QUAKER STUDIES 17/1 (2012) [27–47]
ISSN 1363-013X

EARLY QUAKER BROADSIDES CORPUS: A CASE STUDY

Judith Roads
University of Birmingham, England

ABSTRACT

A small electronic corpus of seventeenth-century Quaker texts in prose broadside format, published between 1658 and 1675, was subjected to linguistic analysis. Comparisons are made with similar non-Quaker broadside texts as well as wider Quaker writings. The study looks into pragmatic functions and organisation of the early Quaker broadsides as well as certain surface linguistic structures. Evidence is thus provided for aspects of the Quaker writers' message in England. This was an expression of urgency and prophetic warnings of the danger of not turning to the Truth as the Quakers experienced it. The texts are shown to have been written in a strikingly direct personal communicative style, more evident in the broadsides even than in the Quaker texts found in a wider electronic corpus.

KEYWORDS

Seventeenth-century, prose broadsides, language, corpus analysis.

> 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: Vol 1, Part 1, Preface)

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on a linguistic case study of a small corpus of broadside texts extracted from a digital corpus of a variety of Quaker tracts published between 1655 and 1699, all held at the *Library of the Religious Society of Friends* in London. There are eighteen such texts, written by seventeen different authors (two are by Humphery Wollrich) in the corpus published between 1658 and 1675; this was during the period of the collapse of the English Commonwealth and the eventual restoration of the monarchy in 1660. This sub-corpus of Quaker broadside texts

(26,871 words) was compared for analysis to a newly created digital corpus (27,495 words) of a range of prose broadsides by non-Quakers. The main Quaker corpus, minus the eighteen broadside texts (374,382 words approximately), is used as a further comparator, along with selected texts from two other available corpora of Early Modern English texts, covering the same period. These are known respectively as the Helsinki and the Lampeter corpora. Word counts for the relevant texts that are contemporary with the Quaker broadsides are: Helsinki corpus (169,479 words approximately) and Lampeter (954,561 approximately). The non-Quaker broadsides cannot be said to be representative but are randomly selected to conform to the date range of the Quaker broadsides.

The present study is part of a larger enquiry into aspects of early Quaker prose style and to my knowledge is the first such study to use electronic concordance techniques for the analysis of Quaker writing. Many other enquiries into historical linguistic data, not only of English, are now in print; for example, see Cecconi (2009), Hiltunen and Skaffari (2003), Jucker (2009), Rissanen *et al.* (1993), to select just a few out of the prolific range of studies in this fast-growing discipline. However, almost nothing has been published on the language and discourse of early English prose broadside texts (see McShane 2009). Details of the design and content of the Helsinki and the Lampeter corpora can be accessed via the links contained in the list of references at the end of this article. For comparison with the Quaker corpus, only those texts contemporary with the Quaker tracts have been used.

The purpose in attempting a study of the Quaker broadsides (henceforth QBS) is twofold. First, a manageably compact collection of texts written by seventeen Quakers of the mid-seventeenth century allows for a more detailed manual investigation of complete texts than would be the case using electronically produced word lists and concordance lines. This is so even though the immediate contexts (a few words to the right and left of the node word) are retrievable within the software. Lexis (vocabulary), grammar and syntax are all included in the study but only where quantitative analysis has already proved to be fruitful. Secondly, the prose broadside as a text type seems to have received very little attention to date. Within the wider Quaker corpus there is a great diversity of publication types, authors, text types and communicative purposes; this case study attempts to throw light on to at least one of these types, namely the prose broadside. The question addressed here is: What can the present enquiry tell us about Quaker prose writing of this important period of both English and Quaker history?

The QBSs were analysed first at a discourse level according to the following four categories: structure of the texts and the visual layout; cohesion; personal pronouns; aspects of verb form and use. This brought to light several features that required more detailed analysis through quantitative studies. The two broad language categories covered are:

- certain specific aspects of verb use
- the use of the interjection '*Oh*' and '*O*' (also found to be more frequent that expected).

Inferences about the immediacy of the style employed by these seventeen writers are discussed along with considered answers to the question posed above. Comparisons are then made with contemporary seventeenth-century broadsides (henceforth non-QBS).

BROADSIDES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Broadsides (or 'broadsheets') are single sheets of paper printed on one side only and forming one large page or half-page. They 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 by the likes of councillors and lord mayors. Often they were legalistic in tone and purpose. During the seventeenth century people started to use the format for political or religious agitation; many of them 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) and on the website of the National Library of Scotland. Broadsides were so inexpensive they were frequently seen as common property and were shared, borrowed, and taken off walls where they had been pinned up and passed on. They could be read aloud to a group of people, perhaps with non-readers standing around, in a public area (see Walsham 1994: 34, cited in Cecconi 2009: 140). McShane (2009: n.p.) paints a picture of the widespread existence of broadsides in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain:

> An amazing variety of broadside products cluttered up the streets and infiltrated lives in early modern England. The physical nature of the broadside enabled it to function spatially, visually and aurally, reaching socially broad and numerous audiences. Yet the traditional cost of a broadside, a penny, did not change over three centuries of the early modern period. What was 'popular' and what was possibly an 'instrument of social domination', foisted on audiences by educational and social elites, in this context?

As we shall see, the Quaker campaign was neither popular nor a product foisted by a social elite.

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 of the proportion of official documents to ballads, political or religious material that has come down to us. A very rough estimation of the 611 broadsides (ballads and other verse as well as prose) on the EEBO (Early English Books Online) website for the period 1655–75 indicates approximately 46% (285 items) from official sources and approximately 8% from Quaker sources (49). The *RSoF Library* at Friends House, London, holds

approximately 140 Quaker items catalogued as broadsides and published between 1655 and 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 (see Green and Peters 2002: 75). The state censor Roger L'Estrange carried out extensive searches for the next decade and beyond, and Friends needed to exercise more self-censorship (Green and Peters 2002: 75). As many publications, especially broadsides, were unlicensed they needed to be anonymous. It is all the more surprising therefore to find that all the eighteen broadsides in the QBS are by a single, named individual though the printer's name is always omitted.

