nations, and the folly thereof be made manifest?' Directive speech act verbs are frequent: 'Repent, and do no more hurt to them that would not hurt one hair of your heads, but seek your and all mens good.' A broadside text conveying a typically urgent warning for a change of behaviour comes from Stephen Crisp (1661): 'A Warning from the Lord God to all People in England, to leave off their wicked and foolish Customs in their Harvest, before the anger of the Lord be kindled against them, and there be no Remedy.'

Some aspects of Quaker prose style of this period are evident in the *QBS* sub-corpus in greater concentration than in the *Qcorpus* as a whole, notably the distinctive syntax of the community of Quaker writers and their preference for colourful, figurative writing. For instance, Crisp's text, mentioned above, is one long prophetic warning from start to finish. The case study approach allows these features to be discerned with more clarity than is feasible when dealing with a large body of texts, and the broadside text by Clayton that stands as exemplar for the *QBS* sub-corpus in the present chapter enables an even more detailed inspection. As stated above, the *HC* and *LC* provide comparison data where relevant; to this end, a small sub-corpus of religious texts from within the *LC* is used as a second comparator (approximately 135,400 words). Section 4.3.2 now reports on qualitative data for aspects 1) to 3) with quantitative data providing supporting evidence.

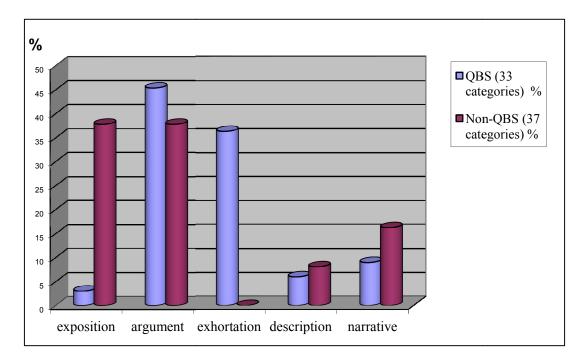
#### 4.3.2 Rhetorical modes of the *QBS* texts

A simple discourse analysis approach makes clear the varied functions of the texts and the authors' intended or hoped-for audience (whether readers or listeners). Types of rhetorical organisation are classifiable in various ways depending on correlation between linguistic form and discourse function; Sloane (2001) lists such types exhaustively. Hudson-Ettle (1998; online, section 2.1) cites Werlich's (1976:39) categories of argument, exposition, narrative or description. Wikberg, in Hudson-Ettle (ibid), adds a further one: procedural, i.e. instructive. For the present purpose, Werlich's four categories are used plus a fifth one, 'exhortation' as a type of discourse employing strong persuasive linguistic elements such as verbs in imperative mood and directive verbs. The label 'exhortation' is one commonly used in the literature on early Quakerism. A.R. Barclay (1845:5) uses it for one of his categories of early Quaker letters; Barbour and Roberts include it (1973:567) in their list of types of Quaker writings. Kohnen (2012, section 3.1) describes typical rhetorical functions that he finds in religious instruction as exhortation, exposition, exegesis, narration and argumentation. He explains 'exhortation' simply as 'telling people what to do or not to do'.

I have drawn on not only Sloane (2001) when identifying these rhetorical categories in the present study but also on Lee (2001), Heuboeck (2009) and Upton & Cohen (2009). This latter study makes use of a framework adapted from Biber et al (2007). However, although these and other theoretical studies offer models and approaches to aspects of the topic of rhetorical modes (other terminologies are also in use), I have not been able to identify clearly-defined surface features for classifying the global discourse of the texts, other than their pragmatic communicative purposes. The Quaker texts do not fit comfortably into a clearly-defined class of either 'argument' or 'exposition' discourse types, however one defines the rhetorical category of 'argument'. The boundaries between these types of naturally-occurring

Quaker language are fuzzy. The writers felt they were representing the voice of God in some of their writing and the category of 'exhortation' meets that purpose more closely ('earnestly admonishing or urging to what is deemed laudable conduct', *OED*). The justification for creating this new category is this: 'argument' in discourse involves putting forward a single main point of view and/or engaging in the act of persuasion ('give evidence, furnish proofs, to debate, to reason', *OED*). 'Exposition', on the other hand, includes explaining, analysing, discussing, making an idea clear, giving directions and so on ('expounding or explaining; technical term within logic', *OED*). The Quaker rhetoric takes the persuasive element found in expository texts to a new level of urgency and warning, hence the addition here of the 'exhortatory' category.

Figure 4.1 below summarises all the combinations of these five categories. Some texts fulfil the criteria for more than one category, hence the totals for each sub-corpus do not relate exactly to the total number of texts. It is important to remember that the Quaker writings had one inter-twined purpose, combining the promotion of their message and asking for their sufferings to be ended and injustices remedied. The discourse community of writers was broadly of one mind in its intentions for publishing at this time. Although the recipients of the *QBS* are often either a named individual, groups of individuals or a town's inhabitants, the fact of having copies of broadsheets printed shows that a wider readership was sought. The non-QBS texts have a variety of purposes, even those coming from official sources, and the dissemination of copies was to ensure that they were seen by the widest possible public readership, as even the small, unrepresentative selection of broadsides in the non-QBS include public decrees or royal proclamations, which had the force of law.



**Figure 4.1**: comparison by percentage of the types of rhetorical organisation found in the two sets of broadsides.

The text example by Clayton, referred to above, is written in exhortatory rhetorical mode, urging the new king to wait to be guided inwardly by: 'the counsel of the Lord. Mind it till thou art truly reformed into the way of Truth and Life of him that brings Salvation near'. The writer frequently employs verbs in imperative mood and directive speech act verbs, such as *mind* in that quotation, and also in examples (1) and (2) (indicators emboldened):

- (1) Wait in love and soberness of mind, to receive the Spirit of Life from God'
- (2) Oh therefore **seek**\_the Glory of God, and the good of his People, **that** thy Soul **may live** and **be refreshed** with his venue.

As (2) also illustrates, Clayton uses a number of *-that* clauses introducing subjunctives of volition and exhortation (see Nevalainen, 2006:98-7). In order to give a flavour of the other Quakers' assumptions about their intended readers, here are some brief summaries of the communicative purposes of three of the *QBS* texts:

- Anthony Mellidge (1659) writes from Winchester Prison to make known to the general public the parlous state of some Quakers imprisoned with him, who are all falsely charged. He is petitioning for justice.
- Stephen Crisp (1666) exhorts people to abandon their traditions at harvest-time and to desist from singing, feasting and role-playing the gentry. Their religious practices should be inward.
- William Salmon (1674) responds robustly over a dispute concerning Jeremiah Ives's perception ('a fardle of Slanders and Falshoods') that Quakers were not Christian and their ministers were impostors.

We have considered so far, the visual aspects of the broadside texts and their rhetorical purposes. To move down into the next layer for inspection, section 4.4 considers a number of pragmatic markers found in the *QBS* and discusses the implications of meaning associated with each feature.

# 4.4 Pragmatic markers in the QBS

The features evident in the case study data are of two groups: (a) various communicative and orality markers, and (b) instances of high frequency expressing deontic predictive modality. This section presents interpretations of the findings in these areas. In the first group are results for certain personal pronouns; interjections; continuous verb aspect forms, and present perfect verb forms. Group (b) presents findings for predictive SHALL/WILL modal auxiliaries.

#### 4.4.1 First person pronominal use

Several initial searches of the *QBS* sub-corpus using *WordSmith* indicated that promising insights might be revealed as to the communicative style of the writers. Firstly, personal pronoun use, particularly I/WE: the frequency or infrequency of this grammatical feature can reveal information about the communicative stance and the level of expressed distance versus involvement of the writer. In Clayton, we find this example about three quarters of the way through the text (indicators emboldened):

(3) For this I can say, who am the least of many thousands, ... that I saw and felt in the Spirit that reacheth over Sea and Land your Coming before you came, and my spirit breathed to the Lord for you.

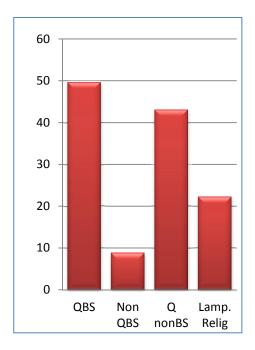
(She apparently forgets to use *thou* for this short section but reverts for her closing sentence.)

Results for instances of the following personal pronouns I, THOU, HE, SHE, WE, YOU, YE, THEY, IT (that is: subject, object, possessive forms but not reflexive) are shown in Table 4.3 (comparing data from the QBS, Non-QBS, the wider Qcorpus minus the BS texts, and religious texts in the LC). These scores are summarised in Table 4.3, normed per 1,000 words, with actual occurrences in brackets. Figure 4.2 then subsumes all the pronoun cases under each individual heading (thus for example: I includes all occurrences of I, me, my, mine).

**Table 4.3**: personal pronoun occurrence in both broadside sub-corpora, Qcorpus (without QBS texts) and religious sub-corpus in LC.

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	Lampeter (religious texts only)
I	10.0 (271)	3.0 (85)	12.0 (4,693)	10.9 (1,484)
THOU	5.6 (151)	1.4 (41)	7.8 (3,054)	1.3 (178)
HE	16.7 (449)	19.0 (523)	19.7 (7,683)	16.3 (2,215)
SHE	1.1 (32)	0.3 (9)	0.9 (385)	1.4 (201)
IT	7.8 (212)	7.6 (211)	9.2 (3,588)	10.5 (1,422)
WE	11.1 (299)	12.9 (355)	7.9 (3,097)	11.5 (1,558)
YOU	34.0 (914)	4.4 (124)	23.2 (9,035)	10.0 (1,367)
THEY	17.7 (477)	17.2 (473)	18.1 (7,027)	16.0 (2,176)

The results for SHE, IT and THEY across the columns offer no particular insights other than the seventeenth-century fact of the 'invisibility' of the female. However, one interesting observation is the high frequency in the *QBS* of the first person singular compared with the values from the other corpora. A further comparison of each of the I, THOU, YOU totals across the columns is shown in Figure 4.2; that is to say, the pronouns that indicate 'highly interactive discourse' (Biber, 1988:105). See also Biber, 1995:141-145, and 2004:107-136.) The figures shown in Figure 4.2 bring out the difference of Quaker pronoun use more strongly.



**Figure 4.2**: I/THOU/YOU totals, extracted using the normed frequency values from datasets in Table 4.2 (QBS, non-QBS, the wider Qcorpus minus the BS texts, and religious texts in the LC).

The summary totals in Figure 4.2 provide evidential support for the qualitative impression of immediacy of style in the Quaker broadsides. (The reason for omitting data for the first person plural pronoun is the ambiguity of stance implied in the use of WE. Who is referred to as WE? The author(s)? The embodied church? The authorities?) The Quaker texts are highly communicative in the way they speak as individuals to their reader(s) or audience, as the Clayton text shows. These are not impersonal texts sent out to whoever may choose to read them. The implied wider readership is included with the overt THOU/YOU/YE of the immediate recipient(s) or addressees and indeed makes for a good style for campaigning literature. The first person singular has far fewer occurrences in the non-QBS, indicating the impersonal style of these publications.

Still keeping to the area of personal pronoun use, the next results concern the selfreferencing device that we see in the usage of an 'author present' style as opposed to the impersonal 'author not present', and also the reduced use of personal pronouns or increased frequency of alternative structures such as IT/THEY or a generalised WE. The occurrences of *I/me* in the *QBS* are presented in Table 4.4, showing the position in the text of the **first** instance where the author specifically refers to him or herself in the first person:

**Table 4.4**: position of first appearance of 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. pronoun in each *QBS* text, representing 'author present'.

	Location	Number
Author present $(I/me)$	- near or at the start:	8
	- in the middle of the text	6
	- at the end of the text	3
	- not 'present' at all	1
Author present (speaking in the role of God)		3

A reliance on the immediate co-text of the concordance lines might miss the fact of the 'author' representing God speaking in the first person. These figures do not include several texts in the *QBS* where *we* is used possibly at an earlier stage to stand for a Quaker community or all those who have been 'convinced' (this specialised Quaker term is discussed in chapter 7.) Chapter 8 explores in more detail the usage of first-person plural pronoun in Quaker and non-Quaker prose styles. Seven of the occurrences of the plural form emanate from the monarch (literally, the 'royal *we*') in one of the non-*QBS*. As previously noted, all the signatories to the *QBS* are single individuals, not complete groups or communities of people, even if the single, identifiable Quaker is probably speaking for many. This is an example of the Quaker principle of speaking out as an individual that holds good among the Quaker communities to this day as the often-quoted passage by Margaret Fell-Fox exemplifies:

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You will say, "Christ saith this, and the apostles say this" but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of the Light, and hast thou walked in the Light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from

God? (Journal of George Fox, 1694: 'The testimony of Margaret Fox concerning her late

husband')

4.4.2 Interjections

In order to continue the theme of the vivid personal communicative style of the *QBS*, I

next turn to the occurrence in the texts of the pragmatic interjection oh / O in its two variant

forms (henceforth OH), which appears quite frequently in the QBS. This is evident in a reading

of the whole texts. Additionally, the 'keyword' tool in WordSmith confirms this interjection to

be of high frequency. The present enquiry made use firstly of the whole *Qcorpus* as a small

reference corpus and then the combined HC and LC as a second, independent reference

corpus. On each occasion the instances of OH are retrieved as 'key' in the *QBS*. There are two

pragmatic functions at work here: the use of the vocative case and as an exclamation. In the

Clayton broadside text both uses are in evidence:

(to addressee): Let thy mind **Oh** King...

(exclamatory): **Oh**, dear Friend, that this were descended into thy lowermost part.

Sometimes the concordance lines show that both functions can occur together in the

same word. There appears to be no correlation between the two spellings of either oh or O

(whether by the Quaker authors or the printers) and function. The exclamatory function

expresses sudden and/or intense emotion on the part of the writer. For the vocative sense, the

readership, overt and implied, is directly addressed.

The literature is quite helpful on this linguistic item from a historical point of view,

especially for literary texts, see Shiina (2005) whose work is based on a corpus of early

modern English comedies. Culpeper & Kytö (2010) also investigate speech-related language

which is primarily either fiction or verbatim transcriptions of speech, offering useful insights in their chapter 10. They refer to OH as 'pragmatic noise' and confirm the suggestion made above that the exclamatory function can include emotions of distress; surprise; frustration or extreme exasperation; directed anger or scorn (2010:238). Kohnen (2009:77) found that OH was the second most frequent item in his early modern English prayer corpus after a keyword comparison with a contemporary newspaper corpus serving as a reference corpus. The *QBS* texts do not pretend to replicate speech but their sense of immediacy may imbue them with elements of spoken language. Table 4.5 below, gives frequency distributions for both functions of the interjection OH in these datasets: the *QBS*, the non-*QBS*; all instances in the Quaker texts excluding Quaker non-broadsides; combined scores for the *HC* and the *LC* and finally, texts solely in the religious domain, extracted from the *LC*.

**Table 4.5**: interjection OH: a) vocative function, b) exclamatory function, and a) + b) combined, normed per 10,000 words, actual occurrences in brackets

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	HC / LC	LC religious texts
a) vocative OH	11.9 (32)	1.0 (3)	5.8 (228)	0.3 (37)	0.4 (6)
b) exclamatory OH	8.5 (23)	0.7 (2)	6.2 (241)	0.9 (89)	1.9 (27)
Total	20.4 (55)	1.7 (5)	12.0 (469)	1.2 (126)	2.3 (33)

Four observations arise from the results in Table 4.5:

• Compared to the other columns, the *QBS* data indicate greater frequency of this interjection in general, more occurrences of the vocative function than the exclamatory; the gap between the two functional frequencies is greater than for the other results.

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• Quaker authors in other text formats also make frequent use of the interjection, but

give greater preference to its use as an exclamation than the Quaker broadside authors

do.

• The only other set of figures indicating frequency for exclamatory use derives from

the religious domain figures in the LC set.

• The actual counts in the table are low for the non-Quaker figures, regardless of

similarity of function.

From this evidence, it is safe to say that Quaker writers are using an emotional tone,

often addressing the reader directly. Of the list of emotions identified by Culpeper & Kytö

(2010:238-9) in their data for this interjection usage, the internal textual Quaker evidence

shows: surprise, distress, frustration, directed anger. Qualitative analysis shows that the

vocative form in the religious domain texts is often used in direct prayer to address the deity.

This is rarely the case with Quaker usage; their purpose is more concerned with persuading

humanity than God. One other finding acts as a reminder that quantitative data alone may not

be reliable: the phrase O Lord appears as a vocative in the religious domain context but

unsurprisingly, more frequently as a secular exclamation in the theatrical texts.

Examples from the *QBS*:

Vocative

(4) Therefore, O King! Suffer not thy Name to be abused, nor the good people under Thee to be

made havock of. (Maylins, 1660)

**Exclamatory** 

(5) And O, how far from single Upright-heartedness is it, hath it been to rejoyce, be glad at, ...

O that such may find a place of repentance. (Swinton, 1664)

Of the 32 actual instances of vocative function in the *QBS*, all OH items appear in initial position, which is to say at the start of a new clause-thought immediately following a punctuation mark, except for four lines, examples (6) to (8):

#### Medial position

- (6) But so it is, **O** King, ...
- (7) And be it known unto you, **O** ye rebellious Children, ...

#### Final position

(8) And thus is the Popish spirit of Idolatry shewed forth in thee, **Oh** London.

All the occurrences in the b) category of exclamatory function are in initial position following a punctuation mark, the initial positioning reflecting the writer's perception of the expressiveness of the word. Examples of the individuals, inhabitants or towns so addressed are:

Oh Cambridge Oh my soul!

Oh (dear) Friend O thou beautiful Bride

Oh Earth, Earth O thou Seed

Oh! hypocrisie O Ye Parliament of England

O/Oh King Oh you spiritual plants

Oh London! Oh you hard-hearted, you unbelievers

A greater variety of emotions is clearly being expressed in the Quaker broadsides than even in the full *Qcorpus*. The frequent preference for this interjection, I argue, epitomises the heart of the purpose and expressiveness of the Quaker broadside as a text type.

#### 4.4.3 The immediacy and urgency of 'now'

The message of the early Quakers (evidenced by texts in *Qcorpus1*) was primarily an urgent message to 'all the inhabitants of the world' to repent and mend their ways while there was still time. The turmoil of the English Civil War and the questioning of the authority of the established church contributed significantly to this sense of impending doom, (Gwyn, 1984; Dandelion, 1998, 2007). The style and content of many of these tracts, from the 1650s especially, provides clear evidence of a sense of desperate urgency in their message. How is that sense of immediacy conveyed in the language of the broadsides? There are several constructions that convey not only immediacy but also function as indicators of temporal deixis, pointers to the reality of events and actions that are taking place 'now'. There are 52 instances of the deictic adverb *now* in the *QBS*; here is an example from Clayton:

#### (9) and now that you are come, my spirit breaths to the Lord.

The constructions expressing the present moment in the case study that are of interest are: perfective forms (HAVE + present perfect aspect), and progressive tense forms constructed with –*ing*: present, past and future. Figure 4.3 shows selected examples of the first type of construction; examples of the second type are displayed later in Figure 4.4:

# N Concordance

1 all my sheep together where they have been scattered in this Darke and 2 them to try and to prove them, and they have been tried and proved. And now you this Seed : And though many Warnings have been sent into the World by the thou has run after other gods, & hast cast my righteous Law behind thy 5 time, lest I consume thee with fire, as I have done it; therefore harden not your 6 and bring together? yea, my hands have done all these things; I am gathering 7 and make known the Truth which we have freely received from the Lord, and 8 what peace canst thou have? therefore have I sent light into the world, but men not come unto me that you might live; I have knocked and called, and none would 10 buildeth upon me shal have eternal life; I have mourned for you as one mourneth for 11 the just, and so dost thou: therefore thou has run after other gods, & hast cast my they have not regarded it; and although I have smitten them with Mildew and with

Figure 4.3: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing HAVE + pres. perfect verb forms.

Most of the lines in Figure 4.3 are constructed as though God is speaking directly through the writer, so references to I and to my are God's 'words' (all lines except 2, 3 and 7, which speak on behalf of the Quaker community.) These express recent actions. Even though some of the lines are biblical quotations, Quakers were convinced that these actions by God were still taking place. This belief is known as continuous revelation (see, for example, Keiser & Moore, 2005:232, 274) and was one of the objections to Quakerism by the main Protestant community, who believed in the supremacy of scripture as the prime authority.

The present perfect verb form can convey a number of different functions. Elsness (1997) has produced a comprehensive study comparing the perfect and the preterite, both in PDE variants and in historical texts. For the present study, this comment from his summary will suffice:

The present perfect often ... is used to emphasise that the effects of a past situation still obtain at the deictic zero-point.... Such verbs will often refer to situations which are contextually isolated and which are mentioned mainly or largely for their relevance to the present state of affairs. (Elsness, 1997:352)

This expresses the meaning used by Quaker writers of events in the past that are important for 'now'. The reader is placed in Elsness's time-related 'deictic zero'.

Turning to the progressive constructions, two studies provide theoretical descriptions for both PDE and EModE periods, Elsness (1994) and Biber et al (1999). Elsness draws on both Leech (1971) and Quirk et al (1985) for three meanings indicated by the progressive aspect: duration *per se*, limited duration, and incomplete duration of event or 'happening' (Elsness, ibid:6). According to Biber et al (1999), one lexical association of the present-day English present progressive aspect is used to refer to:

...an event or state of affairs which is in progress, or continuing, at the time indicated by the rest of the verb phrase... typically used to report situations or activities that are in progress at some point in time. (Biber et al, 1999:1176)

Elsness also studied the development diachronically of the progressive aspect. His findings, drawn from the *HC*, show a large increase in the overall relative frequency of the progressive between 1500 and 1640, after which he notes that the occurrence doubles during the period 1640-1710, the E3 period in the *HC* (Elsness, 1994:10). His figures are hard to compare with those of the present study since the E3 period stretches beyond 1675, the most recent text in the *QBS* sub-corpus. The inference from his results is that the rate of frequency of occurrence increased as the eighteenth century approached. His data include no more findings beyond 1710 until the twentieth century although he estimates that in the intervening 300 years, the frequency of occurrence of the progressive increased by almost four times.

The *QBS* contain a number of instances of the progressive form; Figure 4.4 provides some co-text illustrations in a selected series of concordance lines:

#### N Concordance

1 O consider whose work you are a doing! and see whether the Scriptures do 2 mother of witchcraft and now I am raising my swift witness to confound her have done all these things; I am gathering all my sheep together where they never prevail; and though ye are building your own Houses, and Honouring of many good people, who are breathing and thirsting after him, that thou put it opened many Mouths, who are saying, We see the same Things among 7 have desires after him and are seeking of him where he is not to be found; 8 therewith; sometime ye are spending your precious time (which should be 9 saved; and see whose will thou art doing, & see if thou be not in thy own will 10 have you and your Teachers been reading and talking of loving Enemies, and of 11 and may know what they have been doing, are doing, and may do no more so. 12 thy back; and therefore am I coming to rip up all hearts, it is I that tryeth 13 so devour them; and the wolf is seeking to betray the innocent; So, all, dear he hath commanded us, and is leading us to do his Will in the Earth, as it is 14 and the overflowing scourge that is coming upon the heads of the wicked and 16 idolatry. Oh London! what; art thou falling back into Popish Idolatry again? the Devil, and his works they were doing; and so are you now, who are a 17 18 you that have built, and are yet building with Hey, Straw and Stubble, which

**Figure 4.4**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing progressive verb forms in the *QBS*.

The selection in Figure 4.4 offers Quaker examples of a variety of uses. In some, God is 'speaking' (see lines 1-3, 12, 14), and in others, the Quaker writers are sermonising or preaching (lines 4, 7-11, 13, 15-18); (line 5 is a commentary on the current situation to the monarch). The context for line 6 is one in which the writer is explaining how people are supposedly criticising the priests, in the same way that the Quakers are. In each case, the sense of immediacy is enhanced by the use of the progressive form, whether past or present. Table 4.6 presents data from both Quaker and non-Quaker sources, showing higher frequencies for most forms of the progressive aspect in the *QBS* compared with the other subcorpora, including the other Quaker writings, and especially compared with the non-*QBS*. Only finite clauses with the full pattern of <u>aux vb + main vb +-ing</u> are counted. The searches excluded any progressive forms that are passive in meaning, a not uncommon feature of the

English of this period. There are no occurrences in the QBS of the  $\underline{\mathtt{WILL} + -ing}$  construction although three of the other datasets yield just a few.

**Table 4.6**: comparison figures for progressive verb forms in six corpora, scores normed per 10,000 words, actual scores in brackets

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	HC/LC	LC religious texts	Data from Elsness (1994)
pres progressive	13.3 (36)	0.3 (1)	10.9 (423)	1.0 (95)	0.2 (28)	1.8
past progressive	2.2 (6)	0.7 (2)	0.7 (28)	1.0 (99)	0.2 (27)	2.8
pres perf prog	0.7 (2)	0 (0)	0.5 (20)	0	0	0.2
SHALL/WILL be + -ing	0 (0)	1.4 (4)	0.1 (4)	0.1 (10)	0	
TOTAL	16.2 (44)	2.5 (7)	12.2 (475)	2.1 (204)	0.4 (55)	4.8

The scores for the non-Quaker occurrences are not dissimilar from data retrieved by Elsness (1994), cited above. His figures (also normalised per 10,000 words) show a slightly higher occurrence for the past progressive, but compared with the much larger figures for the Quaker sets, are not of interest. All the non-Quaker corpora show relatively low frequencies for the past and the present perfect progressive. There is a slightly increased incidence of the  $\underline{SHALL/WILL\ be\ +\ -ing}$  pattern from non-Quaker writers in my data, but the interesting score remains the one for the present progressive in Quaker usage. Clearly there is a preference by Quaker writers for expressing immediacy in the 'now', and the QBS writers demonstrate that sense of urgency even more than the wider set of publications (containing pamphlets and books) comprising the Qcorpus. We cannot tell at this remove from the seventeenth century

whether that really was the intention of the utterer who employed the progressive aspect. The usage certainly conveys a present-day English flavour to the language.

The final observation from these datasets concerns the evidence for a speech-like quality to the writings. This is a theme that will reoccur throughout the present study. For now, the only reference to theory is again drawn from Biber et al (1999:1038-1125) in passages that discuss context-bound deixis of time and the discourse of conversation. As always with historical data, reliable theoretical descriptions must rely on limited quantities of written data only. Any interpretation must take these facts into account.

# 4.4.4 Apocalyptic prophetic language

The second group in the collection of pragmatic markers introduced at the beginning of section 4.4 concerns indicators of apocalyptic prophetic statements as part of an important element in the early Quaker message, represented by occurrences of the deontic modals SHALL and WILL. There are other linguistic markers of eschatological prophecy as well as other forms of seventeenth-century prophetic utterance; for the purposes of the present thesis, the analyses focus simply on predictive modality. Chapter 2, section 2.5.2 explained the background to the importance of this feature of Quaker writing. This type of prophesying is a central purpose for the original publication of many of the texts in the *Qcorpora*. The frequency of this structure in the case study indicates the necessity for a more in-depth investigation, and that is presented in chapter 5. For the present case study, the Clayton text provides illustrative examples (10) and (11):

- (10) If thou dost not mind the Glory of the Lord, and be tender of the birth Immortal, and relieve the Oppressed; then **thy Name will rot**, as others that is gone before thee.
- (11) [God] will not alwayes strive with man, but he will take to him his great Power, and rend the Kingdom from man, and will overturn, overturn, till he come to Reign.

A selection of concordance lines (Figure 4.5) illustrates more fully the flavour and tone of their prophetic discourse.

#### N Concordance burn as an oven, and all the evildoers shall be cast therein. And as I was made 1 go ye cursed and ye that forget God shall be cast into hell. Praises, Praises 2 life: it is them that endureth to the end shall be saved: it is not him that cryeth is to be put out, and then a woful day will be known unto all those who are left 5 of repentance, if possible, for dreadful will be their Cup of Judgment and 6 idolatry! The Lords judgements will come upon these things, the Lord is 7 work laid out for them to doe, the Lord will either bring them in, or lay them 8 by Thee, that God may accomplish his will in the earth, and make known his 9 for your sakes; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for your sakes, until 10 levelled; for a day there is coming that wilt make the keepers of the house 11 heart God will in due time reveal; God will not deny himself; Light is sown for will he judge the earth, and the wicked shall see it & tremble; and now am I 12 13 will not alwayes strive with man, but he will take to him his great Power, and of the house tremble; woful and terrible will that day to the wicked; whilst the

**Figure 4.5**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing examples of prophetic statements in the *QBS*, using SHALL/WILL + infinitive.

Chapter 5 sets out the criteria for counting occurrences of apocalyptic prophecy which uses the SHALL/WILL + infinitive construction. In summary, only concordance lines expressing indefinite prophetic statements are included. Some of the instances are biblical in origin, derived from the *Book of Revelation*. As none of the *non-QBS* authors went into print to warn the general public of impending disaster, the figures for that sub-corpus are zero. The comparative figures for the *Quaker corpora* are displayed in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: distribution of prophetic SHALL/WILL occurrences in *QBS* and *Qcorpora*, normed per 1,000 words

Corpus	prophetic SHALL/WILL occurrences
QBS	5.3
Qcorpus 1 (minus 16 QBS texts)	3.0
Qcorpus2 (minus 2 QBS texts)	1.1

Table 4.7 shows that predictive prophetic discourse was a prime function for the Quaker broadside texts compared with the broad sweep of text variety throughout the *Qcorpora*. It is evident from these word count results that the *QBS* writers are using the broadside format as a campaign tool for their message of urgency and potential doom. Even allowing for the possible exaggeration of the results by virtue of the small word size total of the 18 texts, the apocalyptic message is clearly an important strand in the purpose of the Quaker broadside texts. These data strengthen the internal evidence of the textual content. The downward trend of frequencies for deontic modality denoting predictive prophecy is also clear as the century comes to a close and Quaker prophecy discourse becomes rarer. This important element in the early Quaker texts appears in the case study only in miniature but the *Qcorpus* as a whole contains more instances of this stylistic marker of the Quaker message than any other.

The next section continues the broadside case study with an examination of Quaker lexis, both in terms of possible distinctive semantic usage and of the prevalence of metaphor and figurative language in Quaker thought.

### 4.5 Lexical characteristics of Quaker style in the broadsides

This section falls into two parts: a case study approach to the retrieval of certain content words in the *QBS* that have specific Quaker connotations and semantic importance, and a presentation of figurative language, mostly biblical, that abounds in the *QBS*. The semantic study relies on frequency word lists to identify which items merit further study within the complete *Qcorpora*. The Quaker message in the broadsides is a miniature version of the same message writ larger in *Qcorpus1* and developed in the later texts towards the end of the century. The richness of metaphorical images, often borrowed and enlarged from the Bible, is another distinctive element in early Quaker style. Even in the ephemeral literature of the *QBS*, this feature is present as an integral part of the message.

#### 4.5.1 Quaker lexis in the QBS

The distinctiveness of Quaker vocabulary and coinage is well documented: Harvey (1928), Cope (1956), Bauman (1998), Ambler (2007), Moore (2000), Barbour & Roberts (2004), for example, but the broadside texts should not be taken to be representative of the better-known works by early Quakers such as Fox, Penington, Nayler, Penn and Barclay. The *QBS* texts function as campaigning tools and so although the Quaker message is expressed here as much as in the pamphlets and books, the lexicon is less likely to be typical of the Quaker canon as a whole. In order to obtain an initial overview of Quaker lexis, I carried out two types of search; these are reported here.

I generated a wordlist of the *QBS* sub-corpus in *WordSmith*, and extracted the most frequent content words and retrieved this set of headwords (in descending order) near the top of the ranking:

HEART, LIGHT, SPIRIT, LIFE, LOVE, POWER, TRUTH, WITNESS,
LAW, FEAR, HOLY, CONSCIENCE, SEED

For the purposes of the present chapter, this list suffices as a starting point; more detailed work on Quaker lexis is presented in chapter 7. The Clayton text output, used as an exemplar in the present chapter, retrieves 9 out of the 15 items listed in the box. Each of the items carries a distinct Quaker connotation; the Quaker message is beginning to emerge from this dataset.

The second experiment in the search for characteristics in Quaker usage entails the use of the word frequency tool in the online *Wmatrix* suite. The *QBS* and the non-*QBS* subcorpora were both uploaded into the application. As well as raw frequency lists, comparisons of datasets are possible in terms of the 'over-use' of lexis in the target corpus in relation to a comparison corpus; in the present case, the *QBS* is the target corpus and the non-*QBS* is used as comparison. The results do not indicate absolute frequencies of items but frequencies in the target corpus relative to the second one. This brings certain lexis into different relief compared with raw frequency lists and highlights certain differences between the two datasets even when the subject matter may be similar. Figure 4.6 shows the result.



Figure 4.6: word cloud showing relative 'over-use' of QBS lexis compared to non-QBS

As with all word-clouds, the larger the font, the more relatively frequent the item (in this case all items are unlemmatised). *Light* is the only notable word from the previous list; other prominent content words are *God*, *Lord*, *wicked*. Also present, though varying in prominence, are *fear*, *heart*, *lamb*, *life*, *love*, *seed*, *spirit*, *truth*, *witness*.

The sub-corpora are too small in size to draw meaningful conclusions from this initial experiment; however, the results serve as a pointer for enquiries to be presented in the later chapter on Quaker lexical characteristics in a variety of text types. Two of the Quaker broadside texts fall into the category of 'doctrinal dispute' texts and so the findings presented in this section can also act as a pointer towards a more detailed look at 'doctrinal dispute' discourse such as occurs in that category of text in the main *Qcorpus*. This line of enquiry is pursued in chapter 6.

#### 4.5.2 Quaker use of figurative language

Cope (1956:726) observes the Quaker tendency to 'break down the boundary between literalness and metaphor.' Only one text out of the eighteen uses no such figurative language. The Clayton text only used a little of this type of language, for example:

#### (12) As a **Royal Diamond** in the hand of the Lord thou wouldst be found.

She is slightly misquoting Isaiah 62:3 (found in both *KJV* and Geneva Bibles): 'Thou shalt also be a crowne of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royall diademe in the hand of thy God.'

This approach, whether original or derivative, brings colour and distinctiveness to the style, as indeed it does to most Quaker writing of this period. What Quaker authors achieved through mostly biblical imagery and metaphor is a weaving in of phrases and allusions, often of quite obscure parts of the Bible and it is evident that they were extremely familiar with that whole text. At this early stage of Quakerism it is very likely that many Friends had begun life as Puritans in a Puritan household and thus a full knowledge of the Bible was instilled into them at an early age. Bauman (1998:4) describes this as 'a distinctive, symbolically resonant Quaker communicative style.' Moore, 2000, goes further:

Quaker authors used the Bible in three ways: direct quotation, comment in the text with references in the margin, and a continuous flowing paraphrase in which biblical phrases from different sources were run together along with the authors' own comments. To pick up all the biblical references from these paraphrases needs a knowledge of the Bible like that of early Friends themselves, or else detailed line by line work with a concordance. (Moore, 2000:53)

The broadsides, probably for reasons of space, omitted many of the references; Moore's suggestion to use 'modern aids' to locating the source of the biblical language has been taken up in the present study. A brief flavour of the more obscure or memorable phrases and

passages in the sub-corpus will suffice at this stage. The most interesting is in Moon (1658), whose initial paragraph is a long, sustained, if well-known biblical metaphor. Here is an extract:

... for an evil man is an evil tree, and a knowing man, who feedeth upon knowledge, erreth from the life, and so becometh an evil man: but the **tree of life** doth greatly differ from them both by nature and fruit; and those that are grafted into the tree of knowledge, and feed thereon, differ from those that are grafted into Christ the true Vine, who feed upon eternal life: for the knowing minde, which is not centred down into the power of God, ravines from the life which is holy, and cannot feed thereon, but feedeth upon the tree of knowledge of good and evil, this is not the true food, and so dyes from the tree of life, and turneth against it, and also against them that are regenerated into it; So, Friends, look not out at the tree of knowledge, but all keep your eye to the tree of life, for those that do look out at the tree of knowledge, or at the knowing man that feeds thereon; for that tree or man is in this our day as the Fig-tree was in the dayes of old, for it brought forth leaves, and made a fair shew and outside, but fruit was wanting; so is the knowing man, he can speak fair words, and write of wisdome, in the knowing comprehending minde, and what he hath heard of others; but for all this **the fruit is wanting**, neither doth he by thus doing bring forth fruit to God. And others who are transgressors get these words, which are as Fig-leaves, to cover themselves withall, and these are the back-sliders, who disobey the trueth in themselves, and this covering is too narrow to hide them,; and for all this, the fruit is wanting unto God; and what if the Fig-tree should bring forth untimely Figges? they are worth nothing, and what if the knowing man make people believe his good words? this is even as nothing also, and fruit is yet wanting unto God, and the Lord doth not accept of the tree because of the leaves, no more will he do of the man because of his fair words. (Moon, 1658)

The *QBS* style illustrated above is almost completely absent in the small collection of non-Quaker broadsides used for comparison. Those texts are delivering facts or promoting an argument in a more formal register, and figurative language has almost no place in them. Exceptions found in the non-*QBS* were these example phrases:

(13) The meridian of his years.

(14) A fox's chamber in the earth.

(15) The next that gets in the saddle rides us.

Only one non-QBS text makes extensive use of metaphor; for example:

(16) As he that shall scrue up a string in an Instrument to the highest at first, shall break it in pieces, while another that brings it up by degrees, may safely raise it to an higher pitch.

(A Sober and Serious Representation to such as are or may be in Power, 1660.

[Thomason Collection, T4])

This is not to say that broadsides in general did not use figurative language. There were

many examples in the ballads and verses of the period but there are no examples of those in

the present sub-corpus. The present study argues that the Quaker style is distinctive in several

ways and the writers' use of imagery and metaphor is one of those ways. Below are a few

examples by way of illustration.

A selection of Biblical phrases found in the QBS

(17) For the Nations of the earth are but as the drops of the bucket, and as the small dust of

the ballance before him.

(18) The Lord's innocent people, who fear his dreadful name, and who stands in the gap.

(19) Lest I smite their fruitful fields with barrenness and their goodly crops with withering, and

their children with cleanness of teeth<sup>1</sup> in all their borders.

(20) One of the little horns which pushed & persecuted the Lambs of Christ is springing up

again.

A selection of original figurative language found in the QBS

(21) And thus are you **glewed** to the old customes of the Romish Church.

<sup>1</sup> a warning of famine to come

- (22) And are you sitten down<sup>2</sup> in the practice of his inventions?
- (23) None any longer seek to hide your selves in the Clifts of the raggy Rocks.
- (24) In this their day there is a little **dramm more of time** added unto it.
- (25) It is desired of Jeremiah Ives, that he Justifie Publickly in Print what he has only affirmed with a **Face of Brass**.

# 4.6 Cohesion and sentence length

The plan of the present chapter has been to discuss various linguistic features found in the *QBS* that are of interest, starting at the large, macro-level and working down towards the micro-level. This section considers aspects of syntax and in particular, the topic of local cohesion in the *QBS* texts. We look at how the style differs from the non-Quaker prose in terms of coordination, cohesion and sentence length. Not all the 18 texts employ this characteristic style marker but many do. The case study is again a springboard for a subsequent examination in greater detail of this feature in the whole *Qcorpus*. Firstly, we consider the Quaker approach to coordination and selected subordinators. This is followed by a brief investigation of sentence length. Cope (1956) quotes a non-Quaker contemporary John Vincent Canes, who wrote this in 1662:

The Quaker ... books [are] spiritual enough ... but these words are so strangely jumbled together, that every line has good sens in it, but all together none [ ...] handsom words, som dreaming conceits interlarded with undeniable truths, ... endless tautologies, and no connexion. (Canes, 1662, quoted in Cope, 1956:738)

Chapter 8 goes into more depth regarding overall findings for coordination in Quaker text style, including a questioning of the 'tautologies but no connexion' style that Canes noted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> To establish oneself in some position or place; to settle (OED). Here: 'committed to [the practice]'

#### 4.6.1 Cohesion

A short introduction to the Quaker writers' use of coordination is necessary at this stage. The writers favour a simple use of language to establish a situation or state of affairs that they want to warn against. They commonly use for, therefore and so connectors in order to emphasise how their addressees ought to mend their ways (from the writers' point of view.) It is obvious from just a cursory glance at some of the texts that Quaker writers, QBS authors included, made extensive use of the co-ordinating conjunction and. An idiosyncrasy of early Quaker style in general was a greater preference than their non-Quaker contemporaries for the use of the connector for to mean because. Table 4.8a below gives quantitative data for this assertion, showing frequencies for the co-ordinating conjunctions and and but. Table 4.8b gives frequencies for three subordinators in the causative or logical consequence category: for (in the sense of because), therefore and so. Results from the HC and LC are included as non-Quaker comparators. The *QBS* frequency values for these conjunctions indicate a slightly higher use than in the Quaker Corpus as a whole. Table 4.8a shows the totalled scores for these three items. Taken separately, there would seem to be little discrepancy between the general Quaker scores for the three subordinators and the non-Quaker scores. However, once the total scores for the combined values for for, therefore and so are calculated, it can be seen that a difference emerges for these three connectors as a group, even between the QBS and the Q non-BS.

**Table 4.8a**: frequencies for the coordinators *and* and *but* (normed per 1,000 words, actual occurrences in brackets)

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	HC / LC	LC religious texts
and	59.9 (1,600)	44.5 (1,224)	54.6 (21,209)	36.5 (34,91)	34.0 (4,60)
but	6.3 (171)	3.9 (109)	7.4 (2,908)	6.6 (6,302)	6.7 (910)

**Table 4.8b**: frequencies for the subordinators *for, therefore* and *so* (normed per 1,000 words, actual occurrences in brackets)

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	HC/LC	LC religious texts
for (= because)	5.4 (147)	1.2 (35)	4.6 (1,823)	1.7 (1,686)	2.2 (300)
therefore	2.7 (74)	0.9 (26)	1.3 (525)	1.7 (1,621)	0.9 (127)
so	2.5 (69)	1.1 (31)	3.2 (1,244)	1.7 (1,622)	1.6 (223)
Totals for RESULT connectors	10.6 (290)	3.2 (92)	9.1 (3,592)	5.1 (4,929)	4.7(650)

The analysis for coordination usage in the *QBS* is more complex than the quantitative results suggest. This is because, firstly, only a small sample is under consideration and individual stylistic preferences from the 17 authors must be taken into account, and secondly, because although there is clearly an impression of a recognisable stylistic trait in this collection of texts, other rhetorical needs may be present in some of them. I conclude that that this is not a simple question of the functional uses of coordinators and subordinators but broader reasons are in play for this trait: one could be an overuse (by PDE expectations) of certain clause connectors for reasons of emphasis. A second extra-linguistic reason is that many of the writers were teenagers or young adults with varying levels of literacy. Three writers were women for whom literacy would have been even harder to come by. A third possibility is contained in the evidence of speech-like register (see Culpeper & Kytö, 2010:158-183). This study investigates the incidence of words collocating with *and: then,* 

therefore, when, thus, because (ibid:169-170), but only comes to tentative conclusions to account for these. *QBS* style makes even greater use of such clusters. Kohnen (2007a:292-296) analyses historical data over many centuries in the search for greater understanding of connectives. He agrees with Culpeper & Kytö, adding (2007a:295) that the coordinator *and* in his data is mainly used in a purely additive way, 'leaving any further logical relationships to be inferred by the addressee'. These assertions support the present findings in the *QBS* except that the Quaker style takes this feature to a frequency level beyond the usage of their contemporaries.

A comparison between two broadside extracts from the two broadsheet sub-corpora serves to illustrate the different use in context of instances of the coordinator *and*. The left-hand extract is from the Quaker Richard Hubberthorne and the right-hand extract is taken from a declaration published in 1660 by some London Anabaptists, the latter type of broadsheet being as similar as possible to the ones in the *QBS* sub-corpus.

## QUAKER

The long and late Parl. they came up with greater pretences of liberty & freedom, then all that was before them, and the people generally applauding of them, by telling them that they were the beginners of setling the Nation in the way of Common-wealth; and did expect they should perfect the peoples Liberty and Freedom outwardly (which by the other Powers they had suffered under) expecting that they would remove those burthens which was laid upon tender Consciences by impositions and cruel

### **NON-QUAKER**

That we have not, neither do we desire, or seek the Blood of any; no, not of our greatest Enemies that hate us, and do, or shall despitefully use us: but desire their good as our own, and believe it our duty to seek it by all lawfull means we can, desiring to be found followers of Christ, who came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them, who accordingly laid down his life for his Enemies, and hath commanded us that we love our Enemies, and do good to them that hate us. And although we have been represented as men thirsting after blood, and

sufferings, and in their beginning they seemed to be given up to do the work expected from them, and did publish it in their weekly news to the Nation several times, that it was their real intent to make the Nation a Free Commonwealth, not in name but in nature, and this was often expressed by them, and indeed they did something more then those that went before them, in setting at Liberty those that were imprisoned because they could not pay Tythes to the Priests, and because they could not swear, and because they could not put off their hats to honour pride and ambition, and because they spoke the Truth against the deceits of the Priests, which both the Souldiers and the honest hearted in the Nation knows how treacherous they have been, and the hinderance of every appearance of God in the Nation, for the chief cause of Gods breaking down, and of bringing into ignominy, shame and reproach those late powers before Mentioned was the leting in of the Priests spirit and flatteries, as O. Cromwell, if alive would witnesse.

Hubberthorne, 1659. 269 words. (18 instances of *and*, of which 7 are not clause-level coordinators) designed to cut our neighbours throats; We do hereby declare, that we are so far from such a wicked thing, and do so much abominate the thoughts thereof, that the Lord, who is our Record, knoweth that it is upon our hearts, as our bounden duty, to assist and defend the Nation, this City, and our Neighbours as much as in us lie, from such violence, against whomsoever they are that shall at any time attempt it, if called thereunto by the Magistrates of this Nation. We do declare, that, as for Magistrates, we own them to be Gods Ministers, and that they bare not the Sword in vain, but have their power given them by the Lord, to the end, they might be a Terrour to them that do Evill, **and** a Praise to them that do Well.

We Declare, that it's our Duty, enjoyned us by the Lord, to submit to them in all things, and to obey every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake.

Anabaptists, 1660.

275 words. (12 instances of *and*, of which 2 are not clause-level co-ordinators)

These two full examples illustrate the stylistic difference in the relative frequencies of and. It is not only the coordination in the Quaker sample that creates a sense of clauses and phrases being chained together in an artless manner but also the lack of periods as punctuation markers, i.e. full stops and semi-colons. The Hubberthorne example contains one full stop and one semi-colon in 269 words; the Anabaptist example contains four full stops and two semi-colons in a stretch of text of similar length. Further analysis shows stylistic differences in cohesion: higher frequency of relativisers in the Anabaptist sample but an interesting repetitive use of (and) because in the Hubberthorne sample.

# 4.6.2 Sentence length

Measuring sentence length in early modern texts is problematic compared with late modern or present-day texts because of the non-standardisation of punctuation at this time. Statistical data as produced by *WordSmith* is therefore very approximate and, to an unknown extent, dependent on the printer's decisions. However, the comparison is worth attempting. The mean sentence length (using the full stop as a boundary) generated for the *QBS* subcorpus is c.147 words. Values for the individual texts range from c.23 words to c.249 words. To make any sense of these figures, in the Clayton text *WordSmith* generates a mean sentence length of c.190 words, but the reality, taking into account context-dependent periodisation, is closer to 96.4 words; the opening and closing sentence fragments are very short. The contrast with the non-*QBS* texts, however, is clear: the mean sentence length generated is c.42 words and the range is between c.13 and c.86 words. Part of the difference is accounted for by a more standardised punctuation system than the Quaker one and the remainder by an apparently more conventional style that employs shorter sentences and clearer coordination.

Taking the features of coordination and sentence length together, the evidence is that the piling up of clause upon clause is a stylistic characteristic of Quaker prose. This aspect of Quaker style is subject to more detailed analyses in chapter 8 and the inference of typicality is confirmed in those findings.

### 4.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: a) to carry out a number of language-based enquiries into the 18 broadside texts as a preliminary step prior to embarking on the main research into early Quaker prose, and b) to use the 18 texts published in prose broadside format in order to discover more about the characteristics of this text type. This section draws together the two sets of threads contained in this aim, inevitably some remarks in this section will refer to both strands.

In essence, the picture that has emerged is of a group of texts where the discourse is reminiscent of speech and which employs a direct person-to-person style, texts that were unusual for their time because of their informality of register while dealing with serious subjects. These texts were specifically designed to be pinned up for public display. This was a dangerous time to be publishing and distributing broadsides and there is no attempt on the part of the writers to hide behind anonymity. The visual aspects observed bring out a sense of urgency and passion in comparison with the often officially-produced texts as exemplified in the non-*QBS*. The textual analysis reveals several features indicating both orality and emotionally involved discourse but no evidence, however, is found to justify the premise that the prose broadside text is any more than a physically distinct publication type among the variety of books, pamphlets and chapbooks in production at this time.

One purpose of carrying out the Quaker broadsides case study was to enable a closer examination of a discrete sub-set of Quaker tracts than might be achieved using the whole

core corpus. A number of linguistic features appear to be common to Quaker writers no matter what type of publication they had in mind to produce. These features reoccur throughout the enquiry which is the basis of the present research project and are brought together again at the conclusion of the thesis.

The analysis of the data indicates that the rhetorical functions of the *QBS* are principally as argument or exhortation, but with some narrative elements. The nature of the argument style of rhetorical organisation is investigated more extensively in chapter 6 as we consider the doctrinal dispute texts in the *Qcorpus*; the exhortatory style occurs most frequently in the apocalyptic prophetic texts and these are analysed and discussed in chapter 5. The question of distinctive Quaker lexical and semantic style is taken up and probed in greater depth in chapter 7. The other linguistic features touched upon in the present chapter receive a comparative analysis in chapter 8, when other contemporary texts are employed to bring the Quaker data into sharper focus.