The eighteen QBS in the present sub-corpus range in size from 11"×7" to 14"×10". Other broadsides of the period in Friends House Library, not in the present sub-corpus, can be as large as 23"×14"; for example, *To Parliament now sitting at Westminster* (1659), which, being printed on better quality paper and with the embellishment of some red ink, is an uncharacteristically expensive Quakers publication for its time. According to Green and 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*. Green (2000: 411) explains that 'the genre had been adopted by Baptists and Quakers as a means of stating their case to their supporters and to a wider constituency who came across their "letters"'. The broadside holdings in the Friends House Library, as well as those held elsewhere, are therefore of real interest in the context of the present study.

THE TWO BROADSIDE SUB-CORPORA IN THE CASE STUDY

Each of the Quaker texts except one is signed by one named individual and the exception is the broadside tract which, rather than the Friend's full name, simply has the initials F.B. printed at the foot. Unlike many of the pamphlets, there are no broadsides with 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; seventeen of them come from the main broadside area of EEBO and the remaining eleven are taken from the Thomason collection. Thus in all there are twenty-eight texts and most of them are considerably shorter than the QBS. The full bibliographic list for both broadside sub-corpora are listed at the end of this paper.

A close study of the eighteen Quaker examples, plus a visual inspection of many other broadsides held at Friends House Library, indicates the following characteristics likely to be found in a typical Quaker broadside. The list is matched with examples from the twenty-eight non-Quaker prose broadside texts used as a comparator for this case study; these listed characteristics should in no way be seen as exhaustive features.

Table 1

Quaker broadside characteristics	Non-Quaker broadside characteristics
printed on just one side of a folio or half-folio sheet in roman type and on cheap paper.	printed on just one side of a folio or half-folio sheet in roman type and on cheap paper.
from just a single author signed at the foot of the page.	signed by authority, professional person (legal) or occasional private individual. Sometimes anonymous.
address a group directly, e.g. a local or national community; priests or scholars, rulers, magistrates or the 'government'.	sometimes address a group directly, or to authority if there is a grievance; otherwise to the general public as readership.
has required the printer to fit as much text as possible into the allotted space—very little 'white space' allowed.	sometimes well-set out and more expensive-looking, including pictures and coloured text. Often much 'white space'.
starts with a clear opening salutation to the ostensible readership and a short but simply expressed closing section.	if from authority, then impressive headings with heraldry and woodcut images; otherwise simpler heading.
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.	frequently, decorated initial letter.
probably between 1,000 and 2,000 words long.	often quite short, especially proclamations. Corpus has texts between 360-3,000 words.
explains the 'better', Quaker way of spiritual practice.	numerous and diverse communicative purposes.
persuades or warns the reader(s) and probably demonstrates some injustice or suffering.	
quotes often from the Bible, probably woven into the text.	

This list covers the visual aspects of the publication type. The discourse organisation and linguistic aspects are covered in the following section.

RESULTS OF DISCOURSAL AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSES OF QUAKER BROADSIDE TEXTS

The purpose of the analysis of the broadsides is twofold. On the one hand it seems important to establish whether the QBS sub-texts are merely a version of seventeenth-century Quaker prose texts or whether there is something distinctive

about the Quaker broadsides as a text type. On the other hand there is an equal necessity to attempt to establish whether seventeenth-century prose broadsides, whatever the provenance, have a distinctiveness compared to the wider variety of text types found within the Helsinki and Lampeter corpora. Comparisons made in this section, therefore, address these two aims, although the QBS are the primary focus of the investigation. From the findings, the following aspects of discourse functions are indicated in the QBS:

1) 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** (in the seventeenth-century sense of 'now'). Action is required on the part of the reader(ship).
3) prophetic communication.

Additionally, some aspects of Quaker prose style of this period are found here in greater concentration than in the Quaker corpus as a whole, notably the distinctive syntax of the community of Quaker writers and the preference for figurative writing. The case study allows these features to be studied and revealed with more clarity than is feasible when faced with a large body of texts. The results have been obtained through a combination of working by hand from the paper texts as well as through the usual corpus linguistic tools of concordancing data and frequency lists. As stated above, the Helsinki and Lampeter sub-corpora provide comparison data where relevant, and a small sub-corpus of religious texts from within the Lampeter selection has been isolated and used as a second comparator, again only where relevant. This Lampeter sub-corpus contains approximately 135,400 words. Aspects 1) to 3), listed above, will be expanded upon using the quantitative data as supporting evidence.

VISUAL LAYOUT OF THE QBS

A general comparison of the appearance, layout and discourse structure of the broadsides is offered here, although it must be reiterated that printers and writers used a great variety in all of these and one should not over-generalise from this case study corpus. 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'; clearly in the seventeenth century there were different ideas about what would be eye-catching. 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. All the broadsides in the QBS are signed by single individuals, albeit brave ones, since those Friends would have been unlicensed to publish at this time and therefore aware of contravening the law.

The visual blocking of the broadside was probably chosen by the printer. 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. In contrast, the non-QBS have a more professional appearance, the official ones may be in black letter type[1] (with a 'gothic font' appearance), some have detailed pictures from woodcuts and are set out pleasingly. Those broadsides 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 some of the QBS. The texts are more conventionally organized, with paragraphing used for all but the shortest texts and proclamations.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIVE STYLE

Several initial searches of the QBS corpus, using Wordsmith Tools 5.0, indicated that promising insights might be revealed as to the communicative style of the writers. A series of searches, for instance, was carried out on personal pronoun use listed below and found in the QBS; these were compared with findings in the wider Quaker corpus (Q non-BS):

- *I, me, my, mine*
- *thou, thee, thy, thine*
- *he, him, his*
- *she, her, hers*
- *we, us, our*
- *you, ye, your*
- *they, them, their*
- *it*

The reflexive '*self / selves*' was not specifically included since early modern English practice was to print these as separate words, for example '*not only for* ***my self***' and thus these items are captured automatically by the concordance software. These scores are summarised in Table 2, normed to per 1,000, with actual occurrences in brackets. Table 2 subsumes all the pronoun cases under each individual heading (thus for example: *I* includes all occurrences of *I, me, my, mine*.)