The wider *Qcorpus* covers many different authors with different styles and literacy levels; insights gleaned through the work on this initial case study have been valuable in confirming findings on the larger scale. Several of the language features appear like a thread throughout the investigations that the present thesis reports on, beginning in the present chapter with the *QBS* dataset. For example, the Quaker message, no matter the author, uses a style and purpose which is clearly personal and direct. The communicative style of the message in the broadsides is a vital one and the findings all underline in some way the '*I/thou* or you' two-way conversation in its urgency and passion, echoed by Martin Buber's writings on relationships (for example *Ich und Du*, 1923; English translation, 1937). The stance of the writers is important and is evidenced by some of the language they used, both at the lexicogrammatical level and at the level of discourse. Cecconi (2009:152) noticed the 'interactive

mode of discourse' and some orality features in her study of broadsides as news sheets which in her view are the precursors of the journalistic style that developed later. Quaker broadside production was influenced by the prose and verse broadsides text types that Friends were adapting for their own religious and radical purposes. They brought their own distinctive prose writing style to the campaign and adapted a cheap print production type for their own particular ends, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

# CHAPTER 5: QUAKER PROPHETIC LANGUAGE IN THE QCORPUS

'Tell magistrates, priests and people what they are, and reprove them of their transgressions; and for their sins and iniquities, and forewarn them of the judgments to come, except they repent and amend, and turn to the Lord.'

(Richard Farnsworth, 1655, Antichrist's Man of War)

### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced my study on a small sub-set of 18 texts published in broadside format. That case study revealed a number of important features of early Quaker prose writings. The style of some of those broadside texts provides a flavour of the exhortatory discourse that typified the Quaker message in its early days. Indeed, approximately three quarters of all the texts in the *Qcorpus* are written in this exhortatory style, expressing an urgent message of an expected apocalypse as foretold in the *Book of Revelation*. The present chapter explores in more detail both surface linguistic features and the nature of the 'prophetic discourse' group of texts in the *Qcorpus* in order to present a comprehensive picture of how the Quakers expressed their message. This message, after all, was the main reason they developed their initial energetic campaign of preaching and pamphleteering during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The questions that the present chapter addresses are these:

- (1) How is the Quaker prophetic message expressed in the texts?
- (2) In what linguistic respects is the Quaker prophetic discourse distinctive, compared to other seventeenth-century prose?
- (3) Do the first two periods of Quakerism show differences in language use or expression?

Many of the early Quaker published texts either include or are primarily concerned to express an eschatological prophetic message, and this rhetorical purpose is reflected in the *Qcorpus*, especially the earlier *Qcorpus1* (1650-1670). In contrast, although George Fox urged Friends to warn of a need to repent before the imminent end of time (as he and other

Quakers saw it), this was not his primary message, which was one of discovery of a new way of accessing the Truth (Ambler 2007:180-186) and a mission to proclaim this discovery to the world. It was other Quakers who felt more impelled to take it upon themselves to disseminate in print their urgent message of repentance. Barbour & Roberts (2004:47-148) assign a chapter on *Tracts to Proclaim the Day of Visitation*. Gwyn (1986) devotes an entire book to the subject as do Dandelion et al (1998). Moore (2000:61-67) reports on the 'eschatological standpoint' of some of the Quakers, describing it as their imminent expectation of 'the Kingdom of God' on earth, and Part 1 (pp.21-103) of Smith's (1989) study covers this topic extensively.

Not all prophetic discourse is predictive, however. A few of the corpus texts are classifiable as other types of prophecy, as understood in the seventeenth century. Many writings in the literature have attempted to define and describe the nature and types of the term 'prophecy', see for example, Smith (1989:21-26); Aune, (1991:96-97,327-338); Sweeney (1996:18-30); Clenenden (2003:387-390); Bradstock (2011:95-104), although there appears to be no firm consensus on what the term means now or meant in early modern England. In the seventeenth century it denoted more than predictive discourse and included such forms of utterance as public preaching, reading and interpreting the Scriptures in persuasive discourses that referred to the present as well as the future, and making divinely inspired prophetic judgements (Smith, 1989, ibid; Aune, 1991, ibid; Font Paz, 2009:64-66; *OED online*). My enquiry into such texts takes as a starting point the linguistic expression of futurity as the central expression of the speech act of religious predictive prophesying, although other forms of prophecy will also be explored. In general, present day studies begin from a theological or philosophical perspective. A few studies on Quaker and other prophetic writings have included examples of linguistic features to support the authors' descriptions and

analysis; the present study, however, is the first to apply corpus analysis techniques to a particular sub-set of seventeenth-century prophetic texts, that of the early Quakers.

# 5.2 Organisation of chapter

The chapter is structured as follows: this section considers the nature of prophetic discourse, both in the present-day understanding and in the seventeenth century; some previous scholarship on this topic is introduced. The section develops into the linguistic representation of prophetic propositional statements and thence the mapping of this on to Quaker predictive prophecies in the Ocorpora. I present criteria I have developed for identifying and retrieving linguistic items expressing apocalyptic propositions and their associated connotations relative to their context. The section concludes with an enquiry into a specific aspect of predictive prophecy: conditional clauses and the illocutionary force of warning. Section 5.3 widens the approach to consider Quaker prophetic writing that occurs in other forms: the ancient 'woe' type of prophecy; prophecy as preaching; and distinctively Quaker texts known as 'testimony' (abstract, uncountable noun) or 'declarations' (countable noun). Section 5.4 offers a quantitative picture of comparisons with contemporary non-Quaker corpora in order to provide an initial basis for relative concepts such as frequency: it explores the possibility of change of style and rhetoric over the half-century of the *Qcorpora* and presents some findings that show several diachronic changes, even in that short time span. Lack of availability of extensive digital corpora unfortunately prevents an in-depth comparative investigation. Section 5.5 brings the chapter to a close. Responses to the three initial questions occur throughout these sections.

# 5.2.1 The nature of 'prophecy'

This section considers work previously published on both the nature of prophecy itself and how it can be represented linguistically and rhetorically. Elements of directive speech act theory are also covered. First then, prophecy. Much has been written concerning Christian prophecy, starting from Old Testament biblical texts to the later prophetic writings of the New Testament and then the revival of prophetic visions and outpourings during the seventeenth century. Aune (1991:198) comments as part of his study on early Christianity that the act of prophesying 'can be understood in many different ways'. This is disheartening for the corpus analyst attempting to carry out enquiries through defined criteria and keyword search terms. Sweeney (1996:18-30) finds at least seventeen forms of prophecy, including prophetic judgement, announcements of a sign or event, 'woe' oracle, vision report and proclamation of Christ's coming. All of these forms are found in the Quaker writings although, as this chapter will show, the most common variety published during the first period of Quakerism was the foretelling, apocalyptic form. Clendenen (2003:386), following Longacre's (1983) textlinguistic model, proposes several discourse types: narrative, predictive, procedural, hortatory and expository and claims that these can be identified by the surface structures of clause type and verb forms which then correspond to a notional or semantic structure. Smith (1989) is more interested in the seventeenth-century revival of post-biblical prophecy and his chapter on *Prophecy, Experience and the Self* (pp.21-103) is a useful and insightful study into the variety of texts which he regards as prophecy. He agrees that the early Quaker approach was different from other radical thinking of the seventeenth century. He refers to the writings particularly of George Fox, James Naylor and Isaac Penington.

Searle & Vanderveken (2009) contrast the 'predictive' sense of the term with the 'prophetic' (my italics):

...the illocutionary force of a prediction is that of an assertion with a special condition to the effect that the propositional content represents a state of affairs future to the time of utterance, and a preparatory condition such that the speaker is expected to have good reasons and evidence for believing what is predicted. To forecast is to make a special kind of prediction that is based on relatively clear signs of how something seems to be shaping up. To foretell is to 'tell' in advance, often something rather vague.

. . .

[Prophesy] has the illocutionary force of a prediction with an additional, particularly authoritative model of achievement. The latter has to do with the authority of an oracle ... of God or of divine revelation. The speaker presupposes that he has *good reasons for the belief to the point of certitude*. (Searle & Vanderveken, 2009:173)

Searle and Vanderveken's concluding statement applies in full measure to the prophetic texts considered in this chapter. I argue that the Quaker writers had a profound belief in the certainty of their assertions, arising from their own spiritual experiences.

# **5.2.2** The expression of apocalyptic prophecy

The previous section considered what the term 'prophecy' means. With Question 1 in mind ('How is the Quaker prophetic message expressed in the texts?'), we turn next to how prophetic utterances can be identified as such. What is exhortatory prophecy in the Quaker context, and how can corpus-based techniques be employed to retrieve meaningful quantitative evidence? For the present study, I built on theoretical and applied work carried out by several scholars: Johannessohn (1976:65-70); Wierzbicka (1987); Gotti et al, (2002:224-228; 295-297); Gotti (2003:267-296); Clenenden (2002) in order to develop a set of criteria for the categorisation of Quaker apocalyptic prophetic statements. I first clarified which occurrences of keywords might capture apocalyptic prophetic statements within the *Qcorpus*. Other predictive language which does not express such prophecy was eliminated and suitable criteria developed and coded appropriately. Here is the final set showing which sets of occurrences I included and which I excluded from my results:

Included	Excluded
SHALL/WILL instances conveying a	Adjacent conditional subordinate clauses as
dynamic intention.	they could be categorised as warnings.
The writer's subjective or 'Godgiven' assertion that an event was to take place but no time or natural place is stated.	SHALL/WILL instances according to Gotti et al's (2002) classification, signifying: volition, refusal, promise, order, prohibition, inference, possibility.
Utterances presumed to be spoken directly by God and using the first person singular pronoun.	Interrogatives (deemed not to be carrying sufficient force for prophecy).
Biblical quotations, whether referenced as such by the writer or woven into the general text.	Instances of neutral prediction, habit and assurance.
Where the extended co-text of an occurrence warrants inclusion based on qualitative judgement.	Occurrences of the lexical verb <i>prophesy</i> as denoting a different prophecy type from apocalyptic.
	Any item that carried a weak sense of prophecy, based on my qualitative judgement, or was ambiguous in the context.
	The lexical verb will (signifying volition).

Two studies that have informed my approach are based on the grammatical realisation of prediction through certain modal auxiliaries. Johannesson (1976:67) singles out 'prophecy' as a sub-set of 'prediction' by asserting that it is the strength of a prediction in

context that makes it prophetic. This assertion is also made by Gotti et al (2002:41) in their analysis of diachronic modal auxiliary usage, specifically SHALL and WILL, in a historical context. The following examples from the *Qcorpus* illustrate how I code such instances. Examples (1) and (2) show the type of eschatological foretelling that is a central component of the texts in the *Qcorpora*.

- (1) Therefore hear this you hard hearted ones and stiffnecked, who rebel against the Lord your maker, there is a day hastening, and an hour approaching, which **will make** you **gnash** your teeth for very anguish, and **weepe** and **howl** for very sorrow, to consider how you have slighted the day of your visitation. (R. M., 1660)
- (2) For the candle of the wicked is to be put out, and then a woful day **will be known** unto all those who are left in darkness; they **will not know** whither to go. (A. Gillman, 1663)

Examples (3) and (4), on the other hand, are coded as simple prediction as they lack the special force or other qualifying criteria necessary for classifying as prophecy:

- (3) But as Darkness increaseth in thee, so the Power of it **will bind** thee **down** as a Chain, and smother every good desire in thee. (Stephen Crisp, 1666)
- (4) The Lord God of Power will exalt his Princely Scepter, over *all* Scepters, Thrones and Dominions, Kingdoms and Countries, and none shall be able to prevent him. (Katherine Evans, 1663)

These decisions are necessarily subjective and there is a fuzzy boundary separating one rater's coding as 'prediction' with another's coding as 'prophecy'. The pragmatic context for each occurrence is an imprecise measure for classifying an utterance together with its level of illocutionary strength. This is not made fully clear in Johannesson's (1976) study. This seems to oversimplify a grammatical use of predictive SHALL and WILL to express a prophetic proposition merely in terms of a speaker stating a 'guaranteed prediction on behalf of a more powerful guarantor' than him/herself in a way that is 'typical of religious language' (1976:69). The most practical descriptions for identifying the pragmatic meanings of predictive prophesying comes from Wierzbicka (1987). Her book attempts to bring to the

surface many facets of a list of speech acts, of which the superordinate-level section of 'predicting' is the relevant one for present purposes (pp.269-270). As the present study makes qualified use of her insights, extracts from this portion of her work are reproduced here:

Prophesying, like predicting, involves saying what will happen in the future. There is, however, something mysterious and almost mystical about it. The prophet feels that he knows things about the future that other people don't know, and can't know, because they are 'hidden' from them. For some reason, that the prophet himself doesn't quite understand, he can 'see' in his mind what other people can't see. ... He can 'see' ... things about the future because he has somehow been chosen by God to convey publicly a message which is important 'to everyone'. ... It is inconceivable that a prophecy should include a date. Prophesying differs in this respect not only from *predicting*, which can be extremely precise, but even from fortune-telling. (Wierzbicka,1967:269-270)

In addition to the criteria listed in this section, a list of I-statements, suggested by Wierzbicka for testing the nature of a potentially prophetic utterance, was helpful as a second approach for classifying some of the more ambiguous occurrences.

# Meanings, for prophetic utterances:

- I know things about the future that other people don't know
- I imagine I can see these things happen
- I don't know how and when they will happen
- I know that I haven't come to know these things in the way people are expected to come to know things
- I feel as if somebody else was speaking through me
- I think God is speaking through me
- I say: sometime in the future X will happen
- I assume it will be important for everyone
- I assume that people should do something because of that
- I say this because I feel I have to say it.

Wierzbicka (ibid)

As mentioned above, defining predictive prophecy is not easy. The criteria I have presented are nevertheless the basis for carrying out analyses of the data. Before moving in section 5.2.3 to a discussion of initial findings, I summarise here the process employed in the present chapter for engaging with the research questions.

The questions posed at the start of this chapter are addressed in the remaining sections in the following way. The frequency lists of the prophetic elements and their associated positive and negative connotative loadings are analysed in order to find answers to Question (1): 'How is the Quaker prophetic message expressed in the texts?' By comparing these findings with two other seventeenth-century corpora and also the *Book of Revelation* in the *King James Version (KJV)*, I arrive at a response to Question (2): 'In what linguistic respects is the Quaker prophetic discourse distinctive?' Various published assertions concerning changes in written style and tone over the period covered by the two Quaker sub-corpora are tested in section 5 to see if corpus evidence can confirm such linguistic and discourse changes. The results provide evidence to the affirmative for Question (3): 'Do the first two periods of Quakerism show differences in language use or expression?'

# 5.2.3 The Quaker expression of prophecies: positive and negative connotations

This section presents findings from an initial analysis of three elements in the 'foretelling' type of prophetic discourse: a) the level of frequency for Quaker prophetic statements; b) the differing connotations observed in the set of occurrences; and c) the directive speech acts connected to the urgent and persuasive language that are present in the data. The frequency totals for the combined *Qcorpora* are:

- All occurrences of SHALL/WILL modal auxiliaries (all senses, not just futurity):
   69.7 per 10,000 words (4,449 actual occurrences)
- All SHALL/WILL occurrences classified as eschatological prophecy statements: 23.6
   per 10,000 words (1,510 actual occurrences)

In other words, approximately a quarter (24.3%) of all SHALL/WILL occurrences in the *Qcorpora* are unconditional prophetic statements. Comparisons with other corpora are presented in section 5.4. The case of conditional clauses attached to prophetic propositional statements is discussed separately in section 5.2.4.

An inspection of the concordance lines for the retrieved instances following the criteria listed in section 5.2.2 shows that some carry a positive or optimistic predictive prophecy, others a negative or pessimistic and a few carry a neutral sense. The results show an interesting mix of optimistic as well as pessimistic apocalyptic statements. The first set of examples (5) to (7), all taken from *Qcorpus1*, comprises negatively-loaded prophetic statements:

- (5) Behold the day is coming, ye **shall wish** the Mountaines to fall upon you, and the rockes to cover you, and **shall seek** death, but **shall** not **finde** it. (Francis Howgill, 1655)
- (6) The Lord **will hew** you **down** and **consume** you, and your remembrance **shall stink** for ever, the Lord **will cast** you **out** of his sight. (Christopher Taylor et al, 1655)
- (7) In the power of his spirit in his poor contemptible people, by that which the world calls foolishnesse, will the Lord confound not only your Languages; but the very Places, Shops, and Nurseries of abomination, and all Schools, Colledges and Steeple-houses shall all be laid waste, having bin the Nurseries of the Whore and false Prophets. (Thomas Zachary, 1660)

The Quaker positively-loaded prophecies often convey the Christian message of hope at the End Times, or (from the point of view of the writers) the final triumph of 'God's people' over the wicked and their persecutors. Many instances are either biblical or paraphrased from the Bible. Examples (8) and (9) follow:

- (8) And in the judgment, all the powers of darknesse which held you captive will vanish, the lofty spirit will be brought down, and the humble and meeke spirit raised. (Thomas Zachary, 1660)
- (9) And for ever blessed are all they that hold out unto the end, and keep the Word of his Patience, they **shall be hid** in the hollow of his hand, kept safe in his Pavilion, and a defence will he make about his people, and Zion **shall be** the praise of the whole Earth, a beautiful City, compact, compassed about with salvation for Walls and Bulwarks, and the Mountain of his Holiness **shall be** on the top of all Mountains, and no Destroiers **shall be found** in it; the pure in heart **shall see** it. (James Nayler, 1661)

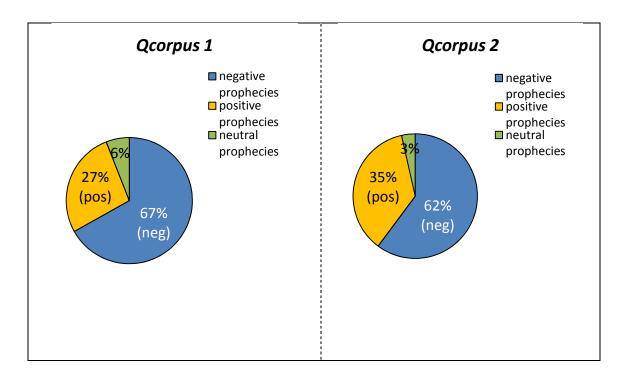
The neutrally-loaded connotations mostly concern the eschatological prophecy of the Last Judgement but without specifying whether that is to be welcome or unwelcome information for the addressees. For example: 'everyone *shall have reward* according to their works' (Stoddard et al, 1655). The illocutionary intention was probably to give warning to the readers but the context requires that for the present study we should assign the benefit of the doubt. Occurrences that were not classified as prophecy mostly concern a foretelling of some action on God's part in the temporal world, for example: 'Come to Gods Witness, it will abide with you; and as you abide with it, you will know its power and its leadings.' (Sarah Blackborow, 1658). This group of items is coded as 'spiritual counsel' for the purposes of this study and not as apocalyptic prophecy.

Next, Table 5.1 presents a comparison for each *Qcorpus* of the percentage share of the connotations illustrated above, and represented graphically in Figure 5.1. Of those in *Qcorpus1* (date range 1650-1670), 67% carry a negative or pessimistic connotation; in other words, approximately double the combined counts for positive (optimistic) and neutral prophecies. The gap is narrowed between optimistic and pessimistic in *Qcorpus2* (1674-1699) although the total instances are fewer. The likely reason for the reduction in the total counts

for SHALL/WILL in *Qcorpus2* is that the texts in this corpus are more diverse in discourse purpose and less focused on the future in terms of PREDICTION speech acts.

**Table 5.1**: distribution of prophetic connotation instances in *Qcorpus1* and *Qcorpus2*, normed per 1,000 words

	Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2
negative prophecies	20.2	6.8
positive prophecies	8.2	4.1
neutral prophecies	1.8	0.4



**Figure 5.1**: comparison by percentage share of prophecy connotations found in each *Qcorpus*.

It is clear that predictive prophesying was an important feature of the Quaker pamphleteering message up to 1670 and the comparison data in section 5.4 confirm that assumption.

The prophecy statements that were found to be attached to an adverbial conditional clause are not included in the above results; this separation conforms to the first of the

'excluded' criteria: 'adjacent conditional subordinate clauses possibly functioning as warnings'. The following section now analyses and discusses this dataset as it is important to show the associated meanings conditional on those prophecies.

### 5.2.4 Speech acts of WARNING

We now turn to an examination of the group of conditional dependent clauses attached to the 'prophecy' dataset. Persuasive rhetoric makes extensive use of directive speech acts (see for example, Searle, 1976; Kohnen, 2008) and one element of the present enquiry is to analyse the texts with a view to discovering the extent to which the directives of URGING, WARNING or THREATENING occur in conjunction with the apocalyptic utterances. This aspect of the investigation builds on the 'form to function' or 'word to world' approach in Searle's (1976) terms. The exhortatory texts, especially those in *Qcorpus1*, give the impression of strong, even violent language. (This lexical feature reappears for discussion in section 5.4). As the principal focus for the writers of persuasive texts is the reader, the intention is likely to be one of intimidation with an underlying threat if action on the part of the reader does not follow. Linguistically, therefore, are these utterances (whether read or heard) warning or threatening the reader? Analysis produced the following results: prophetic instances retrieved from searching SHALL and WILL main clauses attached to such subordinators totalled 103 (*Ocorpus1*) and 41 (*Ocorpus2*). These subordinators are:

lest;

if ... not;

(or) else;

unless;

except (+ nominative personal pronoun);

without (+ nominative personal pronoun).

Counts for these subordinators are shown in Table 5.2. Of the total instances of future-situated prophetic statements retrieved in the combined *Qcorpora*, 10% (150 instances) are attached to a conditional clause introduced by one of the subordinators listed.

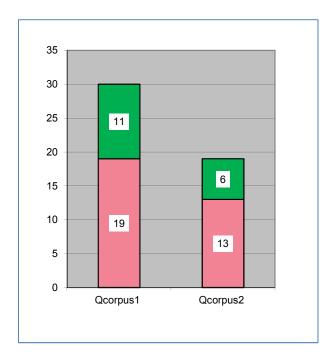
**Table 5.2**: subordinators that introduce clauses linked to prophecies, actual occurrences for *lest* in brackets, normed per 100,000 words

	Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2	
lest	lest 11.2 (46)		
if not	6.5	7.8	
except	3.4	3.0	
(or) else	1.9	0	
unless	1.2	0	
without	0.7	0	
Total	24.9	17.8	

In Table 5.2, the scores show a broad similarity across the two corpora for each conditional subordinator with the exception of occurrences of *lest* in *Qcorpus1*, although the actual number of raw counts is not high. Results for *if* ... *not* are similar for both corpora and are not analysed here, allowing *lest* to serve as the more interesting item for present purposes. *Lest* is defined by the *OED* as introducing a clause conveying 'a possible or uncertain event

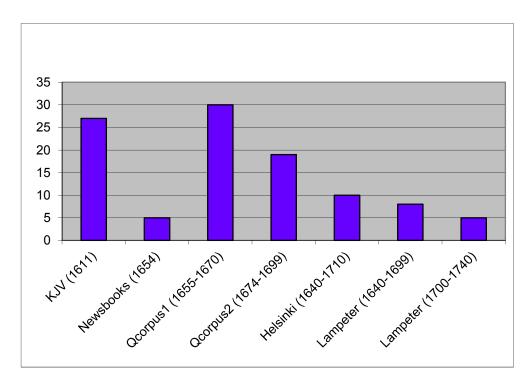
on which other things depend or are conditional'. Rissanen (1999:305) explains the usage of *lest* in EModE where 'the intention or purpose to prevent or guard against something is expressed'. It therefore appears to have a distinctive connotation and the corpus results bear this assertion out. *Lest* appears to be the subordinator of choice for prophecies linked to warning in *Qcorpus1*. I argue that the function of this conjunction is to carry a strong conditional sense of WARNING, rather than THREATENING or simply URGING. The translators of the *KJV* (1611), however, only found use for one instance of the item in the *Book of Revelation* and that one cannot be coded as a prophetic warning according to the criteria developed for the present study.

Figure 5.2 gives a comparison of the frequency of *lest* instances over the two *Qcorpora* and provides evidence for the reduction in the strength of the illocutionary force of urgent warnings in *Qcorpus2* (see more on the question of comparing the two *Qcorpora* in section 5.4). This is supported by examples of the collocating lexis provided below showing *lest* collocating with the stronger-toned verbs, including multi-word verbs foretelling an awful eternal fate on the 'Day of the Lord'. Those warned risked being: *swept away, cast away, cut off, shut out*. Figure 5.2 shows a reduced score for all tokens of *lest*, and also a smaller proportion of those tokens operating as an introducer to WARNING clauses.



**Figure 5.2**: comparison of the occurrences of the subordinator *lest* in each *Qcorpus*. Each bar represents the total instances per 100,000 words of *lest* tokens. The upper segment in each bar represents the occurrences in which *lest* introduces a prophetic subordinate clause.

Datasets from five corpora are used for comparing general usage of the adverbial subordinator *lest*. These corpora or sub-corpora cover the period between 1640 and 1740. As well as the *HC* and the *LC* introduced earlier in the present thesis, the new datasets comprise (presented chronologically, as far as possible, from left to right in Figure 5.3): the complete Bible (*KJV*, 1611), the *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus* (two collections of seventeenth-century English 'newsbooks' texts), and on the far right are the remaining texts from the *LC*, those relating to the early eighteenth-century. *Qcorpus1* and *Qcorpus2* occurrences of all contexts are included, not only apocalyptic prophetic ones. We therefore have a spread of general and specialised corpora covering approximately 100 years. Results from this comparison exercise of the use of *lest* over time and in different text types are shown in Figure 5.3.



**Figure 5.3**: comparison of *lest* instances found in a range of corpora (date range 1611-1710), normed per 100,000 words.

These results highlight the distinctive use of *lest* by early Quaker writers, especially up until 1670. The counts for the *KJV* could be interpreted as implying that Quakers used the biblical style as a model; the extent of Quakers' direct biblical quoting should also be taken into account. The high frequencies for the Quaker datasets indicate that there appears to be some extra connotation of Rissanen's 'uncertain events on which other things depend' being employed which enabled Quaker apocalyptic discourse to express such warning and doom.

An interesting result from the analysis on conditional clauses indicates that according to speech act theory, these occurrences would not meet the conditions necessary for classification as THREAT. The present study finds evidence of the illocutionary force of URGING or WARNING but not THREATENING. Walton (2000) gives an account of this speech act. He claims that an essential condition for establishing the act of THREAT is that the speaker will commit to the event actually occurring (p.114). The 'speaker' would need to

be God for this condition to be fulfilled. The final classification, therefore, seems to depend on the theological beliefs of the reader, whether then or today.

This section concludes the report into the investigation into the primary meaning for prophetic discourse. In the next section, we move to a consideration of other forms, beginning with 'woe' prophecy.

# **5.3** Forms of prophecy

The purpose of both sections 5.2 and 5.3 is to find answers to the question of how early Quakers expressed their prophecies; so far, the focus has been on apocalyptic prophetic instances. Smith (1989:26) explains that the present-day sense of 'foretelling the future' was 'subsidiary to the general meaning'. For Puritans, he says, the term implied interpreting or expounding the Old Testament prophets; English Calvinism (ibid:27) used it to mean 'experimental knowledge' or the sharing of experiences. Other types involved interpreting dreams or visions, the prophets themselves not always being aware of the import of their sayings. For many people the age of prophecy finished with the Bible, but Smith describes in his chapter how it reappeared in early modern England and elsewhere. Outward events seemed so chaotic as to lend credence to the imminent arrival of Christ's second coming, an interpretation of the end of the present world order and described in the Book of Revelation. This was known as Millenarianism. Moore (2000:66;72) holds that prominent Quakers such as James Nayler and Edward Burrough were not Millenarian as they believed that the thousand-year Kingdom of God on earth had already begun and was experienced as a spiritual, inward event; other scholars, such as Peters (2005:154-155), use the term 'spiritual millenarianism'.

I now consider other forms of prophetic writing and how they occur in Quaker expression, based on corpus findings.

# 5.3.1 'Woe' prophecy form

Firstly we consider the 'woe' form of foretelling prophecies, mentioned in section 5.2.1. The lexical item *woe* occurs with relatively high frequency in the Quaker texts: 176 total *woe* tokens. The distribution between Qcorpus1: Qcorpus2 gives a ratio of 72: 28. Section 5.4 compares the two sub-corpora more fully in diachronic terms but it is clear from these figures that 'woe' type prophecies were fading away as the century came to an end. Figure 5.4 shows a varied selection of occurrences taken from both Qcorpora. Line 6 is part of a narrative-like discourse, in contrast to the other exhortatory examples. These are interjections of two semi-fixed constructions: either woe + BE (indicative or subjunctive mood) or woe + (un)to. (An inspection of all 68 instances of woe in the KJV reveals the same two constructions for 63 of them and woe in simple noun form for the remainder.)

#### N Concordance

and cast reproof behind your backs, woe and misery will be your end, yee repent 2 of your birth, and howl and lament for the wo and misery that shall come upon you. Now 3 whether it be yea or nay, R. S. Woe, woe, woe be unto thee W. B. for acting so much everlasting howling and mourning: Oh, woe, woe be unto you, your own consciences will 5 them to give to him and his worship. But wo is all your portions, you cannot escape the 6 Corruptions and Sins are many, and now the woe is come to the Children of Men, and to the and there his spirit shall no longer strive: Oh woe is me for your souls! a lamentation there 7 he hath determined. Wherefore wo, wo, wo to the earth with her inhabitants, horror and 8 9 Ungodly Gaines; for Gods day is come, and Wo to all the Workers of Iniquity. O ye 10 is prepared for the devill and his angells. And wo to all you corrupt Magistrates, who are to the proud Persons, Wo to the Scoffers, Wo to the Drunkards of England; Wo unto 12 For mortal man is but to run his Race. And woe to them that shall not Obey his Grace; for 13 and justified in his judgements. Woe, Woe, Woe unto thee, O Town of Appleby, the to their Lord and Master Christ Jesus. And Wo will be to them who hide their Lords Money 15 to the Children of Pride in that day; and Wo, Wo will be to the Blind Guides that wear the from the Lord to the Inhabitants of the Earth Wo, wo! to the Inhabitants of the earth, and all 16 17 the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Woe, woe, woe be unto you, the terrible and

**Figure 5.4**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, illustrating 'woe' declarative statements in the *Qcorpora*.

The breakdown of the quantitative results of the different distribution in the two *Qcorpora* of types of *woe*-forms is as follows. (Figure 5.5 repeats the findings in graphical form.)

#### Ocorpus1

• 82.5% (104) instances out of 126 tokens are coded pragmatically as nounbased (*woe* + *to/unto*) and 6.3% (8) as a bare interjection. The remainder, 11.2%, (14) are in narrative stretches of text.

# Qcorpus2

• 58% (29) instances out of 50 tokens are coded pragmatically as noun-based (woe + to/unto), 16% (8) as part of a warning and 6% (3) as a bare interjection. The remainder, 20% (10) are in narrative stretches of text.

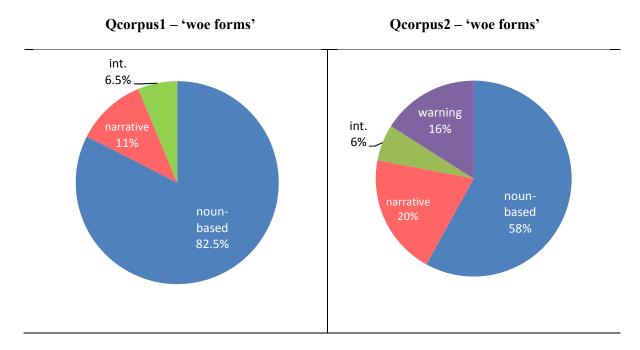


Figure 5.5: 'woe' tokens for each *Qcorpus* as a percentage share, coded pragmatically

So, why is it surprising to see seventeenth-century texts containing this form of prophetic statement? According to Aune (1991:96), the 'woe oracle' form of prophecy was only found in Old Testament texts and two elements typify it: a) 'specific misdeeds of those against whom the oracle is directed' and b) 'the threat which follows'. Sweeney (1996:18-30) states that this form was used to criticise specific actions and attitudes of people; it then announced punishments to come. The Old Testament form comprises the introductory exclamation *woe* and then a description of the action in question. He sees the word as a speech device to attract attention. Quaker writers, as exemplified in the corpora, used the term as an interjection. To strengthen the urgency of their message and to express doom and warning they employed a slightly archaic, biblical style. However, in other aspects the analysis showed that they did not conform to the very specific Old Testament form outlined above, though no doubt the writers were familiar with those biblical texts. In general, this lexical item appears to have been a convenient formulaic device favoured by the writers exemplified in the corpora, which they used to strengthen the urgency of their message.

### 5.3.2 Other forms of Quaker prophetic discourse

The introduction to this chapter problematised the classification of prophetic discourse, remarking on the many ways in which this somewhat slippery term can be used, as well as the many attempts at semantic, formal or functional approaches that have been proposed in the literature. The corpus data have shown that many of the Quaker tracts include powerful elements of apocalyptic prophecy, at least prior to the 1670s. However, the 'experience' element (involving first person singular statements) is also important for Quaker prophetic discourse as personal revelation was their primary source of inspiration. For Smith at least, all Quaker writing was 'prophetic' in this sense with its own distinctive style (1989:66-72). The term that Friends generally preferred to prophecy, however, was declaration or testimony. To this should be added the Quaker word proclamation, which for them meant in effect preaching or setting out a personal statement of belief ('experiences' in Smith's explanation for the terms, ibid:54, Peters, 2005:19, termed this text type 'spiritual autobiography'). All these descriptive words are frequent in the *Qcorpora*. The rhetorical style of these texts is descriptive. The Quaker approach centred on personal spiritual experiences, similar to those of the Baptist women whose texts are reprinted in full in Freeman (2011). These personal narrative texts enabled readers to understand the Quaker message and how this approach manifested itself in their lives. Quakers further employed the term testimony to extend the sense of experience to include the ways in which these experiences manifested themselves as a 'witness' in their outward lives. Chapter 7 of the present study offers an analysis of the lexical items witness and testimony as used by Quakers.

## 5.3.3 'Proclamation', 'declaration' and 'testimony' Quaker texts

10 texts occur in *Qcorpus1* which meet the two criteria of: i) a 'testimony' discourse type (in the Quaker sense), or ii) a title which includes the words 'declaration', 'proclamation' (i.e. 'proclamation of the Quaker faith') or 'testimony'; 13 such texts are present in *Qcorpus2*. The texts are typified by past-tense narratives or other first-person singular descriptive texts expressing aspects of the writer's spiritual journey. They are separate from the future-situated apocalyptic texts analysed earlier in this chapter. Quaker writers did not set out to produce clear-cut text-types but rather were led to express a range of messages; because of this, these texts are not easy to classify neatly (see Runyon, 2004:567-576; Moore, 2000:242; Peters, 1995:7). In order to aid analysis, the following summary of these texts is set out below:

**Table 5.3**: distribution in the *Qcorpora* of *proclamation*, *declaration* and *testimony* texts

Quantity	Qcorpus1		Quantity	Qcorpus2
10	declaration texts but no	13		testimony texts or spiritual
10	testimonies.		13	journey descriptions.
	texts contain 'declaration'			spiritual journey description,
2	in the title.		1	contains 'declaration' in the
				title.
	are addressed to the			are addressed to other
All	general public or to priests or		10	Quakers.
	those in authority.			
				testimony texts have a special
			9	meaning: descriptions of how
				recently dead Quakers
				witnessed to the Light of Christ
				in their life.

There are two observations post-1673 to make here: a) an increase of *testimony* texts or *spiritual journey* texts; and b), the burgeoning of texts in this group being sent and published internally, Quaker to Quaker. It should not be taken that this ratio of 'declaration' prophetic texts to all Quaker tracts of the period is a reliable measure of all published Quaker texts of the period, and it is important to remember that some texts contain several types of rhetorical purpose; for instance, there are one or two examples found in the apocalyptic prophetic dataset for many of the texts listed above. Here are examples of some of the titles:

'A Declaration to the Whole World.'

'A Testimony of the True Light of the World.'

'O England, thy Time has Come.'

'A True Believer's Testimony of the Work of True Faith.'

According to Aune (1991:331), an indication of a 'proclamation' text is the inclusion of a formula including *hear* or *listen*, as found in early Christian texts. The Quaker corpora do indeed include variants of this speech act, paraphrased from Ezekiel 3:27. *Qcorpus1* has 37 instances (0.9) of *hear* and 7 of *hearken* in this context; *Qcorpus2* similarly yields 36 (1.5) for *hear*, but none for *hearken*. These instances do not occur neatly within the 'proclamation' texts; nevertheless, the phrase was a popular concluding one for many tracts. Here, for example, is a typical concluding disclaimer from Margaret Braister in 1678:

(10) These few words were laid upon me from the Lord to write unto you, and whether you will hear or forbear I shall be clear of your Blood thus far. (in John Browne, 1678)

This section of the present enquiry does not readily lend itself to much quantitative analysis. However, the theoretical work published by Sweeney (1996:22-30) in which he identifies 17 general discourse types for all prophecy rhetoric is a useful basis for analysing

the Quaker varieties. The list in Table 5.4 presents a qualitative summary taken from the 23 texts that contain the terms *declaration*, *proclamation or testimony* according to the criteria set out above. Some texts fit into more than one category.

**Table 5.4**: distribution of prophetic discourse types in each *Qcorpus* 

Discourse type	Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2
narrative	4	4
	4	4
expounding of scriptural texts	3	1
preaching	3	3
spiritual experience	1	1
apocalyptic utterance	1	0
prophetic disputation (question/answer format)	1	0
not 'prophetic' in any sense but has <i>testimony</i> or <i>declaration</i> in the title	0	6

These figures show that narrative or preaching is the preferred rhetorical style for these discourse types. Very few of the texts in the *Qcorpus* in general are written in narrative form; this prophetic function appears to be a good reason for Quaker authors to make exceptional use of it. Smith explains that seventeenth-century radical religious prophets, of whom the Quakers were a prominent group, chose to speak directly from God, using 'complex modes of address connected with the conviction that they spoke the words of God, or that God spoke directly through them' (Smith, 1989:62). Using this insight, a keyword search on the first person singular pronoun 'I' enables some quantitative comparisons between these declarative prophecy texts and the Quaker corpus as a whole. Table 5.5 gives the normed (per 1,000) results for the eight prophecy 'narrative' texts in the *Qcorpus*. The texts cover both seventeenth-century Quaker periods.

**Table 5.5**: first person singular instances in *declarative* prophecy texts in the *Qcorpora*, normed per 1,000 words.

Quaker author	'I' pers. pron. tokens per text		
Strutt	33.7		
Briggs	29.1		
Nayler	24.8		
Simmonds	18.0		
Bathurst	15.0		
Rofe	12.1		
Briggins	11.0		
Burnyeate	8.4		

For comparison purposes, a random selection of texts in the *Qcorpora* was tested separately for this item and yielded results of between only 1.8 and 5.8 instances per 1,000 words. The relatively low score in Table 5.5 for the Burnyeate text is due to its more complex syntax compared with the other texts in this category. The density of 'I' clauses in that text is low even though he is describing his period of convincement as a Quaker. The evidence indicates that the first person narrative element is rare in most of the texts in the *Qcorpora*, emphasising the distinctive rhetorical style of these few texts listed above.

### 5.3.4 Spiritual counsel texts as 'preaching' prophecy

Many of the prophetic instances carrying positive loading connotations in *Qcorpus2* could also be classified as 'spiritual counsel', a form of preaching by giving advice that is non-context specific. Their underlying purpose can be interpreted as encouraging newly-convinced Quakers who have joined the movement or inspiring new or faltering groups of Quakers. Texts in the *Qcorpus* that include this kind of prophecy discourse include: Dorothy White (1684, Wing W1752); Dorcas Dole (1685, Wing D1836); William Dewsbury (1688,

Wing D1269). Early Quakers often modelled themselves on the Apostles, and epistles and other printed texts were a means of support similar to some New Testament texts (see Barclay, 1676:6; Gwyn, 1984:128-133; Horn, 2008:299). Further analysis of Quaker texts outside the present corpus might show whether this text type became more prevalent within eighteenth-century Quaker publications, although such an enquiry is beyond the scope of the present thesis. Some occurrences could be classified as prophesying promises rather than events, and indeed some tend towards the formulaic. Towards the end of the century a greater number of Quaker writers felt themselves to be in a newly-established tradition of Quakerism, some of them the children of the originators of the movement during the English Civil War. Formulaic conclusions to published epistles were becoming more commonplace, indicating the beginnings of conformity to a shared Quaker culture. Extending data to the first two or three decades of the eighteenth century might show a trend towards more optimistic prophesying as the Quaker movement began to turn inwards (Jones, 1921:1-4; Bauman, 1998:153; Allen, 2013:44-45).

Section 5.3 built on the discussion begun in section 5.2 in response to Question 1 that was posed at the start of this chapter ('How is the Quaker prophetic message expressed in the texts?'); it then moved on to a consideration of a wide variety of Quaker and other prophetic styles and rhetorical expression: apocalyptic prophecies with contrasting connotations; the illocutionary force of WARNING in prophetic conditional subordinate clauses; the special case of the *woe* prophecy form, and finally, prophetic discourse beyond the predictive variety. The response to Question 1, evinced by my findings, comprises descriptions and analysis of the contexts of such prophecy, particularly the negativity as well as the optimism embodied in the rhetoric; the implications of the directive speech acts found in the conditional clauses attached to some prophetic declarative statements and how they employed strongly persuasive

language in pursuit of their aims. In addition, the response explores other types of Quaker prophecy besides 'predictive' apocalyptic types, namely 'woe', testimony, as well as declarative prophecy and spiritual counsel as a form of Quaker prophetic preaching.

The next section broadens the focus of enquiry by analysing comparisons with non-Quaker texts in order to gauge the distinctiveness of this aspect of Quaker discourse.

## 5.4 Comparisons with non-Quaker texts

So far, we have considered findings in the *Qcorpora* as evidence of Quaker prophetic discourse and its expression. There is qualitative evidence in the literature enabling fruitful comparisons with non-Quaker discourse. For instance, Cecconi (2009:154) in her study on early news texts claims that in the seventeenth century, after reporting some terrible news event, the editors might add formulaic warnings such as Repent, oh England/ Protestants/Papists, the Kingdom of God is at Hand. This kind of language would have been familiar to some Quaker writers. For quantitative evidence, comparisons with non-Quaker electronic searchable texts would be useful in order to contrast the findings with other text types and writers using corpus analysis techniques. This would help to make sense of frequency data. Unfortunately, there is relatively little in terms of other digitised historical data sources that can help in this respect. There are several general and specialist corpora now available: the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (1410-1681), the Corpus of Early English Recipes (1552-1700), the Old Bailey Corpus (1674-1913) and the Newdigate Letters Corpus (1673-1715), but the sizes are still quite small for our purposes and the genres in these corpora are not relevant for the purposes of the present project. Quaker texts are a mixture of several rhetorical text types in both the religious and the political domains. As the

introduction to the present thesis explains, findings from other comparative sources can only provide indications of certain distinctive features in the Quaker texts. However, some comparison is better than none. The following analytical investigations are presented below as a follow-up to those in sections 5.2 and 5.3 in this chapter. The section covers three comparative investigations: Quaker 'foretelling' prophetic discourse compared to non-Quaker texts, diachronic comparison of seventeenth-century Quaker prophetic writing, and thirdly diachronic comparison of lexical usage in early Quaker prophetic discourse.

# 5.4.1 'Foretelling' prophecy comparisons

In this section, the *Qcorpora* texts are compared with the *HC* and the *LC*. The *KJV* of the Bible is the other dataset used for comparison. Table 5.6 presents the Quaker findings previously listed in section 5.2.3 but this time alongside the findings from the corpora listed above. The occurrences in the *HC* and *LC* combined dataset for the 'foretelling' prophetic utterances are only found in the religious domain texts of the *LC*; none were retrieved from the *HC* texts. Excluded from these figures are the occurrences linked to a dependent conditional clause from these figures, but included are the occurrences in the *Book of Revelation* since that is the source for many of the Quakers' apocalyptic utterances.

**Table 5.6**: comparison of all 'foretelling' instances across five sub-corpora as sub-sets of all SHALL/WILL forms, normed per10,000 words, actual figures in brackets

	Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2	both <i>Qcorpora</i>	HC/LC	Book of Revelation (KJV)
all occurrences	83.1	43.6	69.7	53.9	116.6
of SHALL/ WILL modals	(3,405)	(1,044)	(4,449)	(5,151)	(145)
all occurrences	30.1	11.4	23.6	0.1	101.3
of prophecy speech acts	(1,236)	(274)	(1,510)	(15)	(126)

This result shows how frequently the Quakers were writing apocalyptic declarative statements compared with even the religious texts in the LC, especially in the period prior to 1670 (30.1 instances per 10,000 words). The *Book of Revelation* shows a much higher frequency than any other set (101.3 per 10,000 words), but its function is primarily prophetic and so is the benchmark text for all Christian-era prophesying. The sample is also much smaller than the other datasets. The comparative ratios of all occurrences of SHALL/WILL to those as prophecy speech act verbs are shown below in Table 5.7:

**Table 5.7**: occurrences of SHALL/WILL modal auxiliaries introducing prophetic utterances, as a proportion of all such tokens in each comparison corpus.

Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2	Both <i>Qcorpora</i>	HC/LC	Book of Revelation (KJV)
27:73	21:79	25:75	1:99	46:54

Table 5.7 shows that approximately a quarter of all SHALL/WILL occurrences in the Quaker corpora are future-related prophecies, just under half of such occurrences in the *Book of Revelation* are predictive prophetic and almost none of the general or religious texts in the

HC and LC samplers contain predictive prophetic propositional statements. One study in the literature, Gotti (2003:267-296), has reported findings for all functions of SHALL and WILL in historical texts. He compares the M3 (Middle English) and E3 samplers of the HC with a corpus of PDE. For the prediction/prophetic occurrences in the HC E3 section, he finds just 4 instances for SHALL-forms and none for WILL-forms (p.293). The Quaker scores are evidence of the high frequency of occurrences for the whole Quaker corpus and especially so for Qcorpus1 alone. This result provides some confirmation that the criteria used for the Quaker analysis are sound.

I now turn to comparisons for predictive prophetic utterances carrying various connotations. Section 5.2 in the present chapter separated the Quaker occurrences into context-based positive and negative connotations. Findings from a similar analysis are shown in Table 5.8 with regard to the figures for the comparison corpora.

Table 5.8: comparison of context-based prophecy-connotations retrieved from six corpora

	Qcorpus1	Qcorpus2	<b>Qcorpora</b> combined	HC/LC	Book of Revelation (KJV)
negative	20.2	6.8	15.5	0.09	31.3
prophecies	(829)	(163)	(992)	(9)	(39)
positive	8.2	4.1	6.8	0.04	40.2
prophecies	(339)	(100)	(439)	(4)	(50)
neutral prophecies	1.8	0.4	1.3	0	25.7
	(74)	(11)	(85)	(2)	(32)

The Quaker normed scores appear alongside data from the *HC* E3 section and the *LC* corpora as well as results from the *Book of Revelation*. The interesting observations are the scores for *Qcorpus1* and *Revelation*; only the *Qcorpus1* scores come close to the frequencies in

*Revelation* and the ratios for positive to negative are in opposition. Table 5.9 brings that out more clearly.

**Table 5.9**: ratios of positive to negative connotations in the *Book of Revelation (KJV)* and Quaker texts, excluding those coded as neutral or conditional

	positive :	negative
Book of Revelation	56 :	44
Qcorpus1 & Qcorpus2	31 :	69
Qcorpus I alone	29 :	71

Table 5.9 sets out the quantitative data in term of the proportions of optimistic and pessimistic connotation occurrences in the *Book of Revelation*, in the *Qcorpora* in general and in *Qcorpus1* in particular. The classification for negative and positive connotations in *Revelation* is somewhat rudimentary bearing in mind the poetic and abstruse nature of the text.

The proportion of prophetic statements in the *Book of Revelation* classified in the present study as positive is greater than the negatively-classified set. This contrasts strongly with the early Quaker interpretation of the apocalypse, according to the corpus evidence. In other words, the Quakers' vision of the 'Day of the Lord' is a good deal more pessimistic than the biblical one. The contrast is even more striking if the *Qcorpus1* figures are taken alone, 29:71 as a ratio of positive to negative statements. The less surprising result is the insignificant figure from the combined resources of the *HC* and *LC*; those texts include domains less specialised from the point of view of the present study and act more as a reference benchmark. This section goes some way to providing answers to Question 2: 'In what linguistic respects is the Quaker prophetic discourse distinctive, compared to other seventeenth-century prose?'

### 5.4.2 A diachronic study of Quaker prophetic language over a 50-year period

Question 3, posed at the start of the present chapter, asks if there is any discernible change in style or rhetoric over the whole period of the *Qcorpus* in order to test through corpus-based methods the several assertions in the literature that this is so. Moore describes (2000:204) the changes taking place in Quakerism from the 1660s onwards, especially in the context of the new Morning Meeting's work (1673). She suggests there is a reduction in the stridency of tone between the styles of the pamphlets she has studied that were published during the first two periods (broadly speaking) of seventeenth-century English Quakers (the period covered by *Qcorpus1* and *Qcorpus2*). She observes:

In the course of a few years, the Quaker movement changed from being one of the most radical of the sects that were looking for the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth, and became an introverted body, primarily concerned with its own internal life, while Quaker theological statements increasingly used the language of traditional Christianity. (Moore, 2000:214)

Hall (1992:82), in his careful study of the work of the MM, concludes that it was 'filtering out the irrational, fanatical, repetitive, illiterate or untruthful from the varied manuscripts submitted'. Moore (2012:16) agrees that the MM's policy was to aim for submitted texts to contain less provocative language (ibid:16) and to reject any proposed publications, particularly 'apocalyptic prophecy which was seen as incompatible with the ethos of the times' (ibid:11). In her more recent (2012) article, she reports on her ongoing research of the historical situation between 1670 and 1700 when 'the urgent problem was to convince the authorities of Quaker theological respectability' (2012:17). Barbour & Roberts agree (2004:574), commenting that production of apocalyptic-related pamphlets gradually lessened over this later period, publication of such texts being at its highest in the 1650s. Other scholars note the earlier style, which they suggest was disappearing in the last quarter of the century: O'Malley (1982:86) cites the 'aggressive prophetic material that had been

produced in the 1650s' and Keeble (1995:121-122) describes the earlier text style as 'the assertiveness of Quaker discourse' with its preference for 'castigation and denunciation'. Bauman (1998:145-150) compares the earlier prophetic ministers that spoke (i.e. wrote) 'with vehement intensity, to the extent ... that they were frequently accused of "railing" ... The Lamb's War was not to be waged with restraint'. He summarises these changes as evidence of 'the routinization of prophetic religion' and notes that by even the 1670s, 'all tone and action was to be moderated.'

# 5.4.3 Diachronic change within the Qcorpus

This section looks at lexical and stylistic changes over time through comparison of *Qcorpus1* and *Qcorpus2*. Differences already mentioned in the present chapter are repeated here as further evidence to support the qualitative claims of a softening of style and purpose as the century came to a close. Many studies, including some of the ones cited in section 5.4.2, do not look beyond the 1660s or 1670s in their commentary. The present study is different in that it defines the second period as between 1673-1699.

Examples (11) and (12) of all types of apocalyptic prophetic utterance from *Qcorpus2* illustrate the flavour of the changes in style of the two *Qcorpora* in terms of strength and stridency of prophetic statements. Although there are evident changes over time, it should be remembered that the period for this diachronic enquiry only has a total range of just 50 years. This is a relatively short historical period for clear changes to become apparent. Firstly, we look at negative-loaded utterances:

- (11) God **will shake** and **undo** your Directory or Church-Faith made by Men, whereby many have been kept from waiting for the Spirit of God. (James Parke, 1692)
- (12) And you that have bought it [any thing of thy Neighbour's] out of covetousness, because you could have it at a cheap rate, or taking it away, and have furnished your houses with it, you **will be found** Guilty before the Lord. (Theophila Townsend, 1687)

I classified these three examples as prophetic, but there are some references to earthly, time-bound matters both in (11): 'your Directory or Church-Faith' (this was probably the Presbyterian Directory of Public Worship of 1640), and (12): 'and have furnished your houses with it', a specific reference to bailiffs and Quaker non-payment of tithes. There is an attempt to invoke the Lord to bring retribution for these behaviours, a shadow of the 'railing' of earlier Quaker doom-mongering. Examples (13) and (14) show a difference in their softening of persuasive style. Even God's alleged utterances seem less insistent now. They are two examples of prophetic statements with positive loading: 'the Lord will bring thorow' (i.e. 'bring us through safely'), and 'heavenly treasures, which will never decay'.

- (13) And if it be so, that the Devil cast into Prison, fear it not, but in Patience possess your Souls, for the Lord **will bring** thorow; for we speak what we know. (Thomas & Alice Curwen, 1680)
- (14) And again I say Rejoyce, because with them by your being Faithful unto the Lord God your maker unto the death, you **shall be** sharers and partakers of these Heavenly Treasures, which **will** never **decay**. (John Songhurst, 1680)

The sentiments expressed in these examples feel more derivative and reliant on biblical phrases, even second-hand. Looking for something that is hardly present is difficult research but even an absence of hard data is evidence. This type of stylistic change is mostly demonstrated by qualitative means through example and comparison. However, such comparative quantitative data as is feasible between the two corpora provide a first step towards confirming the hypothesis propounded at the beginning of this chapter of a much reduced occurrence of all types of prophecy and a narrowing of the gap between negative and positive connotations as the seventeenth century draws to a close. The sections that follow present quantitative findings derived from evidence in the *Qcorpus*.

# 5.4.4 Diachronic lexical change within early Quaker prophetic discourse

A comparison of affect lexis between the two corpora strengthens the impression of a less strident, forceful tone in many of the later tracts. (Barbour & Roberts, 2004:53, claim that the texts actually became more 'strident' between 1660 and 1673.) A selection of relatively high-ranking frequency headwords in the semantic field of exhortatory lexis and negative prophetic connotations is listed here, together with frequency data; some items derive from the domain of biblical apocalyptic language. Two histograms are presented for convenience of representation: firstly in Figure 5.6, four higher-frequency lemmatised headwords *judge*, *dark*, *wicked*, *destroy*; and secondly in Figure 5.7, a collection of lower-frequency items (although still ranking near the top of the content words of this semantic domain for *Qcorpus1*). All items are normed per 10,000 words. The ranking for presentation is principally determined by the *Qcorpus1* frequency list.

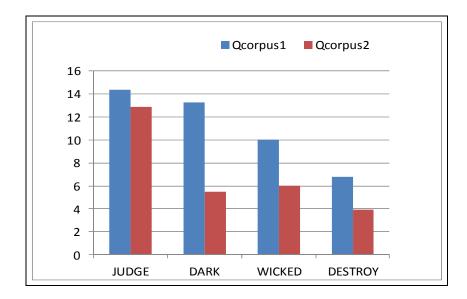
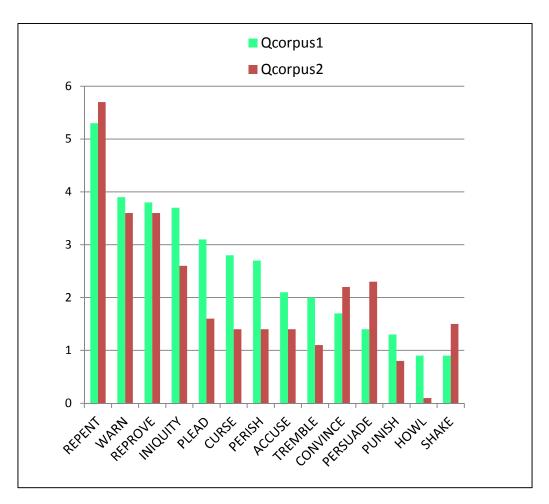


Figure 5.6: normed frequencies of the lemmatised headwords JUDGE, DARK, WICKED, DESTROY in both *Qcorpora*.

#### N Concordance

to leade all men by his Light, out of death, and darkness, which is not of God but is of the devill) 1 you live in, and plead for term of life; then shal darkness be your inheritance, and the reward of 3 also, yet to little purpose whilst they seek to destroy: the works of the Spirit: Nor doth Christ thus saith the Lord, Wo unto the shepherds that destroy and scatter my flock, saith the Lord; ye 4 doth keep me alive in his light of life, from this destroying devouring generation of unreasonable 5 6 before you act any thing or judge, lest God judge you afterward, for be assured he will. 7 the Light of Christ is risen, and with it you are judged and condemned, and seen to be Enemies eat you thorow as a Canker, and shal rise up in judgement against you. Howle ye proud Priests, 8 9 satisfie which you have spent in your pride, & wicked words and actions against the pure spirit 10 and in sincerity; but he hides himself from the wicked and covetous priests and people, for that 11 but if you continue in your abominations and wickedness, and will not be allured by the tender 12 Fountain; yea Sodom came short of your wickedness, and the children of Gomorrha might 13 enwing, cozening, cheating, and all manner of wickednesse, O you are shut out from the 14 he then sued us at the Law (which is double wickednesse in the sight of God, and will appear

**Figure 5.7**: example concordances lines, sorted alphabetically by node word, in *Qcorpus1* for JUDGE, DARK, WICKED, DESTROY.



**Figure 5.8**: relative scores of a selection of high-frequency content-lexis located in the exhortatory and negative connotation fields, and ordered by decreasing frequencies found in *Qcorpus1*.

Collocations for the items shown in Figures 5.7 and 5.8 are similar in both corpora, although the senses differ to some extent in *Qcorpus2*. For example, more of the JUDGE occurrences relate to the criminal justice system than is the case in the earlier corpus; some of the TREMBLE occurrences in *Qcorpus2* refer to the alternative nickname of 'Tremblers' given to Quakers. Most of the selected items show a predicted decrease in the later corpus, although sometimes by only a small amount. The interesting result that goes against that trend is *repent* in *Qcorpus2*; to some extent this item has been discussed in section 5.2 of the present chapter in connection with conditional clauses but it seems as though the warning increased in later years, perhaps becoming more formulaic over time. The other increases in *Qcorpus2* 

compared to the *Qcorpus1* scores are those for *convince* and *persuade*. These have an exhortatory connotation but indicate the softening of tone hypothesised earlier. The particular Quaker connotation for the word *convince/convincement* is discussed in more detail in chapter 7 under the entry for that item in section 7.5.

The more colourful biblical language in *Qcorpus1*, illustrated in Figures 5.7 and 5.8, is much less evident in *Qcorpus2* both in terms of frequency of token or range of type. The case for confirming the hypothesis proposed in the introduction to this chapter is thus strengthening. Evidence from earlier sections in the present chapter adds to the new findings reported so far in this section. These changes found in *Qcorpus2* were: data showing the reduction of strength of the illocutionary force of urgent warning, as exemplified by occurrences of *lest* conditional clauses (section 5.2.4); only a quarter of the occurrences of the lexical item *woe* and the underlying pragmatic force of this type of prophesying (section 5.3.1); the development and increase in quantity of the '*testimony*' text type and its associated 'declaration' preaching rhetoric (section 5.3.4). Because of extra-linguistic historical events both within the Quaker movement and in England in general, there was a move towards more 'spiritual counsel' and personal experience texts as the century came to a close.

There is one indication that the organisation of the emerging Quaker movement ('the people called Quakers') was starting to become more institutionalised (the 'routinization of charisma', to use Bauman's phrase, 1998:137) towards the end of the seventeenth century. This is the frequency of occurrence of formulaic phrases. One of these contains the headword CLEAR, for example:

- I have cleared my conscience / my self.
- for the clearing of my conscience/of truth.
- to clear that which was upon me.

These often occur as closers to published texts that aim to persuade individuals or groups to repent and change their behaviour. The phrase, with its variants, expressed frustration at the lack of understanding on the part of the recipient and an expression of 'washing my hands' of the apparent sinfulness. *Qcorpus1* contains 20 instances (4.8 per 100,000 words) of this phrase or its variant. *Qcorpus2* shows an increased frequency level: 27 (11.4 per 100,000 words). More research into this and similar formulaic phrases both for the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century could prove instructive, although as noted in section 5.3.4, the extending of these enquiries past the end of the seventeenth century, is similarly beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Here is a summary of observed changes over the period covering the two *Qcorpora*. In *Qcorpus2*:

- A greater proportion of predictive instances are closer to neutral prediction than prophecy such as occur in *Qcorpus1*. The examples retrieved tend to express a weaker force in this corpus as well as being numerically less frequent than those in *Qcorpus1*.
- A higher proportion of examples in *Qcorpus2* than in the earlier corpus are associated with conditional clauses in the surrounding context. There is a reduction in the occurrence of 'woe' prophetic instances and an increase in texts as a Quaker version of prophetic 'preaching' (i.e. providing spiritual counsel) as well as personal 'testimony' texts. This latter text type includes a Quaker version of obituary for deceased Friends.
- These changes take place within approximately one or two generations of Quakers and are all the more striking for that reason.

Finally, change is never clear-cut and there is a fuzzy boundary, even after 1673 and the start of the MM's control of texts for publication. But change there is.

### 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore three questions connected to early Quaker prophetic language as evidenced in the two *Qcorpora*:

- (1) How is the Quaker prophetic message expressed in the texts?
- (2) In what linguistic respects is the Quaker prophetic discourse distinctive, compared to other seventeenth-century prose?
- (3) Do the first two periods of Quakerism show differences in language use or expression?

The results of investigations using several different methods lead to a number of answers, while recognising the difficulty of making clear comparisons with non-Quaker published material. Firstly, I reviewed the linguistic expression of the Quaker prophetic message. The main type of prophetic writing is found in the eschatological message of seventeenth-century Quakers and the accompanying sense of urgency to act before the end of time should be upon the world. The study provides examples of both optimistic and pessimistic apocalyptic statements, noting that the first generation of Quakers in particular expressed a greater proportion of negative statements to hopeful or positive ones. Other such prophetic exhortations are attached to conditional clauses. Although expressed in strong, 'railing' language, these exhortations are nevertheless classified in the present study more as conveying a sense of warning or strong persuasion rather than threatening. The stylistic tone of the message may have reached the reader as a threat but speech-act analysis showed that strictly speaking, this is not the case. A sub-set of a type of prophetic discourse known as

'woe' prophecy is included in the *Qcorpus*; this ancient form was revived by seventeenth-century Quaker writers as a device to strengthen their message.

Other rhetorical discourse which in early modern England was also termed 'prophecy' is also found in Quaker texts from both periods; these text types include a Quaker version of sermonising or preaching that Quakers referred to as 'testimony', 'proclamation' or 'declarative' texts. Analysis presented in the present chapter revealed that these texts (or stretches of text) account for a lower frequency in terms of total word count but are still an important part of the whole Quaker prophetic genre. The writers often employ a narrative or descriptive style, as opposed to the exhortatory style of the apocalyptic texts, and express first-hand personal spiritual experience. It would appear that the authors or anthology compilers believed such texts would be of service to the public and other Quakers in deepening understanding of the Quaker approach to worship and living in the world. Some of the texts describe the person's 'convincement' experience and how their life has changed. Today, such texts might be recognised as giving 'spiritual counsel' through first-hand experience. As with so much Quaker writing, there is a surprising uniformity of style and language within the texts, given how many different people wrote them. The case is building for a seventeenth-century Quaker sociolect.

The response to the second question posed at the start of the chapter involves quantitative comparisons of future-situated apocalyptic prophecy. Although there is evident linguistic distinctiveness in Quaker prophetic writing *per se* (and noted at several points in the present chapter), comparisons do not easily lend themselves to corpus analysis because of the lack of sufficient data at present. Nevertheless, the study shows not only the expected high frequency of this type of prophetic discourse in the *Qcorpora* compared with corpora containing a variety of genres, but also the nature of the optimistic or pessimistic message in

those occurrences. Quantitative results from the non-Quaker general corpora are unsurprisingly tiny but comparisons showed the Quaker prophecies conveying more negative messages of doom than even the *Book of Revelation*. For seventeenth-century Christians, much of their understanding of the inevitable apocalypse, as they saw it, was based on this book of the *New Testament*. Other types of prophecy were not compared in that quantitative exercise.

Question 3 was posed because of a number of claims in the literature that various changes are apparent in the Quaker writings during the fifty or so years of early Quaker history. Changes identified in the literature include stylistic ones (identified by qualitative means) or historical ones which are reflected in the content of the published texts. This chapter confirms the presence of linguistic differences, finding distinct changes over time. In the later corpus these differences are: (i) a decrease in the amount of strident, castigating language; (ii) the apocalyptic statements, although still present in the corpus, are less negative both in frequency and strength of warning; (iii) the type of texts is more varied with more declarative ones being produced and a new text type, the testimony (or personal experience writing), appears at this time. Along with these changes comes more 'routinisation' of Quaker organisation as the eighteenth century draws near, as Bradstock puts it: 'as hopes began to fade, so some accommodation to the world as it actually turned out had to be negotiated' (Bradstock, 2011:115). These developments include the increasing frequency and repetition of formulaic phrases in publications, the 'conflict' texts between groups of Quakers (discussed in the next chapter), and the organisation-based texts such as epistles to all Friends, and the dissemination of minutes of the national Yearly Meetings and Meetings for Sufferings (instances of these text types are included in *Ocorpus2*) as some situations and textual purposes become more commonplace within the movement. It seems likely that this

trend continued into the eighteenth century as the English Quaker eschatological message quietly retreated, establishing a Quaker tradition that has endured to the present day. This finding throws into relief the distinctive style of the first period of Quakerism and its publications.

Quakers were not the only group in the mid-seventeenth century to be engaged in prophesying, in pamphleteering and in disputing. However, their language in conveying the warning message they were promoting and their commitment to the powerful spiritual experiences that led to these actions ensured a unique body of textual material from a segment of society that on the whole was inadequately educated to fulfil such a task. The picture that emerges from the exploration presented in this chapter is of linguistically rich material that in so many ways is stylistically uniquely 'Quaker'.

Mention has been made above of 'dispute' texts. In the next chapter, I continue the exploration of Quaker discourse by investigating the rather smaller collection in the Quaker corpus of doctrinal dispute texts.

# **CHAPTER 6: DOCTRINAL DISPUTES**

'I shall not think myself obliged to imitate their Prolixity, by following them step by step, over each particular again...' (Thomas Ellwood, 1691)

### **6.1 Introduction**

The broad aim of the present study is to ascertain what the typical characteristics of early Quaker prose style might be. In chapter 4, we dipped into the small set of broadside texts and noted several distinctive features of Quaker prose style. An in-depth look at the majority discourse text-types of early Quaker prophetic rhetoric followed in chapter 5. The present chapter now considers the 49 texts in the *Qcorpus* which I have classified as 'doctrinal dispute' texts (henceforth *DD*).

## 6.1.1 Quaker doctrinal disputes sub-corpus

The *DD* texts form a small but important sub-corpus, comprising nearly 30% of the whole in terms of word count. The search for distinctive characteristics in early Quaker style would be incomplete without investigating this sub-genre. The topic of disputes and conflict in early Quaker history is discussed to some extent in published studies (see below in this section for examples) but until now no studies have produced any detailed analysis. This chapter aims to rectify that omission. One relevant assertion from Cope (1656:738) is tested: that whenever early Quaker writers addressed non-Quakers in print on matters concerning social action they intentionally modified their writing to produce a more conventional style and syntax (italics added here for emphasis):

When John Crook (1662) addresses the county magistrates ... he embroiders his carefully-divisioned arguments with law terminology, quotations from Juvenal, balanced antitheses, and Latin punning. William Smith (1663) ... addresses his Nottingham jailers and the King on liberty of conscience with quiet logic. This difference in style is present *whenever* the early Quakers address themselves outside the Friends' community on matters concerning *social action*: Margaret Fell (1666) ... defends women preaching in short paragraphs of short, limpid sentences... Richard Farnsworth (1665) rebuts the principles of the Clarendon Code in a closely-reasoned argument. (Cope 1956:737-8)

Was 'social action' the limiting topic or occasion for this modification in style or did all matters relevant to Quaker faith and practice receive the same stylistic treatment?

The pamphlet wars of the time are well documented from a historical viewpoint; the Quaker involvement is explained in Peters (1995). She maintains that the disputes were in many cases encouraged by the Quakers: new pamphlet titles were published and distributed in a locality and Quaker preaching at public meetings made use of these texts; this engendered disputes and arguments with the local establishment of magistrates and ministers. The Quakers would then publish an account of such a confrontation and follow that up with any trial proceedings or other developments. Peters says the writing: 'could move from the general to the specific in what appears to be a calculated process' (Peters, 1995:18). Davies (2000:110-111) agrees, giving examples of how Quakers would respond quickly in print to hostile publications from local priests. Bitterman (1973:205) comments that the language in her collection of dispute texts has a 'certain lack of sophistication ... wordy, vehement and full of overstatement, and [...] given to ad hominem arguments'. Studies providing background information include: Brown's short 1991 paper on 'the politics of conscience' arising in texts prior to the start of the Quaker movement; Rodda (2012:12-36) on standard rhetorical techniques of the first half of the seventeenth century used by those participating in religious debate, techniques that the Quakers did not recognise (as Cope, 1956, implies); and Manning (2009:27-48), from a non-Quaker perspective on why Quakers went into print to refute accusations of blasphemy. This campaigning method helps to explain why so many doctrinal dispute texts have come down to us, having been preserved by Quakers and others since that time. Indeed, and perhaps inevitably, the campaign includes the political sphere of argument as well as the religious.

### 6.1.2 Previous work on Quaker dispute texts

Only two studies have made a serious attempt to classify the early Quaker tracts. The first one comes from Barbour and Roberts (2004) who include a chapter in their anthology of key Quaker text extracts that they title '*Truth Defended*' (pp.245-359). They identify a sub-set of publications that appeared between 1650 and 1700 that they also categorise as 'disputes' (p.567), in which Quakers engage in argument with holders of various other Christian doctrines (Puritans, Church of England, Baptists, Roman Catholics); some of these disputes also record debates among the Quakers themselves. Barbour and Roberts describe these latter texts as 'repetitious debates with ex-Quakers' or 'maverick' Quakers, as they describe them (Barbour & Roberts:262). As the century came to a close power struggles and disagreements took place among groups of Quakers; for example, George Keith left Friends and became an Anglican priest. Barbour and Roberts admit that classifying the texts is difficult. Their descriptive listings of this tract-type include printed answers to other non-conformists and separatists; they also add in a few texts that are not a response to challenges by non-Quakers but are simply statements of belief.

Moore (2000), in the second of the two studies, judges the system of classification suggested by Barbour and Roberts to be unsatisfactory, partly because so many texts fall into more than one category. Her comprehensive historical research, which she claims covers almost all Quaker publications, stops at 1666. She lists approximately 216 texts as 'dispute' texts out of a total of 1,317 'books' investigated. She simplifies the number of categories in her classification compared with Barbour and Roberts, describing her collection as 'disputes between Quakers and others'. Her classification derives from information taken from the original title pages or from text addressed to the reader, and from a general (qualitative) overview (ibid: pp.237-9). She was able to reduce the total number of text functions in her set

down to just seven, of which 'doctrinal disputes' was one. The present study provides a more nuanced description of the discourse functions of the dispute texts found in the *Qcorpus*, only some of which occur in Moore's collection of 216. Bitterman (1973:204), in her descriptive study of Quaker 'defense' tracts dating from 1651-1675, classifies this sub-category of Quaker publications into eight further groups based on the topics she identifies. Her study examines a small sample of all the texts she assigns to the category of 'dispute' and it does not encompass the post-1673 period of *Ocorpus2*.

No claim is made in the present study as to comprehensiveness; the *Qcorpus* was designed to include texts in a random way and the resulting collection therefore comes by chance. (Section 6.2 goes into further details about the *DD* sub-corpus.) However, using the sample of texts classified in the present thesis as dispute texts, the study goes further than any previous work in providing an analysis of four separate but related areas: discourse function, style of argumentation, sentence length, and a range of language features in Quaker dispute texts that contrast with those of their non-Quaker adversaries. These areas are treated as a thread running through the chapter.

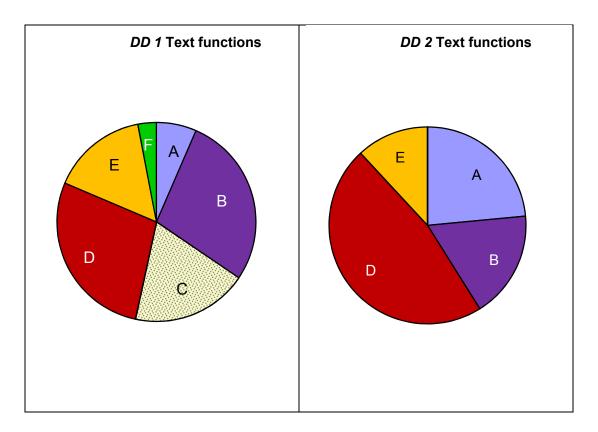
## 6.1.3 Organisation of chapter

The chapter presents both quantitative and qualitative findings relevant to the Quaker *DD* sub-corpus and looks at stylistic and discourse features. Section 6.2 offers a descriptive overview of the 49 *DD* texts and situates these printed texts in terms of the Quaker writers and their adversaries. Section 6.3 introduces the newly-compiled corpus of anti-Quaker texts mentioned in chapter 3.3, deriving from the published writings of such adversaries. These texts have been collected as randomly as possible but with the aim of covering the same half-century of the *Qcorpus*. The new corpus enables quantitative comparisons to be made

concerning three predictions about possible differences of style, speech-like features and stance, since the subject matter and discourse purpose is so similar in the two sets. More details about the Anti-Quaker Corpus are set out in section 3. Before exploring two further aspects of style, section 6.4 changes the method of enquiry and presents illustrative case studies of three specific disputes to examine in detail the content and the process of Quaker disputing in print in order to provide a richer description of style than is possible through corpus analysis alone. One benefit of using the corpus-based approach is to reveal patterns and frequencies by decoupling the words of a text from their broader context. Nevertheless, in descriptive work there are still occasions when a manual inspection of a stretch of text can enable insights leading to further quantitative investigation. Six texts, three Quaker and three anti-Quaker, are considered in full through a manual inspection of the language and rhetorical discourse features. Section 6.5 tests Cope's 1956 assertion, mentioned above, that Quakers consciously altered their written style when addressing establishment figures. This section then extends the enquiry into an analysis of how Quakers dealt with text organisation in their dispute writings: was there in fact a distinct 'clarity of style' approach to match that of their adversaries, and if so, did that differ from the typical exhortatory style found in much of the Ocorpus? If so, in what ways? Section 6.6 looks at one further aspect of style, that of the literary sentence styles found in much general literature of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Did Quakers adopt any recognisable elements of Ciceronian, loose or plain styles in the DD texts in writings where they were on show, so to speak? Responses to these question, a summary and concluding remarks end the chapter.

# 6.2 Discourse functions in Quaker doctrinal dispute texts

The composition of the sub-corpus is as follows: I identified 49 tracts as forming the sub-corpus of doctrinal dispute texts, 32 from the earlier period up to 1670 (henceforth DDI) and 17 from the later period up to the end of the seventeenth century (henceforth DD2). The criterion for assigning texts to the DD category was that the text must either engage with another person or group about doctrinal differences or justify why Quakers should be relieved from suffering because of their beliefs and practices. No Quaker text that merely states a religious or political position is included. For convenience, these texts are grouped into one classification but they deal with different topics, have different functional purposes and a range of actual or notional recipients. As the analysis below indicates, there is surprising linguistic uniformity in terms of syntax and discourse style in spite of the surface-level variety of authorship and dispute topics. Here is a linguistic exemplification of the Quaker testimony to equality in that Friends addressed everyone similarly, ignoring worldly rank or status gap. The rhetorical purposes of the texts are classified in the present study as mainly belonging to one of six categories: internal disputes with other Quakers, 'false' doctrine alleged, historical narrative or description, refuting published arguments by adversaries on various topics, statement of Quakers' doctrinal position, objecting to tithes and compulsory financial maintenance of priests (see Figure 6.1).



**Figure 6.1**: discourse functions of texts found in *DD1* and *DD2*, shown by % proportion for each subcorpus

A = internal disputes with other Quakers

B = allegations of 'false' doctrine

C = historical narratives or descriptions, used to support Quakers' position

D = refutation of arguments in another publication

E = statements of Quakers' doctrinal position

F = objections to tithes and compulsory financial maintenance of priests

The charts show how the Quaker writers' preoccupations changed over time, judging from evidence in the sub-corpus: there is no reference to tithes or priestly maintenance in *DD2*; extensive reliance on historical sources to support arguments has also disappeared as has historical narrative. Allegations of the teaching of 'false' doctrine in non-Quaker

communities are less frequent as a proportion of all the texts in the *DD* sample, but the frequency of the refutation of anti-Quaker publications increases as does the quantity of texts concerned with internal disputes between Quakers. The percentage of texts centred on contradicting arguments in other publications has increased. These findings support the conclusions of many historians of Quakerism (for example, Jones, 1921:1; Bauman, 1998:137-153; Moore, 2000:225-228), namely, that as the century comes to a close, the message and focus of eschatological urgency diminishes and is replaced by differences of doctrine and practice, both between Quakers and others and among different groups of Quakers. A few of the texts in the *DD* sample give an indication of the emergence of breakaway factions.

# 6.3 A comparison with anti-Quaker doctrinal dispute texts

I constructed the anti-Quaker sub-corpus referred to above from 18 full texts found in the group of anti-Quaker or 'Adverse' items listed in the holdings catalogue of the Library at Friends House in London, as described in chapter 3.3. Bibliographic details are given in the List of References but a summary of authors and dates is provided here:

# Anti-Quaker Corpus (1655-1698)

Bohun, Edmund	1685	Miller, Joshua	1655
Faldo, John	1673	Misorcus	1676
Gauden, John	1662	Moore, Thomas Jun	1655
Hall, Ralph	1656	Morris, Samuel	1655
Hedworth, Henry	1672	Norris, John	1692
Ives, Jeremiah	1656	Pennyman, John	1680
Ives, Jeremiah	1656	Prynne, William	1655
Leslie, Charles	1696	Thomas, William	1656
Leslie, Charles	1698	Winterton, T	1655

# **6.3.1** Three predictions

For the present study, I developed three predictions concerning the stylistic and discourse similarities and differences of these two sub-corpora. In theory, both sets of texts were written at the same period, with similar purposes and on the same topic(s). In order to test for similarities and differences, I selected several co-occurring features with functional associations.

• First prediction: that the writings in the anti-Quaker sampler might reveal a higher status register, marked by more elaborated language and even prolixity. Functional features selected to test this include comparing the frequencies of adjectives and of nouns with Latinate suffixes; the Quaker writers might be expected to use a more informal or speech-like style unless they were consciously imitating the expected higher register of their

adversaries. Type/token ratios can indicate approximate scores for breadth of vocabulary and lexical richness. Other pointers to literary style and complexity could be sentence length and use of long words.

- **Second prediction**: that an analysis of personal pronoun use might reveal the relative degree and nature of interactive involvement on the part of the two sets of writers.
- **Third prediction**: that the different theological bases of the disputes might be made clearer by investigating selected stance markers.

This investigation builds on several studies and theoretical models in the literature: Salmon (1979) for work on early modern English punctuation; Biber (1988) for interpretations of his theory of multi-dimensional variation; Claridge & Wilson (2002), who apply elements of Biber's findings for their study on historical sermons. For stance marking, I draw on Biber et al (1999, chapter 12), Biber (2004) for an application on stance marking to historical texts, and Levorata (2009) for her work on stance markers in an eighteenth-century corpus of dispute texts. Table 6.1 displays results for register and prolixity and for pronoun frequencies. Implications for these results are discussed in the next section.

**Table 6.1**: *QDD* vs *Anti-Quaker DD* text-type style comparators, normed where relevant per 1,000 words, actual scores in brackets.

Feature groupings	<b>Quaker DD</b> (190,521 words)	Anti-Quaker DD (450,534 words)
1) Markers of formal register and prolixity:		
a) adjectives (derived from <i>Wmatrix</i> analysis)	37.4 (7,127)	42.1 (19,009)
b) selected Latinate suffixes: -tion, -sion, -ity, -ment, -ance	10.1 (1,942)	15.5 (7,011)
Feature sets (derived from WordSmith Tools)	Quaker DD	Anti-Quaker DD
2) Type/token ratios and sentence lengths		
standardised type/token ratio (based on consecutive 1,000 word stretches of text)	35.4	35.8
mean sentence length (by numbers of tokens)	49.5	29.1
Feature sets	Quaker DD	Anti-Quaker DD
3) Personal pronouns		
1 <sup>st</sup> person sing/plural/possessive	18.4 (3,521)	18.0 (8,131)
2 <sup>nd</sup> person sing/plural/possessive	26.1 (4,984)	10.1 (4,582)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person sing/plural/possessive	41.2 (7,863)	33.7 (15,187)

# **6.3.2 Discussion of findings**

A few features have produced similar scores, thereby confirming a common contemporary prose style for the period in the two datasets as well as the same functional purpose.

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First main prediction:

This is broadly confirmed, supported by findings in the *QDD* of:

• a less formal or literary register or ornate style (prolixity) than in the *Anti-Quaker* dataset.

• shorter words but longer sentences than in the *Anti-Quaker* dataset.

• lexicon similar in size to the *Anti-Quaker* dataset though choices of word types differ.

Detailed analysis shows that total adjectives and adjectival phrases (Markers of formal

register and prolixity) score higher in the Anti-Quaker sampler; the QDD texts have

approximately 2/3 of instances found in the Anti-Quaker (normalised values of 42.0 compared

with 64.9). Tokens with selected Latinate suffixes also yield higher scores compared with the

Quaker ones. These higher scoring features are a good indication of a more formal and ornate

style, characterised by more abundant nominalisation compared with the Quaker style. The

top five words longer than 13 letters in each sampler are listed here in order to give a flavour

of the nature of the longer words in question.

Quaker: righteousnesse, qualifications, understanding, unprofitablenesse,

perfunctoriness.

Anti-Quaker: transubstantiation, uncircumscribable, unreasonableness,

advantageousness, antidisciplinarians.

The fact that several very long words in the Anti-Quaker sampler are in fact Latin is ignored

for the present study. No Latin is found in the QDD texts, although Latin is occasionally

present in other early Quaker writings. In general, the first prediction is broadly confirmed in

terms of greater lexical prolixity and nominalisation.

Contrary to the findings above of relative ornateness in language, the standardised TTR results (**type/token ratios and sentence length**) are quite similar and the inference is that the ratio of word types to total tokens is comparable even though the actual types may be different. Biber (1995:141) claims that a high TTR 'reflects the use of many different words in a text (versus extensive repetition of relatively few words) representing a more careful word choice and a more precise presentation of information'. This indicates a similar breadth of vocabulary but not necessarily similar semantic lists.

The quantitative results for sentence length show a difference in size between *QDD* and *Anti-Quaker DD*, as roughly a ratio of 5:3 (49.5:29.1). (Out of interest, the mean sentence length for the whole *Qcorpus*, as calculated by *WordSmith*, is 130.6; this figure has the effect of bringing the general question of the length of a seventeenth-century Quaker sentence into sharper relief. I return to this question in chapter 8.) We cannot safely infer anything regarding prolixity from sentence length metrics alone, I return to the intriguing question of Quaker sentence style later in this chapter, in section 6.5.

### Second main prediction

This hypothesised an 'involved' interactive style, (**Personal pronouns as markers of 'involvement'**) following Biber's (1988) Factor 1. No complete factor analysis has been carried out. While keeping in mind Biber's (1995:37) warning about reading too much into the interpretation of dimension scores from isolated pairs of linguistic features, I argue that my findings in themselves imply a greater sense of direct involvement on the part of the Quaker writers marked by the higher frequency of occurrence of second person pronouns (just over two and a half times more frequent in the Quaker set). The similarity of the other results for pronominal frequency throws this score into greater contrast. The implication is that the

Quakers saw themselves as 'speaking' directly in their writings to their adversaries, in contrast to the greater distance favoured by many writers in the *Anti-Quaker* sampler. This finding can be partly explained by the fact that some Quaker disputes in the later period are internal ones, namely, separate groups of Quakers publishing against each other. Yes, there is a greater degree of interactive involvement on the Quakers' part, though not necessarily affectionate, and the prediction of interactiveness in the Quaker sampler is largely confirmed by the higher frequency of first and second person pronoun use. Co-text for the *thou/you/ye* concordance lines show that *thou* can refer to places (personifying England, for instance). Individuals are addressed as *thou* and groups of people as *you* or *ye*. God, though not addressed frequently in the *QDD* texts, is spoken to as *thou*. Further research using larger corpora and more detailed analysis might reveal the extent to which writers referred to each other in either the second or the third person, in that way subtly expressing a measure of distance between the adversaries.

# Third prediction

A difference in theological basis is detectable in the corpus data through markers of stance. My analysis of stance marking relies a) on first person pronoun results for clusivity, and b) on selected grammatical stance devices. The findings and implications I derive from these are more complex than for the first two predictions. In essence, they are summarised as follows:

For a), clusivity: there is a higher frequency of occurrence of first person plural pronouns in the Quaker dataset, but more importantly, it is the contextual meanings of reference to WE that differ.

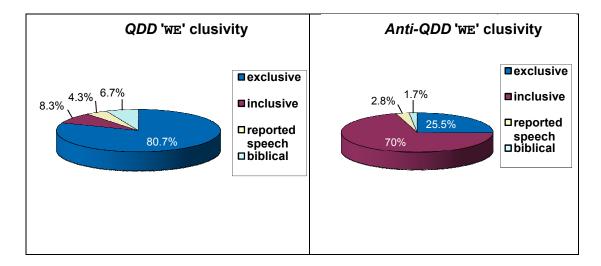
For b), grammatical markers of stance: the *QDD* style is milder in tone, lacking in the professional 'truth-asserting' language of the anti-Quaker style. Quaker stance is

concerned with the primacy of the argument itself, not the personal or private restating of it.

In the discussion that follows, I present results interwoven with examples and interpretations by other studies of the features under consideration. Table 6.2 shows results for first-person plural instances in both *ODD* and *Anti-ODD* datasets, and Figure 6.2 represents the findings in graphical form. The concept of clusivity is defined by Murphy and Koskela (2010:120) as both 'first-person plurals that include the second person (the inclusive firstperson plural) and those that include the speaker and others, but not the addressee (the exclusive first-person plural)'. For the purposes of the present study, these distinctions have been further added to by coding for biblical quotations and for reported speech. The deictic stances referred to in these latter two categories are not relevant but are shown for completeness. I decided not to analyse the first-person singular instances because by definition all of the authors are known and named. Most are writing in the first person singular anyway. (For completeness, I inspected the first person singular instances for both datasets. There were only 3.7% occurrences of I in the Anti-Quaker dataset that did not refer to the writer; these were accounted for by biblical quotations and direct quotes from the Quakers. The Quaker DD texts contained 6.5% of I occurrences that referenced direct quotations, all of them biblical.)

**Table 6.2**: comparisons between *QDD* and *Anti-QDD* of instances of first-person plural nominatives, normed per10,000 words

1 <sup>st</sup> pers pl. instances	<b>QDD</b> 822 words (43.1)	1 <sup>st</sup> pers pl. instances	<b>Anti-QDD</b> 1,451 words (32.2)
exclusive	80.7%	exclusive	25.2%
inclusive	8.3%	inclusive	70%
reported speech	4.3%	reported speech	2.8%
biblical quotes	6.4%	biblical quotes	1.7%



**Figure 6.2**: clusivity comparisons, shown as % share, between *QDD* and *Anti-QDD* of instances of first-person plural nominatives.

The Quaker writers were not part of the then mainstream Christian theology and in the texts they were mostly defending themselves against the establishment position(s), but sometimes attacking. The exceptions are in Quaker *DD2* where separatist Quakers were arguing between themselves. All the anti-Quaker writers are of course writing against the Quakers. Hence it is unsurprising to find that the Quakers choose to make more use of WE than the anti-Quaker set as they are a minority group and will want to self-refer frequently in these dispute texts. The large percentage of Quaker 'exclusive' instances in the concordance (80.7%) is paralleled by an equally large proportion of anti-Quaker 'inclusive' instances

(70%). Both groups concentrate on their respective belief positions; these are found in the Quaker exclusive instances and in the anti-Quaker inclusive instances. However, there is a greater subdivision within the anti-Quaker inclusive group. Three separate senses for reference to WE can be noted: i) WE as referring to all humanity; ii) WE as referring to 'us', that is, priests and ministers and writing in a somewhat sermonising tone; and iii) we as a textorganising device to include the reader. These uses of the inclusive WE, according to Johnstone (1996) and Levorata (2009) for instance, express a writer's confident authority. The Quaker occurrences make a small use of the text-organising device and hardly any use of the all-encompassing 'us' of humanity. They cannot make the 'everyone knows' assumptions of the establishment religious figures since their approach contradicted the whole basis of Christian practice. Examples (1) to (6) illustrate these points:

#### Anti-Quaker DD examples illustrating the three inclusive uses:

#### (1) Text organising WE:

Now **if we may take liberty** to expound Scripture after this manner, I count it utterly impossible to prove any truth by Scripture. (Henry Hedworth)

#### (2) All humanity WE:

For **we have** life before **we have** motion, to act or do any thing that is pleasing to God. (John Faldo)

#### (3) Sermonising or theological WE:

We can only be saved by the Faith in this outward Jesus. By the Fruits of whose Divinely Blessed Passion, we are Saved - For he suffer'd all these things for us, that we might be saved. (Charles Leslie)

#### **Quaker DD examples of inclusive use (infrequent):**

# (4) Text organising WE:

This Point **have we already debated**, shewing the Difference betwixt Catechisms and Discourses by Way of Dialogue, & Real Dialogues, as T. H. presents his, and therein sufficiently hath manifested his Abuse. (Thomas Rudyard)

#### (5) Combining you and we to express inclusive 'us':

God is our witnes, but that the way of our God may be made manifest, and all deceit, and error Discovered, ... and as you are true to your God and will answer for him; and are willing to be made manifest in your way of Worship, and Doctrin, and Ministry, You are not to neglect; but herein to answer our Desires ... that you and we may be made manifest in the sight of God, to all mens Consciences. (Francis Howgill & Edward Burrough)

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# (6) Quaker DD exclusive use

You pretend, yours is to clear the Truth, and to Profit them that hear; and so say we also: And what then? **Shall we be Publickly Belyed**, Traduced and Abused, and Privately have Satisfaction? (Thomas Rudyard)

As stated earlier in this section, the third prediction relies on two linguistic indicators: a) markers of clusivity, and b) certain grammatical stance devices and it is that to which we now turn. We have seen from group 3) in Table 6.1, that is to say, the set of features comprising personal pronoun use, that aspects of stance can be deduced from pronominal use. A further investigation is reported here in which the two samplers were inspected for two stance devices: stance adverbial clauses (single words or phrases), and *that* complement clauses introduced by an adjective or first-person stance-marking verb. This approach draws on Biber's 2004 historical study using the *ARCHER* corpus. Results show that the Quaker dataset contains fewer (normed) word types of these stance-markers than the anti-Quaker set, although distribution is similar across Biber's (2004) semantic categories of factive<sup>3</sup>, non-factive<sup>4</sup>, attitudinal and likelihood. He found that the historical period beginning 1650-99

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Factive clauses: in which authors are assuming the truth of the propositions they make.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Non-factive clauses: in which the author frames a proposition with an introducing comment verb or adverbial clause.

made much less use of the stance markers analysed than his findings indicated for the later periods (2004:122-136). Attitudinal types (for example, *expect, fear, hope, reflect*) are particularly infrequent in both *DD* samplers although for each of the other three categories the anti-Quaker lexical types outnumber the Quaker ones. Below is a summary of the findings, by type not by token; words in bold type were found with high frequency scores in their respective categories.

#### Quaker DD

#### Factive types:

conclude, find, **know**, observe, prove, show, understand

(single adverbial clause) *certainly*, *without a* doubt / undoubtedly / no doubt, **indeed**, really.

# Non-factive types:

affirm, answer, declare, deny, grant, inform, maintain, persuade, tell;

(single adverbial clause) *accordingly*, *generally*, *verily* 

#### **Attitudinal:**

expect, fear, feel, desire, hope, lament; <u>it is adj + that</u>: necessary.

#### Anti-Quaker DD

#### **Factive types**:

acknowledge, certify, conclude, discover, find, know, learn, mean, note, observe, prove, remember, see, take notice, understand;

(single adverbial clause) certainly, doubt not/without a doubt/undoubtedly/no doubt, indeed.

#### **Non-factive types**:

add, answer, assert, acknowledge, affirm, certify, charge, confess, declare, deny, grant, inform, hear, persuade, reply, say, tell, write; (single adverbial clause) accordingly.

#### **Attitudinal:**

boast, fear, feel, hope, reflect, wish; <u>it is adj + that</u>: childish, foolish, remarkable; (single adverbial clause) **rightly**. **Likelihood:** (<u>speaker's assessment verb +</u> <u>that</u> clause)

believe, perceive, suppose, suspect, think;
it is adj + that: apparent, certain, evident,
plain, possible;

(single adverbial clause) apparently.

**Likelihood:** (speaker's assessment verb + that clause)

believe, conceive, perceive, suppose, think;

it is adjectival phrase + that: apparent, clear, evident, plain, impossible, necessary, probable, strange, true, well known, worth the noting; (single adverbial clause) apparently, evidently, perhaps, possibly, probably.

There are very few lexical types with high frequency scores in the Quaker dataset; the tokens are distributed fairly evenly between the 'truth / evidence' group: apparent, clear, evident, the 'inform' group: affirm, answer, deny, say, and the private verbs believe, find, know. Normed tokens counts (per 10,000 words) for all the private verbs are 2.8 (QDD) and 3.2 (Anti-Quaker DD), showing the non-Quaker writers to have a slightly greater preference for revealing their personal feelings, and indeed their personal theological stance. However, according to Levorata (2009:148) an impression of personal authority is indicated by a wide use of private verbs. Both interpretations are probable here. The following tokens in the anti-Quaker dataset are distributed across the 'truth / evidence' group: certain, evident, plain, prove, rightly, true; the 'inform' group: answer, deny, reply, say, tell; and the private verbs believe, know. Examples (7) to (13) illustrate the more frequent types found:

#### Quaker DD

- (7) For as she have done so have you, murdered, killed and scandalized the Innocent, harmless, Lambs of Christ so **it is evident that** ye are members of the great Whore, false Church & Antichrist. (Christopher Holder, 1670)
- (8) Secondly **I affirm, that** you are not Ministers of the Spirit neither, of which the Apostles were able Ministers. (Thomas Forster, 1658)
- (9) But this I know, that thy proof is so short, that its no proof at all. (Luke Howard, 1659)

# Anti-Quaker DD

- (10) I answer, first, Paul was **rightly** call'd and endued, though (he saith) he was not sent to baptize. But James, how canst thou prove, that this relates to his not baptizing with water? (Jeremiah Ives, 1656)
- (11) Whereas it is objected here, that the Levitical Priesthood is gone with all the appurtenances whereof Tythes were one; thereunto **I answer**, **that** Tythes may be considered two wayes. (William Thomas, 1656)
- (12) I shall first **prove that** the Quakers deny Gospel-Ordinances in general, and then in particular. (John Faldo, 1673)
- (13) Even now are there many antichrists: whereby **we know that** it is the last time. They went out from us but they were not of us. (William Prynne, 1655)

The linguistic realisation described above evidences a greater assertive and insistent stance on the part of the anti-Quaker authors. The greater lexical richness and variety of the non-Quakers' expression of stance is another measure of a wider fluency and adroitness with language than the Quaker writers show. This is not to say that the Quakers were incapable of producing such a style but in this dataset they either did not have sufficient education or chose not to use it. From the point of view of stance-marker expression, the Quaker style in the disputes texts is milder in tone. This is unexpected as other linguistic features give the impression of a lexical abruptness and stridency.

#### 6.3.3 Summary of quantitative findings

Broadly speaking, the quantitative results for Quaker dispute writings are similar to features found in the Quaker corpus as a whole. One purpose of many texts in the sampler was to refute or mitigate the accusations of clergy and non-conformist ministers who were worried that their congregations might be tempted to join the Quakers; nevertheless, even here the Quakers maintained their distinctive style of writing in terms of linguistic features analysed. They do not conform to a more conventional literary style such as their non-Quaker adversaries employed. Consciously or not, their testimony to equality<sup>5</sup> is demonstrated in their written style. In summary, then:-

- 1) The Quaker style, even when addressing establishment figures, especially the clergy, remains distinctively their own: there is less evidence of prolixity and a less overtly formal register compared to their non-Quaker adversaries. A more restricted style is apparent in the corpus data.
- 2) The Quaker writers showed a greater tendency to address both the disputant named in the text and also the general reader directly using second-person pronouns; this has the effect of narrowing the distance between writer and addressees in a speech-like style. Further work would be needed using full multi-dimensional analysis to determine any differences on the involved-informational dimension. This pronominal usage confirms similar findings in other Quaker texts.

<sup>5</sup> 'testimony to equality': sometimes referred to as 'no respecter of persons'; a cluster with a specific Quaker connotation in which Friends refused to use titles or other polite linguistic markers of social distinction. Other ways in which Quakers witnessed in their lives included through testimony against times and seasons (refusing, for example, to use the Christian names for holy days such as Christmas) and against hat honour. The latter

refers to the Quakers' refusal to take their hats off as a politeness indicator of deference.

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3) Stance markers: Quaker use of exclusivity through first-person plurals contrasts strongly with the anti-Quakers' high proportion of inclusive language. The confident establishment voice is evident in the data compared to the minority Quaker position. In terms of grammatical stance marking, the Quaker DD writers show a narrower selection of semantic markers, lacking in the authoritative 'truth-asserting' language of the anti-Quaker group. This latter set also makes more frequent use of non-factive communication verbs such as *tell*, *reply*, *answer*. The unexpected finding is that Quaker stance is less transparently foregrounded in these findings than in the anti-Quaker data. Perhaps the establishment figures knew better how to make clever and adroit use of these devices?

Having in this section spent some time on certain linguistic markers of pragmatic style, we move in the next section to a different approach by means of an investigation into three specific disputes, illustrated in each case by the relevant Quaker and anti-Quaker published disputants.

# 6.4 Case study of three disputes

This section presents a little historical background information as well as such detail as has come down to us about the six protagonists in the three pairs of texts, before embarking on the case study itself.

### 6.4.1 Method used for the case study analysis

As a means of drilling down further into the nature of the Quaker doctrinal disputes, I chose texts concerning three published conflicts, two from the *Qcorpus* and one from the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*. The existence of two pairs of texts in the *QDD* and *Anti-QDD* texts referring to historical debates between Quakers and others provides an opportunity to inspect and

contrast the relative styles of discourse and argumentation of these opponents. A third dispute required a matching text by William Penn, not part of the *QDD* sampler. I chose to use the opportunity to create three sets of dispute texts in order to avoid the possibility of polarising the findings, had there been only two sets. There are times when qualitative analysis can reveal features of a text that a concordancer might miss.