Table 2

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	Lampeter (only religious texts)
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)
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)
it	7.8 (212)	7.6 (211)	9.2 (3,588)	10.5 (1,422)
thou/you combined	**39.6 (1,065)**	**5.8 (165)**	**31 (12,089)**	**11.3 (1,545)**

The results *she, they* and *it* offer no particular insights other than the expected seventeenth-century fact of the invisibility of the female—though slightly less so from the Quaker and other religious communities. However, what is interesting is the high frequency in the QBS of the first person singular: 10.0 compared with 3.0 for the two normed broadside scores. If the scores for the second person person *thou* and *you* are combined, we arrive at 39.6 compared with 5.8. This supports the impression of immediacy of the communicative purpose of the Quaker broadsides. The Q non-BS only yields 31.0 and the religious sub-corpus 11.3. The Quaker broadsides 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 self-referencing device of an 'author present' style as opposed to the impersonal 'author not present' and the reduced use of personal pronouns or increased frequency of alternative structures such as '*it*' / '*they*' or a generalised '*we*'. An examination in the QBS of the appearance of '*I*' / '*me*', also noting the location of the **first** instance of the author specifically as 'I' yields the following:

	Location	Number
Author present ('*I*' / '*me*')	- near or at the start:[2]	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 surrounding 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*' / '*us*' is used possibly at

an earlier stage to stand for a Quaker community or all those who have been 'convinced'. The pronoun '*we*' is found to include the monarch—the 'royal we'—in a few of the non-QBS and, 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 can be understood to be probably speaking for many. This typifies the Quaker principle of speaking out as an individual that holds good among the Quaker communities to this day, as is exemplified in the often-quoted passage by Margaret Fell-Fox:

> 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')

It is possible to link this aspect of speaking or writing from personal experience with later expressions of Quakerism, thus detecting the distinctively Quaker sense of personal responsibility in giving and acknowledging ownership of a message, whether that be in writing or in spoken ministry in a present-day unprogrammed Meeting for Worship.

To continue the theme of the vivid personal communicative style of the QBS we next turn to the occurrence in the texts of the pragmatic interjection '*Oh*' / '*O*' in its two variant forms, which appear quite frequently in the QBS. This is evident in a reading of the whole texts, as well as being highlighted through the 'keyword' tool in Wordsmith Tools using initially the whole Quaker corpus as a small reference corpus and then the combined Helsinki and Lampeter corpora. There are two pragmatic functions at work here: the use of the vocative case and as an exclamation. Sometimes the concordance lines show that both functions can be brought together in the same word. There appears to be no correlation between spelling 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 from a historical point of view on this linguistic item is quite helpful, especially for literary texts (see Shiina 2005 whose work is based on a corpus of Early Modern English comedies). Culpeper and Kytö (2000), also investigating speech-related language—which is primarily either fiction or verbatim transcriptions of speech—offer useful insights in their Chapter 10. They refer to *Oh / O* 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 (2000: 238). Kohnen (2009: 77) found that *Oh / O* 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 3. a) vocative function; b) exclamatory, or exclamatory + vocative functions (normed per 10,000, actual occurrences in brackets)

	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	Helsinki/ Lampeter	Lampeter religious texts
a) vocative *Oh/O*	11.9 (32)	1.0 (3)	5.8 (228)	0.3 (37)	0.4 (6)
b) exclamatory *Oh/O*	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)**	**1.3 (126)**	**2.3 (33)**

Most occurrences of *Oh / O* in the combined Helsinki and Lampeter sub-corpora are found in the religious domain: 33 (see far right column in Table 3); two of the drama-comedy texts: 41 (Farquhar and Vanbrugh); and the diary of Pepys: 32. '*O Lord*' appears as a vocative in the religious context but, unsurprisingly, appears more as an exclamation in the theatrical context. A comparison between both broadside corpora shows higher frequencies of the vocative form compared with the exclamatory use: slightly more in the non-QBS but a much greater gap in the QBS, though the raw figures are too low to merit safe generalisations.

Some examples from the QBS:

Vocative

1) *Therefore,* ***O King****! Suffer not thy Name to be abused, nor the good people under Thee to be made havock of.* (Maylins)

Exclamatory

2) ***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)

Of the 32 actual instances of vocative function in the QBS, all *Oh / O* 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 3 to 6):

Medial position

3) *But so it is,* ***O*** *King, …*
4) *Let thy mind,* ***Oh*** *King, …*
5) *And be it known unto you,* ***O*** *ye rebellious Children, …*

Final position

6) *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 inference from the positioning of this item must be the foregrounding of the expressiveness of the word in the mind of the writer. 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, 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 great variety of emotions is clearly being expressed in this distinctive fashion in the Quaker broadsides in a way that is more evident than in the broader Quaker corpus. Here, it would seem, is the heart of the purpose and expressiveness of the Quaker broadside as a text type.

THE IMMEDIACY AND URGENCY OF '**NOW**', AND ACTION REQUIRED OF THE READER

A collection of linguistic features leads to the interpretation of the urgency of the Quakers' message that was being communicated particularly through their broadsides. Findings in the present data show the high frequency of two verb phrase patterns: *have* + present perfect tense, which will be discussed below, and the progressive aspect, in particular the present progressive which is considered here. The searches excluded any progressive forms that are passive in meaning, a not uncommon feature of the English of this period. One lexical association of the present-day English present progressive aspect according to Biber *et al.* is 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: 460-61)

Table 4 below sets out the relevant data, showing the higher frequencies for most forms of the progressive aspect in the QBS compared with the other sub-corpora, including the other Quaker writings, and especially compared with the non-QBS. Only finite clauses with the full pattern of aux vb + main vb +'*-ing*' are counted (see examples 7 and 8 below). 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 '*will* + '*be*' + '*-ing*' pattern from non-Quaker writers, but the interesting score is the one for the present progressive. Clearly there is a preference by Quaker writers to express immediacy in the 'now', and the QBS writers demonstrate that sense of urgency even more than the wider pamphlet and book set of publications comprising the Quaker core corpus. We cannot tell at this remove from the seventeenth-century whether this really was the intention of the utterer who employed the progressive aspect. Such usage of language certainly conveys a present-day English flavour.