Penn is one of the few early Quaker authors to whom history has ascribed some literary merit (Keeble, 1995). Keeble describes and quotes Penn's style at some length, implying that Penn, unlike many other Quaker writers was capable of writing (and chose to make use of that ability) in a variety of styles, including a distinctively Quaker one, concluding that:

... to have recommended the Quaker case in *Quaker* language [italics added] to the political and religious establishment would have been to disqualify it by inviting ridicule and obloquy. The case required a style still plain but capable of lucid exposition and of handling evidence; a style reassuringly reasonable yet engagé. (Keeble, 1995:123)

Penn himself wrote in 1704 (quoted by Keeble):

[The reader] is not to expect the Learning of the Schools ... Neither hath this Godly Author labor'd a nice or polishd Stile, which Men usually do, to give a Lustre to, or Varnish their Matter with, but writes as an Enlightened and Experienced Man. (Penn, 1704, in Keeble, 1995:114)

The details of the disputes and the texts are as follows:

- 1) 1674: between Jeremiah Ives, Baptist (Wing I1105; 810 words) and William Salmon, Quaker, (William Salmon's Answer to Jeremy Ives's Request; 1,100 words)
- 2) 1676: between 'Misorcus' (Wing A3506; 15,971 words) and Richard Richardson, Quaker (*To the anti-Quaker Misorcus concerning* oaths; 2,433 words)
- 3) 1676: between J.C. [John Cheyney](see Lewis, 1841:64), said to be a minister in the Warrington area (Wing C3827; 5,548 words) and William Penn, Quaker (*The Skirmisher defeated and Truth Defended; Being an Answer to a Pamphlet, entituled, A Skirmish made upon Quakerism*, Wing P1364; 15,087 words)

All three disputes took place after 1670 once the MM had begun its work, and hence fall into the period of *DD2*. The lengths of the six texts are very unequal in terms of word count but I chose to examine all six in their entirety. The qualitative findings below include summaries of how each disputant deals with his respective situation and which linguistic or discourse features are employed. A summary is presented at the end of the section.

# 6.4.2 Commentary on each pair of texts

# Dispute 1

<u>Topic</u>: Ives would like the Quakers to prove they are Christian and the Quakers would like Ives to prove they are not Christian. Salmon's response is not to engage with Ives's challenge but to make the suggestion that it is the expression (i.e. the terminology) of the fundamentally same Christianity that is at the heart of their disagreement.

Rhetorical and language features noted: Ives's short text is quite formal, even legalistic, in tone: 'Whereas I have lately charged you in a publick Meeting, that you are no Christians...'. Salmon's register is more neutral but on occasion he drops into a more informal style; for example, he uses the phrase 'his Fardle of Slanders and Falshoods'. The *OED* gives a figurative sense to the word *fardle*: 'a collection or parcel of immaterial things; a burden or load of sin or sorrow.' As far as we can tell, the usage is quite colloquial in this context. Ives is issuing a challenge to continue the dispute in a public meeting, but Salmon responds with a further challenge, that Ives should put his 'slanders' into print, which would be a more dangerous line for Ives to take. Ives addresses the Quakers directly in the second person *you*, but Salmon speaks to the reader as *you*, merely referring to Ives in the third person or as 'my adversary'. Salmon uses a sequence of commissive verbs: *I promise*, *I will* 

renounce, I will declare him ... in the right; however these are in the context of an if-clause and the presumed illocutionary effect is to insert doubt into these apparent promises.

# Dispute 2

<u>Topic</u>: The text by Misorcus (a pseudonym) is a treatise addressed to 'Lords and Commons' (Parliament) following the Quakers' request to be free from the obligation of swearing oaths of allegiance and to be permitted to worship after the manner of Friends. He attempts to show up their 'anti-scriptural opinions' which he finds 'absurd, false and frivolous', finding the scriptural and other references provided by Quakers to be 'of no validity'. He uses classic disputing techniques (see for example, Rodda, 2012:28-9) of logical reasoning supported by many quotations in Latin. Half-way through he admits he ought to finish there but instead brings in references to St. Jerome (AD 422) as support for the proper existence of the oath of allegiance. He patronises the Quakers and refers to them as 'illiterate'.

Richardson, responding on behalf of the Quaker group, again uses the Quaker technique of not addressing directly the accusations made but instead objecting to the personalisation of the dispute by Misorcus, in an assurance that they themselves have no intention of making personal comments about the writer. Richardson expresses dismay that Misorcus has done that to them as well as hiding behind anonymity. Other Quaker objections include Misorcus's partial selection of quotes from the Quakers' earlier writings and the patronising use of the terms 'illiterate' or '(un)learned'. These phrases are repeated five times by Richardson in which he demonstrates his own knowledge of Latin by pointing out several language errors made by Misorcus himself. Richardson does then respond to the particular point by disputing the use of the quotations from the Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible (which would not be in

favour in 1676) and from various bishops, insisting that these authors are not themselves in favour of swearing (cf Matthew's gospel).

Richardson uses a well-established Quaker move (see for example chapter 24 of *Quaker Faith and Practice* which describes some historical and present-day Quaker approaches to dealing with conflict) by concluding that there is no fundamental disagreement between them. He chooses instead to refute in a much shorter reply the many allegations in the anti-Quaker text. Both groups believe in the value of truth-telling; it is merely that the Quakers object to the outward ceremony of swearing.

**Rhetorical and language features noted**: Richardson uses a version of the 'loose' style to be discussed in section 6.5 but the cohesion on occasion is ambiguous, as for instance here in the use of deictic personal pronouns (italics added):

A Strange Forreign Name, come from Rome or Constantinople, as the illiterate Quaker may think (*he* for whom *he* pretends to have taken such Pains) who being better acquainted with Scripture-Language, and seeing *his* whole Endeavours through *his* Book employed in Opposing the Command of Christ, and adjuring men to break it by Swearing, thinks it might have been far more truly, properly & pertinently ANTICHRIST'S EXORCIST, as one likely to have such an Office in that Synagogue, as the highest Preferment *he* has been capable to attain. And the rather because after the innate Principle thereof *he* takes upon him immediately after the mention of *his* weak Endeavours in Doctrine, to adjure the Magistrate to severe Discipline, only short of killing the Quakers; *they* that delivered the Martyrs to be burned, used as mild Expressions.

Misorcus may be more concerned with gaining advantage by writing an unsolicited treatise to Parliament than with converting the Quakers to his point of view. In comparison with the Quaker style his text reads as though he is using higher register language more for show than for communication. For instance, he begins by addressing the Lords and Commons:

(a) With respect to the former part of it [ the Treatise] I have (as many of my Brethren in the Ministry have learnedly done before me) imployed my weak endeavours for the satisfaction of their scrupulous Consciences, referring the execution of the latter part of it, for severe [Note: Corrigi eos cupimus non necari, nee Disciplinam circa eos negligi. Aug.

Ep. 127. ] Discipline, to your Honours great Authority, and most Sage Counsels; for a blessing on which, to the advancement of Gods glory, the good of the Church, the safety, honour and wellfare of our Soveraign and his Kingdoms, with the publick you have the daily private Prayers and Supplications of him who conceales his Name, not out of a guilty Fear, but a cautious Prudence, not willing to have it aspers'd with reproaches and unjust calumnies, with bitter railings and Invectives ...

### And towards the end of his text he says:

(b) To that exquisite gloss of Mercerus, I cannot omit to subjoyn another of the great Scripturist Deodatus (once Professor of Geneva) upon the forecited Text of Ecclesiastes, which in my opinion comes home to an obstinate Quaker, or any other Dissenter, his numerical words are these...

Richardson's style leads to ambiguity in places, such as the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun in the extract above. We have to deduce who is 'he' and who is 'they'. His intention is probably to create a gap, lending authorial distance in referencing Misorcus as 'he' and the Quakers as 'they', and at the same time aligning himself as a neutral writer with his readers. Misorcus shifts between 3<sup>rd</sup> person use and 2<sup>nd</sup> person thou in speaking directly to Richardson. Both are disagreeing with the other: Misorcus uses learned references and Latin quotations in his elegant, complex sentences; Richardson, though not as unlearned as Misorcus would like, piles up his clauses together and eschews the obsequious phrases found in his opponent's text. Both writers are evenly matched but none of the Quakers, I argue, would choose to write in the conventional seventeenth-century style of Misorcus.

# Dispute 3

<u>Topic</u>: This pair of texts is part of an ongoing publications dispute between a group of Quakers and the non-Quakers Thomas Hicks, John Faldo and J.C. (John Cheyney). J.C. objects in his text to William Penn's 'error' in a previous publication, i.e. 'that Quakers deny and subvert the scriptures'. J.C. therefore feels entitled to use Scripture against them, alleging that Penn's (i.e. Quakers') position is to 'overthrow all Law and Government', in effect what

might be termed today as a terrorist threat to the State. His (reasonable) argument is that if there is no agreed moral authority such as Scripture, then any individual, however deluded, could claim his or her unassailable sense of rightness. This argument is supported by much biblical quoting and the expected debating techniques of logic and reasoning mentioned above to demolish the Quakers' argument. J.C's aim is to 'save other people's souls from this [Quaker] "Light".

Penn's reply (three times the length of J.C.'s text) is that J.C. mis-states the Quakers' principles and that 'learned' people have used their skills to twist things. In a spirit of humility, Penn admits to his own past errors but is now convinced of the truth. His clever argument, and one that other Quakers employed, is that people misunderstand Quaker behaviour and mis-attribute their purposes and points out that in the New Testament, Jesus and the apostles suffered the same problems with the Jews and the Pharisees: 'they saw him ... using Moses' words and sayings but not in their life and spirit'. If Paul could listen directly to the Spirit and not the law, why not Quakers? Penn reassures readers that Quakers are acting out what the New Testament says, and so are indeed following Scripture.

Rhetorical and language features noted: Penn says that J.C.'s argument is poorly constructed and his logic weak, taking a few words out of context from Penn's book of 250 pages. Six points, one following on clearly from another, develop the logic. Penn's language is a model of clarity, courteousness, restraint and academic rigour. J.C.'s style is of clarity and academic rigour but without the courteousness. Both writers refer to the other in the third person, a device which lends distance to their 'academic' polemic. Interestingly, instances of second person plurals found in J.C.'s text are in fact from Penn but misquoted. Penn reserves thou for the reader, and when quoting the Bible. This may be a subtle device to avoid the

*thou/you* option necessitated by addressing J.C. directly, something that might have troubled the well-connected Penn more than those Quakers who came from humbler backgrounds.

# 6.4.3 Summary

The three cases exemplify texts in which: 1) an apparently ephemeral challenge to a public meeting to correct 'errors' receives widespread print coverage; 2) Quakers in print argue against an attempt to discredit them and bring congregations back to mainstream churches; 3) a protracted theological dispute in which the use of Scripture as the guiding authority for the nation is argued at length. The Quakers' approach to refuting or challenging allegations put to them at this time is also illustrated. In these and in other cases they use the present-day politicians' device of not answering the original (and valid) points put to them, but refute the challenge from an entirely different (equally valid) starting point. In the three cases under discussion these were:

- to change the definition of what it is to be Christian,
- to interpret differently the sources regarding swearing allegiance,
- to defend liberty of conscience against the state's current interpretation of biblical scripture.

The language used by the Quaker writers in these cases is as individual as their personalities and no generalisations can be safely inferred. Nevertheless, pronominal use is of interest, as the writers shift between *thou* and *you* personal pronouns, and singular and plural 3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronouns. The choice of register is, as far as we can judge, one which avoids an impression of learnedness and over-elaboration. As Wright points out, Quakers 'scrupulously

avoided a display of learning ... and rigorously excluded ... all types of ornamental phrasing and diction' (Wright 1932:57).

Several references to syntax and sentence style have been made earlier in this chapter. Section 6.5 now takes this a step further and presents a qualitative and a quantitative analysis based on a small Quaker sample and makes comparisons with examples from so-called literary styles used at the time of the Quaker writings.

# 6.5 The Quaker authors' approach to argumentation

This section introduces the Quaker style of argumentation and its distinctiveness in relation to the looser organisational style found in the majority of texts in the *Qcorpus*, in particular those from the earlier Quaker period. In order to marshal a defence or refute an argument, some degree of order and clarity is generally found to be effective. As many of the exhortatory texts in the *Qcorpus* do not exhibit this feature, I examined the *QDD* texts to see whether there might be a variant of Quaker style in terms of setting out a logical position. Features that might be expected to occur include less complex syntax (including, for example, fewer dependent clauses) and logical sequence of argument using clear subordinators or enumeration of points. Some of the *QDD* texts do show that these elements were used. The argumentation points in the *QDD* texts are often set out in enumerated form, either *I,II, III* etc, or Arabic numerals, or cardinal numerals (*2dly, 3dly* or *13thly, 14thly*, or *fourteenthly*). Such listed points reach 14 in one case, 20 in another, and a third sets out a long sequence of 24 points. This orderly way of structuring discourse is not found in the non-DD texts in the *Qcorpus* and demonstrates that Quaker writers could organise their thoughts systematically, even when high numbers of items supporting a point of view were under consideration. This

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finding contradicts the impression that Quaker writers favoured or could only write or speak in a 'stream-of-consciousness' style (cf. Guiton, 2012:119).

There is a difference in style for labelling sub-headings: the preferred sub-heading in the *QDD* is either *query* or *answer*, whereas the non-Quaker writers use the terms *proposition* or *assertion*. This could be interpreted as a difference of approach: the more learned or trained non-Quakers may have been more familiar with techniques of logical argument. The *OED* gives these definitions for *proposition* and *assertion*:

# proposition:

**4a**: Something which is asserted or avowed; a sentence or form of words in which this is done; a statement, an assertion.

**4b**: A statement which is capable of truth or falsity.

#### assertion:

4: The action of declaring or positively stating.

I interpret the Quaker terms as expressing a questioning tone which conveys an underlying grey area of uncertainty. This stems not from any lack of faith but because Friends would only speak of these matters out of their own experience and not primarily from the authority of scripture or official doctrine. Throughout the *QDD* texts there are only 11 instances of the term *assertion*, found in five texts, and each of them is quoting a non-Quaker. The word appears not to be in the writers' active vocabulary. In this use of an organising subheading I argue that there is an important theological distinction between *assertion* and *query*: the former implies prescriptiveness, the latter the Quakers' rejection of creeds, doctrines and

priestly authority in favour of an individual's search for 'truth'. Only Robert Barclay in the *QDD*, avoiding both terms altogether, separates his 1674 text (of 87 pages) into clear 'sections', with sub-sections commencing 'Concerning...'.

In summary, there appears to be no correlation between the nature of recipient and the degree of clarity of argument; this is in contradiction to the assertion made by Cope (1956:736-7). Neither is Cope's comment substantiated (see section 6.1.1) that it is in the field of social action that the Quakers' writing utilises 'a more conventional style and syntax'. Indeed, Barbour & Roberts (2004:247) state: 'it is unfair to presume that public relations or desire for conventionality on the part of these Quakers shaped their use of religious language'. The corpus findings support this latter view and the inference must be that it is the Quaker writer's personal style that dictates the format and resulting degree of clarity. Where a Quaker writer is responding to (by refuting) an existing publication, the formatting and enumerating scheme is mirrored in at least part of his or her text in about half of the texts (57% in terms of word count). This includes specific citations of page numbers matched with the Quaker response. Approximately two thirds of the texts (10/15) that are written in 'clear argumentative' style are addressed to the general reader rather than those specifically in authority. Again, this would indicate the style choice of the individual writer as opposed to any conscious attempt to impress a person in authority. The Quaker writers appear to be consistent in their general theological approach to equality of person or rank. This section has analysed features of the 'clarity of argument' style found in the QDD sampler; however, some of the DD1 texts also contain stretches of text in the more familiar exhortatory, even hectoring, style found elsewhere in the *Qcorpus* and described elsewhere in the present study.

Having outlined the broad rhetorical features of the DD style, we turn in section 6.6 to a more detailed look at the nature of the Quakers' argumentation techniques.

# 6.6 Sentence style in dispute texts

Chapter 4.2 noted the distinctive feature of Quaker sentence style in the broadside texts. The aim of the present section is to ascertain whether the form of sentence style, also found in the *QDD* texts, conforms in any way to the more formal or literary styles found in late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century writing. If not, what are the evident distinctive elements? In these Quaker dispute texts, more than any others in the corpus, the writers were engaging with establishment figures and those in authority. They might have been intending to limit the more extravagant elements of their general written style in order to put their case more effectively (as Cope, 1956:738), suggests).

#### 6.6.1 Sentence and clause length

Following up the comparative scores for mean sentence length (Table 6.1), this section therefore looks at sentence and dependent clause length in a number of samples. I established these criteria: a 'sentence' is deemed to end with a full stop, an exclamation mark or a question mark; clauses are deemed to be bounded by colons or semi-colons and not by commas. For useful studies on early modern English punctuation, see Salmon (1979) on punctuation as a guide to sentence structure, and Roth-Schwartz (1997) on John Donne's punctuation style<sup>6</sup>. Other features alleged to be indicative of the style types mentioned below, such as rhetorical devices, tropes and co-ordination, are not included here. I identified samples of sentences said to be written in the Ciceronian, the 'loose' or anti-Ciceronian or the plain styles and compared them with sample sentences retrieved from the *Anti-Quaker* and the *QDD* datasets. Definitions of these literary styles are slippery; nevertheless, the present study is relying on the following as guidelines:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Roth-Schwartz notes that contrary to popular belief, seventeenth-century punctuation in general was not haphazard and she discusses various theories that have been put forward in the literature.

- *Ciceronian* style: 'A long sentence in which the completion of the syntax and sense is delayed until the end, usually after a sequence of balanced subordinate clauses' (Baldick, 2008:252-3.)
- 'Loose' style: No precise definition is possible; many scholars describe this style as being free from the elaborate mannerisms and tropes found in the Ciceronian style. The sentences are long with the main idea often coming first, followed by a sequence of subordinate clauses. Görlach (1991:133) describes this style as using 'long but lightly structured sentences, loosely strung together (using digressions, brackets, uncertain sentence boundaries)'. But see Havenstein (1999:140): 'One senses a weariness with respect to sweeping generalizations involving the term "loose", and she warns against an oversimplistic description of syntactic features.
- 'Curt' or 'plain' style: sentences in this style are much shorter than the previous two style variants; clauses within sentences are short and often asymmetrical in length, determined by the subject matter. They are linked by a small range of co-ordinating conjunctions. The main idea is often found at the beginning of a sentence. Görlach (1991:133) describes the curt style as one in which coherence derives from the context, with short units between punctuation marks. Barish (1971:310) explains it as 'independent members [clauses], not linked by conjunctions but set apart ... rendered typographically by a colon or a semicolon, sometimes a comma ... the members ... tend to brevity, also to inequality of length, variation in form, and unpredictability of order.'

Three points should be noted here regarding the selection of example sentences: a) the style promoted by the Royal Society for scientific prose is not relevant here and not included; b) it was not possible to sample Quaker sentences in a fully random way but no criteria were

adopted for extracting one sentence in preference for another one; c) for the present study, guidance has come from several sources for the authors chosen whose writing is said to exemplify a particular seventeenth-century style; these are: Barish (1971), Croll (1971), Cluett (1976), Pooley (1992), Stark (2001). The historical authors are:

- Francis Bacon, Nicholas Breton, Richard Hooker and Thomas Wilson (Ciceronian);
- Francis Bacon, Thomas Browne, Robert Burton, John Donne and Ben Jonson (anti-Ciceronian/loose/Senecan style);
- Ben Jonson and Jonathan Swift (plain/curt style);
- The anti-Quaker authors are: Edmund Bohun, John Gauden, Thomas Moore, John Norris, John Pennyman and William Thomas.

Finding a reliable benchmark for a 'typical' length of a seventeenth-century sentence is almost impossible. However, according to Cluett's early corpus-based calculations (1976:28) a short seventeenth-century sentence comprises 15 words on average compared to his assertion of a PDE norm of over 20. Philip Sidney used long sentences, that is to say, over 70 words compared to an average of 40.7 found in six other Elizabethan prose fictions that Cluett used for comparison. Cluett's findings indicate that sentences in the earl of Clarendon's texts comprise 71.5 words on average, but that individual sentences can vary considerably in length: between 11 to 356 words. Here is one example of each style type:

#### CICERONIAN:

#### (**Breton**, 1615)

Death is an ordinance of God, for the subiecting of the world, which is limited to his time for the correction of Pride; in his substance, he is nothing, being but onely a depriuation, and in his true description, a name without a nature: He is seene, but in a picture: heard, but in a tale: feared, but in a passion: and felt, but in a pinch: He is a terror, but to the wicked, and a skar-crow, but to the foolish: but to the wise, a way of comfort, and to the godly, the gate of life: He is the case of paine, and the end of sorrow, the liberty of the imprisoned, and the ioy of the faithfull: it is both the wound of sinne, and the wages of sinne, the Sinners feare, and the Sinners doom.

#### LOOSE STYLE:

#### (**Donne**, 1651)

But, the piety of *Aeneas* to *Anchises*, with the heat, and fervour of his zeale, had been dazelled, and extinguished by the fire of *Troy*, and his Father become his Tombe, had not a brighter flame appeared in his *Protection*, and *Venus herself* descended with her embraces, to protect her *Martiall Champion*; so that there is no safer way, to give a perpetuity to this remnant of the dead Authour; but, by dedicating it to the *Altar* of *Beauty* and *perfection*; and if you, Madam, be but pleased to shed on it, one beame of your *Grace* and *Favour*, that very *Adumbration* will quicken it with a new *Spirit*, and defend it from all fire, (the fate of most *Letters*) but the last; which, turning these into ashes, shall revive the Authour from his Vrne, and put him into a capacity of celebrating you, his *Guardian Angell*, who has protected that part of his Soul, that he left behinde him, his *Fame* and *Reputation*.

## PLAIN STYLE:

#### (Swift, 1709)

Then it is observed abroad that no race of mortals have so little sense of religion as the English soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army that in the whole compass of their acquaintance they could not recollect three of their profession who seemed to regard or believe one syllable of the gospel: and the same at least may be affirmed of the fleet.

#### ANTI-QUAKER:

## (Moore, 1655)

And so pretending want of satisfaction, and doing what he could to hinder the people from receiving satisfaction, as to these things, he kept off from the Questions propounded, till one of them (viz. Rich. Farnsworth) began a set speech concerning himself, which he continued about an hour; at the conclusion of which, I was desirous to minde the people of the evil, and contrariety to the Gospel, of some of the things spoken by him, that they might so mark as to eschew, as Rom. 16. 17. but as soon as I began, for but (by the way) calling his Discourse a witness of, or concerning himself, I had presently himself, and two or three more upon me, bidding me stop my mouth.

# QUAKER STYLE FOUND IN DISPUTE TEXTS: (John Chandler, 1659)

Wherefore repent of your opposition against the Lord and his Christ, lest ye be slain before his face; and cease to infuse falsely into the Magistrates head, that he is the keeper of both Tables, thereby still to animate him, to make Laws about Religion and the Worship of God: For it is a lye every way; for he that can keep both Tables in his own particular, loveth the Lord God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself; which I am sure they do not, for they have divers Idols which their hearts run after, as Pride, Riches, and Honour, &c. which draw their hearts from God, neither do they to their neighbour as they would be done by, being hard hearted, implacable, unmerciful, &c. nor much lesse can the Magistrate cause both Tables to be kept by others: For can he by his outward sword make men love the Lord God with all their hearts, and their neighbour as themselves, or can he onely restrain men from doing outward wrong and violence, and constrain them outwardly to do justice? which is far from keeping of both Tables of the righteous Law, as the Saints that are turned to the true light which makes manifest, right well know.

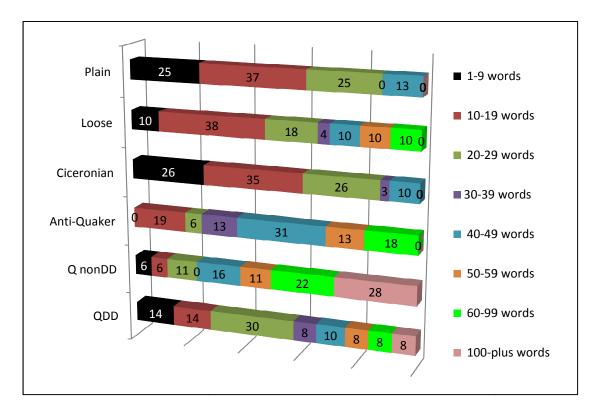
I next describe my method for investigating sentence length. Six sentence samples for each style were counted by eye for: total number of words, total words for each clause and mean sentence length for each style group. For comparison, six further sentences from the *Qcorpus* that are not part of the *QDD*, were added to the dataset. As the DD sample sentences all occur prior to 1686, these further six (labelled Quaker non-DD) are drawn randomly from that same period. It must be recognised that these few samples can only be a rough guide and sight must not be lost of the main aim, which is to establish any similarities or otherwise of the DD Quaker style compared to these others.

The findings of the small case study analysis of sentence styles shown in Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3 flesh out the overall statistics presented earlier in section 6.3.1. Table 6.3 presents findings for each style type. This brings out clearly the wide variation in sentence length measured by number of words but also a possible element of restraint in the *QDD* samples compared to other Quaker discourse types. Figure 6.3 portrays an attempt to represent in graphical terms a summarised picture of the distribution of dependent clause sizes by

percentage in each style dataset. So, for example, the *Anti-Quaker* set contains no clauses of fewer than 10 words, nor of more than 100 words.

**Table 6.3**: for the illustrative sentences in each style-type: (a) the total number of words and (b) the mean word-size per clause.

	Sample sentences		Mean total of
	1-6 in each style- type	in each sentence	words in a sentence
Quaker DD	1	87	sentence
Quaker DD	2	77	
	3	134	
	4	213	
	5	142	
	6	705	226.3
Ciceronian	1	64	220.0
	2	85	
	3	103	
	4	82	
	5	90	
	6	138	93.6
Loose	1	76	
	2	37	
	3	39	
	4	184	
	5	164	
	6	86	97.6
Plain	1	63	
	2	36	
	3	72	
	4	55	
	5	27	
	6	35	48
Anti-Quaker	1	69	
	2	124	
	3	106	
	4	67	
	5	104	
	6	211	113.5
Quaker non-DD	1	60	
	2	220	
	3	121	
	4	92	
	5	238	
	6	585	219.3



**Figure 6.3**: distribution of n-word clauses in example sentences, presented by percentage share

One general observation from the present data is the high mean total words score in the Quaker sentence data for all Quaker writing regardless of text function. The Quaker style tends to employ much longer sentences than other contemporary styles, indeed some are truly monsters in length. Only the Ciceronian sentences are close to being comparable. This is the case for non-DD Quaker style too (see the sections in chapters 4 and 8 on coordination in the present study). Predictably, the plain style sentences comprise a small number of short clauses. Only the *QDD* and the Q non-DD sets contain clauses of 100+ words, and indeed show the greatest variety of clause size in the collection of sentence styles. The Anti-Quaker sentences seem to favour a loose style in terms of length (but see Pooley, 1992:114, for a discussion on features of a sub-category of 'metaphysical' style for some clerical writers).

It could be argued that the outsize sentences found in Quaker writing generally are in fact shorter sentences but ones in which colons and semi-colons function as the sentence

boundaries. However, full stops are in evidence too and my criterion for sentence comparison was for stretches of discourse bounded by full stops, exclamation or question marks. Further research could perhaps identify distinctive punctuation use in determining sentence construction in Quaker writing and printing. Croll is useful here (1971:49) in his setting out of various points of view regarding analysis of the 'long sentence'; he asserts that: 'the things named by these terms [period and sentence] are identical. Period names the rhetorical, or oral, aspect of the same thing that is called in grammar a sentence'. Punctuation would seem to have a creative aspect in the seventeenth century and, as Roth-Schwartz (1997) emphatically suggests, not a haphazard one. The findings shown in Table 6.3 and Figure 6.3 can only be an illustrative snapshot pointing the way to a possible fuller analysis of clause length across several style types in the seventeenth century but beyond the scope of the present project.

One explanation I put forward for the Quaker style of lengthy sentences, regardless of text function, is the possibility of such authors dictating their material. Such an activity might explain the prevalence of clause and sentence chains and the use of loosely co-ordinating clauses. Honeycutt (2004:306-308) actually argues for the decline of dictation in the seventeenth century as a result of the spread of the printing press but offers some insights into the link between orality and dictated 'writing'. There is some evidence for women authors at this time resorting to dictation. Hagglund (personal communication, 2014) believes that the prolific (and literate) Quaker letter writer Margaret Fell used this approach. In any event, it is clear Quakers were using considerably longer sentences than their contemporaries. Further research might show whether contemporary tract and pamphlet writers were also using very long sentences or whether this style feature was unique to the Quakers.

In summary, and in response to the questions posed as the start of this section, the *QDD* writers do not appear to be modelling their style on any of the more conventional ones of the

period, even when addressing so-called 'trained' writers or establishment figures, as Cope (1956) claims. Elements of the loose style can be found, however; parallelisms and grammatical pattern repetitions, for instance. On the surface, the Quaker sentences appear the most complex, but length and quantity alone would not constitute complexity without an inspection of subordination. The conclusion from this brief enquiry is that sentences in the Quaker dispute texts contain elements of loose and plain style (and even from the Ciceronian style in terms of small clause fragments), as well as their own distinctive style of cumulative chains of dependent and embedded clauses. No clear differences of sentence length are observed between *DD1* and *DD2* texts.

#### 6.7 Conclusion

This investigation has taken 49 texts from the *Qcorpus* and classified them as doctrinal dispute texts, texts where the central purpose for publication concerns an aspect of a dispute or disagreement. Several different facets of the Quaker doctrinal disputes texts have been uncovered and a clearer picture has emerged of what the authors were writing about, with whom they were disputing and communicating, and the style of language they were using for these purposes. The purposes of the texts have also been considered, fleshing out the nature of some of the disputes and conflicts over the half-century or so of this period of Quaker history.

The simple classification listed by Barbour & Roberts (2004) can now be refined in more detail and precision, indicating a greater variety of discourse function, even though the present study cannot provide a complete picture of all the texts that have come down to us. The question sparked by Cope's (1956) assertion at the start of this chapter concerned the possible existence of a distinct Quaker dispute style in the seventeenth century, different from their alleged 'typical' written style. The analysis of the discourse purposes and the primary

recipients shows that the addressee had little effect on the language of the writer. The Quaker writers were consciously or unconsciously practising their testimony to equality by employing a similar register, no matter the status or profession of their adversary. In comparison with the non-Quaker writers with whom they were engaging, their style is less elaborated and uses a less formal register. So, in broad terms the answer has to be yes, in certain linguistic ways a Quaker disputing style is evident. In other ways, the features of Quaker writing in these texts matches what I have found in the *Qcorpus* as a whole, underlying the overall unity of the Quaker prose style, no matter the purpose of the texts. This is remarkable considering the wide range of authors and circumstances.

The focus of the Quaker argument moved over time from attacking priests and rulers to addressing differences between Quakers, and between Quakers and other denominations. There is less mention of intertextual disputes with authority figures in the later sampler. DD2 texts are more associated with non-Quaker publications than those in DD1; this indicates a change in the Quakers' campaigning approach. Sentence length and style in some Quaker dispute writing is a distinctive feature, although the monster sentences found elsewhere in the corpus are represented here but with lower frequency. There is no clear evidence of Quakers employing elements of seventeenth-century literary styles; elements of all the major styles are present except the device-laden Ciceronian but the Quaker writers are apparently not consciously imitating any particular style. Their writing style is all their own. This includes a more interactive style than their adversaries use, with some features expressing involvement along Biber's continuum of that dimension, notably the frequent use of the second-person singular pronoun.

The cumulative effect of the features described in this chapter is to support the assertion of this thesis that there exists a distinctive and recognisable early Quaker style and this shows

itself even in the disputes sub-corpus of texts. The case study described above highlights the ways in which Quakers promoted their arguments and how they refused to engage with the established use of techniques of disputing that the universities and seminaries had taught for decades (Rodda, 2012:37-56). Below are three overall conclusions based on the evidence presented in the chapter:

- a) The Quakers' argumentative style was used neither to convince by skilled argument or logic nor to attempt to belittle the anti-Quaker writers. Rather, they sought to be allowed the freedom to be 'Christian' in their own way, employing their own terminology. Doctrinal and social action issues do not appear to be seen as separate matters by the writers. The case study reveals frustration on the part of the anti-Quaker writers as the Quakers refused to engage in argument in the conventional ways that the learned professionals might have expected.
- b) Style variation in the DD texts indicates differences from the apocalyptic-prophetic style of the majority of the texts in the *Qcorpus*, especially in *DD1*. The findings show that some early Quaker writers were capable of producing clarity of argument in their writing as well as the ability to construct refutation of accusations by others. However, the texts do not show a clear division of style; some writers restrict themselves to a 'clarity of argument' style while others employ both a clarity of argument style and an exhortatory one, sometimes within the same text. The later period texts bring out the changing nature of disputes to include differences between Quakers in addition to texts addressing non-Quakers.

c) Quantitative data show clearly a variation in style between the Quaker disputes texts and texts in the *Anti-Quaker* sampler: greater prolixity, lexical richness and linguistic adroitness through the use of grammatical and semantic devices in the *Anti-Quaker* dataset, and a strong contrast in the linguistic realisation of clusivity; this underlines the establishment/anti-establishment divide as evidenced in the two different datasets.

The style employed by some Quakers and described by Cope, for example, 'carefully-divisioned arguments and short, limpid sentences' such as Margaret Fell and others used, (Cope 1956:738) is not universally found in the *QDD* texts. Further research into eighteenth-century dispute texts might confirm the newer stylistic direction of Quaker dispute publications and the probable eventual demise of this text type. The findings presented in this chapter add substantial qualitative and corpus-based quantitative evidence to a little-studied aspect of seventeenth-century language. The assertions made by Barbour & Roberts (2004) and Moore (2000), as the only other in-depth studies to have systematically classified the primary texts, have been amplified and refined in the present study.

The present chapter, along with the previous two, has explored in detail three text or publication types of early Quaker writing: broadsides, prophetic discourse and doctrinal dispute texts. Before comparing findings and implications of these in chapter 8, the next chapter presents a different approach from the investigations described so far. A descriptive corpus analysis of early Quaker language needs to have at its heart an exploration of lexical words that have importance for Quaker theology, history and sociology. Writers of earlier eras have attempted to describe distinctive aspects of Quaker 'vocabulary' as they saw it:

Farnsworth (1655:1-6); Fox & Furly (1660<sup>7</sup>), both works expounding on the use of *thee* and *thou*; Clarkson (1806:298-359) and Harvey (1928:6). The present study aims to bring both quantitative and qualitative methods to bear in an evidenced-based approach. It has not been possible to compare usage of other periods or socio-geographical variants in similar corpora to the Quaker material, since none is readily available at present in machine-readable form. Instead, I make comparisons with assertions in selected published literature, not including the works just cited. I also note where necessary the absence of any such commentary.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Fox & Furly, 1660. A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to learn Singular and Plural; You to Many, and Thou to One: Singular One, Thou; Plural Many, You. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, And First.

# CHAPTER 7: LEXICAL CHARACTER OF THE QUAKER CORPUS

'Enlightened Reader: discern whether or nay you be not all in the wisdom of mans teaching that teacheth words, ... and what was the root they all sprung from, was it not from the wisdom of man which is below, and the words that it doth teach?' George Fox (1659).

#### 7.1 Introduction

Early Quaker language is widely seen as distinctive, not only in commentaries and discussions in studies of the last hundred years, but also by early Quakers themselves (cf Howgill, 1654; Farnsworth, 1655; and Fox et al, 1660.) This chapter, covering all the different discourses in *Qcorpus1*, aims to confirm or extend some of the published assertions of the last 50 years (Seppänen, 1975; Alexander, 1983; Gwyn, 1986; Bauman, 1998; Moore, 2000; Ambler, 2007) and to add findings in lexical and conceptual areas where the select literature is largely silent. In cases where the literature says little but where the corpus results indicate new insights from the internal, linguistic evidence, these are reported and discussed. The investigation is limited to the earlier *Qcorpus* because that is where the interest mostly lies, in the emerging new movement. The language the first Quakers were beginning to use as a community was unusual and often new-minted semantically.

#### 7.1.1 Choice of Quaker lexis

Most of the commentary on early Quaker language focuses on that of George Fox, and to a lesser extent on other notable Quaker writers such as William Penn and Isaac Penington. The present investigation goes deeper and tests some comments that have been made about Fox's use of language that potentially leads readers to make generalisations about all early Quaker usage. The lexis explored in this chapter begins with empirical enquiries into distinctive Quaker terminology such as figurative use of the words *light* or *seed*, but then broadens its range to examine other lexical items that display either unexpected connotations or frequencies. I report on fresh findings newly revealed through corpus-based retrieval of patterns.

No previous study of early Quaker language using corpus analysis techniques as a starting point has been published. As a researcher, I had to experiment with several approaches before settling on the one used in the present study. The scope for investigating Quaker lexis is potentially very wide; in order to create a manageable collection for a corpusbased study, I developed the following methodology. I analysed a total of 96 words and phrases that had been included either in Alexander's (1983) or Ambler's (2007) list of words and phrases that these scholars claim were part of George Fox's lexicon. Additionally, I consulted Gwyn (1986) for his explanations of key Quaker theological or eschatological terms. I made additions to this selection through my own first-hand experience of Quaker practice and terminology, both of present-day Quakerism and from my knowledge of earlier periods of its 350-year history. I also had a good understanding of the texts in the *Ocorpus*, having transcribed many of them from the original pamphlets. I noted interesting points concerning frequencies, collocations, and connotations in context and compared these to the select sources as outlined above. This enabled me to refine the collection of keywords and clusters in an iterative process until I arrived at the final group presented in this chapter. My criteria for the final set of inclusions were these:

- a) evidence that other scholars, such as Quaker historians and theologians, viewed the items as lexically or theologically important for a reader's understanding of early Quakerism;
- b) studies that claimed that some items at least were 'favourites' of George Fox;
- c) some items that have come down to present-day Quakerism as expressing core concepts;
- d) some items which merited inclusion by virtue of surprisingly high or low frequency.

Other items also feature in the analysis because of their unexpected connotations or usage in terms of the contexts found in the corpus, and which extend or contradict in some way previous findings or understanding within the field of Quaker studies. Some items are omitted for reason of space, and inevitably the final selection contains an element of subjectivity.

The next part of this introduction presents the final choice of 37 lexical items analysed in the chapter and the categories into which I placed the various datasets. This is followed by a review of the select studies in the literature I drew upon for previous relevant scholarship on aspects of Quakerism or EModE. The lexical data, derived from *Qcorpus1*, are grouped in these four categories. I restricted my investigation to the earlier corpus, the period where we find the most radical expression of early Quakerism. The word forms and their derivatives are not given in detail here; for some entries all lemmas are included but this is not always the case where such completeness would be unnecessary; for example, the lexical item *spirit*. Derivatives include *spiritual*, *spiritually*, *spirituality*, but for the present study only the noun forms are of interest. Category group (1) is listed by descending order of frequency; the remaining groups are listed alphabetically. Appendix 1 provides an alphabetical list of items with page numbers.

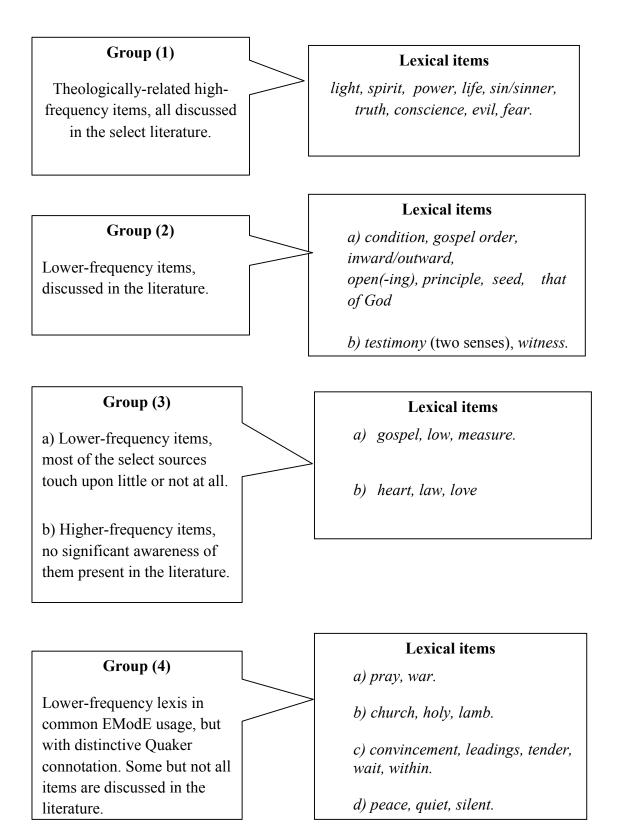


Figure 7.1: categories of lexis selected for analysis, shown next to the relevant items for each group

#### 7.1.2 Studies used as reference sources

Section 7.1.2 reviews the select literature to which I referred for comparison purposes. A number of studies on early Quakerism appear to regard Fox's language and thought as representative of all early Quakers. The lists in Alexander and Ambler provide glosses or discussion text for the purpose of studying key items in George Fox's lexicon, leading to assumptions that these explanations might be true of all early Friends' language. The present thesis avoids that over-simplification and indeed this is one of the fundamental reasons for embarking on the study. The strength of the *Qcorpus* design is that it provides a wider range of texts and authors than the better known and more extensively studied Quaker authors such as Penington, Barclay or Penn; the language of these writers is, however, discussed and compared in chapter 8.

The collection of studies in the critical literature is by no means exhaustive but these works have served as sufficient indicators upon which to base the methodology for the present enquiry. I refer to 10 studies throughout this chapter as well as to relevant entries from the *OED* online and the next part of this section gives a brief description of each. First are the two writers, already touched on above, who set out to explain or define particular elements of George Fox's language use: Alexander offers a workshop-based commentary on certain words and phrases he feels are 'favourites' of Fox (the booklet is a teaching guide to be used in conjunction with the Rufus Jones edition of Fox's *Journal*), and Ambler provides a specific glossary explaining some Quaker terminology, mostly from a theological standpoint. It is possible that either other contemporary Quaker authors imitated Fox's lexicon or the style grew in a consciously-studied way by the Quaker community, although this would be hard to prove. Next are two studies that are specifically language-based studies: Seppänen (1975), whose work is on semantically-related items in the specific area of Quaker lexis referring to

God, and Bauman (1998) whose emphasis is an ethnographic and linguistic one, not merely confined to the language of one or two Quaker authors. Third in the list are four books that serve as a guide to the perceived importance and/or difficulty of comprehension of Quaker language in use: Gwyn's (1986) study makes essential reading for his study of the fundamental *raison d'être* for the Quakers' new approach to Christianity and how that led to their sense of an impending apocalypse; Moore (2000) offers a descriptive, historical and theological perspective on many Quaker writers; Barbour & Roberts (2004) are frequently cited for their comprehensive summaries and lengthy primary text extracts illustrating early Quaker thought and actions, although others have since built on their original research; the fourth choice in this category is Keiser & Moore (2005), who provide copious text excerpts and commentaries specifically on Isaac Penington's language and thought.

In addition to these eight sources, I refer on occasion to the book of Christian discipline published by Quakers in Britain, *Quaker Faith and Practice* (5<sup>th</sup> edition, 2013), since many of the excerpts and phrases dating from early Quakerism that are most familiar to present day Quaker readers are reproduced there. This body of extracts forms the basis of the understanding of Quakerism and Quaker history for present-day Quakers in the UK (but not Ireland). Other countries and Yearly Meetings have their own preferred collections but recognise England as the birthplace of the Quaker movement.

Two non-Quaker-based works are used as sources; firstly, van Beek (1969), who provides a discussion and full glossary of what he claims to be significant Puritan vocabulary of the early seventeenth century. It would be wrong to assume that all Puritan churchmen (Presbyterians and Calvinists, for instance, as well as other non-conformists of the earlier seventeenth century) shared the same understanding of the religious vocabulary of their various doctrines. However, van Beek's work is the only linguistic source available that

purports to cover the broad spectrum of 'Puritan' complexions. Finally, John Kersey's (1702) dictionary, although not quite contemporary with this corpus but still relevant, is occasionally used as a reference.

## 7.1.3 Organisation of chapter

Section 7.2 presents an analysis of specifically theological lexis in the corpus (see Figure 7.1, groups 1 and 2). Group 2 is divided into a) high frequency items and b) lower These findings confirm but also sometimes extend assertions and frequency items. descriptions in the select literature. Section 7.3 first looks at lexis which attracts attention in the select sources (group 3a), but ranks lower down in the frequency list. Secondly in this section, the converse applies; that is to say, the section also includes some items that rank near the top of the content words frequency list but which are barely considered in the literature (group 3b). Section 7.4 next takes a new path and looks in groups 4a and 4b at five further items: (pray, war, church, holy, lamb) which have not received much or any treatment in the select literature; concordance analyses lead to new insights into mid-seventeenth-century Quaker language use. Section 7.5, the final one reporting findings, moves into the field of spiritual counsel language: five lower-frequency items in group 4c, carry important and distinctive Quaker connotations (convincement, leadings, tender, wait, within), and the collection concludes with three items (group 4d), which at first glance would appear to be situated in the same semantic field (peace, quiet, silent). Prior to investigation these last items carry an expectation of near-synonymy; however, the concordance data show otherwise. Section 7.6 draws the findings together in a concluding summary.

The frequency data for each item provide more detail, although the values only serve as broad generalisations as the datasets are not large. The *Qcorpus* frequency wordlist produced

by *WordSmith Tools* remains unlemmatised in order to retain the full picture of spelling and word class variation. For some entries, all the word forms of an item are considered but in others only the relevant grammatical classes are counted for the purpose of this investigation. Selected concordance lines are presented as illustration throughout the chapter. An explanation for the sorting of concordance lines is found in chapter 3, section 4. We now move into the extended consideration of my selected items, beginning in section 7.2 with key theological terms.

# 7.2 Theologically-related items

light spirit power life truth sin/sinner conscience evil fear

All the items analysed in section 2 are taken from the glossary to Fox's writings prepared by Ambler. His glossary is for readers working with Fox's language and thinking, or who are unfamiliar with earlier senses of words than those common in PDE. Ambler adds that several other items have been included 'to which Fox gave a distinctive meaning of his own' (p.150) and lists a number of sources he uses to support the glossary. The items he chose arise out of his intended aim of clarifying Fox's texts; this does not necessarily reflect more widespread Quaker use during the period 1655-1672 (the period covered by *Qcorpus1*). The items in this section appear in descending order of their frequency as retrieved from the corpus output. Raw word counts for each item are followed in parenthesis by a normed

frequency figure per 10,000 words. Most findings either confirm or extend our understanding of these key terms in Quakerism.

# 7.2.1 High-frequency theologically-related lexis

# **LIGHT:** 1,457 (35.5) instances

```
N Concordance
          evil Thought and Word, which the Light checks and reproves for. By Faith
       you: And though for a long time the Light hath shone in your dark hearts,
        take counsel of God's ORACLE, the Light in their Consciences, and by it be
      of God was stopt and the witnesse his light in me, quenched, then
        will heare or forbeare, and with the Light in all your Consciences, this shall
      darkness (nor God with Beliall) for the light in every one doth Reprove the
 7 the darkness is on the out side, and the light is within (so light and darkness are
    and his dark power (that was above the light) is thrown down, and they that
       with me; for Love is Charity, and the light leads through all, and so I rest in
10
       voice, who calls behind you, that the Light may become your Leader and
          path, for all that are guided by the light, must come out of the hidden things
11
12
      in places of honor, and are not in the light nor life of God, but enemies to the
13
      and people all being out from the pure light of Christ in their consciences, are
        in obedience and subjection, as the light of God in thee shall require, and in
14
15
      man that cometh into the world, which light shineth in darkness, and darkness
16
      led astray, wait in the heart-searching Light, to see the Mystery of Iniquity
17
       diligently hearken to his Counsel the Light, which sheweth you your evil
     forth; but keep your minds within to the Light which discovers all deceivers and
18
19
      which is reproved by it, and follow the Light whithersoever it leads you; if it lead
20
         and will not come to it, because the light will reprove them; so he that hates
       deed, be it done never so secret, the Light will discover it; It is a measure of
21
22
          and should not be and do, but the light within is larger than that, and of
```

**Figure 7.2**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of LIGHT as a noun

According to Ambler, George Fox saw the concept of light as 'a special, divine capacity, a function of the Spirit of God within people, cf John 3:19'. It is not a synonym for God but a metaphor 'which suggests a searchlight ... which searched out sin and brought into sight all of a man's inward emotions and outward acts, showing a man who he was' (Ambler 2002:4, quoting Barbour and Roberts, 2004.) Writings are extensive on this key Quaker term, from Fox himself through to the present day. For present purposes it is sufficient to say that the corpus data confirm both the importance and the usage of this item. It is the fourth most

frequent content word in the corpus, ranked below *God*, *Lord* and *Christ*. The *light*, according to Quaker understanding as the sample lines show in Figure 7.2, enables clarity and is also available to guide, lead and advise inwardly. It is not synonymous with *conscience* but is located **in** the conscience.

# **SPIRIT:** 179 (28.7) instances

```
N Concordance
 1
       brought to it presently; yet this dark spirit having gotten some footing in me,
 2
       of THOMAS SYMONDS. Many false Spirits are entred into the world who are
         lost the sence and leading of Gods Spirit which would bring you again into
 4 all down into the low, Lamb-like, healing Spirit, whose virtue and love overcometh
          By the influence and power of his Spirit on the Conscience, he openeth
 6
         them, being guided and led by his spirit in all that which is good, and out of
      nothing new or old, but what the Holy Spirit leads into; for the Work is a Work
 7
      them have Liberty to Worship God in Spirit and Truth; for the time is come,
        on apace, which will try every mans Spirit, and every mans Work, of what
    other hand has refresht and revived my spirit, knowing that Christ their Salvation
10
11
         afar off for the Lord hath said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man,
12
        government of Episcopacy, and our spirits cryed and groaned to the Lord,
      made a new by the power of the pure spirit of the Son of God , it will teach you
13
14
         declared Christ to be a quickening Spirit in his body, and also to be the
            must be preached by the same Spirit that gave them forth, and not onely
15
      the mystery of iniquity; so that subtile spirit prevailed with me to keep on my
16
        as the old Bonds are broken by the Spirits leading, and to serve in newness
17
     with a safe Conscience, or can by the Spirit of Truth, say these things without
18
       and were made able Ministers of the Spirit, that what they ministred forth, was
19
20
      that just and righteous measure of the Spirit of God in you; that so ye may not
21
         by the spirit I was led, and and the spirit is Light which leadeth not into Sin,
22
      of God , 1Peter 4. verse 11. And this Spirit was promised to the seeds seed
23
    strivings and warnings between the two spirits, or two seeds, in me, and had not
24
          Voyce a torment is to the unclean Spirits, known of them but not followed;
```

**Figure 7.3**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of SPIRIT as noun

This term is centrally important to Quakerism, one of many signifiers of 'the inward teacher'. The corpus data produce mostly positive collocations although an inspection of the pattern  $\underline{\text{noun} + of + spirit}$  shows a group of instances with an unhappy connotation such as anguish, brokenness. In the corpus data, spirits can mean either 'both good and evil spirits' or

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'both holy and human spirits' and the co-text for this term brings out the sense of inward spiritual state. The plural form is not discussed in the literature apart from Seppänen, who only refers to *spirits* by saying that Fox hardly uses the plural form (p.4); it appears to have been overlooked by other commentators. Contrary to Alexander's assertion about Fox's usage (p.596), there appears to be no correlation in the corpus texts between the meanings of the word when spelled with upper or lower case 's'. In many cases the upper case 's' is simply favoured by individual writers or printers without subtle regard for meaning.

# POWER: 988 (24.1 instances) as noun

This is a favourite word used by Fox but it was used widely by Quakers and meant 'inward spirit'. For Fox, according to Seppänen (p.57), the concept includes *Satan's power* as well as *God's power*; he finds that Fox uses the word in 13 different senses. In the corpus data the term in the plural could refer to *powers of the earth/darkness/men/heathenism*, etc. Corpus frequency lists show this to be the eleventh most frequent content word. Just over half of all connotations have a positive connotation (59%) as evidenced from the collocations and cotext to the left of the node word.

God's mighty power (22)

*higher* (19)

eternal power (13)

great(er) power (11)

living power (8)

*pure power* (7)

righteous power (4)

spreading power (4)

unalterable power

unchangeable power

unlimited power

un-/ir-resistable power

Negative collocates indicate that *Satan's power* as well as *present rulers' power* was rather more in the minds of early Quakers than is perhaps realised in the present day.

```
dark power (8)

present power (i.e. the rulers in England) (4)

condemning power (3)

earthly power (3)

cursed power

destroying power

Devil's power

Dragon's power

false power

wicked power
```

The corpus data confirm the assertions in the literature but also extend our understanding in terms of the existence of negative connotations.

### **LIFE:** 938 (22.9) instances

```
N Concordance
 1
         but sink down into that measure of life that ye have received, and go not
      this know all of you, that the Quakers Life is not in Forms, nor Words, nor
    and standest condemned, as out of the life, as out of the obedience, as out of
      blasphemy, and these were out of the life of the truth that judged the life
 5
                because they are out of the life in which the Scriptures were writ: for
      , a lamentation , a lamentation , in the Life, over the Seed, the oppressed
 6
 7
        are pleading for, who are out of the life, and enemies to the light, so these
        of these Nations, that are out of the Life & power; for when it pleased the
9
                      which stood not in the life and power of righteousness, and
       to walk in the strait Way that leads to life, it shakes not our confidence at all:
10
11
      but come to it, there's no other way to life eternal; if it bring you into trouble, it
12
     God, who declared unto me the way to life, & spake of Gods witnesse and its
```

**Figure 7.4**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *life* as noun

This term refers specifically to the spiritual life or as Ambler (p.161) puts it: 'the spiritual condition of being alive, in contrast to the condition of spiritual death'. Quakers did not accept that humans were born sinful, in contrast to general Puritan belief. To be *out of the life* had a powerful meaning, implying being separated from the life of the Spirit<sup>8</sup> (cf Fell 1660 in *A Letter to the King and Parliament on Religious Persecution*); the corpus data support this understanding of the usage, both for context and frequency of occurrence. The figurative use is widespread according to the corpus data. *This life* referred to the new spiritual life that Quakers had found. Evidence from the corpus data supports the assertion by Cope (1956:726) that Quakers did not themselves see the primary sense as speaking figuratively. They would have disagreed with a figurative reading; to them, the sense of *living in the life* came directly from God and was their Truth. Figure 7.4 includes examples of *in the life/out of the life*.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'But as he transgresses that, and walks not after the spirit, but after the flesh, he walks out of the light, out of the life, out of the peace, into the sea, into the death, into the trouble, into the condemnation.' ((Penington, 1658, *The way of life and death made manifest.*) http://www.qhpress.org/texts/penington/way.html

### **TRUTH:** 737 (17.9) instances

```
N Concordance
       backwards, and justice stands afar; truth falleth, in the streets, and equity
      thy fellows, in all your writings against truth, and in all your answers to any
     the Earth, & that spirit will turn against Truth, and hath done: And some others
      become cruel and implacable against Truth and Righteousness, and all them
     life which is able of itself to lead into all Truth, the which they may confesse in
        way to come to the knowledge of all truth is by the Scriptures; for the
 7
      become a Guide and a Leader into all Truth. But it is necessary to enquire
     worship, which is in his own Spirit and Truth, which makes free from sin and
     it should be reproved, but they that do truth come to it, not onely that it may
      she, that's Gods pure and Everlasting Truth, the Truth which the People of
10
11
    Witness to the priests. A Testimony for Truth against Deceit ,and a hypocritical
12
               nature out from God and his Truth, in the earthly mind and carnal will,
    false birth in its false liberty, and this is truth unto your conditions, though some
13
14
        of Knowledge. And that the Way of Truth may be known from the Way of
          Friends who know Gods precious Truth, put on their Hoods so, that is like
15
16
      are who bears witness unto the same truth in life, as Paul did, which made the
17
      appear unto all sober people, and the truth of God stand clear from all his false
18
     but those that are so much against the truth, I am constrained to answer for the
19
         was contrary and dishonourable to Truth; and for eternal Judgement, the
```

**Figure 7.5**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of TRUTH as noun

This item has a central meaning for Christians, including Quakers; the corpus data confirm our understanding but offer no extra insights into Quaker usage. There appears to be no difference in meanings between the uncountable (zero article) Ø truth and the truth in the corpus examples; the sample lines in Figure 7.5 give an insufficient spread but do illustrate the variety of use. The ratio of countable to uncountable tokens is 303:324, or 48%: 52%, in other words, no significance can be drawn from either structure. This figure excludes instances of the idiomatic adverbial phrase of a truth (found in the KJV, cf Luke 22:59; Acts 4:27). Occurrences of his truth and God's truth are also excluded as syntactically ambiguous in this regard.

Ambler (p.169) provides three meanings: 1) reality itself, 2) reality as found in a statement, an image or some other form, 3) living according to reality. As he says:

For Fox, the first sense is primary. In the second sense Friends could be urged to speak truth; in the third sense Friends could dwell in the truth, live in it and practise it. (Ambler, p.169-170).

The collocations for *truth* are unremarkable for religious texts of the time, for example the *blessed/unchangeable truth*; *righteousness and truth*; *lover of truth*; *the way, the truth*; *knowledge of the truth*. Any more detailed attempt to infer religious or philosophical differences of meaning is beyond the scope of the present study.

**SIN:** showing total frequency of headword: 881 (21.2), (many forms, as *abstract* noun, countable noun, verb, *adjective*, *adverb*), of which 47 instances of **SINNER** (as countable noun): 47 (1.1).

#### N Concordance Whether its not a cheat and an absolute sin against God to take money for the in the Conscience, that convinceth of all sin, doth not know God: for God is Light, 3 any reason to say we are bidding folk sin when we bid them pray, although they 4 not your peace whilst you commit Sin, for Sin is reproved by the light, and that which are lyars that say none can be free from sin here; for if not here in this life, then I 6 same John said, He that is born of God sins not, neither can he sin because his 7 cankered, so is this Town full of hanious sins: thou art full of pride & covetousness. true light shineth to convince man of his sin, and it is the same light which will lead whatsoever is not of a mans own faith, is sin. 12. Because, that Imposition and force 10 who having not the Law in the letter, sins out of it; and by the Light all the 11 say, Lord have Mercy upon us Miserable Sinners, we have Erred and Strayed from ; for the Pope's forgivenesse of sins is no more than a declaration 12 13 soul from death, and hides a multitude of sins: but if they will not hear, take two or 14 sin? Answ. The Pelagians talk, Original sin standeth in following of Adam, as it is 15 forth upon you for your high provoking sins; and among many, this is one of a 16 and vanities of this wicked world, and the sinful lusts of the flesh: But your priests do from the beginning, and shewing me the sins of my youth, and now knowing that 17 18 we sweep away; but the custom of thy sin hath taken away the sense of it. And 19 for all that the Light told me were sins: and in this beginning had I much 20 sin. I answer, Man was perfect without sin before the Fall, or else he could not 21 you tall Cedars, repent and forsake your sins, for the great and terrible day of the

Figure 7.6: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of SIN

Quakers never adopted the position of original sin and were in opposition to the Puritans and Calvinists on that point (see van Beek, p.53, and Kaiser & Moore, p.245-6). Moreover, they have always tended to concern themselves more with the abstract state or action of sin than condemning the committer of such sins. The collection of articles on *Good and Evil: Quaker Perspectives*, edited by Leach Scully and Dandelion (2007), covers Quaker attitudes throughout their history to this large subject and the movement's optimistic sense that the state of sin was never irredeemable. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the frequencies for these two related items, SIN and SINNER, are higher with regard to the abstract concept of sin. The dataset yields 834 instances, or 94% approximately, of *sin(s)* in verb and abstract noun form compared with the person form of *sinner*. This finding provides confirming quantitative evidence for the Quaker approach to sin and how it was in direct contrast with the then Calvinistic condemnation of humankind's original sin. The occurrences of *sinful(-ly)* express more of a warning tone: sinful flesh/practices/imaginations. Some of the instances of the item derive from certain non-Quaker texts that Quakers quoted from in order to set out their responses. Chapter 6 on dispute texts covered this aspect more fully.

**CONSCIENCE**: 487 (11.8) instances

#### N Concordance 1 So its a desperate thing to sin against Conscience, wherein Christ enlightens 2 is feared, which light was before conscience was. The Priest would have subject to the higher Power, and for Conscience sake cannot resist the 3 4 Powers ought not to Persecute men for Conscience Sake, being that is so clear, yet you cannot with good conscience, according to your Oaths, 6 the judgement) there is that light in his conscience, will tell him (if he heed it) 7 any (because he was convinced in his conscience that Tithes now in the 8 as the Leadings of God's Spirit in his Conscience? Answ. A man cannot 9 they have a Witness in every mans conscience, and their innocency pleads 10 And so I have in a few lines cleared my conscience unto you, whether you well 11 that cry day and night, that Liberty of Conscience may be given, that we may 12 one Lord Jesus Christ; The Case of Conscience to be Resolved, is, Whether 13 a measure of the true light in thy own conscience, and with it to search thine 14 2. Because, No man can perswade the Conscience of another, either what God to Life eternal, which is the Light in the Conscience in every one; and he that 15 16 going on still contrary to the light in thy conscience; O England be obedient unto 17 with speed, and let the light in thy conscience judge if these persecuting O people of England? to that in thy conscience I speak; Was it not a griefe 18

**Figure 7.7**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of CONSCIENCE as noun

The term had a different connotation from present day senses: 'the sense of right and wrong as regards things for which one is responsible' is one definition for present day usage from the *OED*. Kersey's (1702) *Dictionary* comes quite close to one of the seventeenth-century Quaker senses: 'the testimony or witness of one's own mind'. According to the Quakers, one's conscience was not always trustworthy, hence *light in + conscience* (in the figurative sense of shining a torch to see better in the dark) rather than *light* as a near synonym for *conscience*. As Moore puts it (p.219):

In the 1650s, [the Quaker understanding of 'conscience' was] the seat of religious illumination, which could not err if properly attended to and would inevitably lead people to a Quaker point of view.

The total number of occurrences of <u>light in + conscience</u> is high (179, or 36% of all instances of *conscience*); frequent clusters include: <u>conscience + witness</u>; tender conscience; <u>cleared my conscience</u>. The corpus provides quantitative evidence which supports Moore's explanation that the concept is: 'more than mere moral sense', but theologians may still differ. Indeed, Ambler suggests (personal communication) that Quakers changed their ideas as time went on.

The concordancer also retrieves other connotations of the term in the clusters *for conscience sake* (50) and *a good conscience* (18). In these contexts, the writers are pleading for 'liberty of conscience' to worship in their own way, rather than the sense discussed above of Christ or light in one's conscience. A number of writers end their open letters with variants on 'and thus I have cleared my conscience' (28 in total). These closers are a form of dismissal as much as to say: 'I have done my best to warn you to mend your ways'. One text repeats 18 times the phrase *the case for conscience to be resolved* and this echoes the Puritan usage of 'casuistry' or the study of cases of conscience. Many Quaker writers would have known about William Perkins's (1592) treatise on Puritan casuistry *A Case of Conscience*, see for example, Merrill (1966).

Van Beek (p.80) says the Puritans' preoccupation with 'cases of conscience' as a means of solving complex ethical and moral issues degenerated into casuistry or 'quibbling' as a way of ridiculing 'cases of conscience'. Quakers aimed to reclaim this subject, as the corpus evidence indicates. These findings help to paint a broader picture of the patterns of frequency of occurrence of the word *conscience* by Quakers as well as its several uses in context than a simple reading of the texts might reveal.

## **EVIL:** 467 (11.4) instances

#### N Concordance higher power, and so be a terror to all evil doers. Now Rulers are not a terror to 2 Lamb, and his heart sprinkled from an evil Conscience, and the Body washed 3 which possesseth thee, that raised an evil report of me, I had by this time been sin (as it is) to be ugly; Pride to be an Evil Seed, which the Enemy hath sown 5 consciences, that shews you good and evil, and frame your ways, and your 6 stands a Witness against all sin and evil in your own Consciences; and as 7 and dishonors; in good report, and evil report; liberty, and bonds, 8 evil, and you know your deeds to be evill; with the Light which comes from 9 be yee warned to cease to doe evil (and to obtain even from the 10 deeds are evill, and every one that doth evill hateth the light, and will not come This is one of them who puts good for evil, and calls evil good, but when your 11 12 that the TOWN may be set free from evil doers, that RIGHTEOUSNESSE may 13 and when thou wouldest do good, evil is present with thee, though it be so, 14 doth Convince Turks, and all men of Evill and of their unbelief, and of 15 righteousnes, and be not examples of evill to the Nations, neither to your 16 to discern of spirits, whether good or evil, and to judge of them, and so grow 17 from the envious man, which is that evil seed, which grows upon the thorny 18 to you (I say) repent, lest the Evill Day come upon you at unawares, 19 the Scripture; Be not overcome with evill, but Overcome evill with good; and 20 and deceits; your good and your evil hang in a string, and have but one

**Figure 7.8**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of EVIL as noun or adjective

This was not a key Fox word requiring interpretation according to the selected studies on Fox's language. Quakers had an understanding of evil which was opposite to Puritanical and Calvinist thinking, in that although everyone carries the potential for evil as well as good (cf. Fox's frequent references to the 'ocean of darkness overcome by the ocean of light'), humankind was not born irremediably evil. When the term appears in discussions in the select literature, the writers often couple *evil* with *good* and comment on the combined notion of 'good and evil'.

The corpus data gives a higher frequency than the literature indicates, though the Quaker definition of the concept is important for those studies. The word *evil* was much used

for exhortatory purposes. Writers were not averse to exaggeration, as in present day English. Not all 'evil' instances have a literal connotation, for example in this phrase:

And as for the fatherless Children which thou upbraidest me with, if it had not been for such unclean spirits as that which possesseth thee, **that raised an evil report of me** I had by this time been as a Father unto them. (Richard Simpson, 1661)

The corpus findings broadly confirm the commentaries in the literature although present-day British Quakerism rarely focuses on the term. Indeed, the index to *Quaker Faith and Practice* (2013) has no entry for *evil*. Although the concept is a key word in most if not all religious writing of the period, there seems to be an assumption in the literature that it needs no semantic explanation but is self-evidently the opposite of *good*.

## **FEAR:** 426 (10.4) instances

```
N Concordance
 1 to the Foundation of God, watch with all fear and diligence, that nothing exalt
       strongest Oak, and tallest Cedar. Oh fear and tremble, tremble, tremble
         King, but in true humility and in his fear ( and in love to his name, truths and
 4
      established for ever; and we stood in fear before the Lord, and were not hasty
 5
           throughout the World, without all fear; Darkness shall cease, and Light
 6
        are swallowed up. This in the Lords fear do I give forth and testifie, who am
 7
      afraid, and keep your meetings in the fear, dread, and power of the Lord God,
    to an end; therefore let him that stands, fear fear alwayes, lest he fall into
      and equity cannot enter; And he that feareth God, and departeth from iniquity
10
        of his Name, and be encouraged to fear him for ever, and trust in his
      suffer the Lords innocent people, who fear his dreadful name, and who stands
11
12
    spirits, thy faith staied me, else through fear I had fallen; I saw thee, and
     that this God onely is, and ought to be feared, loved, obeyed and worshipped
13
14
        is in your nostrils; and if we should fear men we should soon forget the Lord
15
        To be read in your Meetings, in the fear of God. D.W. This is the mighty day
16
    humbleness of Mind, gentleness in the Fear of the Lord, and become as Little
17
       you persecute them that live in Gods fear: Oh! You blind leaders of the blind,
18
      of your Consciences, therefore feare feare & repent, repent and prize your
19
        and apply themselves to meet in his fear to worship him, already derided,
20
      you, or as if there were no God to be feared, you still rush on in the course of
    to be over all established, done in you; fear you not, nor be not discouraged,
21
      the Lord our maker; nor we must not fear your close straight Prisons, nor
```

**Figure 7.9**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of FEAR as noun, verb, adjective, adverb

The word (both noun and verb word forms) is largely found in warning or exhortatory tracts. Collocates include: *dread, trembling, distrust, oppression, wrath.* The two meanings conform to seventeenth-century senses: (i) afraid and (ii) revere. It is included here because of its frequency in exhortatory texts, although it is less frequent in writings on spiritual counsel. None of the sources in the select literature give space to this word or its concept, apart from a simple definition by Ambler. It is a key word in what Barbour & Roberts (2004:53) describe as 'early Friends' ... stirring up of their hearer's guilt'. (Chapter 5 has discussed 'warning' and repentance, although the 'fear' implicature of those calls is not part of the analysis.) There are similar frequencies for *fear* and for *evil*; they are both located in the semantic domain of exhortatory prophecy. The high ranking position for the lemma FEAR underlines the centrality of early Quaker exhortatory texts and would be unexpected for a reader as yet unaware of this facet of Quaker discourse.

### 7.2.2 Lower-frequency theologically-related lexis

- a) condition(s) gospel order inward/outward open(ing)
  principle seed that of God
- b) testimony witness

The items in this section fall into two sub-groups, as the summary box indicates. *Testimony* and *witness* appear to be near-synonymous semantically speaking and so are treated separately from the remainder in the section, which are listed alphabetically here as their relative frequencies are not of interest.

### **CONDITION(S):** 91 (2.1) instances

```
N Concordance
        gives thee a sence of thy state and condition, and makes thee to know thy
 1
      the Lord will shew unto every man his condition, how it is with him, if he wil
 3
      disobedience; and she being in a low condition, considered the matter, and
       I shall give you some account of my condition past and present. From my
     then present with me to let me see my condition, and wounded Estate, that I
 6
         from my heart, and I shall utter my condition, from a Child, unto this present
 7
         presented again. And thus was my condition for many years that somtimes I
    without selling, did not think my spiritual condition to be very good; but the
9
           to her, and set before them their conditions, clearly, in the Light of our
10
     and we enjoy, gives us light to see thy condition, and what work thou art
         and love that which shews thee thy condition and wretched estate; and join
11
12
        Quakers; but their condition and thy condition is denyed with the spirit of
     O friend, that shall reade this to be thy condition; stand still a while, and see thy
13
14
              stand still a while, and see thy condition. And if thou feelest any love to
15
        would bring you to a sence of your condition, and leave teaching of others,
```

**Figure 7.10**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of CONDITION as noun

The item occurs in the corpus in both singular and plural forms. It is familiar to modern Quakers from Fox's widely-quoted phrase in his *Journal* (1647) and reprinted in *Quaker Faith and Practice* §19.3: 'It was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions?' In more recent times the quotation was the basis of the title of the 1971 *Swarthmore Lecture: 'On having a Sense of all Conditions'* (Carter, 1971)

The term can express a 'bad' condition, i.e. a poor inward spiritual state. The *OED* (sense 11b) defines conditions (in the plural) as: 'manners, morals, ways; behaviour, temper'. The corpus only yields instances for the spiritual sense or ways, none for the sense of rank or station in life, nor yet in the sense of a contract or agreement. When the longer co-text of line 9 is opened up in which the actions of a dying maid are described, we can see the term used in its sense of spiritual state:

On the next day, being very weak, and it was thought she might have departed, she called for some young persons that were related to her, and set before them **their conditions**, clearly, in the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, warning and exhorting them. (Mary Forster, 1669)

The ratios for occurrences of the two forms singular and plural in the corpus data are 75%: 25% respectively. There appears to be no underlying difference in the usage beyond the obvious one of number. Quakers cared deeply about their and others' spiritual state, so the word occurs largely in corpus texts concerned with promoting the Quaker message and texts dealing with spiritual practice. Ambler is the only source to mention the term specifically and that is to gloss the meaning. Nowhere is there a reference to the fact that the word had already fallen out of common use in this sense by the mid-seventeenth century. Quaker preference for the term in the second half of the century must have sounded archaic.

#### **GOSPEL ORDER**

This phrase is important in modern Quaker usage and so the unique instance in the corpus is interesting:

But that this Tax of two shillings two pence to be paid by me towards the repairing of the defective Church is rightfully according to any **Gospel order** imposed upon me, or lawfully according to any Levitical Law ... according to any Scripture direction I do deny. (Edmund Gearle, 1664)

This occurrence, not by Fox, is dated 1664, slightly predating Moore's suggested date of Fox's coinage of the word (pp.129-141 and p.227) when he reorganized the Quaker network of meetings in 1666-68. Her chapter 10, entitled *The Foundations of the Gospel Order*, indicates her sense of the importance of the term historically. Fox may have coined the term after 1666 but he had been organising groups of Quakers before then. The term implies an ordered community life, authority from the light within not from a person or a book. Only Fox is discussed in the literature in connection with this. *Quaker Faith & Practice*, in the

introduction to §19.49, explains the setting up of Quaker 'gospel order' in England between 1667-1669.

The concept of organisational 'order' is present in the corpus but Fox's use of the noun phrase *gospel order* does not occur in the corpus data before 1673, and indeed is not present in the second period Quaker corpus. Gearle's use in 1664, then, preceded by any rather than the definite article, may be one of the earliest in existence in Quaker writings. The single outlier occurrence in the data, indicates the probabilistic implication is that the term and the concept were not yet in common currency by Quakers other than Fox, contrary to the impression given in some of the select literature sources. Hence the corpus findings give a different impression from the qualitative evidence from those sources.

**INWARD**: 85 (2.0) instances; **OUTWARD**: 160 (3.9) instances; both terms as adjective and adverb.

```
N Concordance
      hearing of the ear, nor barely from the outward appearance of common
 2 them scornfully called Quaker. From my outward being in Norwich the 30 day of
        Friend to Justice, who now suffers in outward bonds the Testimony of Jesus
       of Rome, and it consists altogether in outward Ceremonies, Confessions,
 5
     4.45. the son of man declares that both outward forms, customs, and types of
         building of Churches, Monasteries, outward gestures, Garments of divers
     not without; then you must come to that inward Guide, to lead you into that inward
 7
    titles of Honour to men, or give them the outward honour of the hat, or the lifting up
 9
        and in the libertie, and maintain your inward life too, and perform religious
10
         not which way to turn thee, as to an outward livelihood? Ah, fear the Lord, and
       in old Ordinances and Traditions, and outward Observations, feeding their minds
11
12 may be under tryal, or deep temptations, inward or outward, whose hearts are
     to worship the Beast and his Image) by outward Paines and Punishments, ; which
13
    a Companion to all that loves truth in the inward parts who suffers persecution for
      God; for where the Spirit of God is the inward Principle, it disposes the body by
15
       outward things, and reigns over these outward things; which seed of God
16
      things is not of God; but turne your ear inward to that measure of light in you,
17
        in the temporal kingdoms of men, for outward visible things yielding and paying
18
19
      Apostle) as to any of you? VVether the outward washing with water, (which is but
20
      without, as the Prodigal did, but return inward whilst you have time, that you may
21
      undoubtedly a Dinner or Supper in the outward will not raise up the Love of God
```

**Figure 7.11**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *inward* and *outward* 

These two words are usually grouped together as polar opposites in Quaker thought. (see for example Creasey's (1962) study: *Inward and Outward: a study in Early Quaker Language*.) Quaker theology cares about a person's inward state and the select literature includes some discussion of this concept; this appears to contrast with Puritan thought, according to van Beek (p.75), who asserts that one idea of *inward* was something seen as secret and possibly shameful; he further says that *outwardness* in Puritan thought referred to 'all outward behaviour', and that the cluster *inward and outward* + *calling/sin* were 'favourite epithets'. The terms would therefore be familiar to early Friends, who applied their own connotations to them.

The corpus output retrieves mostly negative-loading collocates for *outward*, and the item also occurs more frequently than *inward* (65% : 35% respectively). The underlying meaning contrasts with implied inward matters. The purpose of many of the texts accounts for the higher proportion of *outward* instances; the Quaker writers are setting out their radical objections to *outwardness* in religious practice. Writers are either condemning contemporary behaviour or seeking to convince people to pay less attention to their outward lives or observable ritualistic religious practices. These findings confirm with quantitative evidence an aspect of the Quakers' message that is already well documented in the literature.

### **OPEN (-ING):** 75 (1.8) instances

#### N Concordance

- 1 lose. When the Lord first began truly to open my understanding, yea to reveal
- not yet opened; so your eyes must be opened before you see the light: so he
- shall be closed in silence, but who are opened by him; and not any voice be
- unto this light, my understanding was opened; to understand the testimony of
- Lord in his pure Way of Holiness, thus opened unto you in the Light, though to
- and appropriating the exposition and opening of the Scriptures to the people,
- 7
- were writ: for there is no true opening of Scriptures, but as the life and
- you may have had great openings of the light, whereby you were

Figure 7.12: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Ocorpus* uses of OPEN and OPENING as noun or verb

According to Ambler, both noun word forms have the sense of 'revealing [God's truth]; a divine disclosure' (p.164). The concept of revelation by God or the Spirit is present in the data (190 instances) but as a noun the actual word type opening(s) occurs infrequently (just 75 with this sense.) This is an example of an apparently well-known lexical item (in Quaker terms) which might well have been a favourite of Fox's according to the qualitative sources in the literature but which did not apply to the majority of writers of this period in the *Qcorpus*. Seppänen (p.34) finds the term 'rare' in his non-digital corpus of Fox texts. This extract comes from Fox's Journal and quoted in Quaker Faith and Practice, §19.02:

After I had received that **opening** from the Lord that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a Minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less.

This word was not utilised by many other Quakers though the semantic field of 'revealing the truth/God's word' is present in the corpus. The verb-form with a similar connotation occurs in the passive; the contexts include the figurative bodily collocations of eye, ear, heart as well as understanding, conscience, light. The corpus has only two occurrences of opening(s) as a noun in the Foxian sense and both come from Thomas Zachary. The corpus contradicts expected Quaker understanding of the early usage. It was

clearly a term that was a favourite of Fox and probably returned more recently into Quaker language use. Diachronic research could help to confirm that supposition.

# PRINCIPLE(S): 99 (2.3) instances

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16 17

18 19

```
N Concordance
       danger, and if you yet return to the principal of God in your selves, zeal for
          danger be received a among the principall of the Lords gratious
     who have done this in obedience to a Principle of God in your hearts: And my
     is false; and so are guided by a false Principle, and that is your error wherein
       patient meekness, feeling the godly Principle moving, and following it in faith
        thou art brought to slight that good Principle (that strives with thee ) under
      where the Spirit of God is the inward Principle, it disposes the body by its
     manifestly contrary to the true inward principle, then the true principle is
           one with another; when the just principle in you all guides and leads,
   put the Lord to death, and slain the just principle of God in your selves by
     that the mercy may arise in the meek principle over all, to fulfil all. The Light
     many of you hath he wrought a noble Principle of tendernesse and
        and return to the first and primitive Principle? or whether those who are in
     know the fear of the Lord by that pure principle which is placed in you, which
      to be evill, and contrary to the tender principle of God in my conscience, yet
      or whether those who are in the True Principle and Practice (and retain their
            are we resolved to stand to our principles and we know that our
    darkeneth the Air, this is one. That our Principles doth agree with the Jew and
      a knower and a lover of the Quakers principles, because I know and feel that
```

Figure 7.13: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of PRINCIPLE as a noun

According to Alexander, there were two senses in Quaker parlance: 'the way of truth' and 'the actual presence and power of God encountered in the depths of the heart'. Seppänen (p.141) agrees: 'doctrine' and also 'divine agent in man'; both sources refer to the term in the singular. The term appears to be yet another way of referring to inwardness. Most of the cotext concordance lines for the singular form carry a positive connotation. The plural instances in the corpus express the near-synonyms of doctrines or fundamental truths and appear to conform to conventional dictionary definitions, both in PDE and EModE. Theologically subtle differences are apparent in the singular form occurrences in the corpus compared with both the *OED* sense of 'fundamental truths or laws'. The corpus data illustrate the Quakers' fondness for the usage in the singular sense.

## **SEED(S):** 349 (8.4) instances

```
N Concordance
      deceive you) That though sin (the evil Seed) be sown when men sleep, and
      are not sprung from the noble gentile seed; and to those Honour is not due,
        5.23. Which Kingdom, as the good seed, is sown in mans heart as a field,
     saith the Lord betwixt thy seed and her seed: And these two can never be
        his enemies and persecutors of his Seed. And oh! to consider what a sore &
     the cause of his own just and innocent Seed, that hath no helper in the earth,
 7
     From my childhood I have felt the little seed of God working at several times,
     the Life, over the Seed, the oppressed Seed. Oh, oh! how shall Jacob arise,
 8
        will confound them all; the promised Seed is come, Christ is risen, and unto
      me, yet Joy sprang up from the pure Seed in me, and in the sorrow and joy of
10
11
        titles you bear, you are of the same seed, stock, or offspring, as was Cain
        for ever. Now this was the Serpents seed, (whose head is and must be
12
13
        and come to see whether that small seed be not buried within you, which
14
    your own particulars; Now in love to the Seed am I constrained to declare that
15
      God, but abomination to him, and the seed of evil does shall never be
16
          and by their Ministry gathered the Seed of God out of several Nations,
17
      hands this may come, wait to feel this Seed in your hearts; for it is this that
     the people which are of these contrary seeds, for Light and Darkness cannot
18
19
        and feel that there is two manner of Seeds in the Womb, then will you see
```

**Figure 7.14**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of SEED as a noun

The corpus findings and the assertions in the select literature converge for this item. Ambler says (pp.166-7) that Foxian senses are (a) the human seed as offspring or descendant of Abraham, and that would include Christ, and by extension the people of God, the Quakers; (b) the seed of a plant, figuratively expressing human potential. This is the more radical metaphor and occurs frequently in the dataset. Alexander's interpretation of Fox's use is: 'those who had become Friends and those who were open and ready to be convinced.' Seppänen (pp.85-96) interprets the word figuratively (a) in the embryo plant sense and (b) meaning 'descendant'. Moore (pp.80-1) suggests that Fox separates meaning into two senses:

i) the seed of woman (namely Christ), which by implication is good, and ii) the seed of the serpent, which in contrast is evil. Her interpretation goes beyond Fox to other early Quaker writers. She finds that they also sometimes draw on the biblical parable of the sower. Agricultural metaphors abound in the corpus data. All these senses are illustrated in Figure 7.14.

Studies without the benefit of corpus analysis have not been equipped to discover the extent to which positive collocations occur more than negative. The ratio of positive to negative adjacent tokens in the concordances lines is 13:1 respectively. These comprise collocating adjectives to the first left of seed(s) plus instances to the first right of

# **THAT OF GOD**: 29 (0.6) instances as noun phrase

The phrase *that of God* conveys a central tenet of Quakerism which has lasted to the present day, although sometimes paraphrased in the corpus as <u>something of God</u> or <u>something</u> <u>in thee</u>. Figure 7.15 presents concordance lines with <u>of God in</u> so as to capture samples of the many variants of this phrase in the data.

#### N Concordance 1 and to all people, to the light of God in all your consciences I speak, 2 obedience and subjection, as the light of God in thee shall require, and in this 3 well to turn in your minds to the Light of God in your own Consciences, and 4 ones, who are convinced by the light of God in your consciences, which 5 of others, be according to the Light of God in your own Consciences; which 6 bowels of affection; and to the Measure of God in you all I desire to be made of heart, and let the just measure of God in you all lead you and guide you 7 Instructions of that Divine ORACLE of God in your Consciences which 8 and if you yet return to the principal of God in your selves, zeal for God, and 9 10 and contrary to the tender principle of God in my conscience, yet rather is which doth not cease, to the seed of God in you all; and therefore doth 11 of the holy Ghost. There is something of God in every one, that would receive 12 just and righteous measure of the Spirit of God in you; that so ye may not be use? Now whether ye be such, let that of God in all your Consciences, which 14 your best works stands there, and that of God in all your consciences shall 15 16 ; which shall be witnessed with that of God in every one of your 17 if thou hadst been in their days, to that of God in thee I speak, which shall 18 1:Cor:10:15:16:17: So say I, Let that of God in your Consciences judge: And

**Figure 7.15:** concordance lines sorted by first word to the left and second word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of <u>of God in</u> as a noun phrase

Evidence of context from the corpus suggests that the writers are more concerned about other people's spiritual state than the writer's own or fellow Quakers' state generally. It forms part of their exhortatory message. The phrase, even when counting the variants, is surprisingly infrequent in the dataset, given the key Quaker concept that it expresses. Combinations of overlapping strings are present, for example: that of God in (all) your/every man's conscience(s). However, Seppänen's linguistic analysis (p.183) of Fox's fondness for phrases that involve a relative clause + verb phrase sheds light on 8 variants of that of God (meaning, he says, 'the light within'), all found without benefit of digital techniques. These include that to God in thee which...; that which ...; that which is of God; that which is in thy countenance; that in thy heart which... An analysis of the variants listed above with the sense of 'that of God' retrieved from Ocorpus1 is summarised in Table 7.1.

**Table 7.1**: summary of phrase variants in *Qcorpus1* for *that of God* 

	phrase variant	Qcorpus1
		occurrences
A)	light/power/seed/principle of God in/within	29
B)	that of God in/within	26
C)	witness of God in/within	25
D)	something (some thing) of God	8
E)	that in you/me which	4
F)	in your/my/thy conscience(s)	41

Variant F) in Table 7.1 shows variants of the string to the right of the 'something' entity. Some of the instances are counted more than once, depending on the side of the node which is being counted. The phrase *that to God* that Seppänen observed in Fox's usage is of negligible occurrence. The cluster *that which*, when coded as standing in for 'God' is semantically too vague and not included in Table 7.1. The results show that the variant F) which includes the *conscience* collocate is very frequent.

It appears that the phrase and the concept have acquired more importance today than in the early days of Quakerism, if we extrapolate from the probabilistic data. The statement 'there is that of God in everyone' has almost become a Quaker credal statement (in a non-credal religious movement), based on the Fox quotation in §19.32 of *Quaker Faith and Practice*. Ambler presents what he terms 'abbreviated forms' that he finds in Fox, for example: 'that of God in thee which purifies / shows thee thyself' (p.168). This variant partly matches type B) in Table 7.1. The relatively infrequent finding for specifically *that of God in* (36%) extends our present knowledge of early Quaker usage other than Fox's, partly by its absence; it appears to contradict the present-day impression of the phrase's emergence at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'And this is the word of the Lord God to you all, be patterns, be examples in all countries ... then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one.' (George Fox, 1694:263, *Journal*, ed. Nickalls (1952)

time of the founding of the Quaker movement. This is not so far confirmed by quantitative evidence (beyond the scope of this enquiry) but is another illustration of where Fox's language is assumed to be part of the usage of all early Quakers.

The next two items: *testimony* and *witness* are apparently nearly synonymous, yet the concordance data show differences in usage and meaning.

#### **TESTIMONY:** 219 (5.2) instances

```
N Concordance
            Truth, and if I live I know I shall, bear a Testimony, a faithfull Testimony for the Lord,
 1
 2
     his dreadful Judgments overtake them. Also a Testimony against all observers of Times and
 3
       and Truth of the Living God, and we have a Testimony (and it lives in our hearts ) for that
 4
       thou shalt see, that lodgeth in thine Heart. A Testimony for Truth against all Observers of
 5
       the City OF LONDON; TO WHOM, This is a Testimony of the dear Love, and tender care
 6
      some other parts, and perceiving that a false testimony had been spread abroad concerning
 7
      our Father, his God, and our God, where her testimony was received. Now you that make a
 8
        believeth hath the witness in himself, so his testimony is within him. Fourthly, although men
 9
     walk in the same, and do deny and beare our Testimony against all Strife, and Wars, and
10 because they cannot swear. And these are the testimonies given forth from one that loves and
11
      will be our Joy, that we have suffered for the Testimony of a good Conscience; and then that
12
                         Very many hath been the testimonies of TRUTH. And large hath been
13
       and others, who suffered in flames for their testimony against Tithes: And that this Age is
14
       and all the true Prophets have given in their testimony in all ages against such practises as
```

**Figure 7.16**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of TESTIMONY as noun

There are two Quaker senses: (a) testimony or witness in Friends' lives to God's power working in them and (b) a specific text-type created by Friends. It was not (and still is not) an obituary but rather a description of the way in which the grace of God was evident in the life of a particular deceased Friend. Barbour & Roberts devote a whole chapter to *Quaker Life as Testimony*, (pp.351-460). They refer mostly to a sub-set of sense (a), what they term 'defense

tracts' and which the present study refers to as 'doctrinal disputes' texts (chapter 6). At the end of the introductory section they describe the 'double vision' of Quaker testimony:

Penn prepared the way for the splitting of Quaker concerns between basic testimonies still resting on the Spirit's command and Quaker tradition, and the issues of reform in which Quakers worked on increasingly secular grounds with all England. (Barbour & Roberts, p.358)

Evidently, there are a number of senses in use in Quaker parlance. (For present-day Quaker usage where *testimony* as an uncountable noun has since become countable, see Dandelion (2014:53-54). He notices an important, and in his view a retrograde, change of meaning compared with the seventeenth-century Quaker sense.) The present chapter focuses on the first Quaker period, therefore the 'witnessing' sense of *testimony* is less likely to be present. *Qcorpus1* does contain several instances of text-type (b), although they are more numerous in *Qcorpus2* (see, for example, Briggins (1677) and Fuller (1681)). In *Qcorpus1*, most of the occurrences fall into the sense (a) category, some are of sense (b) and for several there is a blending of the senses. There are only 12 plural instances and two of these carry the extra biblical sense of 'divine law' (cf Deut 6:17.); the remainder come under the more prosaic discourse description of 'statements'.

Quaker writers needed to talk about their testimony in the sense of a new way of life, especially the effects of the living testimony to which they were witnessing, for which many thousands were suffering. The corpus data suggest that the item was not always a synonym of witness although some instances could be interchangeable. The verb phrase <u>to bear a testimony</u>, for example, could be replaced by <u>to witness to</u> (but see the following entry for witness in this section). For this item, the quantitative data enable a fuller picture of how the item occurred in Quaker use but otherwise confirm the small amount of explanation in the select literature.

WITNESS: 669 (16.3) instances, as noun and verb

1 then rise up in judgment and bear witness against you, therefore leave off your f

- 2 nd Lover of all your Soules, but a witness against all your deceits.
- and that in thy conscience shall witness against thee in the day of thy condem
- 4 ded, as the Goals in England may witness against thy generation of Teachers, wh
- 5 put you into Prison, it would be a witness against them, and a Testimony in their
- 6 his Love to you, which stands a Witness against all sin and evil in your own con
- 7 you go on to disobey it, it will witness against you eternally, and here is not o
- 8 can call God, Angels, and Men to witness for us against you, that we meet in the
- 9 wheresoever he goes; [mark] our witness for God is, his Standard is set up, and
- 10 ter of the Light; I appeal to the Witness for God in your hearts, and come let u

**Figure 7.17**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses specifically of occurrences of *witness against* and *witness for* 

The collocating patterns in the results for this item are of more interest than the semantic senses, hence the specific examples in Figure 7.17. Ambler insists that *witness* does not mean 'to see' but 'to bear witness to what one has seen' (p.171). So 'to witness to the truth' is to bear witness to what one has seen of the truth. The light within is the witness of God in people. Seppänen (p.129) finds three complex Foxian uses: Friends who act as witness; appeal to the inner witness in others; the witness of others responding to an appeal.

Patterns in the dataset include: [the] witness in + [your] consciences; witness against; witness for. The ratio of witness against occurrences to witness for occurrences in this dataset is 61:39 respectively, indicating that the writers wanted to express what they were against more frequently than what they were for. Most of the collocations to the right of the node witness for are God or Lord. Adjectival collocates with positive connotation include faithful/God's/living/true. The principal negative collocate is false + witness. The headword occurs in nearly all the texts in the corpus, indicating a commonly used lexical item amongst

228

early Quaker writers. These results extend our understanding of the word in Quaker prose, and supplement the paucity of discussion in the select literature. The results additionally provide extra comparative context for how both the lexical items *testimony* and *witness* were used.

## 7.2.3 Discussion and summary

Before summarising findings in this section, the semantic difference between *testimony* and *witness* is worth exploring a little further. A comparison of the entries in the *OED* for the nominal lexical items *testimony* and *witness* show several senses for each where the apparent mirror word is brought into use either as a near synonym or contained in an example quotation. From the evidence of the *OED* it would seem that *witness* has more varieties of senses and that *testimony* is more limited in range. Both occur in obsolete senses. From the entry for *testimony* we have:

(5a) Open attestation or acknowledgement; confession, profession.

and from the entry for witness:

(2a): Attestation of a fact, event, or statement; testimony, evidence; evidence given in a court of justice.

Interestingly, the *OED*'s own definition for *attestation* is:

The act of bearing witness; the testimony borne, evidence, proof.

From the entry on *witness*, sense 2c gives:

Applied to the inward testimony of conscience.

and sense 8a:

One who testifies for Christ or the Christian faith.

The higher frequencies of occurrence according to the dictionary evidence for *witness* in the corpus seem to match wider usage in the language as a whole, in that there are more definition entries and examples for *witness* than for *testimony*; however, the *Qcorpus* data do not confirm that interchangeableness of sense implied in the *OED*. This is another feature of Quaker distinctiveness.

To summarise section 7.2, then. Each of the items in section 7.2.1 is used distinctively by Quakers, either because of the frequency of use or the manner of use. The corpus findings generally confirm the selected literature in terms of the analysis of the concordance lines and the context, in some cases providing more contextual evidence than a manual reading alone would reveal. *Evil* occurs more frequently than might be expected from the scarcity of definitions in the literature, although it must be stressed there are sources outside the present selection that do discuss the term; for example, Leach Scully & Dandelion (2007). The warning function of many of the texts is evidenced by the relatively high frequency of the item *fear*. The item *spirit* is unremarkable in itself, except for the existence of the plural form. The theological dichotomy is not specifically raised in the select literature in terms of this lexical item. Ambler is the only scholar in the select sources to recognise (p.168) Fox's need to distinguish between the spirit of God, the human spirit and a/the evil spirit (i.e. Satan). Ambler notices that Fox sometimes employs the adjective *holy* to refer to the God-spirit. The plural form *spirits* does not figure in the literature. Evidence from the corpus data rectifies that omission.

Notable observations from section 2 include:

- the high frequency of the term *evil*;
- the presence of the plural form *spirits*;
- the difference between the positive and negative instances in the dataset for *seed*;

- the three clusters *gospel order*, *opening(s)*, *that of God* occurring less frequently than might be expected;
- higher frequencies of *outward* compared with *inward*;
- the low frequencies for *sinner* (the person committing a *sin*) than for the action itself;
- the different usages of the apparent synonyms testimony and witness.

These observations relate to a disparity of expected frequency compared with impressions contained in published studies.

The next section continues the theme of words and phrases in the corpus that are said to have been favoured by certain Quakers, especially George Fox, but this time focusing on less frequently-occurring items.

# 7.3 Some lexical items frequent in early Quaker writings

gospel low measure

These items contribute to the distinctiveness of Quaker writing and thought. Contemporary readers in the seventeenth century may have been misled by the specifically Quaker senses as used by Friends for certain words or phrases that would have denoted different ideas to the general readership at this time. Present-day readers might also want to understand the particular sense that Fox intended in using the terms, hence the inclusion of explanations by Alexander (*gospel*), and by Ambler (*low* and *measure*).

### 7.3.1 Three items frequent in early Quaker writings and cited in the literature

### **GOSPEL:** 214 (5.1) instances

```
N Concordance
         make it manifest that ye live of the Gospel and its Maintenance, as the true
 1
2
      put forth and swore to, which was for Gospel and liberty of conscience, & to
     no reward from men for preaching the Gospel, as you all do, but saith he, If I
          live of the Gospell, & whether the Gospell be Tythes or set maintenance,
5
        freely give; and Paul made not the Gospel chargeable; but these Priests
6
      is nothing at all to the maintenance of Gospel-Dispensers, for which end thou
      I shall let thee know, that to live of the Gospel , is to receive what is freely
7
8
        prisons, when as the true Ministers Gospel is without charge, and is freely
9
           quoted by thee to prove tythes a Gospel-maintenance, is in the same
10
        to the maintenance and practice of Gospel-ministers: And that not to
         Tithes is no lawful maintenance for Gospel-Ministers. FRIEND I have lately
11
           and to all that profess faith in the Gospell of Christ; and are out of the
12
13
     all Preaching for Hire, and making the Gospell of Christ burdensom, which is
       Church is rightfully according to any Gospel order imposed upon me, or
14
    in dipping in Water, and observation of Gospel-Ordinances as ye call them,
15
    that place and form, is guite contrary to Gospel-practise and new Covenant
16
17
        appointed no such maintenance for Gospel-preachers, but is a maintenance,
18
     the Apostle saith, They that preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. Now I
19
     another, Isa.42 . 8. And God (in these Gospel-times) chuseth neither
20
       down their means? For if ye had the Gospel to preach you must not be silent
```

**Figure 7.18**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *gospel* as noun and adjective

The word *gospel* is separate from the item *gospel order* discussed earlier in this chapter. Compounds are included, as exemplified in Figure 7.18, as EModE was not prescriptive about when to combine noun phrases. Alexander (p.585) takes the view that the Quaker meaning matches the conventional understanding in mainstream Christianity as 'the message or the coming of Jesus Christ'. Ambler disagrees and glosses it (p.158) as: 'the power of God', rarely used, he says, to mean the message. *Gospel* for at least twelve of the writers in the corpus is connected with preaching for hire, paying for hearing the gospel and tithes-paying; it only infrequently occurs in the Foxian sense of 'the power of God'. This is clearly a term open to misinterpretation.

Collocations in the dataset do include: *preach the gospel, everlasting gospel* (the 'message' sense'). However, there is also the phrase *gospel-dispensers*; this is a pejorative Quaker term for priests. *Gospel-maintenance* occurs frequently in connection with tithes. This sense transfers the sense of *gospel* to mean the person (the local priest) who transmitted the 'message' to parishioners and who was financially supported locally to carry out that function. Friends objected strongly to *gospel-maintenance*. They fought a campaign to allow opting out of the compulsion to pay for the upkeep of the local church.

In terms of collocating adjectives, there is an assertion by Alexander that Fox frequently used the collocations *everlasting* or *eternal*. The corpus dataset (215 words) which allows for retrieval of many instances from authors besides Fox, has 13 instances of *everlasting*, none for *eternal*, 10 for *glorious* and 1 for *holy*. There are no other evaluative collocating adjectives; this is an indication that in these texts at least, more emphasis is placed by the writers on campaigning and disputing than on description. This finding broadens our understanding of the nature of the texts in the corpus and the purposes which underlie the writers' choice of usage.

**LOW:** 100 (2.4) instances (adjective, adverb and noun)

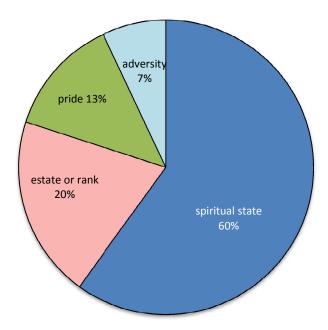
#### N Concordance 1 Listen and give ear all people, High and Low, Rich and Poor, Noble and Ignoble, that exalt themselves shall be brought low; but they which the Lord doth exalt, 3 if you keep with the Spirit, and hearken low, it will let you see what must be the in him, they overlooked Christ in his low appearance, and despised him as 5 converted Soul? Answ. By keeping it low and tender, out of the self-wisdom 6 dust, and repent in sackcloath, and lie low before the Lord, and come and see 7 obedient to the small seed which lyeth low within you, & therein it will grow to 8 earth, that pure tender plant that lyeth low in you, like a little grain of 9 be not buried within you, which lyeth low, even in the dust; for the kingdome the fear of the Lord, come down to that low little principle placed in every one of 10 11 on every hand, but the Lambes in the lowe vallyes shall be at rest hid. Terrible 12 many of them when they were very low in the outward Man, and with divers 13 truth and way of God; and as you wait low in the fear of God, you will come to 14 should enjoy in the spirit; but watch low and still in your mindes, and with that

**Figure 7.19**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *low* 

This is an important word, especially in the figurative sense, for several writers in the corpus, most frequently Penington, Nayler and Parnell. Ambler reminds modern readers that the phrase *to lie low* meant in EModE 'to live humbly' (p.161). *Lie low* itself occurs once only in the corpus. According to Keiser & Moore (p.137), Penington advised the daily practice of 'getting low, becoming humbly attentive to divine leading'. The term appears to be used by Quakers who were giving spiritual counsel as a kind of shorthand phrase and this is the predominating use in the dataset.