Table 4 (scores normed to per 10,000)

	QBS	**Non-Q BS**	**Q non-BS**	**Helsinki/ Lampeter**	**Lampeter religious texts**
pres. progressive	13.3 (36)	0.3 (1)	10.9 (423)	1.0 (95)	0.2 (28)
past progressive	2.2 (6)	0.7 (2)	0.7 (28)	1.0 (99)	0.2 (27)
pres. perf prog.	0.7 (2)	0 (0)	0.5 (20)	0	0
future BE + 'will'	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)**

Elsness has studied the development over time of the progressive aspect. Working with the Helsinki Corpus, his findings show that 'the overall relative frequency of the progressive increases very markedly from Period I [1500–1570] to Period II [1570–1640], and then it more than doubles from Period II to Period III [1640–1710]' (Elsness 1994: 10). His figures are hard to compare with those of the present study since Period III of the Helsinki Corpus goes far beyond the latest date of 1675 of the Quaker corpus and QBS sub-corpus. One may infer from his results that the rate of frequency of occurrence increased as the eighteenth century approached. His data include no more findings after 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.

Scores for the future progressive are presumably too small to show as a separate category. All the scores for the QBS indicate an increased frequency of this verb form, even allowing for the shorter chronological period. The increase is especially noticeable in the use of the present progressive, even more than for Quaker writing in general.

Examples from the QBS:

[present progressive]
7) *Yet **are** you **treading** in her steps of idolatry.* (F.B.)

[present perfect progressive]
8) *How often **have** you and your Teachers **been reading** and **talking** of loving Enemies?* (Vokins)

USE AND FUNCTION OF THE PRESENT PERFECT ASPECT

This section continues the illustration of the assertion made above concerning the linguistic expression of immediacy in the QBS. Findings for *have* + past participle which forms the present perfect aspect are introduced next. The keyword function in Wordsmith, referred to above, indicated a higher than expected frequency of the pattern *hath* + past participle. Subsequent searches were widened first to include the less archaic *have / has* + past participle; see, for example, Bambas (1998: 70) and Görlach (1991: 89). Kohnen *et al.*'s 2011 study reports useful findings for these word-forms in terms of the changing nature of conservatism in religious registers. Secondly, the searches included instances of the *have*-form as a main verb. Table 5 gives the data for the total instances of the present perfect verb phrase, so that it can be seen that *have* as auxiliary verb in the QBS yields a normed frequency of 10.0 compared with 5.8 in the non-QBS. Although the QBS shows a preference for the less archaic *have/has*, *hath* still occurs more frequently in this pattern than in any of the comparator corpora. The QBS includes instances of *hath* being used for both the singular and the plural for both senses of the verb. The table provides values for auxiliary verb *have* + past participle (pp) combining to form verbs in the present perfect tense, and as main verb.

Table 5 (normed scores per 1,000, actual occurrences in brackets)

HAVE-forms	QBS	Non-QBS	Q non-BS	Helsinki/ Lampeter	Lampeter religious texts
hath (aux + pp)	4.4 (119)	2.1 (58)	2.9 (1,164)	1.1 (1,090)	1.3 (180)
have / *has* (aux + pp)	5.6 (153)	3.7 (104)	4.1 (1,600)	3.6 (3,464)	3.1 (426)
hath (main verb)	0.0 (1)	0.2 (8)	0.5 (195)	0.4 (409)	0.3 (48)
have / *has* (main verb)	1.9 (53)	1.4 (39)	1.7 (666)	2.2 (2,111)	1.8 (255)
Total HAVE-forms (aux + pp)	**10.0 (272)**	**5.8 (162)**	**7.0 (2,763)**	**4.7 (4,554)**	**4.4 (606)**
Total HAVE-forms main vb	**1.9 (54)**	**1.6 (47)**	**2.2 (2,622)**	**2.6 (2,520)**	**2.1 (303)**
Total *hath* (aux or main vb)	**4.4 (120)**	**2.3 (66)**	**3.4 (1,359)**	**1.5 (1,499)**	**1.6 (228)**

Examples from the QBS are:

9) *God … **hath looked down** from Heaven, and **hath beheld** and **seen** how mankind is degenerated.* (Green)
10) *…if we keep to that principle of himself which we know he **hath made known** unto us.* (Brend)

An investigation into why the QBS yields a higher frequency reveals two things: first, that more of the content of the QBS is concerned with what the writers say has taken place recently and needs to be widely circulated to the readership. Biber *et al.* (1999: 467) explain the present perfect aspect in present-day English as [describing] 'a situation that continues to exist up to the present time'. In other words something that happened before now but which is still in being now. 'Most of the verbs that are common [in present-day English] with the perfect aspect denote physical or communicative activities *with consequences that can exist over an extended period of time*. These verbs therefore imply a resultant state in the present' (Biber *et al.* 1999: 465; my italics). As we have seen, the 'consequences' for Quaker writers include literally apocalyptic ones and implications that the present state is dire and temporary. These grammatical findings compare with the more diverse communicative purposes of the non-QBS texts. The second feature of the higher frequency findings mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph is a preference on the part of the authors for using *hath* rather than *have/has* to form the present perfect tense (see examples 9 and 10). *Hath* seems almost never to have been used in a main verb form (as in the invented phrase: ******he hath peace in his heart*). *Be* + main verb was also used as a form of the present perfect tense to a small extent at this period of English, as in the often-quoted phrase by Fox: 'Christ **is come** [= *has come*] to teach his people himself' (Fox, 1655, *A paper for seven Land's End parishes*; in Fox 1952: 236).

PROPHESYING

The next part of this discussion takes the question of the occurrence of auxiliary verbs in the broadsides a step further by highlighting the results of searches on modality.[3] The instances of the modal auxiliary verbs *will, shall, may, would, can / cannot, should, must, might, ought* (in all their conjugated forms) plus their spelling variants, were tested and compared (see Table 6 below). Most results produced not dissimilar scores across the comparisons; however, a greater frequency of *will* and *shall* is evident in the QBS, indicating a concern about the future. A closer inspection shows that the writers are often warning their addressees or prophesying. The QBS seem slightly more concerned to express this function than is indicated in the fuller Quaker corpus. Table 6 gives the data for the future *will/shall* instances (all forms of these auxiliary verbs) as well as a summary of the totals of the other modal auxiliaries listed above. The score that differs from the comparator corpora here is for the total modal auxiliaries found in the non-QBS. This further confirms the informative function of these predominantly official broadside texts.