However, four senses altogether are evident, not just the figurative one discussed in the literature: (1) humble spiritual state (nearly two thirds of the occurrences). The remaining ones express these senses: (2) estate or rank, (3) pride (to be brought low / lie low in the dust),

(4) adversity (see line 12 in Figure 7.19). The proportions are broadly distributed as shown in Figure 7.20:



**Figure 7.20**: proportions by % of senses of *low* 

These quantitative data and patterns broaden our understanding of the Quaker use of this term, both in the advice to remain humble and expectant and the expression of radical challenge to the prevailing rigid social hierarchy.

### **MEASURE:** 141 (3.4) instances

```
N Concordance
 1
       light, and of whose fulness all have a measure, even of the grace, that brings
    to every one a Talent to improve, and a measure of Light, and also hath
 2
     in his own order, and according to his measure, and for the everlasting good of
    power of it I little knew, my condition in measure I was brought to know, and to
         Are these things judged with a just measure, and weighed with an equall
      hast manifested thy self to be in large measure, by thy lying and flattery with
    know the Name of the Lord, in the least measure, to Fear the Lord and Trust in
    fallen wisdom have lived above the little measure of truth, and hath had the light
            Amen. And as I was thus in my Measure very guiet and very still
     inward man, whilst I kept faithful to my measure; the remembrance of which
10
        light, the spirit of truth in every ones measure, and to be guided by it; and to
11
12
    to be at rest & guiet, is to mind our own measure, committed to us, and to be
       to another, in that just and righteous measure of the Spirit of God in you; that
13
      take heed of rejecting or slighting that measure of his own seed which he hath
14
      God; but turne your ear inward to that measure of light in you, which is without
15
              with greediness: Turn into the measure of God, I say turn in both old &
16
17
        to life. Now every one minding their measure of light, shall come to know as
18
       the weak being found faithful in their measure; and so unity is preserved in
19
           and thou found too light, and thy measure too short, and thy weights is
     which Watch keeping according to thy measure (or Talents received ) sin shall
```

**Figure 7.21**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *measure* as a noun

The word *measure* expresses an important Quaker concept because in the absence of priests, Friends were encouraged to discipline themselves not to go beyond the measure of discernment granted them by God. Ambler puts it as 'a quantity of something bestowed on a person, or an extent not to be exceeded' (pp.161-2). The danger was always that in the absence of a system of regulation, a Friend might depart from collective wisdom or behaviour, as happened in the controversial case of James Nayler (see Braithwaite, pp.241-278; and Moore, pp.41-44). Seppänen (p.136) claims that for Fox, *measure* is 'that quantity of amount of the divine which is given to people; it varies with individuals but by turning to live in union with it every man can increase his measure' (cf Romans 12.3, Ephesians 4:7).

Three senses are present in the corpus output: (a) 'quantity bestowed'; (b) 'limited extent'; (c) 'simple estimate'. This latter category also includes verb forms. Sense (a)

accounts for more than 3/4 of the total 141 occurrences; the sub-text in each case implies that in the writer's opinion a person does not (yet) have sufficient measure of the Light (cf line 19 in Figure 7.21). The advice to Friends was not to attempt to act 'beyond their measure'. This (self-)reproving aspect of 'inadequate measure' expressed by some writers and reprimanding by other writers (*their* or *your measure*) is not fully apparent from the critical literature.

# 7.3.2 Three high-frequency lexical items not discussed in depth in the literature

Although not self-evidently key facets of Quaker beliefs, the three lexical items listed below appear in the high-frequency ranking of content words in the corpus, and for that reason deserve closer inspection. All the evidence from the data sets extends our knowledge of this usage by Quakers since none of the sources discusses the use of the terms in detail.

heart law love

**HEART:** 862 (21.0) instances, as noun, adjective phrase

Present-day Quakers frequently collocate *heart* with *truth* (cf the title of Ambler's book *The Truth of the Heart*, one of the literature sources for this chapter) but that phrase occurs infrequently in the corpus (only 9 instances). In general, the impression from the data is that the word occurs in conjunction with texts in which the writer is reaching for a person's soul or inward-most being. The connotations are mostly positive:

gladness of heart;

*lowly of heart;* 

pure in heart;

uprightness of heart

but there is also:

hardness of heart;

dark, corrupt heart.

An important and distinctive Quaker use is as a near-synonym for the inward spirit. The phrase *dear heart(s)*, as used by Anne Clayton in her letter discussed in chapter 4 of the present thesis, for example, was frequently used in the vocative by Quakers in their published letters to each other. However, it only merits one example for this period in the *OED* (1669) and that is labelled 'obsolete and rare'.

Because of the high frequency of personal pronouns co-occurring with *heart*, this entry includes a brief analytical breakdown of these patterns.

- 1) <u>your + heart(s)</u>: 153 occurrences. Approximately 80% of the co-text instances are giving spiritual counsel or attempting to reach the souls of the addressees; the remaining instances are associated with instructing or admonishing the addressees.
- 2) <u>thy + heart</u>: 27 occurrences. Similar to 1) but either the writer is speaking to one particular person, or the context is a Biblical quote.
- 3) <u>my + heart</u>: 84 occurrences. These are associated either with personal experience ('testimony') or as a direct communication from the writer to the reader, and are full

of poetic emotion, e.g. melts my heart into tears; my heart waxed very hot within me.

4) <u>our + hearts</u>: 26 occurrences. The context here is of Quakers speaking collectively and explaining their theological position.

The instances collocating with first person pronouns, as in 3) and 4) above, exemplify the crucial aspect of Quakerism that foregrounds personal experience of the divine over scripture or doctrine. Beyond this, many of the senses in the corpus are conventional and accord with the relevant entries for *heart* in the *OED*.

# LAW(S): 620 (14.9) instances as countable and uncountable noun, adjective and adverb

```
N Concordance
     yea not respecting persons is made a Law for thee to imprison many of my
    second. Therefore I say again, That all Laws, Statutes, Customs, Usages, or
        so deeply suffered by; Namely any law for payment of Tythes, or any law to
        over them, suing and contending at Law with his Parishioners; but the day
       your power from supporting, and by Laws upholding these false Prophets,
       to those laws; yet the new Covenant law (or new Testament Gospel law)
         be revealed, so according to Gods law no man is punishable, for speaking
      of the Execution of your new invented Law against us, which you are hastening
    spirituals, and man in temporals; mans Law being without us for the outward
10
         and not so much as Queen Maries Law broken by me; by which Law so
11
        head, as also to throw down Moses Law; and became the substance of his
12
       estates spoyled by these oppressive Laws which thou promised to take away
      Laws; for we believe that the outward Law and Powers of the earth is onely to
13
14
     get their Wages of Tythes by a popish Law, contrary to such as were the
15
    brakers and Transgressors of the pure Law of God. Written by one who waits
16
            in the Land, and the Righteous Law of God (which is to do unto all men
           the General and Universal Royal Law of Christ Commands it Matth. 7. 12.
17
18
     it be proved by what divine or spiritual Law of God or Christ they were admitted
         to delay relieving Prisoners by the Law till they dye, is also Manslaughter;
19
20
        be fulfilled; see if they will not go to Law with you? and if they doe, you shall
21
        are down; and it is also contrary to Law for any man to be kept in prison as
22
    of oppession were broken, many unjust Laws and impositions upon peoples
        forth thy order, that all such wicked laws and acts, which tends so much to
23
```

**Figure 7.22**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of LAW

The 84 texts that contain occurrences of this word indicate the range of politicallycharged tracts where Quakers attempt to have various laws changed in their favour, particularly that of compulsory tithes. The findings for law (abstract) and law(s) (countable) relate to stretches of discourse in which writers refer to such laws. Other instances refer to the abstract sense of law:  $all\ law$ ;  $man's\ law$ ;  $the\ law\ of\ God$ ;  $law\ and\ liberty$ ;  $go\ to\ law$ . Instances in the corpus coded for negative connotations (i.e. laws that the Quakers objected to) in the corpus include such collocating adjectives as: corrupt; ecclesiastical; invented; oppressive; outward; tyrannical; wicked. In contrast, collocating adjectives with predictably positive connotations (i.e. laws the Quakers were in favour of or had biblical roots) include: holy; righteous; pure. The pattern  $\underline{law\ + of\ + x}$  carries more positive loadings; for example, there are 60 instances of  $\underline{law\ of\ God}$  out of 105 lines for  $\underline{law\ of}$ .

The literature sources refer in a general way to the Quakers' campaigning behaviour with regard to what they saw as fundamental laws (some of which might be seen as human rights in more modern times), but offer no detailed insights as to how Quakers spoke of their use of the term. Van Beek explains the Puritans' fondness for it (p.79) specifically as 'what was permissible', and that comes from a group who did a good deal of, as he puts it, 'fault-finding'. Again this sense would have been familiar to parents and grandparents of early Quakers. The corpus data provide a greater breadth of evidence and patterns of use.

### **LOVE:** 607 (14.8) instances, as noun and verb.

This is a conventional lexical item to find in a Christian text, the abstract noun form being much more frequent than the verb form. There is a nice observation from Barbour & Roberts on Friends' affection at this time: 'the overwhelming power of the love and appreciation which Friends felt for each other as they shared awareness of victory over evil in themselves and the world' (2004:30). The corpus evidence produces some interesting phrases

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with a negative connotation but on the whole the texts express the mainstream Christian virtues of the period. Many of the instances derive from the Bible.

The corpus data show that although nearly all the noun instances carry a positive connotation:

divine, everlasting, tender, free.

A few are negative:

feigned, false flattering

love of money

despising the love of God

The wider co-text of *love* with *world* retrieves 26 occurrences. 8 are biblical quotes and the remainder imply a love of the things of this life and not spiritual matters. Instances of the verb form are largely positive in connotation, an exception being the phrase: *the people love to have it so* (9 occurrences). Eight different writers in the corpus used this biblical quote from Jeremiah 5:31<sup>10</sup> for expressing their objection to the common people's conduct, as they saw it. The high-ranking frequency for this item requires that some analysis is included, in spite of the absence of discussion in the selected sources. Quantitative evidence is able to flesh out some of the examples of use but there are few surprises in the data.

**7.3.3 Summary** 

The three lexical items *gospel*, *low* and *measure* exemplify the Quaker focus on the divine as located within each and every person. The usage often contrasts with the earlier usage in the dissenting doctrines of Puritan Calvinists. For this reason these items deserve

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so.'

linguistic attention; however, their appearance also illustrates where the language of the Quakers led to misunderstanding. This is because such vocabulary, although familiar in common parlance, meant quite different things to the Quakers than they did to their fellow Christians. Where the Quakers were understood correctly, they could be seen as heretical; for example, they were sometimes accused of blasphemy (see Manning, 2009). In some cases it is the context that is important; for example, for the words *measure* and *low*. Writers in the corpus texts often used these terms when describing Quaker beliefs and principles, and when giving guidance about spiritual practice to the newly convinced. The corpus results broadly confirm the explanations in the select literature where they exist, and extend our understanding of the wider uses in actual textual data: the occurrences of *gospel* do not always refer to the biblical 'good news' but the Quaker use is often transferred to the priests 'delivering the gospel' and personified in that way; *measure* is sometimes used by Friends to imply 'lack of sufficient personal spiritual depth' and thus a shortcoming; *low* is a favourite Quaker word for humility and thus the opposite of priestly pomp and self-righteousness in the churches, as they saw it.

The items *heart* and *love* show predictably high frequencies for a corpus of religious texts; the unexpected item in section 7.3.2 is *law*. The reason for this is the historical context, that of the Quakers' opposition to many of the laws of England resulting from their newfound convincement to the Quaker way. Chapter 6 in the present study explores in more detail the Quakers' extensive campaigning against what they saw as unjust laws and how these fell short of biblical laws in Friends' eyes. The high frequency of occurrence of *heart* and *love* underlines the warmth of Quakers' affection even for their adversaries; such evidence of loving language is often absent in doctrinal or instructional texts of the time, although the context is always important. For example, the treatises section of the *Corpus of English* 

Religious Prose (COERP) retrieves the relatively low values shown in Table 7.2, compared with Qcorpus1.

**Table 7.2**: comparison scores for the headwords HEART, LOVE, LAW in both the *Corpus of English Religious Prose* and *Qcorpus I*, normed per 10,000 words

	COERP	Qcorpus1
HEART	19.6	16.4
LOVE	11.7	21.0
LAW	5.6	14.9

These results do not tell the whole story in terms of context and can only be a tentative comparison. The patterns of use in context that are evident in the corpus data reveal shades of meaning that do not necessarily reveal themselves when reading full texts.

# 7.4 Selected lexical items indicating distinctive features

This section follows the methodology outlined at the beginning of the chapter, which identifies and investigates Quaker terms said to carry distinctive Quaker connotations, regardless of the frequency ranking in the wordlist. The findings all show some unusual features, either unexpectedly low-frequency of occurrence or because of some distinctively Quaker usage. Section 7.4.1 looks at two items showing lower frequencies than expected: *pray/prayer* and *war*. Section 7.4.2 continues the low frequency theme with three more items: *holy, lamb* and *church*; these also display unusual theological meanings or usages not previously addressed in this chapter.

### 7.4.1 Lower frequencies than expected

pray/prayer war holy lamb church

The inclusion of the items in this section is based on lexical items that might be predicted to occur in religious texts of the time.

### PRAY/PRAYER: 129 (3.1) instances

```
N Concordance
   as the Oracles of God. And if I use any prayer without Gods Spirit, it becomes
         for what good hath all your bought-prayers done you in the time of need?
 2
 3
        where had the Apostles a Common-prayer. book? But this was their way;
          against and now cry up Common-prayer, and readie to engage against
 4
    Bishops, denyed the Book of Common-Prayer and received that Pamphlet,
 5
   to keep alive your dead Meetings, dead Prayers, dead Preachings, dead
 7
      of them stands in the will of the Giver. Prayer is a Gift. A man cannot pray
 8
      but rather strengthened the People, I pray God it be not laid to their charge.
      hypocrite, out of the hands of whom I pray to be delivered, R. S. Fressingfield
 9
   and promoted the keeping on the Hat in Prayer and Supplication to God, and
10
11
        damnation, for their pretended long prayers, Mat.23: 14: and so he did not
12
            as ye call it. 3dly, For Marrying prayers on those days called Holy-days.
13
      in the time of your Divine Worship of prayer so called ? and did not R: C: (
14
     money, &c all this under a pretence of praying for you. And what good have
        of meat, observing a set number of Prayers, fasting from victuals, keeping
15
    at this day in many, who the more they pray to God the more they play fast and
16
17
     the truth, and so thou mayest have thy prayer answered, which thou makest in
18
    life of Christ; for the Christian zeal is to pray for them that persecute, Mat.5.44.
       had Simon Magus an old witchcarle, pray; and now is there any reason to
19
20
       unto you, that except your Worship, Prayers and sacrifices do proceed and
21
         days called Holy-days. 5thly, Your prayers made at the grave when ye bury
```

**Figure 7.23**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of PRAY and PRAYER as noun and verb

We might expect texts on religious matters to contain the words *pray* or *prayer* relatively frequently. The religious domain texts in the *LC* for example, give 7.2 per 10,000 words (for all word forms of the headword) and the *COERP* has 26.4. *Qcorpus1*, in contrast, gives only 3.1 per 10,000 words. Collocating with *prayers* and frequently carrying a negative loading are these examples: *dead; long; bought*. The noun *prayer* seems to attract more negativity than the verb form *pray*. The phrase *Common-Prayer Book*, referring to the liturgies of the Church of England, which Friends were ideologically against, occurs nine times. The literature sources are silent regarding Quaker use of this headword and the corpus findings therefore provide new insights for this historical period of Quakerism. Quakers had a different understanding of the act of praying from the mainstream churches and their texts are more likely to focus on their objections to church outward forms of worship. As Johnson (2011) explains:

A Quaker prayer life arises from a life of continuing daily attentiveness. The first generation of Quakers followed a covenant with God, based on assiduous obedience to the promptings of the Inward Light. This process did not require the established churches, priests or liturgies. Quaker prayer then became a practice of patient waiting in silence. (Johnson, 2011:1)

It is therefore the word itself which is infrequent, not the action. More detailed comparisons with non-Quaker religious texts could prove helpful in confirming this interpretation.

### WAR: 109 (2.6) instances as noun and verb

```
N Concordance
       our Testimony against all Strife, and Wars, and Contentions that come from
 1
     exceeding hard, and much trouble and war arose in me, between the good
 3
         saith the Lord of Hosts; for a great War is begun, neither will the Lamb lay
          In this day and time of the Lambs War which is come. Wherein Christ the
 4
 5
        had been so some years in the late Wars with the Hollander : And this light
 6
      Ground of our engagement in the late Wars against the Bishops and Prelates,
 7
      Lord is come, and is coming to make War with him, and bind him, and cast
             I will arise like a mighty man of War (saith the Lord); your day, your
    put not into their mouthes, they prepare warr against you, Try your Priests, and
 9
    out to war against it; in which Spiritual War being faithful, you shall not fail of
    for now we see there hath been terrible wars betwixt Michael and the Dragon to
11
    the Lusts that warr in the members, that warr against the Soul, which we wait for
    of many, when we first engaged in the Wars; and we can faithfully say, that the
     my forwardnesse in that work, and the war within me did somwhat cease, hut
15
     hearkning to their cry I entred into the war without me, thinking thereby to be
16
            is still promoteed: And after the wars of Scotland were over, there
17
        be granted that sometime since the war began in the Nation when they could
18
         is in our minds, to wit, the Light; to war against the Law of God, is sin, and
19
      and will with his Spirit lead you out to war against it; in which Spiritual War
```

**Figure 7.24**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of WAR

This item is included because of Quakerism's history of pacifism, peace and anti-war campaigning dating from the seventeenth century to the present day, although not from the earliest days of the Quaker movement (commonly dated from 1647). The *Peace Declaration* addressed to King Charles II was published by Margaret Fell and fourteen other Friends in 1660 (excerpt reprinted in *Quaker Faith & Practice*, §19.46.)

We are a People that follow after those things that make for Peace, Love, and Unity, it is our desire that others feet may walk in the same, and do deny and beare our Testimony against all Strife, and Wars, and Contentions that come from the Lusts that warr in the members, that warr against the Soul. (Fell et al, 1660:7.)

Only four instances in the corpus resemble the thrust of contemporary Quaker documents found in the *Peace Declaration*, including:

[Christ] redeemes out of the lust from whence the Warres ariseth, and so bringeth to an end of that from whence Warres cometh. (Humphrey Smith, 1659. *Concerning Tithes*)

The corpus data show that the word *war* is often used in the sense of 'conflict', accompanied by a sense of spiritual warning. Only 5 occurrences are referencing contemporary political wars (cf line 5 in Figure 7.24); others are biblical but as Quakers often merged the biblical with commentary about their present spiritual conflicts no clear boundaries in the concordance lines are available. There are 11 wide-range instances of *the Lamb's + war*. *War + against* has 29 occurrences, *e.g. against + all his enemies/the law/your souls/the Bishops and Prelates*. The lack of rhetoric advising against participating in outward (non-spiritual) wars and committing actual violence would be unexpected for a modern general reader. These contextual findings, therefore, illuminate and extend our understanding of the turbulent first period of Quaker practice.

### 7.4.2 Words and phrases carrying unusual meaning or usage

These items are in addition to those higher frequency ones already discussed in section 7.2. Most sources in the literature have little or nothing to say about them.

### CHURCH(-ES): 372 (8.9) instances, as noun

```
N Concordance
       place built with mens hands called a Church, we own it not for the Church,
      the Steeple-house or Tower-house, a Church, which is gross and sottish
 3
        in this Nature we called ourselves a Church of Christ, and Saints when I
 4
             2dly, for women when they are churched, as ye call it. 3dly, For
 5
      the onely supreme Head of this called Church of England. Thus have I made
 6
        was also for repairing the defective Church, so that above three years since
 7
     with) we say the Priest of the defective Church he proceeded to sentence of
 8
        went to excommunicate the Eastern Churches, because they were contrary
 9
      And also the Government of the False Church, distinct from the Church in the
10
          affection, which the National false Church is not, unto which the Priests
11
       Bromfield for absenting himself from Church on holydaies. William King was
12
         at the Parish house, called Lucies Church; in which Paper was declared
13
     Masse house, falsely called St. Maries Church; And I asked him whether he did
    comes into the world; & you are out of Church order, in the confusion of your
14
15
        its said in the dayes of the Primitive Church, the Ordination thereof was thus,
16
         that call your selves the Reformed Churches, and that seems in words to
     of Rome now, from the ancient Roman Church, who pretends authority to invest
17
18
         to repair the defects of a temporal Church, for your Church and the
19
    is a shame for a woman to speak in the church, which the law forbids, (and
20
     you do so that take Tithes? Or, did the Church in the primitive, times, or the
21
        charge: For Zions sake, and for the churches sake I cannot be silent, for
22
          ornaments are defective, and the Church it self defective, and it may be
23
     if any Quakers did come again to their Church (as they called it) they would
```

**Figure 7.25**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of CHURCH

As the first Quakers were against all that the mainstream churches stood for, the occurrences and contexts for this item will inevitably be of interest. Alexander briefly comments on Quakers' view of 'the true church' which 'had been obscured since the time of the apostles' (p.581). In essence, usage in the corpus confirms the distinct Quaker position theologically, and tokens occur with high frequency in the sub-corpus of dispute texts (22.0)

words per 10,000 in the earlier disputes corpus compared with 9.0 words per 10,000 in *Ocorpus1* as a whole).

There are some positive connotations: *true church* (i.e. Quakerism as an invisible church); *church in the primitive times* and *church of Christ* (i.e. the church as in the apostles' times); see Barbour & Roberts (p.466) for their summary of Fox's description of the characteristics of this Quaker sense of 'church'. These connotations appear in contrast with collocations carrying negative connotations: *false, defective, temporal, visible*. The *visible church* (and clusters such as the *liturgy of the church of England* and *Romish church*) had negative loading for the Quakers because the word *visible* refers to the actual buildings and conventional church organisation of the time; this was in contrast with the *church invisible*, that is, a spirituality experienced inwardly without need for buildings or sacred spaces, which the Quakers practised. Names of the other denominations, which Quakers objected to *en bloc*, also occur in a disparaging context (cf lines 12, 13, 16, 17 in Figure 7.25). Also in Figure 7.25 (lines 6 & 7) are references to 'defective churches'; this is not an abstract concept but arises in the context of compulsory maintenance payments for local church buildings. Our understanding is extended with these findings through greater awareness of the polarised connotations of the word in early Quaker usage.

**HOLY:** 372 (9.0) instances, as adjective and noun

```
N Concordance
 1 for working upon a piece of Fustin on a holyday, and being asked why he did
      the power of sin: is to believe against Holy Scripture and knowledge, because
      into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is a sufficient ground for
     for ever, which is in the true Light and holy Spirit, which, blessed be the Lord
                 to be Churches, and to be Holy-places, and sit men by their Arts
 6
       Thomas Man in his house on certain holy daies, to whom resorted many
 7
       from Country to Country, to bear his holy Name, and to witness forth his
        or thinking our own thoughts on his Holy day, which is one continual day,
     eating flesh in Lent, and for working in holy dayes, and not coming to Church.
10
         Teachers complains of formality in holy duties, and yet confesses
11
      and being asked why he did not keep holydaies, he said it were better doing
12
      it over with some zeal, or pretence of holiness; therefore we must prove and
13
        they suffered for. 1 For working on Holy dayes, and for not having bells
14
      for absenting himself from Church on holydayes. Christopher Eatle for working
15
      absenting himself from the Church on holy dayes. William Becks and his Wife
16
            can no more make such places holy then a heap of stones; nor add any
17
    and sports, and this ye call keeping the holy-dayes. Oh wretched idolatry! The
18
          lose, and besides that upon these holydaies innumerable of offences are
19
    the place of their burial whether it were holy or no. Richard Sheepman for
20
       yet God seeth, God seeth the whole holy daies to be spent miserably in
    this is idolatry. And thus you keep your holy-dayes, as you call them, spending
```

**Figure 7.26**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of HOLY

As with the term PRAY, most studies on religious texts would expect a frequent occurrence of this item, and indeed *holy* is more frequent than *prayer* (9.0 for *holy* and 3.1 for *prayer*, per 10,000 words). The *COERP* gives similar frequency scores for both items: HOLY (26.7) and PRAY (26.4). Many of the collocating clusters in the corpus carry a neutral or positive connotation, e.g *holy spirit; holy scriptures*, and *holy one* (a synonym for God), but the existence of denigrating collocations places the term in the area of controversy. *Holy men* can be either positive, when referring to people in the Bible such as *prophets of old* or *apostles*, or pejorative when referring to priests and other churchmen of the day. *Holy places* can have a positive connotation in the texts unless the writers are referring to *church* or *mass-houses* when the context is negative. Similar negative compound nouns are present (cf *holy places* and *holy-days* in Figure 7.26). These formulaic phrases occur in a pejorative context

when, for instance, Quakers report punishment ('suffering' in Quaker usage) for working on *holy days*, i.e. special church or feast days that Quakers no longer recognised. The detail that the corpus provides extends our understanding of both the conventionally positive and the less frequent but strikingly negative uses by early Quakers in their publications.

# LAMB(S): 188 (4.5) instances, as noun

```
N Concordance
 1
       into John Cranwells land, and took 4 Lambs without leave, and sent his men
 2
                     Have you brought any Lambs to Christs Fold? Have ye brought
 3
         are very confident, who kill Christs Lambs, to do God service, that those
 4
      World without end, Amen. So all dear Lambs dwell with the Lord, that you may
 5
      his nostrils, but fear the Lord ye dear lambs and babes of the heavenly father,
 6
       manifesting it self, therefore ye dear lambs and babes of the heavenly Father,
 7
     ye in the day which is hasting. O dear Lambs, lift up your heads and rejoice,
    good and perfect gift comes. And dear Lambs, although some of you be, in
 9
        be removed into a corner: So dear Lambes learn of him, who careth for
10
           in Israel. Dear blessed precious Lambs and Babes, ye children of the
11
         to bind and lose, and shal sit in the Lambs Throne of Judgment and
12
         to hide them from the wrath of the Lamb (the womans seed) and of him that
13
    his Garment washed in the Blood of the Lamb, and his heart sprinkled from an
      and Sword that proceedeth out of the Lamb's Mouth, when eminent Danger
14
15
     be sworn; then they did ask them what Lambs and sheep John Cranwell had
16
        their Corn, Hay, Flax, Hemp, Wool, Lambs, Foals, Calves, yea Cows and
17
         but Vicar, having the tithe of wooll, lambs, calves, apples, plumbs, &c.) unto
18
        might be theirs.) First then, Are you Lambs, as the true Ministers of Christ
```

**Figure 7.27:** concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of LAMB.

Quakers used this term frequently, especially in suffering or persecution contexts. It is a marker of their distinctive language, although only mentioned *en passant* in the literature apart from some references to the 'Lamb's war' (see Barbour & Roberts, pp13-14, 102-116, 144.) Figurative senses in the corpus include these:

- 1) dear/tender Lambs. In the context of Friends who are addressing other members of a Quaker community (figurative). This is close to the OED senses (2a) 'a young member of a flock, esp of the church' and (2c) 'a term of endearment'. The Quaker use does not, however, limit this term of address merely to the young or (in non-Quaker terms) lower social rank in their religious communities, as that would contravene the affirmation of the equal status of each Friend.
- 2) Synonym for Christ (*slain lamb*).
- 3) Quakers who are suffering, and identifying themselves with Christ (*blood of the Lamb*), cf Rev 7:14. *The Lamb's bar/throne of judgement*, which the *OED* does not refer to, but is a favourite phrase of Fox in his text prophesying the day of judgement:

The Lambs officer is gone forth with the lambs message which is the witness of God in all consciences, to call them up to the bar, the judgement of the lamb, in this his day which is come. To all the parish clerks, vicars, curates, and professors in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and elsewhere in the whole Christendome; for you all to come up to the Lambs bar, in this his day, and is to go into all the parishes aforesaid, to see if they can stand before the Lamb, to plead their cause, guilty, or not guilty, in this his day, who have had the scriptures, but out of the life which they were in that gave them forth. (George Fox, 1659. Wing /F1855)

The *Lamb's war* refers to spiritual warfare or the struggle of Christ with the forces of evil. Christ is seen as a sacrificial lamb, so by inference are all the suffering Quakers of the day (cf the Lamb of God, John 1:29). All the occurrences of *lamb's bar of judgment* in the corpus derive from one author, Simon Adam. Additionally, there are just six occurrences of the word in the literal sense and these refer to lambs in connection with the distraining of goods by bailiffs. The ratios derived from the dataset are:

lamb (singular or possessive), referring to Christ 69%
 lambs (innocent people), or specifically Quakers 28%
 literal animals (taken by bailiffs) 3%

### **7.4.3 Summary**

Some interesting observations arise from the analyses of the corpus evidence:

- the infrequency of the verb *pray* although the action itself (usually silent praying) is frequently described or remarked upon by the authors; the noun *prayer* usually refers to outward, liturgical prayer that the Quakers objected to;
- a similar pejorative connotation occurs with the use of *holy* when the writers refer to the established church's special days and events. This is also the case with the term *church*, which sometimes refers to the outward institution, sometimes the 'church invisible' (of Quakerism), and occasionally the actual building when writers complain of the need to give financial support locally;
- the absence of the pacifist connotation allied to the term *war*, and the more common early Quaker usage in connection with humanity's inward and spiritual conflict between good and evil. Readers knowledgeable in Quaker values and aware of the 1660 *Peace Declaration* might have expected more references to a stance against war. In fact most instances occur in other contexts, as the analysis has revealed. This is not to say that testimonies against wars and fighting were not being published at this time, merely that insofar as the corpus is representative of the broad spectrum of Quaker publications of this period, the pacifist element is rarely present;
- three uses of the favourite Quaker term *lamb(s)*: in the singular as a synonym for Christ; in the plural referring to 'innocent people' or Quakers; or when Quakers address each other.

# 7.5 Lexical items within the fields of spiritual counsel and spiritual practice

convince(-ment) leading(s) tender wait within peace quiet silent

The set of items (Group 4a-c as displayed in Figure 7.1) in section 7.5.1: convince(-ment), leading(s), tender, wait and within, are grouped within the general area of the Quaker spiritual practice of waiting in stillness to be guided and led, a practice in which a separated priesthood was unnecessary. Since they had dispensed with a paid ministry, Friends were reliant on teaching and learning from each other, guided as they said, directly by God. Thus, these findings shine a light on the lexical character of this aspect of the texts. The practice, still found within the unprogrammed Quaker tradition (one based on silence and without paid priests or hierarchy) in many countries to the present day, was being established at this time. There is little discussion of the lexical usage in the literature, although the concepts are covered in some depth. As the terms are important to Quakerism, this section reports on what the corpus findings tell us, which generally confirms and illustrates various commentaries in the literature. 7.5.2 looks at three final items (Group 4c in Figure 7.1) which appear to be semantically near-synonymous: peace, quiet and silent. The concordance patterns reveal a rich range of meanings.

### 7.5.1 Spiritual counsel and practice lexis

### **CONVINCE(-MENT):** 72 (1.7) instances, as noun and verb

```
N Concordance
     him. Note also, This Robert Rich had a convincement, and was a while among
 1
 2
            but denies Christ daily, and are convinced, but doth not repent; but they
   to all you tender-hearted ones, who are convinced by the light of God in your
 4
           I had peace in all this, till farther convincement came upon mee, as to the
 5
     cross of Christ, the power of God, that convinceth, condemneth and judgeth
    the cry of many be who hath been long convinced even as the cry of some of
 7
       vain Doubtings expelled, and a clear Convincement hath prevailed upon your
 8
      for that which is not Bread; for ye are convinced in your own consciences that
9
        I have wrote to you before upon my convincement, it hath further been laid
         nature although it be in man ) for it convinces man of the Evill of his own
10
           Light; then joyning to that which convinced me, I was made to see my
11
12
               of a Letter sent to one Newly convinced. My bowels over thee yearns
        my selfe to be safe, for when I was Convinced of sin in my Conscience, I
13
14
      to the Light in your Consciences that convinceth of all Sin, and makes
15
      true food. Friends, all of you who are convinced of the trueth, keep and walk
16
           A word to all those who have bin convinced of the TRUTH, And yet
17
           the Light in the Conscience, that convinceth of all Sin, and judgeth the
18
     are called, and few chosen; and many convinced that are not converted;
19
     of the Lord, to return to that which first convinced thee, which was the pure
20
               by that man Christ, who hath convinced you of your unrighteousness
```

**Figure 7.28**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of CONVINCE

The Quaker sense of *convincement* contrasts with the Puritan sense of the word, according to van Beek (p.60), which he explains as 'the indispensable realization of man's deplorable state'. Both Keiser & Moore (pp.273-274) and Bauman (pp.28, 63, 72-73) provide useful discussions of the Quaker term *convincement*. The *OED* gives: 'conscientious or religious conviction; conviction of sin; esp. used by Quakers in the sense of religious conversion.' Clusters in the corpus include: *receive a convincement* and *stand convinced*. 12 instances of *light* co-occur (cf line 17 in Figure 7.28). The result of a person's (possible) convincement is evident in the 15 collocating instances of *sin*. As someone became convinced in the Quaker sense, they would then be acutely aware of their sin as the Light

revealed this to them. For early Quakers, *convincement* was just the first step; as line 18 indicates, that experience did not always lead to *conversion* and thence to becoming a Quaker. (That aspect of Quakerism in Britain disappeared after the seventeenth century as the concept of 'membership' of the Society became established.)

The occurrences in the corpus are relatively infrequent in spite of the important Quaker sense of the word. The purpose of the majority of the texts in the corpus is to urge the readership to repent (cf line 10), and this accounts for the figure; only a few texts describe the writers' own convincement (cf lines 9, 11, 13). One of the main purposes of early Quaker publishing was precisely in order to *convince* people of the urgent necessity of heeding their message and it is the force of this illocutionary speech act directive, though not the actual word, which is present. The quantitative results confirm our understanding of this term in Quaker usage but also show that the word has assumed a greater perceived importance since than was probably the case in the period under discussion.

### **LEADING(S):** 25 (0.6) instances, as countable noun and verb

### N Concordance of the flesh, to withstand the voyce and leadings of God by. Quest. Who is it that 1 particulars, you have lost the sence and leading of Gods Spirit which would bring into in a measure of the Simplicity and leadings of the Power, yet the mind falling 4 and you know not the pure moveings and leadings of the pure spirit of the Lord God 5 from you, and if you be faithful to his leading, he will therein be with you, and 6 in the fear of the Lord, and minds his leadings, may truly know, as it is written, by which he hath commanded us, and is leading us to do his Will in the Earth, as it 7 with it, you will know its power and its leadings; be afraid, but come to it, there's 8 give all diligence to the Spirit's motion & leadings, what it moves against, and what 9 10 of Spirit. And as you mind the pure Leadings of the Spirit, and willingly follow the Lord their God, according to the Leadings of his own spirit: Had it not been 11 a man then to expect such a thing as the Leadings of God's Spirit in his

**Figure 7.29**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of LEADING

The concept underpinning this term is another core aspect of the Quaker principle of spiritual guidance experienced from within and not obtainable from priests or scripture. Barbour & Roberts list in their index seventeen occurrences of this word in use in text extracts, under the umbrella phrase: "'leadings'': to witness, speak or travel' (p.619). Other near synonyms are voice, sense, movings (lines 1-3); similar nouns, such as drawings, are evident within the texts. No standard dictionary gives the term as occurring in the plural, indicating this plural use as distinctively Quaker, especially in PDE. (The OED only cites special connotations of the plural connected with dancing and with mining.) Sense (5) in the OED gives:

A directing influence or guidance; esp. a spiritual indication of the proper course of action in any case. A term used by the Quakers; also in the usage of other religious bodies, and in philosophy.

However, the two cited quotations for the plural form are only dated 1889 and 1969, and the 1889 one itself refers to Quakerism. In the corpus, 50% of the occurrences as noun are plural in form.

The corpus results show a low frequency compared to probable higher levels in later periods of Quakerism. (The frequencies from the later *Qcorpus2*, dating to 1699, show exactly the same normed frequency of occurrence.) A diachronic tracking of its use throughout Quaker history could be fruitful. The concordance findings illuminate our understanding of the term in Quaker usage. Further investigation in a yet wider spread of texts might reveal a higher frequency. Alternatively, it is possible that of the several semantic choices available to the early Friends, only *leadings* has come down to us as distinctive.

**TENDER:** 174 (4.1) instances, as adjective and verb

### N Concordance 1 where I had and have a wife and tender babes, who were, and are deare selves, but doth toyle and weary your tender bodies; And when you sit downe, for I am constrained to beseech you in tender bowels of love to your souls, that power of his Spirit. Quest, Is only the tender Conscience then fit to be wrought all people in the Nation (be they so tender conscienced, or never so Sectaries, and under pretence of tender consciences, do at their Meetings shews pity towards you: Ah how like a tender Father does he bear with you! 8 meek, humble, sober, loving, merciful, tender-hearted, liberal in all good; 9 for ever. Now my dear Friends and tender hearts commit your way to the the cause that thou dost so torment my tender Lambes, and because thou dost 10 11 shall have the light of life; therefore in tender love are you all warned, profane 12 Who are called BAPTISTS Friends, in tender love to your souls is my soul 13 this day in these Nations. O dear and tender People, whose hearts have been 14 and bud forth in the earth, that pure tender plant that lyeth low in you, like a 15 forth, you must come to feel Gods tender Plant that he hath planted in you 16 A Tender Salutation to the SEED From the 17 not beleive nor receive him, who doth tender salvation to them, the Light of 18 envy, which is inveterate against us, Tender us an Oath, which they call the 19 to you before the day of your tender visitation be wholly past away.

**Figure 7.30**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of TENDER

Quakers used, and still use, this item in a distinctive way (see for example the title of Abbott's 2010 work *To Be Broken and Tender: A Quaker Theology for Today*). She interprets it as meaning 'spiritually open'. It was a favourite word of Fox's; Jones explains the usage: 'a person is open or eager for truth and ready for the inward teacher - like an insect about to emerge from the chrysalis.' (Rufus Jones, quoted by Alexander, pp.599-600). Dandelion (personal communication) quotes Wilbur's (1859) explanation: 'hearts were open, touched and moved by the power of the spirit of Christ'. '*Tender babes*' or '*lambs*' was often how Quakers addressed other Quakers in writing and this collocation is present in the corpus data. Derived words or clusters include: *tender consciences, the tender-hearted*. Lines 17 and

18 show the word in its verb-form sense of 'offering'. The corpus data confirms comments in the literature for this item and supports the qualitative impression of an idiosyncratic fondness for it by early Quakers.

### WAIT: 189 (4.6) instances, as verb and noun

```
N Concordance
 1
     every ones particular; therefore let all wait with patience for it, on him that is
     where I do speak be still, and low, and wait in silence and then you shall hear a
     own wills, but you are to stand still and wait to be guided by Gods pure witnesse
          into whose hands this may come, wait to feel this Seed in your hearts; for
             Therefore my beloved Friends, wait in the Light of Christ Jesus, and try
 5
      them again, in the spirit of meekness, waiting and seeking the Lord for their
    againe at other times, when I neglected waiting upon the Lord in the light of his
    which judges the truth blasphemy. Now wait in the Light that you may receive
 9
          and drink to do the will of God; Oh wait to know such a thing in your hearts,
10
        through; but every one in particular wait upon God in the Light, which makes
11
     entrance, which by faithful and patient waiting in the Light, you will come to
12
        in your hearts after the Lord; I say, wait that ye may become acquainted
    which leads into these Truths, we silent wait: And this was sanctified by the
13
14
        be flowings forth thereof, we silently wait for it, and whose looks now for this
15
       bodyes, you through your stillness & waiting upon the Lord shall get
16
         some of us visited thee, when thou wait in Prison in Banbury, with dear
17
     all who are brought into Christs light to waite, know him to be a quickning spirit
18
         with him, and many stayed with us waiting to see the event of the day, and
19
        changeth you into his life whom you wait for from above; so in receiving his
     in the way, that the more diligently you wait upon him in all Conditions you pass
```

Figure 7.31: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of WAIT

The principle of Quaker spiritual practice was founded not on liturgy or a structured religious event but upon silent waiting in a meeting, with reliance of all participants on their inward guide. Seppänen (p.35-6) refers to Isaiah 40:31<sup>11</sup> and claims that *wait upon* refers to a group of worshippers. The corpus results for writers other than Fox do not confirm that assertion. None of the other select sources offer a gloss or a commentary specifically for this item. Indeed, there is little that is unusual about the formal aspects of this word; it is the Quaker practice which makes this item distinctive. Most instances in the corpus are either

<sup>11</sup> 'But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength'.

\_

explanations of the practice or advice on how or when to do it. Frequent in the concordance are lines with the pattern  $\underline{\mathtt{WAIT}}$  , illustrated above in Figure 7.31. (Instances in brackets are the totals for the dataset.) The five constructions and associated meanings are displayed below:

**Table 7.3**: quantitative data for WAIT + (zero) <u>participle</u> instances

	meaning	structure	no. of instances
lines 2, 8,11	'how?'	WAIT in	31
lines 10, 19	'who or what?'	WAIT for	45
lines 3, 4, 9	'why?'	WAIT $to + \inf$	23
lines 7, 10, 15, 20	'wait to serve/ to be used'	WAIT [up]on	40
line 12	intransitive, imperative structures <sup>11</sup>	WAIT	46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Including these structures: *let all wait, do thou wait* and *you are all to wait.* 

Each pattern encompasses either spiritual counsel or description of spiritual practice. The word derives its importance semantically because the practice of silent waiting by a group was, and still is, unusual in organised Christianity (cf the title of a text in the corpus: *Silent Meeting, A Wonder to the World* [Britten, 1660]). To most people at the time it was incomprehensible. The quantitative evidence of frequency and patterns of use extend and illuminate our understanding of the word both in frequency terms and in nuances of meaning, especially in the 'service/servant' sense of WAIT.

### WITHIN: 277 (6.6) instances, as preposition

### N Concordance 1 whether that small seed be not buried within you, which lyeth low, even in the that which is a true Witness of Christ within them, is but the light of nature, or 3 this, to read with the light of Christ within them; for many false things are 4 to stand all assaults of the Enemy, within or without; and so in the cross 5 which gives you Victory over the Evil within, waiting in Patience in it, will also 6 but come down to the Witness of God within you, and there see with the light of 7 the Conscience: while there is guilt within, the sin is not pardoned; when the 8 so that my heart waxed very hot within me at last (having a fit standing 9 is on the out side, and the light is within (so light and darkness are not 10 persons of the family, this Meeting is within the Act, and the persons present, 11 he saith, behold the Kingdom of God is within you, Luke 17.21. It's written, the of Judah, (who now suffers as a Lamb within you) Arise in his fury, and put on 12 ; for the seed of God which was Light within me , which let me see my Sin I 13 14 may be easily known by the minde within of each man and woman : for 15 towards the Lord: Turn your minds within, that you maybe preserved in come to a little Rest; Retire your selves within, come into your Bed-Chamber; 16 17 Life was required of me, by somthing within me which I knew not, but in that which keeps you from your Teacher within you; & this is the reason that in all 18

**Figure 7.32**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left and then by first word to the right, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *within* 

As will be apparent from earlier reporting on lexical observations in this chapter, the concept of inwardness is central to Quakerism and is exemplified in the frequency of the central Quaker phrase in the corpus of the Light within (38 instances). This centrality is evident in the title of Kaiser & Moore's book: *Knowing the Mystery of Life Within*, and indeed, the word in this inward sense occurs in approximately 50% of all the texts in the corpus. Ambler glosses the Quaker usage of *without* in this context as: a) 'outside the inward being' or b) 'outward appearance contrasting with inward reality'. The cluster *within and without* (20 instances) reflects the Quaker preoccupation with the inward/outward dichotomy in the spiritual and visible life. Here is a selection of concordance lines:

# 1 all manner of Spirits and Evils, Assaults within and without, with fears and dread, 2 he will work on your behalf within and without: Sing and rejoyce ye 3 that defileth the whole body within and without: So the man or 4 resisted in all his Appearances, both within and without; for this you shall find 5 may multiply a blessing upon you, both within and without. Thus have I cleared 6 Faithful, and Everlasting Witness, both within and without, are dead while they 7 within, but trouble on every side, fears within and without, and thou seest sin 8 things, (the many things) that offend (within and without you:) and this is the

**Figure 7.33**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of *within and without* 

To the right of the node word are mostly personal pronouns: within you (giving spiritual instruction); within me (describing personal experience). The quantitative results bring out and confirm the implications of use by some of the select literature.

# 7.5.2 Three items apparently near-synonymous in meaning

peace quiet silent/silence

We now come to the final three items of the 37 in the collection. The pacifist aspect of Quakerism is a starting point for a semantic investigation of three words that one might expect to be connected conceptually to the general topic of spiritual counsel that section 7.5 introduces. The corpus datasets show different senses and contexts for the three items, however, and only one, *quiet*, includes any instances of spiritual experience. Alexander discusses Fox's use of both *peace* (pp.591-2) and *quiet* (pp.594-5). Neither Alexander nor Ambler refer to *silent*, as apparently being self-evidently comprehensible to a modern reader.

Bauman comments extensively (e.g. pp.10, 21-23) on *silent/silence* and its antithesis of *speaking*, but always in the context of the manner of Quaker worship. Observations in this section comment on where the three items are synonymous and if not, where the differences lie.

# **PEACE:** 326 (7.8) instances, as noun, adjective and adverb

```
N Concordance
    mark, Christ sayes, I come not to bring Peace on Earth, but a Sword, and a Fire
       are flattering the Nations, and crying peace, and daubing the people with
       pillows under their armeholes, crying peace when there is no peace, because
     the Lord, as you prize your everlasting peace with him, to become obedient to
       to another: Again, the 2d. Collect for Peace in the Common-prayer Book
 6
        is come with the sword to break his peace, with plague and judgement, and
 7
     to another that sat by, the first held his peace: they might all prophesy one by
 8
      for no other cause, but for meeting in peace to worship the Lord God, Oh! will
 9
       very quiet and very still innocently in peace and in joy with my Maker he
10 And how can ever a Nation be setled in peace, while such are upheld by the
      : And it is well known that we do meet peaceably; till you and your Officers
11
12
       And for Zions sake I cannot hold my peace, the love of God is so strong in
             crying peace when there is no peace, because they put into their
13
                           To all justices of Peace, or other Magistrates to whom
14
15
            come to molest and disturb our peaceable Meetings; so that when the
16
         wills of men, and disturbers of the peace, so that it cannot be for the
17
      peaceable Meetings; so that when the peace is broken at any time, you or
     like offence before two Justices of the Peace, or the chief Magistrate of such
18
19
     will grow more firm; but blessed be the peace-makers, for they are fit to have
20
     them in their house, so to preserve the peace. Thomas Holmes, and Elizabeth
        performed in the Meetings of those peaceable people, in scorn called
21
```

**Figure 7.34**: Concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of PEACE

Peace is a word today that is frequently associated with Quakers and pacifism, but this connotation is hardly in evidence in the corpus findings, contrary to discussions in the literary sources. Alexander discusses Fox's use of the derived word peacemaker and finds that it has a lexical similarity to quiet, as in 'bringer of peace', to resolve conflicts (p.591), although he finds in Fox's Journal evidence that Fox felt called by God to take up such work. The beginnings of a peaceful response to the violence meted out to Friends by the justices and

others is only starting to be the collective Quaker response and foreshadows the twentieth-century concept of pacifism. The 1689 *Act of Toleration* prompts an early change in Quaker principles.

There are broadly five senses in the corpus, of which sense 1) covers approximately 70% of the total occurrences. These writers are not yet referring to the later Quaker testimony against war but are encouraging people to find 'God's peace' and not the 'world's (false) peace'. Sense 5 (cf lines 15, 16) broadens the meanings to include the criminal aspect of disturbing the peace, as the above entry for *quiet* explains. This word carries a number of Quaker connotations which the corpus evidence usefully brings into clear view.

- 1) The primary sense noted in the *OED* (line 8 in Figure 7. 34)
- 2) 'False peace' or the absence of emotional or spiritual peace (line 3)
- 3) Noun clusters such as 'justice of (the) peace' (line 14, 18)
- 4) Not peace but war, but in this case the reference is to the Lamb's war (line 1)
- 5) Clusters or compounds (lines 5, 7)

This finding contradicts the impression in the general public today that Quakers have always been pacifists.

**QUIET:** 31 (0.7) instances, as noun, verb, adjective and adverb

### N Concordance 1 protect and defend the peaceable and quiet Meetings of such, who at their thou shalt drink into Eternal Rest, and Quietness shall fill thy dwelling, and the of the day, As I was peacable and quiet in my own spirit, and also siting in out ) although I stood peaceably and quietly, and spake not to the people until people yet to repent? when you are Quiet in spirit, is not your Sins brought and let the dore be shut, and be quiet and still in your spirits, and with the 7 what they do, when they had rather be quiet with their neighbours, who by 8 of money, with such Carnal Delights, quieted flesh a while, as a Rattle or Pipe reward for me, and this sometimes did quiet me till the Lord uttered his voice in 9 made your Footstool, that so you may quietly sit down in Peace and Safety 10 11 of others . The only way to be at rest & guiet, is to mind our own measure, came into your Assembly & there stood quietly, & peaceably among you, in 13 to a house of Worship, and stay there quietly; but if one come to witness 14 And as I was thus in my Measure very quiet and very still innocently in peace 15 Magistrates then, that unless ye would quiet the people which pulled me down

**Figure 7.35**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of QUIET

This item shares a similar semantic field with *silent* but occurs less frequently. Line 15 in Figure 7.35 illustrates the sense of actively quelling a rowdy crowd and is not interchangeable with *silent* but perhaps closer to *peaceful*. Spiritual counsel is often evident in the contexts. This word accords most closely with the stereotype of the calm and restrained Quaker.