Table 6 (normed to per 1,000, actual occurrences in brackets)

	QBS	**Non-QBS**	**Q non-BS**	**Helsinki/ Lampeter**	**Lampeter religious texts**
will	6.7 (182)	2.5 (69)	4.3 (1,678)	3.1 (2,983)	3.1 (429)
shall	3.9 (105)	2.7 (76)	3.8 (1,490)	2.3 (2,198)	2.0 (274)
Total 'future' aux	**10.6 (287)**	**5.2 (145)**	**8.1 (3,168)**	**5.4 (5,181)**	**5.1 (703)**
Total modal aux excluding 'future'	**11.1**	**6.3**	**10.5**	**11.1**	**9.6 (1,300)**

We are concerned here particularly with the auxiliary modals indicating future time. Other modals, for example of obligation, which might be expected to show high frequencies in the non-QBS official texts, actually yield very similar data to the QBS. Frequencies for the modal *would* do not include those denoting futurity. Table 7 compares only Quaker broadsides with non-Quaker broadsides for these items. Examples of such prophesying as found in the broadsides are:

11) *This is the Word of the Lord God, that **shall** stand for ever, over the Heads of all the avowed and secret heart-Enemies of Israel.* (Swinton)
12) *For a day there is coming that **wilt** make the keepers of the house tremble.* (Biddle)

Table 7 (values normed per 1,000)

	Q BS	**Non-Q BS**
may	3.4	3.3
would	2.2	1.3
can / cannot	1.8	1.3
should	1.1	1.1
must	1.1	1.0
could	0.6	0.0
might	0.5	0.4
ought	0.4	0.2

SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Although some aspects of the language revealed very similar results across the text types, some elements stood out. The interpretation of these results is that the three areas of linguistic distinctiveness concern that of an urgency of message. This message seeks to inform and change the behaviour and spiritual practice of the readership, both named addressees and the wider public, by reminding them of events in the recent past, and expressing warnings and prophesies about God's present and future actions. The message is delivered in a personal, often speech-like style which carries a flavour of immediacy. Other aspects of the Quakers' message and style did not show up in the data as particularly distinctive compared with their other publication types.

CONCLUSIONS

Very little scholarship has been undertaken until recently on the seventeenth-century prose broadside as a text type. Quakers have been unusual in their decision to archive so many of these ephemera and no previous detailed study has been carried out on the Quaker ones, certainly not from a linguistic point of view.

The original purpose of the case study was to enable a discrete and manageable sub-section of the Quaker corpus by isolating the eighteen broadsides, then to use this sub-corpus to draw out any distinctive aspects of the linguistic style and communicative purpose of the texts though the techniques of corpus analysis. The data indicate that these broadsides are principally functioning as argument or exhortative texts; the purpose is clearly personal and direct. The communicative style of the message 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; ET 1937). Each broadside text is written by a single, named Friend with his or her own style but can be said to be distinctively 'Quaker' in a number of respects.

It must be remembered that these findings cannot be seen as representative of the whole body of early Quaker prose writings; the data have revealed similarities but also interesting differences. The differences were brought to light through several particular linguistic features, providing a snapshot of the nature of the broadsides under discussion. The stance of the writers is important and is evidenced by some of the language they used, both at the lexico-grammatical level and at the level of discourse. It is possible that the Quaker broadside production was influenced by the prose and verse broadside text types they were adapting for their own religious and radical purposes, but they brought their own distinctive prose writing style and adapted a cheap print production type for their own style of campaigning—a feature of Quaker life that was to continue to the present day. Further research investigating later broadside texts and also a much larger corpus of non-Quaker broadsides could prove useful in putting more flesh on these preliminary case-study findings.

PRIMARY SOURCES

QUAKER BROADSIDES (QBS)

Author	Wing	Date	Title
Moon	M2527	1658	The true light which shines in the heart
Hubberthorn	H3242	1659	A word of wisdom and counsel to the officers and souldiers
Mellidge	M1647B	1659	Winchester Prison the 21th day of the 1 month, 59
Wollrich	W3297	1659	A plaine, and good advice to the Parliament-men, and Officers of the Army
Biddle	B2866A	166–	Wo to thee town of Cambridge
Clayton	C4608B	1660	A letter to the king
F.B.	B64	1660	To all that observe dayes
Green	G1812A	1661	Good council and advice unto all professors
Maylins	M1447	1661	A letter which was delivered to the King… From the Barbados
Wollrich	W3300	1661	To all Presbiterian ministers, who own themselves to be Ministers of Christ's Gospel
Gilman	G768A	1663	To the inhabitants of the earth
Brend	B4359A	1664	Oh ye magistrates in and about this city of London
Swinton	S6284	1664	Heaven and earth, sea and dry land
Crisp	C6944	1666	A word in due season, or, Some harvest meditations
Thornton	T1060	1670	A tender salutation to the seed
Vokins	V686	1671	A loving advertisement unto all those who joyn together to persecute the innocent
Salmon	S420	1674	William Salmon's answer to Jeremiah Ives's request
Smith, R.	S4161	1675	To professors of religion of all sorts

NON-QUAKER BROADSIDES (NON-QBS)

Author or Provenance	Reel no:	Date	Title
Jeffery Corbet	Thomason/ 247.669.f.20.[37.]	1656	The protestant's warning-piece: or the humble remonstrance of Jeffery Corbet
Thomas Tookey	Thomason/ 247.669.f.20.[27.]	1656	The visible porch or known entrance into a Church or Christian Fellowship
Sadler	Wing /L2864H	1657	My Lord Mayor and this Court of Aldermen
George Booth	Thomason/ 247.669.f.21.[66.]	1659	A letter from Sir George Booth to a friend of his
[Dr. Barber]	Thomason/ 247.669.f.21.[32.]	1659	The humble petition of divers inhabitants of the county of Hertford…
William Prynne Esq.	Thomason/ 247.669.f.21.[42.]	1659	The new cheaters forgeries, detected, disclaimed
Anon.	Thomason/ 247.669.f.21.[26.]	1659	Twelve plain proposals offered to the honest and faithful officers and souldiers…

George Monck	Wing /A851	1660	A letter from the General Monck
Anon.	Wing/S4475	1660	Some arguments against filling up the Parliament with new members
W.P.	Wing/P132	1660	A letter from Ireland to an honourable citizen of London…
John Griffith *et al.*	Thomason/ 247.669.f.22.[67]	1660	A declaration of some of those people in or near London, called Anabaptists
Thomas Fanshawe *et al.*	Thomason/ 247.669.f.24.[72.]	1660	A declaration of the Knights and Gentry of the county of Hertford
Anon.	Thomason/ 247.669.f.22.[62.]	1660	A sober and serious representation to such as or may be in power…
Anon.	Thomason/ 247.669.f.26.[31.]	1660	A true and perfect relation of the Grand Traytors execution…
J.H. [James Howell]	Wing/H56A	1661	A cordial for the Cavaliers
Ireland. Lords Justices & Council	Wing/I714	1661	Whereas at the Parliament holden in this Kingdom
Thomas Grantham *et al.*	Thomason/ 247.669.f.26.[59.]	1661	The second humble addresse of those who are called Anabaptists in the county of Lincoln
Ireland. Lord Deputy & Council	Wing/I616	1665	A proclamation for a thanksgiving for the late victory
Anon.	Wing/C1017	1666	The case of the booksellers and printers stated
A.C.	Wing/A608	1666	Advertisement Be Agnes Campbel, relict of the deceast…Guthrie
Anon.	Wing/C900	1666	The case of Cornelius Bee and his partners…booksellers
Lord Deputy and Council, Dublin	Wing/I743	1668	Whereas by proclamation, bearing date the nineteenth day of June last…
Anon.	Wing/S2025	1670	The Scots demonstration of their abhorrence of Popery
Edward Bushel *et al.*	Wing/1182:15	1670	The case of Edward Bushel, John Hammond…
Anon.	Wing/C940	1670	The case of many coachmen in London and Westminster
Anon.	Wing/B4603	1674	A brief memorial…concerning the making and repairing of Dover Harbour
Joseph Hall	Wing/1332:30	1674	Bishop Hall's sayings concerning travellers
William Perkins	Wing/P1573	1674	The whole duty of Man…table of the ten commandments

APPENDIX

Example 1: Humphrey Wollrich, *A plaine and Good Advice to the Parliament-Men and Officers of the Army* (1659)

A Plaine, and Good ADVICE to the

Parliament-Men, and Officers of the Army,

Of the Common-Wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Given forth in the Name, and Authority, and by the Command of the Lord of Hosts, for them to Read, and consider in the Fear of the Day.

O YE PARLIAMENT OF *ENGLAND!* by whom I moſt Unjuſtly ſuffer, becauſe it is in your Hands, but not in your Hearts to this very day to let the Oppreſſed go free: And though the Lord hath (by putting this power into your Hands) tryed you once more, to ſee whether ye would do as ye have often ſaid; and performe the Vowes which ye have uttered before the Almighty God and good Men, when ye were in trouble. But alas! in this caſe ye have not dealt faithfully, but like *Ephraim*, ye have turned back in the Lords Battell, and turned aſide like a deceitfull Bow: Therefore is the Lord ariſing in his Jealouſie, and in his Anger againſt you, as he hath done againſt yours, and his Enemies. And will the Lord diſown one Perſecuting Government, and ſave another which are walking in their ſteps? Nay, he will not. And though he hath wonderfully been with you, and in your Low condition hath he many a time remembred you, and ſaved you out of their hands that have been too ſtrong for you: And if ever *Iſrael* had cauſe to ſay, (You much more) *Had not the Lord been on our ſide, We, and our little Ones ſhould have been a Prey, and utterly periſhed by our Enemies.* Moreover, the Lord hath ſaved you; and ye are not only a People ſaved by the Lord from outward Enemies; and your Lives, and the lives of your Wives, and your little Ones given you for a prey; but he hath given you alſo the Necks of your Enemies, and thoſe that hated you, come bending before you; and he hath given you goodly Houſes which ye did not build, and Fields for which ye did not labour; not becauſe ye were better than others, but becauſe ye ſhould be a ſhelter to his People, and let his Out-caſt dwell with you: But thus ſaith the Lord, the Lord God Almighty, *Ye alſo have waſted my heritage*: and inſtead of breaking the Jawes of the Wicked, and delivering the Hand of the Innocent, and ſaving the afflicted; and delivering them that were appointed for Deſtruction inſtead hereof, ſaith the Lord Almighty: Ye are ſetting up them that are ſmiting at you, and ſuch as God would have had you to have thrown down, rather than ſtrengthen them by your oppreſſing Lawes which are yet by you maintained, and not thrown down. And though ye have done well in delivering ſome out of Priſon, that for Conſcience towards God, could not maintain a falſe and deceitful Miniſtry; yet ye have not (like *Caleb*, and *Joſhua*) gone through with the work; but ye (like *Iſrael* of old) have been afraid of the People whom the Shield, and ſtrength of the Lord is departed: And ye have not in this thing done wiſely, but very foolihly, and your hearts have not been upright; neither have ye wholly followed the Lord God of *Iſrael*; and many Popiſh Laws are yet in force, and not Repealed by you; by which Lawes, them whom ye have ſet at liberty, may by their perſecutors ſuffer again when they pleaſe. And ſo Friends this is not to do the Lords work faithfully, but deceitfully: ſo We (by You) are not preſerved in the liberty of a pure Conſcience, but rather reſerved for a day of Deſtruction at our Enemies pleaſures. And what have we done? or wherein have we been Treacherous againſt this, or any Government? but that we, who have been, of all people of this Nation Faithfull, and have done you good, (that of God in you ſhall bear us witneſs) for this your Evil dealing towards us, that we, of all men, ſin have little Juſtice from you: And this ye have done againſt the Lord, and againſt his People: and after all Gods goodneſs to you, (in Hypocriſie) ye Proclaimed a day of Feaſting, and Thankſgiving, and there you hearkned to one of your Teachers, that falſly accuſed the Lords People to you, and ſeries to the Magiſtrate, as the old Perſecutors did in the days of the Apoſtles, *Help men of* Iſrael, *theſe men turn the world upſide down.* And ſo your Feaſting is not much better than *Ahabs* Faſting: for ye ſuffered three of us (at your *THANKSGIVING-SERMON*) to be Beaten, only for ſpeaking a few words, in the Name and Authority of the Lord; and two of us lie in *Newgate* now, and ye were Eye-witneſſes of this thing; who of all others ſhould not ſuffer ſuch things to be; yet ye ſuffered us to be beaten before your Eyes, and none of you ſo Valiant for the Lord, as to ſtand up, and deſire to underſtand this thing: but after we were beaten (contrary to all Law) we were violently carried to *Newgate*, and not ſo much as Queen *Maries* Law broken by me; by which Law ſo many of us have loſt both our lives and liberties, being Impriſoned till Death: as if this were not enough, but your Teachers are ſtill ſtirring you up to turn the Sword againſt the Innocent.