### **SILENT/SILENCE:** 82 (1.9) instances, as adjective and noun

### N Concordance in silence, with all subjection; here is a silent learning, a learning in silence; I 2 his Messenger. Now as the Apostles Silent Meeting was in expectation of the and for the churches sake I cannot be silent, for they are not guilty of these to goe nor to stand still, speak nor be silent, which is a thing Impossible, but usurp authority over the man, but to be silent; there she is to learn, in the the Gospel to preach you must not be silent because man commands you, for 7 be but vanity and vexation, we become silent thereunto, not answering, to obey against another; for he hath long been silent and held his peace, but if you 9 is; yea, then thou shalt benefit by Silent Meetings, And those that are 10 who it was and the Cryer commanded Silence, who brought him to the Sheriff 11 to Joseph Fuce, it was to make him silent; and also when Matthew Caffin 12 and so could most sweetly sit down in silence; nevertheless that the truth may 13 for you when you are all chained up in silence, and if a man sin against a man Heart-Searcher beholdeth: The body in Silent-Meetings, from labour (which is all 15 : And now brought to wait on God in silence, it is a wonder to many; upon 16 accused, and charged to be quilty of) silence gives Consent. And now both 17 seekest to reap the pure Benefit of Silent-Meetings, learne first to come Pr. Bedfords scoft at the Quakers silent meeting, and called it a Rediculous 18 19 of God: otherwise upon Meeting we sit silent in the Tongue, yet having a heart cavilling, making use of that to make us silent, (as Matthew Caffin said) and all

**Figure 7.36**: concordance lines sorted by first word to the left, showing selected *Qcorpus* uses of SILENT

Only one of the sources, Bauman, offers commentary on Quaker silence. It is as though this is not what was significant about Quakerism and therefore needs no discussion, yet it was the manner of silent worship that was striking to a newcomer. Bauman says (his italics):

If carnal speaking, as a faculty of the natural man, is inadequate for the attainment of the desired spiritual condition, which are the proper behavioral means by which this condition may be obtained? For the Quakers, one of the most fundamental means was *silence*. Silence was very close to the center of seventeenth-century Quaker doctrine and practice. (Bauman, p.21)

The distinctive feature of this item in the corpus dataset is the notion of a total absence of speaking (cf line 19), confirming Bauman's premise (see also Bauman pp.28, 63). However, the corpus contains very few instances of the word in its important aspect of the practice of Quakerism, that of meetings held on the basis of silence. Of the approximately 44% of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> cf. Britten's (1660) Silent Meeting, a Wonder to the World, Yet Practised by the Apostles and Owned by the People of God, Scornfully Called Ouakers.

occurrences that do show this meaning, two thirds are skewed by the frequency of use by one writer, and of the 36 instances that convey the sense of spiritual practice or counsel, 22 come from just one text (Britten). Some instances of *silence/silent* have the sense of refusing to answer a priest or magistrate (cf line 7 in Figure 7.36), women allegedly being instructed to remain silent in church (line 5). In the corpus text *Women Learning in Silence*, George Fox is in fact arguing that women should <u>not</u> be prevented from giving spoken prophesy. Therefore, the quantitative results do not of themselves contradict assertions in the literature for this word but the campaigning and exhortatory nature of most of the corpus texts do paint a wider picture, if a more ephemeral one, of how Quakers in print used it.

# **7.5.3 Summary**

The five items in section 7.5.1 are connected as they are aspects of how the practice of Quaker worship differed from priest-led worship in the churches. People were urged to *wait* to be *convinced* of their sin by listening *within* to the *leadings* of the spirit, which they would be aware of if they allowed themselves to become *tender* (i.e. not resistant to new experiences). The evidence from the concordance lines serves to illustrate this advice and how the Quakers made use of these distinctive concepts linguistically. Some of the select sources mention the terms *en passant*; a few go into a little more detail (for example Bauman on *convincement*). The present study is the first to explore such Quaker language in natural use in sufficient quantity. The relatively low frequencies, as found in the corpus evidence, can only be a rough guide as to how often these terms were used. We cannot even say with any certainty what 'frequent' might mean in this context without a benchmark for comparison.

Section 7.5.2 shows how the lexis and underpinning concepts for the apparently similar terms: *peace*, *quiet* and *silent* were used in natural language contexts. It is evident from the

data that these semantically similar words are not on the whole used interchangeably, and that senses found in the data are more varied than the literature implies.

# 7.6 Chapter conclusion

What general conclusions can be drawn from this empirical investigation into selected lexical items found in the corpus? Four can be highlighted based on the evidence provided.

- (i) Many of the propositions regarding key theological terms and concepts concerning early Quakerism in England, which are discussed in the literature cited at the start of this chapter, are confirmed by evidence from the corpus; that is to say, in terms of importance or usage by comparing frequency of occurrence and appearance in the literature.
- (ii) Two of the higher frequency ranking of content words in the corpus, *law* and *heart*, receive no treatment in the literature although the corpus findings do have interesting things to note in terms of Quaker usage. These findings may be of particular value to historians and theologians.
- (iii) Results of lower-frequency items that are scarcely discussed in the literature are of interest. They throw some light on usage (or its absence), connotation (interpreted as having negative or positive loading), or some unexpected senses: for example, some of the linguistic contexts and connotations for the lexis *war*, *prayer*, *holy*.
- (iv) A sense of unexpectedness might come from assumptions made by some present day readers with a reasonable knowledge of liberal Quakerism, such as is found within Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. For example, terms for Quaker administrative practices such as the organisation of the embryonic Religious

Society of Friends (which Fox termed *Gospel Order*) had not fully evolved by 1673, the period covered by *Qcorpus1*. (But see Moore, pp129-141, for further historical evidence on this topic.)

The starting points for the selection of items for analysis were the two useful lists of explanation of George Fox's language produced by Alexander and by Ambler. The present chapter has widened the enquiry to include writings by many of Fox's contemporaries. The analyses and comparisons set out in this chapter show where the semantic choices of Fox and other early Quakers are similar and interchangeable, and also where there is a danger of equating 'Fox's language' with 'early Quaker language' in general. The present chapter goes some way to redressing this over-simplification.

Our understanding of Quaker usage is both confirmed but also widened in scope through these analyses. The results are not always unexpected but in a corpus of texts in which much effort is expended by the writers in communicating their message persuasively to others, the passages which do treat spiritual practice deserve attention. This aspect of early Quakerism was more fully addressed in full-length books by authors such as Fox, Penington, Penn and later Barclay, the writers that are included in a newly-compiled electronic corpus of Quaker major authors. The writing style of this group of Quakers receives more attention in chapter 8.

Beyond the scope of the present study but potentially revealing would be a comparison between *Qcorpus1* and a corpus of present day Quaker texts or extracts. A beginning could be made for the compilation of such a corpus with relevant texts sampled from the current edition of *Quaker Faith and Practice*. Quaker literature on the subject which covers more

recent times includes among many others: Trevett (1997), Dandelion (2007), Williams (2007).

After this extended exploration of early Quaker lexis, we return in chapter 8 to the issues raised in chapters 4 to 6. Features and aspects of Quaker style that have been uncovered in the present study are examined in the next chapter in the light of a series of comparisons with other corpora, both Quaker and non-Quaker. By the end of chapter 8, I am in a position to make claims based on my research regarding typical features of early Quaker prose style.

# CHAPTER 8: COMPARISONS WITH DATA FROM OTHER CORPORA

'Ideally we need texts from various stages dealing with the same topic in the same tone, representing the same setting and written by authors with the same background, linguistic and non-linguistic.' Rydén (1979:20)

#### 8.1 Introduction

The present thesis undertook to show by qualitative and quantitative analyses that across a wide spectrum of early Quaker pamphlets, tracts and broadside publications a distinct written style exists; that is to say, a common set of identifiable features is distinguishable. It is remarkable that over a relatively short period of historical time a group of people, many of them of the middling sort, largely unlettered or with only a limited formal education (see Green & Peters, 2002:70-71), produced a body of texts in such a relatively homogenous style. This chapter draws the threads together in order to clarify those characteristic features, many of which are surface features linguistically but which point to a deeper stylistic unity. In order to do this, I bring together a set of features discussed earlier in the present thesis, starting with those identified in the broadsides case study and reported in chapter 4. Two other corpora are used for comparison: the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*, used for comparison purposes in chapter 6, and the *Quaker Major Authors Corpus* (*QMA*), comprising texts by the foremost Quaker writers of the period, first presented in chapter 3.

The question raised at this point is whether the *QMA* texts are recognisably 'Quaker' in terms of the chosen linguistic features, compared to the majority of publications by Friends, or whether they fit more into conventional seventeenth-century literary style. Ideally, this study would triangulate its observations by comparison with a corpus of non-Quaker writing. However, such comparisons with non-Quaker authors are difficult as reliable data are not currently available in sufficient quantity. The *Anti-Quaker Corpus* used in chapter 6 in connection with doctrinal disputes therefore serves as the second comparator. The advantage of using these texts is that the broad subject matter is comparable across all three sets of data. Nevertheless, in spite of the likely homogeneity of purpose, the texts in the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* are written by very different people; these range from Anglican bishops to non-

conformist local ministers. Their educational background and theology does affect their written style, so the sub-corpus which proved a close match for disputes texts in chapter 6 may present less uniformity when wider questions of style are asked of it. Rydén's (1979) wish for good comparative data, set out at the start of this chapter, is sadly yet to be fulfilled for present purposes and so the *QMA* and the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* provide the only contrast to the *Qcorpus* data.

In summary then, this chapter asks three key questions (restated from the introductory chapter to the present study):

- What is the linguistic nature of early Quaker prose style and how can it be recognised?
- What is distinctive about the early Quaker prose style compared to other varieties of seventeenth-century prose, and what are its characteristic features?
- How does this style/these styles compare with the more conventional literary and religious styles used by non-Quaker theologians or church men.

One might imagine that non-Quakers writing in the so-called 'plain style' would be indistinguishable stylistically from mainstream, more literary Quaker writers. However, findings in the present chapter indicate that differences do exist, and that the written style of the major Quaker writers occupies a middle position between the peculiarities of the texts in the *Qcorpus* and the more conventional literary writing of the seventeenth-century non-Quaker priests and establishment figures.

## 8.2 Features found to be characteristic of early Quaker writings

Several features have emerged so far that are common to all of the separate investigations in this thesis and this raises the question: do these features occur in all Quaker writings of the period or is there perhaps more than one Quaker style? In all, the features can be brought together within five categories as set out below in Table 8.1:

 Table 8.1: characteristic linguistic features of Quaker style listed in five categories

Style categories	Features
1. Syntax and sentence structure	Co-ordinating conjunctions, especially <i>and</i> .
	Sentence length.
<ol> <li>Speech-like written style (orality).</li> <li>Expressive communicative style.</li> </ol>	Frequency of:  - 2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronouns;  - OH as interjection;  - exclamation marks.
3. Formal register and level of prolixity.	Nominal Latinate suffix use. Use of lengthy words.
4. Indication of writers' level of education.	Latin words or phrase use.
5. The expression of the Quaker message.	Semantic content.

Section 2 discusses the key linguistic features for this chapter and comments on the findings for syntax and sentence length. Section 3 explores the question of speech-like language in written texts. Most of the features above have been researched and discussed in the context of previous chapters but in order to confirm a hypothesis predicated on the non-Quakers' educated style, further features not previously analysed in this study are investigated in section 4. The hypothesis I put forward is that the Quaker style will be found to have

characteristic features contrasting with the various stylistic markers found in the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*. This is regardless of whether those non-Quakers write in the ornate or so-called 'plain' styles that were commonplace in the seventeenth century. The section includes a relevant discussion regarding seventeenth-century sermon styles. Finally, section 5 explores the relatively narrow semantic content of the Quaker message using a method of automatic retrieval not previously adopted in my study, which confirms lexical findings presented earlier in the thesis.

## 8.2.1 Key linguistic features

Table 8.2 sets out the comparative figures for the features identified in Table 8.1, except for the semantic category. The leftmost column links style categories 1 - 3 with the relevant findings. Categories 4 and 5 do not form part of the results in Table 8.2 but findings for those are presented in sections 4 and 5 respectively. The rightmost column indicates the relevant chapter in which the feature is first discussed. The lexical and semantic results presented in section 4 in the present chapter refer back to chapters 4, 5 and 7. The remainder of section 2 discusses the findings on syntax and sentence structure.

**Table 8.2**: frequencies of features in the *Qcorpus*, the *QMA* corpus and the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*, normed per 1,000 words (where relevant), raw figures in brackets

style category	feature	Qcorpus	Quaker Major Authors Corpus	Anti-Quaker Corpus	relevant chapter
1	mean sentence length (number of words)	61	38	31	ch. 6
1	clause-level and	32.8 (20,988)	26.3 (14,294)	20.8 (9,394)	ch. 8
1	all coords: and, but, or	67.0 (42,780)	62.5 (33,973)	53.9 (24,292)	ch. 8
1	subords: because, (al)though, if, unless, whether, so, 13 lest, after, before, (un)til	7.3 (4,665)	6.1 (3,314)	8.8 (3,967)	ch. 8
	personal pronouns:				
2	1st	15.7 (10,066)	11.3 (6,148)	16.3 (7,354)	ch. 6
2	2nd	26.6 (17,034)	7.2 (3,917)	9.4 (4,276)	ch. 6
2	3rd	30.5 (19,514)	30.8 (16,755)	29.7 (13,392)	ch. 6
2	interjection OH	1.4 (944)	0.5 (275)	0.1 (86)	ch. 4
2	exclamation marks	0.8 (520)	0.5 (292)	0.3 (153)	ch. 4
3	Latinate suffixes (-tion, -sion, -ity, -ment, -ance)	10.8 (6,950)	16.0 (8,698)	15.5 (7,011)	ch. 6

Results shown in Table 8.2 are derived from *WordSmith Tools* and from *Wmatrix*. In sections 8.2.2 to 8.4.2, only those aspects which are of common interest in all three corpora are noted and discussed. The diagrammatic representations, taken from data in Table 8.2, are intended to facilitate a simple comparative overview for each feature of the scores for the three corpora.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> as a cohesion device only.

## 8.2.2 Syntax and sentence structure

The syntactical features of co-ordinating conjunction usage, subordinating conjunction usage and long sentences, typically found in the *Qcorpus*, are discussed in this section.

## a) Co-ordinating conjunctions:

**Table 8.3**: comparison data for co-ordinating conjunctions, normed per 1,000 words

and (clause-level)

highest	Qcorpus	32.8
middle	QMA	26.3
lowest	Anti-Q	20.8

and, but, or (clause and phrase-level)

highest	Qcorpus 67.0
middle	QMA 62.5
lowest	Anti-Q 53.9

The summary results shown by the graphic displays show a large gap for the coordinator *and* between the *Qcorpus* and the other two, but for *and*, *but* and *or*, the difference is much less. A high frequency of co-ordinating conjunctions, especially the coordinator *and* (both phrase and clause level) is typical of Quaker prose, and these figures show this trait is present in the *QMA* texts although to a lesser extent. The figures for *and* in all the corpora were obtained using automatic retrieval by use of punctuation (commas, semi-colons and full stops) but checked manually post-output. With the exclusion of full stops used in abbreviations, this proved a reliable method for retrieving the clause-level coordinators. For example:

You keep your Shops shut, **and** you forbear all manner of worke, **and** you put on your fine apparell; **and** yet you go into vanity. (F.B., 1660)

Simple totals were obtained for the combined output of *and*, *but* and *or*. Phrase-level items are therefore included in these figures and the results show an expected downward gradient from *Qcorpus*, *QMA* to *Anti-Quaker* authors.

Two possibilities exist that might explain the high frequency of the coordinator and in the Ocorpus: a) for emphasis (after Barber, 1997:206), and b) the influence of biblical style. Firstly, emphasis. Barber reports that and is sometimes inserted in positions where it would not be found in PDE, for instance for emphasis or at the beginning of a question or a negative 'sentence', or to join a declarative clause to an imperative. The corpus evidence shows that Quaker writers' use of and is more extensive for this period than Barber's categories indicate, with the possible exception of the expression of emphasis. As so much of the Quaker writing is emphatic, this usage is hard to confirm or deny. This is true for both the *Ocorpus* texts and the QMA texts. Secondly, the very frequent reference in the Quaker tracts to words, phrases and whole passages from the Bible indicate that the writers' immersion in biblical style might influence their coordination use. The data comparisons show approximately two thirds of the Ocorpus occurrences of and to be clause level and one third phrase level (60.6%:39.3%) but the QMA and Anti-Quaker results both give just over half the counts to be for clause-level and (QMA, 54%:46% / Anti-Quaker, 55%:45%). However, the counts for the KJV of the Bible reveal a proportion closer to the *Qcorpus* figures: 75.7%:24.2%, which is even more extreme; that is to say, three quarters of all and counts are at clause level. Biblical influence may be at work in the *Ocorpus* style. The evidence is not conclusive but both propositions offer likely explanations. There is a possible third reason for the frequency of and which is an aspect related to speech-like discourse. This suggestion is discussed below in section 2, which considers the orality question more generally.

## b) Subordinating conjunctions: because, (al)though, if, unless, whether, so, lest, after, before, (un)til

**Table 8.4**: comparison data for subordinating conjunctions, normed per 1,000 words.

highest	Anti-Q 8.8
middle	Qcorpus 7.3
lowest	<i>QMA</i> 6.1

The data for subordinators in Table 8.2 (taken from a list in Biber et al, 1999:842-4) and summarised in tabular form here show that my interpretation for *and* in Quaker style cannot be applied to these subordinators. The summary display shows little difference between the three results, with the *Anti-Quaker* figure the highest of the three. The *Anti-Quaker* writers make use of such connectors in a more nuanced way than simply chaining clauses together with *and* as is the Quaker preference. This is not true of *QMA* writers, who are presumably writing in a similar stylistic register to their educated non-Quaker contemporaries. Perhaps the range and use of subordinators in general does not lend itself to broad-brush quantitative data. Marcoe's (2009) study on clause-level subordinator connectives finds that similar distribution profiles may in fact hide different semantic intentions. For instance, she finds (pp.379-405) that *as* can introduce four different types of adverbials: time, manner, reason, proportion. Further work on patterns in individual subordinator use could highlight differences, but is beyond the scope of the present study.

## c) Sentence length

Table 8.5: comparison data for sentence length

highest	Qcorpus 61
middle	QMA 38
lowest	Anti-Q 31

As may be expected from previous results in the present thesis for sentence length, the Ocorpus figure is double or nearly double the scores for each of the other two. The QMA mean sentence length is closer to that of the non-Quaker contemporary establishment writers. None of the 'monster-length' sentences discussed in chapter 6 are found in these texts. Clearly, many of the non-major Quaker writers favoured very long sentences, as defined in that chapter. Qualitative analysis suggests that these appear even longer and more rambling than the word counts might indicate because they are not constructed with a judicious use of subordinators introducing complex clauses. Compare example (1) below by Dr John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, in the Anti-Quaker Corpus with example (5) in section 8.3.3 below, or the illustrative Quaker sentence in chapter 6, section 6. The Gauden extract demonstrates a lengthy sequence of linked clauses introduced with a great variety of connectors. Some clauses contain further embedded clauses (e.g. 'and to the endangering of the publick welfare, whose strength and stability consist in unity') as well as some instances of syntactic balance ('not for ... but for'; 'to the scandal ... to the endangering') and a sense of prosodic rhythm ('in uniformity ... and in conformity'). There is a sense of elegant contrivance and artifice even though the syntax is in danger of running out of control towards the full stop, at least in terms of present-day English. Gauden's text, example (1), would have been seen as acceptable literary style at the time.

(1) True; I think that some little pecuniary mulct, as one or two Shillings to the poor, for every Lords dayes absence from the publick Church or Assembly, may be justly laid as a mark of publick dislike upon Dissenters and Separaters from the established Religion; not for their private difference in judgment, (which possibly is not their fault) but for their publick deformity in practise, to the scandal of the established Religion, and to the endangering of the publick welfare, whose strength and stability consist in unity, and this in uniformity to the setled rule, and in conformity, to outward practise: yet still no Inquisition to be made into free mens Consciences, nor any great penalty laid upon them for their perswasions, further then their words and actions do discover their Principles, Opinions, Correspondencies, and Adherencies to be contrary and dangerous to the publick Peace, Order and Justice, which all are founded in, and flourish by our setled Laws and Religion: thus permitting sober men not a declared toleration, or publick profession, by way of open

rivalry to the established Religion, but only such an arbitrary connivence and conditional indulgence as gives them no trouble for their private and untroublesome Opinions, while they are kept in their breasts and closets; or in their private houses and families: to which all dissenters ought in reason to be confined on the Lords day, without any convention of strangers to them; though (perhaps) on the week-day they may have their meetings allowed, yet so as to be kept within parochial bounds, or to such a number of persons and families as shall be thought safe. (John Gauden, 1662) [272 words]

Further analysis down this path, but also beyond the scope of the present study, could prove interesting. One explanation for the results for coordinators and subordinators in this section is that many such Quaker writers were not experienced in producing published texts and often not educated beyond a minimum level. Green & Peters, (2002:73) refer to 'relatively uneducated Quaker authors formally [disputing] in public with highly educated ministers'. Green & Peters also make an implied negative value judgement in their evaluation of the Quaker publications which merely 'attempted a more sophisticated critique of the Puritan ministry' (ibid). (See also Peters' chapter on *Pamphleteering and Religious Debate* (2005:153-192). Such biographical knowledge as is available supports that interpretation (Smith, 1857; Barbour & Roberts, 2004; *The Dictionary of Quaker Biographies*). The *QMA* authors, on the other hand, were likely to have been educated at Oxford or Cambridge and moved (or had moved before joining the Quakers) within a higher rank of English or Scottish society (Keeble, 1995:118; Barbour & Roberts, 2004:582, 604; Patterson, 2003:5).

This section has considered a range of typical features of Quaker language within the style category of syntax and sentence structure. The section that follows explores each of the features in category 2 (see section 8.1.2) that indicate a speech-like written style used by many Quaker authors.

## 8.3 Speech-like indicators in written texts

Studies in the literature that are relevant to the question of historical speech-like or informal register discourse in written texts have identified several stylistic features. Each of these features are considered in this section as follows: a) personal pronoun use (section 8.3.1), b) high distribution of the coordinator *and* (section 8.3.2), and c) the frequency and patterns of interjection and exclamation marks in the *Qcorpus* (section 8.3.3). Culpeper & Kytö (2010:92) provide a list drawn from Leech (2000) and Biber et al (1999) showing, as their evidence suggests, characteristics of spoken conversation and associated grammatical features. In their 'speech-like' column they list second-person pronouns, questions, interjections, exclamations. A number of studies, albeit based on present-day language, have analysed these surface features and drawn similar conclusions (for example, Biber, 1988; 1995). The present study makes use of insights from these studies.

#### 8.3.1 Personal pronouns

The question of personal pronoun use by early Quakers has arisen several times in the course of the present thesis. This section develops the issue further. Hyland, on reader engagement in present-day academic writing, states that second-person pronouns 'often carry an interactive and encompassing meaning, which shows that writers are able to identify with their readers ... essentially a persuasive strategy' (Hyland, 2001:558). Berman (2004:107) postulates three types of discourse stance, one of which involves the dimension of 'recipient orientation' which addresses the reader directly, often through second-person pronouns.

This orientation is characteristic, though not uniquely so, of some early Quaker writing, especially in the second period of Quakerism. It is present, for example, in prefaces beginning 'To the Reader' in printed epistles of the 'open letter' text type (see Green 2000:411 for a

comment on the use of this device in seventeenth-century pamphleteering). A second use is where one addressee, which could be an individual, a town or a whole region (*thou*) is being reproved by the writer, and a third use is where letters or epistles destined for a group of Friends have been published and are circulating in print.

#### Personal pronouns, tabular representation

**Table 8.6**: comparison data for personal pronouns, normed per 1,000 words, (details in Table 8.2 above).

	1 <sup>st</sup> person		2 <sup>nd</sup> person
highest	<i>Anti-Q</i> 16.3	highest	Qcorpus 26.6
middle	Qcorpus 15.7	middle	Anti-Q 9.4
lowest	<i>QMA</i> 11.3	lowest	<i>QMA</i> 7.2

3<sup>rd</sup> person (very similar scores)

highest	<i>QMA</i> 30.8
middle	Qcorpus 30.5
lowest	Anti-Q 29.7

Of all the results for comparative personal pronoun use, it is the high figure for the second person in the *Qcorpus* that is the outstanding one. This runs counter to the Quaker usage in the *QMA* and is one indication that there is more than one type of 'Quaker style' in operation. Examples (2) to (4), taken from the *Qcorpus*, illustrate the three types of second person usage in context.

#### (2) Innocent reader addressed directly:

Reader, whosoever **thou** art, this book is written to that end, that **thou** maist read it all, not in the light vain minde which is weighed in the just balance, and found altogether wanting; but my desire is that the pure mind in **thee** might be stirred up. (Dorothea Gotherson, 1661)

## (3) A group of Friends addressed directly:

Dear Friends, in the Love of God, I beseech **you all** dwell, that we may be a People preserved from all those hurtful things, wrong and unruly Spirits, that we see take so much place in some. (Abigail Fisher, 1696)

## (4) Specific addressee receiving accusations or warnings:

But **your Pastors** are in the example of the false Brethren, who taught for filthy Lucar and with faigned words beguiled the simple, and while **you** have been zealous to pull down the Episcopall Priests; **you** have exalted **your selves** in their Seates, some of **you** in the same Temples. (Edward Burrough, 1657)

Results from the Quaker broadsides case study showed a high frequency of first-person singular pronoun because of the purpose of the broadside text type, that is, one in which an individual Quaker chose to publish widely his or her persuasive text to the general public. This distribution is not found across the breadth of the *Qcorpus* and in fact the frequencies for that pronoun are similar to those in the Anti-Quaker texts. This is unsurprising given the individual authorship of all those texts. On the other hand, many of the *Qcorpus* and the *QMA* writings are directed at specific addressees, whether those be individuals or whole communities; in the second period these groups include Quaker meetings or breakaway Quaker groups. It is the second person data that show the widest gap across the set of all nine figures. The small broadsides sample yielded a normed figure of nearly 40 occurrences of *thou, you* and *ye,* per thousand words; the larger *Qcorpus* dataset smoothes that out to 26.6 but that figure is still much higher than either of the other two comparison results. From this evidence, it is clear that the frequent use of the second person, regardless of a *thou* or *you* distinction, is a major characteristic feature of Quaker prose<sup>14</sup>. It is proposed in the present study that this is evidence of Quaker discourse that expresses a persuasive sense of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Although no full analysis of the *thou/you/ye* usage is undertaken in the present study, it is interesting to note that Quaker writers used *thou* to a single person but they had a keen awareness of collective noun usage when addressing, for example, *the Earth; England; Parliament* (though instances of *ye + Parliament* also occur); *London; House of Israel; mankind*.

engagement with the reader coupled with a speech-like, almost informal, communicative style.

## 8.3.2 The coordinator and as an indicator of orality

This section revisits the data on the coordinator and but this time for its function as a speech-like indicator. Example (5) shows how a Quaker writer piles up clauses in a chain connected by a series of *and* linkers reminiscent of the way the stretches of spoken discourse are produced. This proposal is supported by a theory that Graves (2009:103) postulates in his study on Quaker printed sermons in which he refers to 'secondary orality', namely a 'cultural mix' of preaching without notes in a community that also valued print culture. Claridge and Wilson (2002:25), in their study on seventeenth-century sermons, note that: 'as a sermon may be written, spoken or both, it is thus situated at the crossroads between orality and literacy'.

(5) And so the blinde leads the blinde till you both fall into the ditch of perdition: and they may be ashamed, of you who are in ignorance, and blindness of heart who have not learned the way of truth and righteousness, nor come to the knowledge of God; nor denied your selves and sins, and you may be ashamed of them who are as they that feed themselves with the fat, and not the flocke, &c that through Covetousness by fained words, makes marchandise of Soules; and goes for gifts, and rewards, as Balaam, and while they Condemne others for hirelings, are many fold guilty themselves therein, & to be Condemned & Judged, with the Light of Christ Jesus; witness some of your chiefest Pastors and Teachers, at Dublin, at Limbriche, and at Corke, and at many places else where in Ireland; some having a hundred pounds a yeare & others more or less, to their shame let this be told, and to their Condemnation in the Light of God & all that know him who are hippocritticall in crieing against others for that whereof themselves are guilty, and are an ill favor and a reproach to some of their own Brethren; and a shame to Religion and to all that profess faith in the Gospell of Christ; and are out of the example, of all the Appostles and Ministers of Christ: who freely recived and freely gave, and did not seeke and receive maintenance from the powers of the Earth, but Preached the Gospell, and lived of the Gospell, & ate of the fruit of the vinyard which they had planted. (Edward Burrough, 1657). [272 words]

Speech-related and non-speech-related written language is investigated by Culpeper & Kytö (2010) based on findings in their *Corpus of English Dialogues (1560-1760)*. This corpus sample goes beyond the time span of the *Qcorpora*, nevertheless it is of value to make use of their theory for the present study. Their chapter 7 (pp.158-183) specifically covers the use of the coordinator *and*. Culpeper & Kytö compare modern and historical texts, using Biber et al (1999) for PDE speech-related and non-speech-related indicators, and find in their data 'a strong similarity between the historical texts, regardless of whether they are speech-related or not, and modern speech' (2010:170). They admit that the mid-to-late seventeenth century was a transition period in the development of visual style punctuation (important at that time for reading aloud), pre-dating more recent indications in written texts of prosodic features, and further argue that developments in punctuation at this time probably contributed to the reduction of the use of conjunctions such as *and* in later written texts.

AND is the linker *par excellence* in speech... Until the syntactic basis of the sentence was established, the concept of the sentence was not particularly helpful in written communication ... [it] was more likely aided by: (a) grammatical features (notably, clause boundaries), (b) a variety of punctuation marks, and (c) lexical features, (notably conjunctions). In other words, features similar to today's spoken communication are likely to have guided earlier written communication. (Culpeper & Kytö, 2010:168)

My own data indicate that Quaker style tends to be more traditional, even archaic, than other contemporary writing. Many Quakers at this time may well not have adopted the conceptual change in written usage around the mid-to-late seventeenth century from the 'period' (defined 'aurally and rhetorically') to the 'sentence' (defined visually and syntactically) proposed by Lennard (1995:67) and quoted in Culpeper & Kytö (2010:168). In the absence of this visual marking of stretches of prose, other guides to the interpretation of the text were needed, just as in speech. We have historical evidence that Friends often read their printed pamphlets aloud as part of their campaigning process, especially for the period

covered by *Qcorpus1*; they did not always keep closely to the printed version (see for example Peters, 2005:42). Graves (2009:201) claims that metaphors could act as 'an important inventional tool used by speakers enjoined to preach without preparation'. The writers' daily experience of such improvised speaking must have spilled over into their written style, and the speech-like features identified in this section support that proposition. A further reason for this improvisatory, urgent written style is that many Quaker pamphlets were hastily put together to be printed; this is in contrast with the measured process normally required for the production of published religious treatises. Cohen (2002) in his chapter on Quakers and language reminds us of the evocative value of incantatory rhetoric and that:

... words should not be merely *heard*, but heard as the *truth* ... either attentively listening to such a recitation skilfully delivered or reading a written tract. (Cohen, 2002:38) [his italics]

The data from the *Qcorpus* match the results reported above on speech-related and non-speech-related texts, both historical and present day English. This indicates that the style employed by authors of the *Qcorpus* texts, whether a pamphlet was intended to be read aloud or not, is closer to speech than to present-day formal written style conventions or even seventeenth-century published religious texts. However, the comparison data show that this style feature is not found to the same extent in the *QMA* texts, partly because they were published in a more planned way and, it must be supposed from the corpus evidence, their style comes some way to matching the formal, literary style of the period.

## 8.3.3 The interjection OH and the use of exclamation marks

As reported by Culpeper and Kytö (see above), two other surface features of speech-like discourse, are interjections and exclamations. (For other studies on this topic, see Taavitsainen, 1995:439-465; Archer et al, 2012; Beijer, 2002). Beijer collects utterances

together under the umbrella term: 'expressive/emotional' which he locates in his speech-related corpus of PDE English by means of the extraction of all utterances, excluding imperatives, followed by an exclamation mark. The present study is not concerned with describing patterns of usage but rather the presence of pragmatic markers, including imperatives, that are followed by an exclamation mark or include OH in the interjection. Findings presented earlier on interjections in Quaker broadside prose (chapter 4) are extended here to cover results from all three corpora. It was not unusual in early modern English prose to use interjections such as OH, *ah, alas* and so on. The frequency results shown here are a good indication of a pragmatic speech-like strategy. These findings strengthen the argument in favour of a speech-like Quaker written style as well as strong expression of emotion. The Anti-Quaker data show a much lower frequency of these interjection/exclamation markers, indicating a more impersonal and restrained style. The *QMA* values sit in between these two results.

**Table 8.7**: comparison data for interjections and exclamation marks, normed per 1,000 words

Interjection: Он		Exclamation marks		
highest	Qcorpus 1.4	highest	Qcorpus 0.8	
middle	<i>QMA</i> 0.5	middle	QMA 0.5	
lowest	Anti-Q 0.1	lowest	Anti-Q 0.3	

Taavitsainen (1995:453-458) analyses in a more detailed way than Beijer (ibid) the patterns of usage she finds in her historical corpora; these patterns are similar to those in the *Qcorpus*. She investigates occurrences of *O* and *oh* separately but no differences between the two are present in the Quaker data. The patterns of use she finds for OH in exclamatory sentences are these:

- i) preceded by a vocative; (in Taavitsainen's sermon data the hearers are specifically addressed).
- ii) as the introduction to a wish.
- iii) at the start of a negative remark.
- iv) a violent outburst or protestation with an emotional colouring.
- v) at the start of an utterance followed by a noun of address.
- vi) in the vocative in a rhetorical passage.

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate i), ii) and iv) as well as associated exclamation marks. Example (8) illustrates an instance of iii), and example (9) is evidence of both v) and vi). All examples are from the *Qcorpus*.

- (6) **Oh** that you could consider! Can you bear and indure the heavy and doleful, and piercing cry that will pierce the heavens against you. (William Brend, 1664, written in prison)
- (7) **Oh** consider what you are a doing; **oh** when will you sit down and remember your latter end, whiles the spirit of the Living God strives with you! (Christopher Bacon, 1662)
- (8) O fear not the world, neither covenant with man, nor say, A Confederacy. (James Nayler, 1661)
- (9) Woe, Woe, Woe unto thee, **O** Town of Appleby, the judgements of the living God hangs over thy head. (Christopher Taylor, 1655)

Not all occurrences express negative emotional colouring in the *Qcorpus* data. (10) is an outpouring of joy, albeit in a tragic situation:

(10) Again he said, **O** Glory, Glory, Everlasting Praises be given to thee by me, and all we that know thee. (Joseph Briggins, 1677, in *The Words of a Dying Child.*)

Example (7) is part of a longer stretch of declamatory text (139 words) containing eight occurrences of OH. This style features to a lesser extent in the *QMA* texts but much less frequently in the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*. Where exclamation marks do occur in *Anti-Quaker* 

texts, examples (11) and (12), they are often in the context of apparent shock or mocking scorn expressed by the authors at the Quakers' message and principles:

- (11) Strange! that the world should be made before it was made! I would fain know of him what that world was which was made before it was made: but I despair of Information. (Henry Hedworth, 1672)
- (12) 'Tis gross enough of any sense to suppose Matter capable of thinking it self, but to suppose it to be an Intellectual Light, to be a Principle of thinking, to make it a Master and Instructor, a Furnisher of Thoughts and Ideas, what an Extravagance must this be! What, Matter illuminate Spirit! How harshly it sounds! How it grates upon a Philosophical Ear! (John Norris, 1692)

Section 3 commented on a series of linguistic markers that provide strong evidence for an informal, involved, emotional style of exhortatory discourse. Quakers seemed to see no difference between giving their message as spoken or 'spoken in print'. All their utterances came direct from the Lord, as they put it. This took the form of spoken 'ministry' and would not have been prepared beforehand, although some preaching ministry was recorded verbatim and subsequently published. Graves (2009:103, 314) refers to the preaching processes of 'recollection' (passages were memorised) and 'remembered' (prompts to the memory came from recurrent language patterns, arguments, stories or gestures). It follows that many speakers and writers chose to adopt a speech-like register. In the section that follows, we turn to the third category of style features listed in section 8.1.2: traditional written prose style(s) and comparisons between the three groups of texts under consideration.

## 8.4 Formal register and level of prolixity

This section presents the results of enquiries into the level of formality found in seventeenth-century prose, exemplified in the *Anti-Quaker* texts, and the degree of its absence in Quaker writing. Fox himself writes this exhortation to non-Friends in an *Epistle*:

So let Friends be distinct from all the world in their language, in their ways, in love, and in their conversations; for in that ye are over the world, and judge them by scripture, by grammar, and accidence, and all other teaching books, for ye have them all on your side to hammer them down withal, who follow neither scriptures, grammar, nor accidence, nor their new teaching books. (Fox, 1660, reprinted in Gould, 1831: pp.182-3)

Early Friends did not have the means to express well their approach to language; present day methods of uncovering patterns of use derived from their principle of clear, unadorned speech are only now available to us (see also Farnsworth, 1657:1-7).

Section 8.4 discusses evidence of the features listed in Table 8.1 (categories 3 and 4) and the quantitative data shown in Table 8.2. The investigation reports not only prolixity but also two additional features of a formal register in the seventeenth century, namely Latin lexical items and polysyllabic words. The Quaker writer Thomas Ellwood (1691:81) comments on his own written style, saying of his non-Quaker adversaries: 'I shall not think my self obliged to imitate their Prolixity, by following them step by step, over each particular again'. Firstly, I discuss the occurrence and frequency of noun tokens with Latinate suffixes (details in Table 8.2).

#### 8.4.1 Latinate suffixes

Table 8.8: comparison data for Latinate suffixes, normed per 1,000 words

highest	QMA	16.0
middle	Anti-Q	15.5
lowest	Qcorpus	10.8

There is very little difference between the *QMA* and the *Anti-Quaker* values for Latinate suffix frequencies, with the *Qcorpus* score smaller than both of them. This is where an

important distinction can be drawn between the major Quaker published authors and many of the less experienced and less well-educated writers of the *Qcorpus*. The findings on actual Latin vocabulary are discussed below and support the proposition that the distribution of Latinate suffixes is a measure of the formality of a register.

## 8.4.2 Use of the Latin language

**Table 8.9**: comparison data for Latin word tokens, not lemmatised; proper nouns excluded. Normed per 10,000 words

highest	Anti-Q	37.3
middle	QMA	14.4
lowest	Qcorpus	1.7

The second discussion is confined to an inspection of Latin lexis as a feature of the use of languages other than English. The *Anti-Quaker Corpus* contains instances of both Greek and Hebrew. Automatic retrieval of this small amount of data is problematic and I took the decision to limit the non-English lexis to Latin, as that provides sufficient quantity to test for the hypothesised existence of a seventeenth-century educated style.

A search of the datasets shows that many of the *QMA* instances of Latin are in fact quotes from non-Quaker writers, either contemporary or historical sources; and Latin tokens occur in only 10 out of 205 texts in the *Qcorpus*. These latter instances are largely accounted for in this way: 20 from one text (Richardson) who in the course of his text corrects the errors in the Latin of an adversary's text; 34 by the semi-technical words *mittimus* (a warrant of commitment to prison) and the items *anno* and *finis*, to be found at the end of a published text, possibly added by the printer. Some authors quote Latin phrases from non-Quakers or well-

known historical sources, such as the (well-known at the time) quotation from Juvenal by Mason, example (13). Caton includes a few Latin terms in explanations of 'hard words' for children. Where these rare Latin phrases do occur, they are usually followed by a translation into English as an aid to the readers. This provision is less evident in the *Anti-Quaker* texts, presumably because these writers expected their readers to be conversant with Latin. One exception in the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* is example (17) below where a lengthy quote by Faldo is followed by a translation into English. Examples (13) to (17) illustrate occurrences of Latin text found in the three corpora.

## Qcorpus:

- (13) If Sic volo sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas, were not too predominant with them, we should not in that particular receive such hard measure from them. (Martin Mason, 1660)
- (14) Omne bene quod finet bene, All is well that doth end well, But he that never begins well, can never end well. (Richard Simpson, 1661)

## QMA Corpus:

- (15) So the Decreasing and Extirpation of those Evils should be the Decreasing and Abolishing of Oaths; otherwise there would be no Truth in the Rule of Contraries, nor Reason in that ancient Maxim, Cessante ratione Legis cessat lex. (William Penn, 1675)
- (16) To confirm this argument, I added the School Maxim Propter quod unumquodque est tales, illud ipsum est magis tale. (Robert Barclay, 1678)

## Anti-Quaker Corpus:

- 17) Omnis Judex, praesertim supremus & generalis, ita debet dicere sententiam, ut altera pars litigantium evidenter sciat se vicisse: altera pars evidenter sciat se causam amisisse, quantum est ex parte hujus judicis. At hoc neque Scriptura Sacra, ne{que} Spiritus Sanctus loquens per Scripturam potest facere.
  - Ergo neque Sacra Scriptura, nec Spiritus Sanctus Note in marg: Argumentum Argumentum Jaoobi Jaoobi Gerrani, Gerrani, item Gretferi... loquens per Scripturam est talis judex. Et

minorem illustrabat his totidem verbis, Stamus ego & Collegae, & Domini adversarii, in conspectu hujus judicis [Bibliorum] en contendimus, an sit judex Controversiarum. Jam ille judex debet pronunciare sententiam, ut nobis constet evidenter. Sumus hîc in conspectu Sacrae Scripturae, & Spiritus Sancti; pronunciet sententiam, & sic dicat, tu Jacobe Gretsere male sentis, cecidisti causa tua. Tu Jacobe Hailbrunnere vicisti. Tunc ego statim transibo ad vestrum scamnum. Et paulo post, Adsit jam Spiritus Sanctus, jam judicet, jam me condemnet.

In English thus ...

(John Faldo, 1673)

I have presented comparative evidence demonstrating clear stylistic differences between the Quaker and non-Quaker levels of register formality. To conclude this exploration of register, there follows next a qualitative analysis of comparative findings of polysyllabic lexis.

## 8.4.3 Polysyllabic lexis

This part of the chapter introduces a comparison not addressed in the earlier chapters of the thesis. The purpose of this is to establish more firmly the level of educated language of Oxford- and Cambridge-trained academics and mainstream clergy of the time, and to what extent their language register differs from early Quaker prose style. Studies on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century preaching and sermonising style(s) do not investigate the specific language features that I discuss here. Literary critics complained about stylistic features they disliked. For instance, Hutchinson (1907-21; 2000), says of the sermon style of the bishop Lancelot Andrewes (admittedly pre-dating the Quaker movement) that he used 'clumsy apparatus, finicking exegesis and tortuous language' and 'ingenious types and metaphors, paradoxical illustrations, verbal conceits, grammatical subtleties'. Morrissey, in a study on early modern preaching rhetoric (2002:694-5), describes the Puritan 'plain' style in which the use of quotations from 'pagan' writers were seen as purely for 'ornament's sake', and notes how styles became even more fragmented after the English Civil War.

The *Anti-Quaker* texts are not, for the most part, printed sermons and a full corpusbased study of anti-Quaker texts remains to be carried out. However, it is evident that non-Quakers writing on religious topics will produce many disparate writing styles. The small corpus of *Anti-Quaker* texts cannot hope to represent that variety; nevertheless, a qualitative inspection of the two sets of texts (*Qcorpus* and non-Quaker) brings out different written styles, even where the non-Quakers are disputing doctrinal points rather than sermonising or instructing on religious themes. One of the key themes of the present study is the homogeneity of the Quaker style across a wide authorship.

I could find no reliable tool for extracting frequency data for written polysyllabic words in English. Results obtained for mean syllables per word in each text derived from the online application <a href="www.wordcalc.com">www.wordcalc.com</a> are not reported here as they do not bring out sufficient meaningful detail. However, through the <a href="wordSmith">WordSmith</a> tool for listing word lengths defined by number of characters, I retrieved examples of lexical items in English of 15 or more letters in both the <a href="wordpus">Qcorpus</a> and the <a href="wordpus">Anti-Quaker Corpus</a>, from which a selection is displayed below. Although this is by no means an exhaustive list, I make the point that fewer examples of polysyllabic words are present in the <a href="wordpus">Qcorpus</a> compared to the non-Quaker writers, who favour technical terms as a feature of their erudite style. Examples of long word types are listed in Table 8.10 below.

**Table 8.10**: selection of lengthy words in the *Qcorpus* and the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* 

no. of letters per word	word types, Qcorpus	no. of letters per word	word types, Anti- Quaker Corpus
15	deceivablenesse	15	burthensomeness
16	acknowledgements	15	commissionating
16	discountenancing	15	excommunication
16	circumstantialls	15	foreacquainted
16	discountenancing	15	latitudinarians
17	unprofitablenesse	15	metamorphosings
18	misrepresentations	16	correspondencies
		17	misrepresentation
		17	uncircumscribable
		18	inconsiderableness
		19	antidisciplinarians

The debate in the early modern period on the productive and receptive use of 'ink-horn' or 'hard' words, which was a vexed issue for many writers in the seventeenth century, demonstrates the danger of verbosity inherent in the use of such lexis. See, for example, George Fox's writings on this topic, *A Primer for the Schollers and Doctors of Europe* (1659), and *A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to Learn Singular & Plural* (Fox et al, 1660). Gordis (2005) says of '*A Primer*':

Fox's text is an extraordinary anti-primer, addressed to the learned and suggesting that their terms of art are themselves false and dangerous. He offers the text to an 'Enlightened Reader whose eyes are opened with the Light,' allowing him to 'discern whether or nay you be not all in the wisdom of mans teaching that teacheth words, which all your seven Arts and Sciences, terms and names comes from; and what was the root they all sprung from, was it not from the wisdom of man which is below, and the words that it doth teach?' (Gordis, 2005:8)

This discussion on the occurrence of lengthy words completes the commentary on evidence of markers of formal register and ornateness in the corpus comparators. The chapter next moves into the field of semantics. Without some consideration of the semantic content of

early Quaker texts, the study would become a superficial, surface-level linguistic exercise, missing the centrality of the Quakers' message and their ways of expressing it.

## 8.5 Semantic content: introduction

So far, the findings in the present chapter have related to discourse categories 1 to 3 (section 8.1.2: summary in Table 8.1 and detail in Table 8.2). We now arrive at the final category: key lexemes grouped within certain semantic fields in the early Quaker message. Findings discussed in the previous sections for features in the three corpora show that the QMA values are mostly found to be midway on a scale of results for the three corpora, showing that the 'mainstream' Quaker authors' style contains elements of both the Quaker unconventional one but also the education and formal register aspects of the establishment writers exemplified by the anti-Quakers. One important language area remains for comparison, that of the semantic content. One reason for constructing the QMA and the Anti-Ouaker Corpus was to enable comparisons between texts that are concerned with the same general semantic field, that of Christianity and Quakerism's version of it. Frequency lists alone are a poor guide to establishing the relative points of similarity or difference in this case. The semantic content is crucial, but if that were the one criterion for defining 'Quaker style' the Anti-Quaker texts would need to be included. Analysis shows that both Quaker and non-Quaker texts are perforce covering the same topics, namely the nature and practice of Christianity as each group saw it, although the various writers disagreed profoundly with the propositions contained in the texts. The relevance of findings presented in sections 8.5.2 and 8.5.3 are linked to chapters 4, 5 and 7.

## 8.5.1 Comparisons of top-rank frequency orders using semantic tagging

This section provides a broad brush comparison of the semantic content of the *Qcorpus* in order to fulfil the purpose of the chapter: the identification of typical features of early Quaker prose. The method used draws on the Wmatrix corpus analysis suite (introduced in chapter 3.4.3) for two lines of enquiry in order to bring together key semantic areas and lexis that the Quaker and anti-Quaker texts have in common. The first enquiry derives from results obtained from just one of the semantic tags in the *Wmatrix* array, namely the one labelled S9. This field covers 'social states, actions and processes', and its sub-category: 'religion and the supernatural' (Archer et al, 2002). The second is based on semantic frequency comparisons as retrieved through *Wmatrix*. A comparison of selected frequency profiles for two corpora is achieved; in the present case the *Ocorpus* data for the tag S9 was compared first with the *Anti-*Quaker Corpus and subsequently with the QMA texts. The results for the top frequencies of tokens in this field for the three unlemmatised corpora show a very close match, as presented below. This is reassuring as although the texts in the three corpora (Quaker and non-Quaker) have varied functions, their overall theme is broadly the same: aspects of the early Quaker message and life. The most frequent lexical items retrieved for all three corpora are presented below in Table 8.11, though the rankings vary somewhat for each corpus. The three items that occur only in the Anti-Quaker Corpus list are marked with an asterisk.

**Table 8.11**: Highest-ranking lexical items common to the *Qcorpus*, the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* and the *QMA Corpus*. (\* indicates the 3 exceptions retrieved from the *Anti-Quaker Corpus*)

God God's	priesthood spiritual	Jews prophet	saints protestants	
spirit	scripture	prophets	church	
spirits	scriptures	divine	preachers	
holy	saints	salvation	Christians	
holiness	gospel	redemption	baptism	
soul	apostle	Quaker	baptised	
souls	apostles	Quakers	divine	
worship	doctrine	pray	resurrection*	
heaven	devil	prayer	gentiles*	
priests	religion	blessed	sacrifice*	

## 8.6 Analysis of top-ranking semantic fields in the three corpora

We now come to the top-ranking semantic tag frequencies retrieved from a) the *Qcorpus* in comparison with the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* and b) the *Qcorpus* in comparison with the *QMA* corpus. Both sets of results are portrayed by *Wmatrix* as items that are relatively more frequent in the target corpus. <sup>15</sup> Table 8.12 shows the *Qcorpus* results in comparison to the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* and Table 8.13 shows the *Qcorpus* results in comparison to the *QMA* corpus. It will be noted that tags <sup>16</sup> Z8, S7.1, E4.1, T1.3 and E3- appear in both datasets as significantly more frequent in the *Qcorpus*. A plus sign following a semantic tag denotes a positive sense and a minus sign denotes a negative one. Interpretations for these findings follow after the tables. The log-likelihood test indicates the significance of the difference in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Wmatrix home page: 'The key comparison shows the most significant key items towards the top of the list since the result is sorted on the LL (log-likelihood) field as compared to another corpus. Only items with a LL value over about 7 are of interest, since 6.63 is the cut-off for 99% confidence of significance.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In Tables 8.4 and 8.5, the tag codings in column 2 refer to the semantic categories in column 3.

frequency between each pair of corpora. The rightmost column, as was the case in Table 8.2, shows the link with findings in earlier chapters in the present thesis where that is relevant.

 Table 8.12: top-ranking semantic tags in the Qcorpus compared with Anti-Quaker Corpus

	semantic tag	semantic → category	Qcorpus freqs	Qcorpus rel. freqs	Anti-Q freqs	Anti-Q rel. freqs	LL	see relevant chapters
1	S7.1+	In power	7,953	1.29	2,421	0.58	1,334.71	
2	Z8	Pronouns	85,507	13.88	50,331	12.09	606.45	chapter 4
3	E4.1-	Sad	2,035	0.33	490	0.12	505.84	chapters 5 and 8
4	Е3-	Violent/ Angry	1,764	0.29	480	0.12	363.20	chapter 5
5	T1.3	Time: Period	2,824	0.46	978	0.24	356.39	
6	H4	Residence	1,326	0.22	316	0.08	334.43	
7	G2.2-	Unethical	3,479	0.56	1,382	0.33	298.09	chapter 5
8	M1	Moving	5,347	0.87	2,415	0.58	281.88	
9	E2+	Like	1,613	0.26	499	0.12	262.07	
10	W3	Geographical terms	1,395	0.23	401	0.10	261.01	chapters 4 and 5
11	T2+++	Time: Beginning	771	0.13	179	0.04	201.56	chapter 5
12	L3	Plants	922	0.15	256	0.06	183.43	chapter 4

**Table 8.13**: top-ranking semantic tags in the *Qcorpus* compared with *QMA corpus* 

	semantic tag	semantic category	<i>Qcorpus</i> freqs	<b>Qcorpus</b> rel. freqs	QMA freqs	QMA rel. freqs	LL	see relevant chapters
1	Z8	Pronouns	85,507	13.88	42,343	11.71	829.34	chapters 4 and 6
2	S7.1+	In power	7,953	1.29	2,823	0.78	565.64	(spiritual/ temporal power)
3	T1.1.3	Time: Future	5,333	0.87	1,980	0.55	322.23	chapter 5
4	E4.1-	Sad	2,035	0.33	557	0.15	289.71	chapters 5 and 7
5	T1.3	Time: Period	2,824	0.46	902	0.25	277.82	
6	M1	Moving	5,347	0.87	2,093	0.58	260.05	
7	S2	People	2,723	0.44	912	0.25	233.6	
8	W3	Geographical terms	1,395	0.23	397	0.11	182.59	chapter 4
9	M2	Putting/ pulling	4,327	0.7	1,783	0.49	164.94	
10	Е3-	Violent/ Angry	1,764	0.29	586	0.16	155.09	chapter 5
11	W2	Light	2,048	0.33	731	0.20	142.89	chapter 7
12	S4	Kin	2,002	0.32	716	0.20	138.72	
13	T2+++	Time: Beginning	771	0.13	198	0.05	124.55	chapter 5
14	L2	Living creatures	1,278	0.21	418	0.12	117.6	chapter 4

Most of the semantic tags with significantly higher frequencies in the *Qcorpus*, according to the log likelihood data, point to features or linguistic aspects that I have analysed previously in the research process. The results in Tables 8.11 and 8.12 provide a good confirmation of choices and outcomes via a second route which serves to strengthen the efficacy of my original research design.

The figures in Tables 8.12 and 8.13 show confirmation of the high use of all personal pronouns in many *Qcorpus* texts, even when compared to the major Quaker texts. The

interactive and orality qualities are again apparent. Instances of biblical figurative language such as is implied in the categories of L2 'Living Creatures' (e.g. seed, tree, root, plant, vine, garden, barren, stubble), H4 'Residence' (e.g. living, dwell, inhabitants, habitation) and W3 'Geographical Terms' (e.g. mire, valley, earthquake, desert) are noted in chapter 4; this has been found by many studies to be a feature of early Quaker language although not investigated specifically in the present study. It appears that the style of the QMA writing is less concerned with colourful figurative language than is used in many of the Qcorpus texts in which the strong tone of the apocalyptic prophetic language occurs persuasively. This is one instance of differences in style and purpose between both sets of Quaker texts. In order to put flesh on these frequency data, some key words are presented here by way of illustration.

- E4.1: repent, suffer, sorrow, woe, misery, alas, grieved, crying, sad, lamentation, weeping, mourning, miserable, grievous, grief, desolation, weep, howling.
- E3-: wrath, persecution, cruelty, force, enmity, strife, anger, vengeance, indignation, violence, torment, fury, rebellion, abuse, smite, cursed, rage, fierce, malice, revenge.
- G2.2: sin, evil, wicked, iniquity, shame, deceit, corrupt, ashamed, sinners, guilt, unrighteousness, whore, harlot, evil-doers, defiled, mischief, betray, reprobate.

As with features discussed earlier in this chapter, differences found are even more marked when compared to the *Anti-Quaker* texts than with the *Qcorpus/QMA* comparisons. The non-Quaker writers in the *Anti-Quaker Corpus* are functionally concerned with matters of doctrine rather than prophecy. Does this strengthen the finding? Yes, because so many of the *Qcorpus* texts are apocalyptic in purpose. This finding is less significant in the *Qcorpus/QMA* comparison as some element of prophesying is present in their texts too. Some of the more violent language in the *Qcorpus* is Old Testament in origin, purporting to describe

God's feelings and actions. Elements of prophetic language that do stand out in comparison with the *QMA* are those in the fields of T1.1.3 and T2+ ('Time: future' and 'Time: beginning').

T1.1.3: will/wilt, shall/shalt, prophets, woe, hereafter, one day, henceforth, sooner, presently, future, posterity, coming.

T2+: everlasting, eternal(-ity), forever, evermore, endless, perpetual, permanent.

This is explained by the different purpose of the *QMA* texts which are less concerned with the urgency of message than are the campaigning pamphlets and tracts which comprise much of the *Qcorpus* material.

It should be noted that *Wmatrix* is designed to analyse PDE, and some of the retrieved items cannot take into account different seventeenth-century senses. These items were excluded in the present analysis following manual post-editing. However, an interesting finding is that of tag W2 'light', for which the Archer et al (2002) guide offers the following note (italics added here for emphasis) regarding the possible future deletion of this tag:

Note – possibly removing [light], as [it] *tends not to be used* (words go under O4.3). For backwards compatibility, any that are omitted will be left. e.g. W3 will not become W2.

Fortunately, the tag W2 is retained at the time of writing, although unlike all the other tags in the guide no prototypical examples are offered for this one. The items connected with LIGHT and that whole semantic area underpin a major theological concept for Quakerism. Example lexis obtained as featuring significantly in the present analysis are: *light, shine, beam, splendor* [positive] and *dark(ness)* [negative]. A puzzle that remains to be explained is why this field is strongly present in comparison with other Quaker writings but not when compared

to the non-Quaker texts. Further work could help to pinpoint a reason for this result, whether that be the nature of the analysis method or a linguistic explanation.

## 8.7 Summary and conclusion

The questions posed at the start of this chapter were these:

- 1) What is the linguistic nature of early Quaker prose style and how can it be recognised?
- 2) What is distinctive about the early Quaker prose style compared to other varieties of seventeenth-century prose, and what are its characteristic features?
- 3) How does this style/these styles compare with the more conventional literary and religious styles used by non-Quaker theologians or church men.

The results from quantitative and qualitative analyses presented in this chapter confirm through different methods or more extended calculations that there is a distinctive Quaker style as represented in a large number of the tracts, pamphlets and broadside texts. These elements have been clearly identified in the light of the text types under a series of investigations, leading to a recognisable Quaker style, or styles, via a set of linguistic features. These are:

- i.) Recognisable syntactic idiosyncrasies and coordination, frequently combined with loosely-constructed lengthy sentences or chains of clauses added together. The cohesion often, but not always, reads as though the writer is producing text as though spoken, or in a 'stream of consciousness' mode. This has been noted in a general way by a number of previous studies on early Quaker writing but without supporting quantitative evidence.
- ii.) The above aspect of prose style is closely related to a speech-like style; many studies assert that the features described are characteristic of orality. There is further evidence of an emotional, involved approach, where the reader (ostensible or actual) is addressed directly.

This aspect is a feature of the exhortatory discourse used in prophetic writing. Figurative language combines with features similar to those found in drama or trial records to create a sense of immediacy and urgency.

iii.) When thrown into relief by comparison with certain anti-Quaker writers of the period who were in dispute with Quakers, the features above combine with notable differences of register, literacy levels and formality to strengthen the recognition of a distinctiveness of the Quaker style. Comparisons analysed here reveal that there is more than one early Quaker style. More mainstream Quaker authors, especially those writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, employ a style broadly midway between the erratic style of their fellow Quakers and the establishment writers with whom they are engaged in debate and dispute. It is known that some of these Quaker writers were highly educated and were consciously attempting to downgrade the formality and ornateness of the register they were educated to use. George Fox is not of their number, in spite of the centrality of his position historically, because of his early humble social background and his firm resistance to conformity to any such 'ways of the world'.

In the concluding chapter of the thesis, I explain the underlying principles that I argue govern the intentionally distinctive aspects of the Quaker style(s), and evaluate the effectiveness of my new approach in researching early Quaker writing. The fact remains that much of the typicality of that writing remains unconscious on the part of the writers. They were doing the best they could, in difficult times and, in their view, with a sense of terrifying urgency.

## **CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION OF THESIS**

### 9.1 Introduction

This final chapter provides a summary and evaluation of the research described in the present thesis. In section 9.1 I revisit my objectives and show how I have fulfilled them. I summarise and discuss my findings in section 9.2 and in section 9.3 offer a résumé of the use made of the various disciplines. Section 9.4 evaluates the research method and identifies some limitations of the study. Finally, in section 9.5, I offer suggestions for possible new directions and ideas for future research.

## 9.1.1 Revisiting the research question

My research is the first to use corpus analysis techniques to explore the style and discourse of early Quaker texts. In essence, I respond to the question:

'What is distinctive about early Quaker prose and its expression, compared to similar contemporary styles, and how can we recognise it?'

Other studies have usefully identified aspects of Quakerism within historical, sociological or theological disciplines and a few have investigated early Quaker language, though very few of these studies have been carried out by linguists. The result has been a disparate, partial and sometimes inaccurate picture from a linguistic perspective. The major difference between previous studies looking at Quaker language and mine is my comprehensive linguistic analysis of the representative material, using a quantitative analytical basis. No other study has been attempted on the same scale.

### 9.1.2 Objectives of the study

These are the stated objectives of the project, as the introduction to the present study explains, (chapter 1):

- Firstly, to discover from analysis of the internal linguistic evidence of the *Qcorpus* the several discourse purposes of the texts, how the writers express these purposes and the reasons why non-Quakers of the time were so anxious to make adverse comments about Friends' style.
- Secondly, what typical features occur throughout the writings of many different
  Quaker authors in the seventeenth century, and whether there is a true homogeneity of
  style as evidenced by this community of writers.

The research focus in this study has been to examine certain distinctive linguistic or discourse qualities in an unusually homogeneous body of texts written by many different people. My approach is more common in studies that explore the writing of a single author or work, or one particular style or genre; it is less usual to investigate the style and discourse functions of a small corpus of texts comprising nearly 200 different writers over the period of just half a century. I met my objectives in full through corpus-based analysis of the internal evidence of the data, this tool being new to research in the field of Quaker studies. The study brings forward important evidence to support the proposition of distinctiveness of style and markers of typicality in the Quaker texts.

## 9.2 Summary of empirical findings in the thesis

The project examined data at several linguistic levels. It identified three major discourse functions in the body of texts, the first two of which occur sufficiently frequently to merit a chapter each: i) prophecy, both predictive and exhortatory forms; ii) doctrinal disputing and the rhetoric of argumentation; iii) spiritual counsel and the mutual upholding of a particular group of Christians. This last group of texts is possibly the most important of the three from theological, social and historical viewpoints, but was not present in sufficiently large quantity to merit a separate investigation. The topic of spiritual counsel is one that many published scholars in the field of Quaker beliefs, practices and history have commented on. However, I remain committed to the decision to concentrate on the remaining two of those discourse types: prophecy and doctrinal disputes. Here is a summary of four key areas in the findings:

- 1) At the macro-level, I describe and classify several forms of seventeenth-century Quaker prophetic style, noting a) that the majority of their apocalyptic discourse has a negative connotation compared to the *Book of Revelation* in the Bible, and b) in spite of the strident tone of the discourse, the underlying effect is to warn and encourage, not to threaten the reader. Another variety of Quaker discourse occurs in doctrinal disputes. I describe where the style differs from the exhortatory prophetic style showing relatively greater clarity,
- 2) I identify several markers of a diachronic change of style over the 60-year period, conforming to external historical events affecting the first and second periods of Quakerism in England.
- 3) At the surface linguistic level, I identify a group of pragmatic features that mark an informal, speech-like register, and a more intense emotional style showing strong

involvement with the readership. I suggest that the informal, loosely-cohesive style may be partly due to the verbatim dictation of texts by some authors (see Williams, 2009:118-128, for a socio-pragmatic comparative analysis of some early modern scribal and holograph letters). This explanation for the distinctiveness of Quaker style has not been put forward elsewhere, to my knowledge. Such distinctiveness contrasts with other religious or establishment writings of the period. There is also in the texts a remarkable linguistic indifference to any potential gap in social rank (i.e. expected politeness forms) between the author and the imagined or actual recipient(s), a perennial marker of Quakerism in all generations.

4) At the level of the word, I have researched key Quaker lexis and found confirmation of previous understanding of some items; I also uncovered unexpected frequencies, connotations or usage. These findings should aid present-day readers to understand better the language and thought of the founders of Quakerism.

All these aspects combine to present a comprehensive picture of a distinctive body of writings.

## 9.3 Discussion

Why are these findings important? I argue that they break new ground in a number of ways. Firstly, by applying corpus analysis techniques and research tools to this unusual body of texts, I show how the results obtained reveal quantitative evidence supporting new insights. One of the major differences between previous studies and mine is how my approach breaks with traditional twentieth-century scholarship in the field of Quaker studies. My study shows

how further research might build on my approach, and leads the way to the application of similar investigations in other related fields of scholarship.

Secondly, the cumulative effect of my work is to confirm much of the literary criticism of published studies while at the same time foregrounding the language aspect. Other studies have interpreted Quaker texts in theological, historical or sociological terms in their search for new understandings of the early Quakers' message and cultural practices. My work contrasts with those approaches. For example, my findings reveal Friends' underlying lack of awareness of how they expressed their message, although they saw themselves as a group conscious of how language can represent or misrepresent human behaviour and beliefs. For the first generation of Quakers, language was merely an absence of silence (silence being the default position, as it were). I uncover more than just what was said and how it was said, in order to show connotation and nuances of meaning. I also provide evidence for the specific ways in which their message and stylistic tone altered for historical and sociological reasons during the final twenty years of the century. I show not just that they created a common but distinctive sociolect (in my sense of the term: a group of writers sharing characteristic similarities in style, discourse and semantic usage) in different Quaker communities geographically and across generations, but more importantly, how they collectively found ways to adapt and modify their language. This is evident when they engage in disputes with other dissenting groups or battle with authority. I describe in linguistic terms the use they made of unexpected, non-traditional forms of argumentation. The proportions of frequency and connotation in my findings clarify the underlying illocutionary force of the Quaker message in many of the ephemeral pamphlets and tracts that formed the explosion of publication during the Commonwealth period. Their invention of a distinctive campaigning written style was original, powerful and startling.

Quaker lexis (or 'vocabulary' in everyday usage) is a key part of research into early Quaker faith and practice. It is the area of language that the general public often assumes to be at the heart of Quaker language study. I see my work as shining a light on this topic through quantitative findings. I show some ways in which our present-day understanding of early Friends, both the language and the message, has been distorted over time by frequently-repeated quotations from just a few sources, and how Fox's *Journal* is often taken to represent the speechways of the first two generations of Quakers. My work is able to scrape off some accretions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century myths about the beginnings of Quakerism in order to bring us back to the realities of the behaviour and beliefs of many ordinary Friends of that time. Present-day readers are inclined to read into familiar seventeenth-century text excerpts some aspects of Quakerism that were not yet the case when the movement first emerged. For instance, it can be surprising to discover that the semantic areas of peace and non-violence are of infrequent occurrence in many of the pamphlets. Their preoccupations were not the same as those of later generations.

My research has shed light on other areas of study, including the history of religious thought and expression, and linguistically, on a small but significant genre of early modern English text. Some of my findings have relevance for today; for example, 'liberty of conscience' and the expression of non-violent resistance to autocratic state control are still live issues globally. Rights that the first Quakers campaigned for and were imprisoned for have become commonplace in parts of the world but by no means everywhere, and these rights should never be taken for granted. For the global Quaker community, whether in the liberal, conservative or evangelical traditions, my study provides insights into some central early Quaker terminology which in turn underpins deeper spiritual understanding and present-day behavioural practices.

Finally, my quantitative findings on the orality of the Quaker texts lead me to conjecture that we may have evidence, not just for the speech-like quality of Quaker writing, but for their actual speech. My speculation is that many Quakers did not separate their written register in their minds from their spoken register. For them, it was all one, all emanating from God with them acting as God's mouthpiece (see texts in the *Qcorpus*: Fisher, 1656:29; Burrough, 1657a:1 and Crisp, 1666:1; see also Bauman, 1998:25). Graves (2009) bases his study on the few surviving near-verbatim texts of Quaker sermons, subsequently published in printed form; I suggest that our evidence for how seventeenth-century Friends spoke is in fact contained in a much larger body of material. In a parallel comparison with present day computer-mediated communicative style (see, for example, Peréz-Sabater et al, 2008:2-4; Tagg, 2009:31-41; Chovanec, 2009:124) my speculation is that many of the texts in the *Qcorpus* are not merely representative of a Quakerly informal written style but rather they enable us to hear directly the voices of the early Quaker movement in England.

## 9.4 Revisiting the disciplines and fields in the research

Chapter 2, in reviewing the literature that underpins the scholarship of the present study, identified several relevant areas of academic discipline. This section acknowledges the difficulty of multi-disciplinary scholarship, revisits some of those areas and offers comments from the perspective of the completed project. An evaluation of the method I adopted follows in section 9.4.

### (a) Corpus design principles and analytical methods

I started the project by constructing a new tailor-made corpus, entailing questions of representativeness and balance. The issues I had to confront as an inexperienced compiler

included the following: i) finding a compromise between selecting an equal distribution of publication years for the inclusion of texts or mirroring as far as possible the ebb and flow of text production over the first 60 years of the Quaker movement in England; ii) choosing between full-text only publications or a mix of full-texts and extracts in order to maintain an overall breadth of authorship and year; iii) avoiding the simple solution of including merely easy-to-find 'important' texts (from a historical point of view) at the expense of the obscure or hard to decipher; iv) coping on a practical level with the transcription of those texts; v) making a decision about the effect of the Morning Meeting on texts published after 1673 and whether my data would be compromised by that effect.

Once the corpus was complete, the question of whether to add annotation arose, as this would affect choice and options in my subsequent investigations. The analytical approaches I carried out were not complex and I chose to use simple statistical analysis. The reason for that is my wariness in claiming more from a relatively small quantity of historical data than it justifies, so my interpretations are general and probabilistic without relying unduly on fine-tuned apparent differences. Many of the analyses of the data outputs were achieved by manual counting of every item or concordance line. This is one of the advantages of using a small-scale corpus containing thousands rather than millions of words. Corpus analysis using automatic retrieval will always provide data output, although not all of it will be of value and my task as researcher has been to sift out and discern what is truly of interest in the findings.

# (b) Early modern English and corpus analysis

I am the first scholar in the field to apply corpus analysis techniques to texts on early Quakerism. Historical linguistics, however, covers as many branches of linguistics as present-day linguistics. The present project has made use of blended approaches and previous

scholarship within the fields of semantics, pragmatics, syntax and stylistics. The design of investigations entailed an experimental approach to see which ones produced fruitful observations. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the main difficulty has been to locate machine-readable data for comparison on a meaningful basis. My study is necessarily limited to the fourth quarter of the 200-year period often regarded as 'early modern', so that published findings focusing on, say, the sixteenth century, are not always of great use.

### (c) Print culture in the seventeenth century

This aspect was an unexpected side avenue in the project but my findings add to the general scholarship by, for instance, Green (2000), Peters (2005), Harris (2010) and Hagglund (2013) on text types and production in the seventeenth century, both Quaker and non-Quaker.

### (d) Early Quaker language

Existing studies on early Quaker language have acted as pointers for corpus-based enquiries but my empirical study is a completely new departure in this area. I was unclear at the start what, if anything, comparative CL studies would uncover that historians and theologians had not already asserted. My work makes a new and significant contribution to a well-trodden path.

# (e) Seventeenth-century Quaker history and theology

Applied linguistics encompasses contexts outside the theoretical and internal; the present study has widened the parameters of investigation into early Quaker history in terms of a) how Quakers communicated with each other and the outside world and b) the

importance of the symbiosis in linguistic terms between the Quaker message and its prophetic expression.

### 9.5 Evaluation of research method

The project is not a theoretical or literary study, neither is it specifically genre-based. This makes it unusual and I was not able to draw on previous published methodology in the research design. I found comparisons difficult with other synchronic corpora. Moreover, the short date range of the first and second periods of Quakerism, 60 years at most, did not allow for a long reach of diachronic comparisons.

I began with broad research questions and hypotheses but these frequently changed in response to the data or absence of data that were emerging. I worked in an iterative way, inspecting an aspect of the data that promised to be interesting. For example, in the investigations into apocalyptic prophetic writing I began with a simple search on markers of futurity since they were of high frequency. This led me to notice how the language was used to express the prophetic element of the texts. Further analysis led to conditional clauses, particularly the high frequency of the coordinator *lest*. I needed to ascertain if that word had a specific seventeenth-century connotation. That question did not lead to particularly interesting results but I did observe the ambivalent illocutionary effect of the conditional subordinator. That led me on to an analysis of the potential speech acts underlying the warning element. I revisited the dataset and noticed the occurrences of the word *woe* in the same contexts. This path took me to an ancient type of prophecy unknown to me, known as *woe* prophecy, and the range of different prophetic forms started to become clearer. The process had the feel of an archaeological enquiry; a particular dataset needed to be scraped clear of mud (to change the metaphor from the 'fishing' idea in the introduction) as the object under scrutiny gradually

revealed itself. Once that had happened, there needed to be some kind of comparison or benchmark to facilitate an interpretation of the results. In the case of the *woe* term, I could find no comparisons in searchable seventeenth-century texts. Throughout the study, the difficulty has been the lack of reliable quantitative evidence for such comparisons. As the first in this particular field, my work is pioneering.

The same observation is true for my approaches to the interrogation of the data. On several occasions I have made use of a previous study which has put forward a theoretical account of an aspect of language, for example that of stance. How beneficial have corpusbased techniques been in comparison with more traditional qualitative critical methods? Applying quantitative methods and interpreting the findings has sometimes proved fruitful, as in the case of stance, but on other occasions not effective for the aims of the present research. I have discovered what is and is not presently possible in corpus-based enquiry. For example, searching for something that is absent in a text is always a challenge. An ever-present temptation has been the potential over-broadening of scope. I chose to resist that temptation in order to maintain sufficient depth in the quality of the research. However, innovation has come from the breadth of linguistic areas covered: discourse and rhetoric, pragmatics, semantics, literary style, combined with qualitative data from non-linguistic disciplines such as seventeenth-century English history and dissenting religious thought. I am pleased to have achieved all my aims. This result shows the benefit of the new method and shows how this type of corpus-based research can be applied to new academic fields of enquiry.

# 9.6 Limitations of the study

Inevitably in the field of corpus-based research, there is the question of reliability of data gathering and interpretation of findings and, of necessity, the study was limited in scope

and available time. I am aware of the relatively small size of the corpora, although the intended randomness of the text collection should smooth out any tendencies towards imbalance. I chose to employ a variety of disciplines to explore facets of Quaker style. Lack of initial experience in understanding theoretical underpinnings of the various disciplines might be seen as a limiting factor, although I am clear about the efficacy of my approach.

There are certain limitations that a larger-scale project would have had the capacity to overcome. The project began with the necessity to digitise and construct a balanced corpus of early Quaker texts. Limitation of access to previously digitised texts and the need to work from microfilm or original print material has meant that the corpus remains untagged for either parts of speech or pragmatic or other project-specific annotations. The creation of the VARD software by Baron & Rayson (2009), which offers the functionality of lemmatising spelling variants, would have been of great use but the early versions arrived too late for the present project. I knew very little of the content or the authors of the Quaker texts and compiled the corpora from a perspective of innocence. The later corpus (Ocorpus2) was compiled after the start of the project and time prevented the creation of a corpus of similar size to the earlier, core corpus (*Qcorpus1*). Time was also a limiting factor in the creation of the Anti-Ouaker corpus and the Ouaker Major Authors corpus; both were constructed even later in the life of the project but have proved useful. I had less confidence in making use of other available historical corpora, such as the HC and LC, as it became apparent to me either that the size was too small (especially if limited to 'religious' domain texts) or that the corpora contain genres so different from the Quaker texts as to render comparisons meaningless.

### 9.7 Future research

The method I used has shown that there is value in applying corpus-based methods, used by researchers in stylistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics, to ask questions of a community of writers with a similar purpose and message. This is distinct from either literary criticism (such as in Shakespeare studies) or linguistic research into a wide population of traditional authors writing in different domains or with different purposes (such as medical texts or correspondence). Several areas for future research have become apparent and suggestions made throughout the thesis are now summarised here. My approach to the Quaker texts could be applied to texts from other communities once they were in digital, machine-readable form. Comparisons with Quaker women's language could be very informative. Now that I have broken new ground in applying corpus analysis methods to this branch of seventeenth century religious texts, this offers a ripe field for new comparative research between these different cultural groups.

There is scope for extending CL investigations into the eighteenth century or even to present-day Quaker texts to facilitate linguistic comparisons. For example, there is in existence a corpus of eighteenth-century Quaker texts available for corpus research, the *Joseph Wood Diaries* (Cooksey, 2011, ed.). They are beyond the date range of the present thesis and are different in scope. Wood kept journals for forty years or more of travelling in the ministry around England. This is an example of a single author writing in diary format and so an investigation working, say, on discourse comparisons with the *Qcorpus* would need careful preparation. There are also potentially many seventeenth-century Baptist texts although not yet in a form appropriate to corpus-based enquiry; the writings especially of Baptist women of the period have provided valuable research material (Freeman, 2011). Finally, biographical information about some of the Quaker authors in the *Ocorpus* is

available. Collaborative work with Quaker historians could enable relevant pragmatic metadata to be attached to such texts where this information is known. This could lead to and broaden the scope of research in the field of historical sociolinguistics.

I argue that my study has led to a new understanding of early Quakers, their language in which they expressed themselves, their ideas and their culture of practice as they developed it.

I have documented through quantitative and qualitative analysis the features of an early Quaker sociolect. I show how it was used among people drawn together in a community of practice across a wide geographical area, people who would not all have known each other in person. Some of these groups differed among themselves, occasionally bitterly, but their common language is nevertheless distinctive both for its message and its discourse.

We now have an enhanced understanding of aspects of the dissenting world during the mid- and late-seventeenth century in the British Isles and of early modern exhortatory discourses. The evidence provides a good basis for removing some of the accretions of misunderstanding within the Religious Society of Friends of early Quakerism that has arisen in more recent eras, such as the nineteenth century. Findings from naturally-occurring language in context, illustrated by comprehensive patterns of usage, remains a resource for both the specialist and the general reader interested in the language and discourse of the first two generations of this remarkable community of Friends.

**APPENDIX 1.** Chapter 7, page numbers of lexical items

lexical item	page number
light	202
spirit	203
power	204
life	205
truth	206
sin/sinner	208
conscience	210
evil	212
fear	213
condition	215
gospel order	216
inward/outward	217
open/opening	219
principle	220
seed	221
that of God	222
testimony	225
witness	227
gospel	231
low	233
measure	235
heart	236
law	238
love	239
pray	243
war	245
church	247
holy	249
lamb	250
convince/-ment	254
leading(s)	255
tender	257
wait	258
within	260
peace	262
quiet	264
silent	265

# APPENDIX 2. Matrix summary of content and addressees of *Qcorpora* texts

							Totals
	Ex	34	37	18	8	12	109
	DD	29	25	2	5		61
CONTENT	T		2	13	1		16
CON	S	2					2
	Sp			2			2
	Ер		2	13			15
		G	P	Q	P+G only	P+G+Q	205
				ADDRI	ESSEE		

# Type of text:

## Addressee:

Ex	Exhortation	G	Government (King, Parliament, magistrates, priests,
DD	Doctrinal Dispute		ministers, etc)
T	Testimony		
S	Suffering description	P	General Public / "inhabitants"
Sp	Spiritual journey description	Q	Quakers
Ep	Epistle		

# LIST OF REFERENCES

# **CORPUS TEXTS**

(Broadside sub-corpus texts (QBS) are marked with an asterisk)

# Qcorpus1

[Bolton John]	(1667-8)	Judas his thirty pieces not received. Wing B3506
[Crook John] J.C.	(1667)	Twenty cases of conscience propounded. Wing C7224
[Fox, George]	(1658)	To all friends and people in the whole Christendome. Wing F1848
Abbott, Margaret	(1659?)	A testimony against the false teachers. Wing A70A
Addam, Simon	(1663)	Concerning the observation. Wing A419A
Aldam, Thomas et al	(1652)	False prophets and false teachers described. Wing A894BA
Ames, William	(1656)	A declaration of the witness of God. Wing A3004A
Anderdon, John	(1659)	To those that sit in counsel. Wing A3083
Anon	(1658)	To the generals, and captains, officers and souldiers. Wing T1936
Aynsloe, John	(1664)	A Besome of truth to sweep away the refuge of lyes. Wing A4293
Bacon, Christopher	(1662)	A trumpet sounding an alarvm. Wing B266A
B., D. [Baker, Daniel]	(1659)	A certaine warning from a naked heart. Wing B481
Bayly, William	(1662)	Jacob is become a flame. Wing B1535
Biddle, Esther )*	(166-)	Wo to thee town of Cambridge. Wing B2866A
Blackborow, Sarah	(1658)	A visit to the spirit in prison. Wing B3065
Boulbie Judith	(1665?)	A testimony for truth against all hireling-priests and deceivers. Wing B3828
Boulbie, Judith	(1667)	To all justices of peace, or other magistrates. Wing B3828A
Bradly, Richard	(1660)	This is for all you the inhabitants of Whitewell to consider. Wing B4125A
Brend, William*	(1664)	Oh ye magistrates in and about this city of London. Wing B4359A
Britten, William	(1660)	Silent meeting, a wonder to the world. Wing B4825
Britten, William	(1669)	Concerning the kingdoms of God and men with their dimentions. Wing B4824
Burrough, Edward	(1657a)	A declaration to all the world of our faith. Wing B5997
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C., J.	(1658)	The vvord of the Lord to awaken. Wing C78
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Caton, William	(1661)	An abridgement or a compendious commemoration. Wing E3419
Chandler, John	(1659)	A narrative plainly shewing priest of England. Wing C1927B
Clark, Thomas	(1661)	The voice of truth, uttered forth against the unreasonablenes. Wing C4562A
Clayton, Anne*	(1660)	A letter to the king. Wing C4608B
Cleevelye, William	(1667)	The deceitful spirit discovered. Wing C4625A
Crisp, Stephen*	(1666)	A word in due season, or, Some harvest meditations. Wing C6944
Crisp Stephen	(1668)	A plain path-way opened to the simple-hearted for the answering of all doubts and objections. Wing C6938
Crook, John et al	(1661)	Liberty of conscience asserted. Wing W1890
[D.T.] Davenport, Thomas	(1659)	This for the Parliament, counsel, and the officers. Wing D373
Dewsbury, William	(1655)	Letter to Margaret Fell. Unpublished. Abraham MSS/2
Dewsbury, William	(1660)	To all nations, kindreds, languages, tongues. Wing D1274
Dewsbury William	(1668)	A general epistle given forth from the spirit of the Lord. Wing D1269
Evans, Katharine	(1663)	A brief discovery of God's eternal truth. Wing E3453
F. B.*	(1660)	To all that observe dayes. Wing B64
Fell Christopher; Howgill F; Woodrove T.	(1655)	A few words to the people of England, who have had a day of visitation. Wing F840
Fell, Margaret	(1660)	A declaration and an information from us the people. Wing F628
Fisher, Samuel	(1656)	The scorned Quaker's second account of his second attempt. Wing F1057
Forster, Mary	(1669)	A declaration of the bountifull loving-kindness of the Lord. Wing F1603
Forster Thomas	(1658)	A winding-sheet for Englands ministry. Wing F1637
Fox, George	(1656)	The woman learning in silence. Wing F1772
Fox, George	(1657)	A testimony of the true light of the world. Wing F1929
Fox, Margaret Askew Fell	(1659)	To the general councel, and officers of the army. Wing F638C
Fuce, Joseph	(1659)	The fall of a great visible idol. Wing F2257A
Gearle, Edmund	(1664)	The three countrey-mens English answers to the Clergy-mens Latine charges. Wing T1085

Gibson, Thomas	(1665)	Something offered to the consideration An act to prevent and suppress. Wing G678
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Gilman, Anne,*	(1663)	To the inhabitants of the earth. Wing G768A
Gotherson, Daniel	(1660)	An alarm to all priests, judges, magistrates. Wing G1351
Gotherson, Dorothea	(1661)	To all that are unregenerated, a call to repentance. Wing G1352
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Howard, Luke	(1659)	The Devils bow unstringed. Wing H2984A
Howgill Mary	(1662)	The vision of the Lord of Hosts. Wing H3192
Howgill, Francis	(1657)	To all you commanders and officers of the army in Scotland. Wing H3183
Howgill, Francis & Burrough, Edward	(1655)	We the servants and faithfull witnesses of the most high God. Wing $B6057\mathrm{A}$
Hubberthorn, Richard*	(1659)	A word of wisdom and counsel to the officers and souldiers. Wing H3242
Iones, Sarah	(1650)	This is lights appearance in the truth to all the precious dear lambs. Wing J989
Killam Margaret & Pattison Barbara	(1656)	A warning from the Lord to the teachers & people of Plymovth. Wing K473
Mason, Martin	(1660)	A faithful warning with good advice from Israel's God. Wing M928
M., R.	(1660-9)	A word to the royalists, or cavelier. Wing M78A
Maylins, Robert*	(1661)	A letter which was delivered to the King on the second day of the second moneth 1660, sent from the Barbadoes. Wing M1447
Mellidge, Anthony*	(1659)	Winchester Prison the 21th day of the 1 month, 59. Wing M1647B
Moon, John *	(1658)	The true light which shines. Wing M2527
Nayler, James & T., W.	(1659?)	In O England, thy time has come. Smith 2.574
Naylor, James	(1661)	Milk for babes: and meat for strong men. Wing N300
Nicholson, B.	(1655)	Truths defence against lies. Wing P387

Norton, Humphrey	(1659)	To all people that speakes of an outward baptisme. Wing N1312A
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Penington, I.	(1660)	Some few queries and considerations proposed to the Cavaliers, being of weighty importance to them. Wing P1194
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Rich, Robert, Fox, George et al.	(1657)	Copies of some few papers given into the House of Parliament in the time of Iames Naylers tryal there. Wing C6080A
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Rofe, George	(1661)	Cherubims, cherubims. Wing R1784
Rogers, Lewis	(1663)	Here is something following of a vision. Wing R1819
Rous, John	(1656)	A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes. Wing R204
Salthouse, Thomas	(1657)	An epistle to the churches of the Anabaptists. Wing S472
Scostrop, Richard	(1661)	A vvord from the Lord to the rulers and inhabitants. Wing S940
Simmonds, Martha & Stranger, Hannah	(1659)	<u>In O England, thy time has come</u> . Smith/2.574
Simonds, Thomas	(1656)	The voyce of the just uttered. Wing S3824
Simpson, Richard	(1661)	A brief relation of some of the unjust sufferings of Richard Simpson. Wing S3819
Simpson, William	(1660)	Going naked a signe. Wing S3845
Smith, Humphrey	(1659)	Concerning tithes. Wing S4054
Smith, Humphrey	(1659)	The defence of Humphery Smith, Anthony Melledge.
Smith, Mary	(1667)	Wing S4056  These few lines are to all such as have an hand. Wing S4130
Smith, William	(1669)	A few words unto a particular people. Wing S4302
Stockdale, William	(1659)	The doctrines and principles: the persecution. Wing W1191
Stoddard, Amos et al.	(1655)	Something written in answer to a lying scandalous book.
Strutt, James	(1659)	Wing S5707  A declaration to the whole world. Wing S6017
Swinton, John	(1663)	A testimony from the Lord. Wing S6287
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al. Thornton, Samuel*	1670)	A tender salutation to the seed. Wing T1060
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M.W. [Watkins, Morgan]	(1665)	Very many hath been the testimonies of truth. Wing W1071
Waters, Margaret	(1670)	A warning from the Lord to the inhabitants of this earth. Wing W1058
Watkinson, George	(1661)	A warning to the inhabitants of the earth. Wing W1078
Web, Christian	(1659)	A warning to all such who are making a profession of God. Wing W1196
Web, Mary	(1659)	I being moved of the Lord. Wing W1205
West, Robert	(1668)	A discovery of Sathan. Wing W1388
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White, Dorothy	(1660)	Unto all Gods host in England. Wing W1757
White, Dorothy	(1661)	A lamentation unto this nation. Wing W175
Whitehead, Ann	(1670)	For the King and both houses of Parliament. Wing W1884
Whitehead, George	(1660)	A brief account of the illegal proceedings. Wing W1895
Whitehead, George	(1665)	This is an epistle for the remnant of Friends. Wing W1963
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Wilkinson, Bryan	(1659)	To the present authority of Parliament. Wing W2217
Wills, Daniel	(1662)	A few quaeries to Simon Ford priest. Wing W2864
Willyer, Lawrence	(1658)	O inhabitants of the earth, hear the word of the Lord. Wing W2882
Wollrich, Humphry*	(1659)	A plaine, and good advice to the Parliament-men. Wing W3297
Wollrich, Humphry*	(1661)	To all Presbiterian ministers, who own themselves. Wing $W3300$
Zachary, Thomas	(1660)	A word to all those who have bin convinced of the truth. Wing $Z3$

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Barclay, Robert	(1676)	The anarchy of the ranters, and other libertines. Wing B718
Bathhurst, Charles et al.	(1695)	Truth vindicated, by the faithful. Wing B1137
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Bourne, Edward	(1679)	A few words to those who look for another dispensation. Wing $B3846B$
Bourne, Edward	(1682)	An epistle to Friends. Wing B3846A
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Coleman, Nathaniel	(1682)	An epistle to be in the assemblages of Gods people. Wing C5047
Collens, John	(1685)	A lamentation taken up for the churchs of the Anabaptists. Wing C5232
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Dole, Dorcas	(1685)	A salutation of my endeared love to the faithful in all places. Wing D1836
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Fawcet Margaret et al.	(1691)	In "Truth Exalted", The Testimony of several Women-Friends in Cumberland concerning the life and death of our dear Friend and brother in the Lord, John Burnyeat. Wing B5968
Feddeman, John	(1699)	A demonstration, that Hen. Meriton, John Meriton and Lau. Park, priests, of the country of Norfolk, in confederacy with Francis Bugg, were the challengers; and not the Quakers. Wing F600B
Fell, L.	(1676)	A testimony and warning. Wing F625
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Forster, Thomas	(1676)	A guide to the blind pointed to. Wing F1609

Fuller, Abraham	(1687)	The testimony of Abraham Fuller concerning the death of his son Joseph. Wing F2381A
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Heywood, John	(1684)	A friendly perswation, and Christian exhortation. Wing H1756A
Ingram, William et al.	(1685)	A testimony of love. Wing T816
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Key, Leonard	(1684)	The lybeller carracterizd [sic], or a hue and cry sent after him. Wing K383B
London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends)	(1696)	The ancient testimony and principle of the people called Quakers renewed with respect to the king and government. Wing A3073
Marshall, Charles	(1680)	A general epistle to Friends, and professors of the truth. Wing M740A
Martindell, Anne	(1680)	A relation of the labour, travail and suffering of that faithful servant of the Lord Alice Curwen. Wing M857
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Pusey, Caleb	(1675)	A serious & seasonable warning unto all people. Wing P4250
Raunce, John	(1692)	For G.P., or the author of a little book entituled, Just measures. Wing R321
Redford, Elizabeth	(1696)	A warning, a warning from the Lord, in mercy to the people. Wing R661
Richardson, Richard	(1677)	To the anti-Quaker misorcus concerning oaths. Wing R1399
[R.R.] Richardson, Richard	(1681)	A few ingredients against the venom in William Roger's book. Wing R1394
Richardson, R.	(1682-3)	A declaration against wigs or periwigs. Wing R1393
Rudyard, Thomas	(1674)	The Anabaptists printed proposals. Wing R2175
Salmon, William *	(1674)	William Salmon's answer to Jeremiah Ives's request. Wing S420
Salmon, William	(1674)	An apology for the innocency and justice. Wing S421
Sandilands, Mary	(1696)	A tender salutation of endeared love. Wing S654

Sandilands, Robert	(1683)	Good counsel with a seasonable warning to all the inhabitants of Wells. Wing S659
Sankey, William	(1689)	An exhortation to friends in and about the county of Worcester. Wing S684
Sharpe Anthony et al.	(1691)	In "Truth Exalted", A Testimony of several Friends in Ireland, in whose Hearts it sprung, and who gave it forth in the behalf of our Dear Brother John Burnyeat. Wing B5968
Shewen, William	(1686)	A brief testimony against tale-bearers, whisperers. Wing S3418
Sixmith, Bryan	(1676)	The unskilful skirmisher rebuked for blasphemy. Wing S3924
Sleigh, Joseph	(1696)	Good advice and counsel, given forth by Joseph Sleigh. Wing S3992
Smith, Richard *	(1675)	To professors of religion of all sorts. Wing S4161
Snead, Richard, et al.	(1681)	Dear Friends all unto whom this may come. Wing S4389
Songhurst, John	(1680)	A testimony of love and good vvill unto all them. Wing S4687
Steel, Laurence	(1678)	Unto the youth of our friends (called Quakers) in the city of Bristol. Wing U102
Stirredge, Elizabeth & Dole, Dorcas	(1683)	A salutation of my endeared love in God's holy fear and dread. Wing S5685A
Tomkins, John	(1695)	A brief testimony to the great duty of prayer. Wing T1831
Townsend, Theophila	(1687)	A word of counsel, in the love of God. Wing T1990
Townsend, Theophila	(1690)	An Epistle of tender love to all friends. Wing T1988
Travers, Rebecca et al.	(1677)	The work of God in a dying maid, being a short account of the dealings of the Lord with one Susanna Whitrow. Wing W2039
Tyso, John	(1683)	An answer to a dark confused paper. Wing T3593
Vokins, Joan	(1687)	A tender invitation. Wing V687
Waite, Richard	(1683)	The widdows mite cast into the treasury of the Lord God. Wing W225
Waldenfield, Samuel & Rallett, John	(1680)	A tender salutation to the flock of God in Ireland. Wing W291
White, Dorothy	(1684)	A salutation of love to all the tender hearted, who follow the Lamb. Wing W1752
Willsford, John	(1680)	A few words in love to all those bishops. Wing W2870
Winn, Deborah et al.	(1690)	From our yearly meeting at York. Wing F2240A
Wood, Hugh	(1684)	A brief treatise of religious womens meetings. Wing W3393
Yeamans Isabel	(1679)	An invitation of love. Wing Y20
Yearly Meeting of Women Friends York	(1696)	From the Women's Meeting dated York, 1696. Wing F2242A

# Anti-Quaker corpus

Bohun, Edmund	(1685)	An apologie for the Church of England against the clamours of the men of no-conscience. Wing B3447
Faldo, John	(1673)	Quakerism no Christianity. Clearly and abundantly proved. Wing (2nd ed.) F302
Gauden, John	(1662)	A discourse concerning publick oaths, and the lawfulness of swearing in judicial proceedings. Wing G352. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.198
Hall, Ralph	(1656)	<b>Qvakers principles quaking, or, Pretended light proved</b> <b>darkness.</b> Wing H423. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.54
Hedworth, Henry	(1672)	The spirit of the Quakers tried, according to that discovery it hath made of it self in their great prophet. Wing H1352. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.222
Ives, Jeremiah	(1656)	<b>Innocency above Impudency.</b> Wing (2nd ed.) I1102. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.243
Ives, Jeremiah	(1656)	The Quakers quaking: or, The Foundation of their Deceit shaken. Wing (2nd ed.) I1103. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.243
Leslie, Charles	(1696)	A discourse proving the divine institution of water-baptism wherein the Quaker-arguments against it. Wing L1128
Leslie, Charles	(1698)	<b>Primitive heresie revived.</b> Wing L1140. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.269
Miller, Joshua	(1655)	Antichrist in man the Quakers Idol. Wing M2061. Smith Anti- Quakeriana, p.291
Misorcus	(1676)	The anti-Quaker, or, A compendious answer to a tedious pamphlet. Wing A3506. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.292
Moore, Thomas Jun	(1655)	An antidote against The spreading Infections of the spirit of Antichrist. Wing M2597. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.293
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Norris, John	(1692)	<b>Two treatises concerning the divine light.</b> Wing N1276. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.339
Pennyman, John	(1680)	A bright shining light discovering the pretenders to it. Wing P1404. Smith 2.368
Prynne, William	(1655)	The quakers unmasked, And clearly detected to be but the Spawn of 'Romish Frogs. Wing (2nd ed.) P4047. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.371
Thomas, William	(1656)	Rayling Rebuked: or, A Defence of the ministers of this nation. Thomason/E.883[5]. Smith Anti-Quakeriana, p.422
Winterton, T	(1655)	The qvaking prophets. Two wayes proved false prophets. Wing (2nd ed.) W3093

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Barclay, Robert	(1678)	An apology for the true Christian divinity. Wing B721
Barclay, Robert	(1696)	Baptism and the Lord's Supper substantially asserted. Wing B742A
Burrough, Edward	(1661)	A discovery of divine mysteries. Wing B5999
Fox, George	(1661)	Some principles of the Elect People of God. Wing F1907
Fox, George	(1678)	A short epistle to Friends to keep in the power of God. Wing (2nd ed.) F1905A
Fox, George	(1688)	A testimony for God's truth first. Wing (2nd ed.) F1928
Keith, George	(1668)	Immediate revelation, or, Jesus Christ the eternall Son of God revealed in man. Wing K175
Keith, George	(1687)	The benefit, advantage and glory of silent meetings. Wing K145
Penington, Isaac	(1659)	The Axe laid to the root of the old corrupt tree. Wing (2nd ed.) P1152
Penington, Isaac	(1661)	Some questions and answers for the opening of the eyes of the Jews. Wing P1201
Penington Isaac	(1666 - 71)	In "Works": Epistles: To Friends in and about the two Chalfonts; From my present place of confinement in Aylesbury; To Friends in truth, in and about the two Chalfonts; For Friends of our meeting, and thereabouts; To Friends in Truth, in Chalfont, and thereabouts. Wing P1149
Penington, Isaac	(1672)	The holy truth & people defended. Wing P1172
Penington, Isaac	(1678)	The everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed effects thereof. Wing P1165
Penn, William	(1669)	No cross, no crown, or, Several sober reasons against hat- honour. Wing P1327
Penn, William, et al	(1675)	A treatise of oaths containing several weighty reasons why the people call'd Qvakers refuse to swear. Wing (2nd ed.) P1388
Penn, William	(1693)	Some fruits of solitude in reflections (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wing (2nd ed.) P1368
Penn, William	(1694)	The preface [to Fox's Journal], being a summary account of the divers dispensations of God to men, from the beginning of the world to that of our present age, by the ministry and testimony of his faithful servant George Fox. Wing (2nd ed.) P1341
Penn, William	(1695)	<b>Tender counsel and advice by way of epistle.</b> (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wing P1378

# SUPPLEMENTARY PRIMARY LITERATURE

Barclay, R.	(1676)	The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines. London
Ellwood, T.	(1691)	A reply to an answer lately published to a book long since written by W.P. entituled 'A brief examination and state of liberty spiritual'. (Wing E624)
Farnsworth, R.	(1655)	The pure language of the spirit of truth set forth for the confounding false languages, acted out of pride, ambition and deceit. Or, thee and thou, in its place, is the proper language to any single person whatsoever.  London: Printed for Giles Calvert. (Wing F494)
Fell, M. et al	(1660)	A declaration and an information, from us the People of God called Quakers. London. Wing F628
Fox, G.	(1659)	A Primer for the Schollers and Doctors of Europe: But Especially to Them in and About the (Called) Two Famous Universities in England, Oxford and Cambridge. London
Fox, G.	(1660)	"Epistle 191", In Gould, M (1831). A collection of many select and Christian epistles, letters and testimonies, written on sundry occasions, by that ancient, eminent, faithful Friend and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox. Vol 1. Philadelphia
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Fox, G. and Hookes, E.	(1673)	Instructions for right spelling and plain direction for reading and writing true English. London
Symonds, T.	(1656)	The voyce of the just uttered. London (Wing S3824)
Howgill, F.	(1654)	<b>Letter to Robert Widders</b> , Swarthmore MSS, i.89 (Friends House Library)
Zachary, Thomas	(1660)	A word to all those who have bin convinced of the truth. Wing Z3

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ZEN, Zurich English Newspaper Corpus

http://es-zen.unizh.ch