And will ye call this a Day of Thankſgiving, or a day Acceptable to the Lord? Nay, nay, God will find you out; and as for Us, we are in Gods hand; and if he command us to cry in the Kings Chappel, or againſt the Heads and Mountains of *Iſrael*, we love not our lives to the Death: and whether we ought to obey God or Man, judge ye, with the ſpirit of the Lord in your Conſciences? And though we are rejected, and our necks under Bondage; and our lives, liberties, and goods Spoiled by you, it being in your power to break in pieces all Perſecution: Yet know, the Lord is Our ſtrength, and Our ſhield; and the Voice of a King is amongſt Us, though ye have with Feaſting, and Pulnelle, ſtrut both your hearts and ears againſt him, and we know the Rock of Ages; and though our lives (by you) may be made bitter to us, yet againſt the tried Stone ſhall ye never prevail; and though ye are building your own Houſes, and Honouring one another, and rejecting him that receives not honour of Men, yet the Lord will honour him, when all your honor lieth in the duſt: for the Lord will yet overturn, overturn, untill he Raign, whoſe right it is to Raign: for Righteouſneſs (of a truth) doth not yet raign among you; neither is the Name of the Lord exalted in *England* to this very day, after all your large Engagements for a GOSPEL-REFORMATION.

And who that fears the *Lord* can be ſilent, to ſee what grievous Oppreſſion, and wicked Tyranny is found in your Priſons; for within this three weeks, there is three poor debtors in *Newgate* periſhed for want of Bread; while you, after all your Vows and Promiſes to eaſe Oppreſſion, are conſuming many hundreds in Feaſting: And in this Priſon, where men are caſt, pretending that they ſhall pay their Debts; which thing ought to be done, but the *Lord* hath a Controverſie with you: for thoſe things are done, and ye ſuffer them, which ought not to be ſuffered among you, who have before the *Lord* Engaged to take off all Oppreſſion, which was in your Power.

They are moſt grievouſly oppreſſed, being conſtrained to pay ten ſhillings and ſix pence a week for a poor bed; to that the Fy-fees, and ſuch things are utterly ruined, and made altogether unable either to pay depts, or to redeem themſelves out of perpetuall Slavery, and this is ſuffered by you, in whoſe days we had cauſe given us, by your large promiſes to hope that true Judgement, and Juſtice ſhould have ſtreamed down our ſtreets: Therefore Friends, before it be too late, conſider whether this is to performe that which your mouths have uttered when ye were in trouble and diſtreſs: But if you do not throughly amend your wayes, and your doings, the Lord will not long ſuffer you, who will not ſuffer the Lamb to rule amongſt you; yet the Lord ſtandeth in the Congregation of the Mighty, yea, he judgeth amongſt the Gods.

Therefore, deal with the Lord God, to you that rule this oppreſſed people, break all oppreſſing Lawes, and fears not the faces of man, But let my Son come out of Spirituall *Egypt*, and let him rule in your hearts, and let every Soul in AUTHORITY be ſubject to the Higher Power, and ſo in Chriſt: Gods Power, and Gods Wiſdom, ye ſhall rule and prevaile as Princes with God and men, and ſo when Chriſt the King of Righteouſneſſe raines in you, he ſhall ſcatter the wicked, and as chaff ſhall they be before you, and your memoriall ſhall not rot, but your names ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance; and you ſhall be as oyntment poured out, and the Lord ſhall command his Strength for you, and your hearts ſhall be as the heart of a Lion; and the everlaſting God ſhall be your refuge, and you ſhall be ſtrengthned by the Arme of the Mighty God of *Jacob*.

But friends, this is the plain truth to you all, that ſo long as the ſpirit in you is grieved, ye will grieve it in others; and ſo long as he is oppreſſed in you, ye will oppreſs his heritage, and make the heart of the righteous ſad: Therefore ye muſt all come to the meaſure of his Spirit, which he hath given every one of you to profit withall, and ye ſhall with it fee, and truly diſcerne, how many Popiſh unprofitable, and wicked Lawes are yet in force: and how do ye grant liberty, when we and our goods are ſpoiled to repair an Heb-Temple, and maintain a falſe Miniſtry which God never ſent, but we are made at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* in the wills of men? therefore, how long ſhall the Lord warn you, that ye do not compell us to drink any longer of the Whors Cup, *Rev.* 17. which hath made all Nations, Multitudes, and all the Kings of the earth Drunke with the wine of her Fornication.

To you this is the word of the Lord, Hate the Whore, the Beaſt, and the falſe Prophet, and lay her deſolate; and give not your ſtrength to them any longer, for if ye go on thus, ye cannot but againſt his people, your ſtrength which he hath commanded for you he will Speedily take away, and ye ſhall be weak as water; ye your mighty men ſhall be as women, and feare in your hearts ſhall ſin priſe you, and God ſhall confound you, as he hara done the perſecutors that went before you; and all your wiſdom and ſtrength ſhall be to deſtroy one another, and you that have been warned ſo often by the Lord in his people: but like *Pharoh* to this day have not broken the bands of oppreſſion, notwithſtanding all Gods goodneſs to you, and your promiſes of reformation to him: O friends! with my ſoul I deſire you do not forget him dayes without number, that hath in your loe condition ſo often remembred you: there is a witneſs in you, that the Lord ſtood by you; ye Commanders of the Army, remember who ſtood by you in *Scotland*, and many a time in *England* hath the Lord aſſiſted up *his* power in you, and your Souls have trodden downe ſtrength; and a ſecret hand, and inward confidence ye have felt, and deliverance hath come ye knew not how your ſelves. Thus the Lord hath been a Father to you when ye were fatherleſſe, and comforteleſſe, yea, when almoſt all the priests in *England* and *Scotland* were preaching you downe, and as one man joyning together againſt you, theſe flatterers are now fed by you with the bread of others that did never thus act; and like *Baals* Prophets which did eat at *Jeſabells* Table, they are crying perſecute, and proſper.

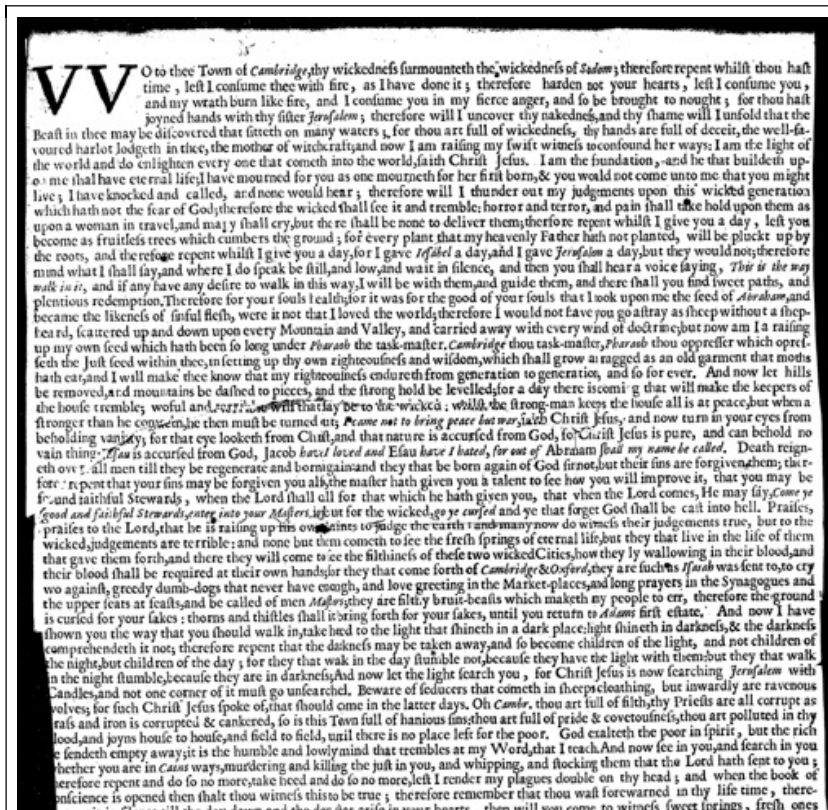
Therefore, in the Name, and Athority of the Lord God of Hoſt, this is a charge to you all, let *Jeſabells* Priests eat at *Jeſabells* Tables: or, who will let meat before them, but do not to ſee, implion, and compell my people to maintaine them any longer, as ye have long done, but let them be left free in their ſpirits, and conſciences, to maintaine whom they in their hearts do believe it is their Duty.

And again, in the name and feare of the Lord I lay it upon you, that ye break all wicked Lawes, and cuſtoms in your priſons, and let no more periſh for want of bread, or not paying of fees when they have nothing to pay. And when I conſider how many of the Lords Servants have been moved of the Lord to write to you, to warne you of theſe things, and of all the perſecution that hath been, and ſtill is in *England*, and all parts of your dominions, yea, this very day of your Thankſgiving, how violently we were abuſed before your eyes, and none ſtood up amongſt you in the Lords behalfe, to ſay ſo much as *Pilate* did, What evil hath theſe men done? and though we were moved of the Lord, and came in his name and Authority to ſpeake, yet ye ſuffer us to be beaten, and carried to Newgate before your eyes; and few ſo moderate as to brasken, but cry, away with them after, I had ſpoken a few words; and ſo condemned me, being Innocent in the ſight of God, and good men: I ſay, conſidering this, I was unwilling to write, nevertheleſſe, I being moved of the Lord to write, I am obedient, and I told you Magiſtrates then, that unleſs ye would quiet the people which pulled me down while I was ſpeaking, I could not be cleare of you in the ſight of the Lord.

H. Wollrich

From Newgate, *the 6 day of the 8 Moneth.*

Example 2: Esther Biddle, *Wo to thee town of Cambridge* (166–)



WO to thee Town of *Cambridge*, thy wickedneſs ſurmounteth the wickedneſs of *Sodom*; therefore repent whilſt thou haſt time, leſt I conſume thee with fire, as I have done it; therefore harden not your hearts, leſt I conſume you, and my wrath burn like fire, and I conſume you in my fierce anger, and ſo be brought to nought; for thou haſt joyned hands with thy ſiſter *Jeruſalem*; therefore will I uncover thy nakedneſs, and thy ſhame will I unfold that the Beaſt in thee may be diſcovered that ſitteth on many waters; for thou art full of wickedneſs, thy hands are full of deceit, the well-favoured harlot Jodgeth in thee, the mother of witchcraft; and now I am raiſing my ſwift witneſs to confound her ways: I am the light of the world and do enlighten every one that cometh into the world, ſaith Chriſt Jeſus. I am the foundation, and he that buildeth upon me ſhal have eternal life; I have mourned for you as one mourneth for her firſt born, & you would not come unto me that you might live; I have knocked and called, and none would hear; therefore will I thunder out my judgements upon this wicked generation which hath not the fear of God; therefore the wicked ſhall ſee it and tremble: horror and terror, and pain ſhall take hold upon them as upon a woman in travel, and may ſhall cry, but there ſhall be none to deliver them; therfore repent whilſt I give you a day, leſt you become as fruitleſs trees which cumbers the ground; for every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted, will be pluckt up by the roots, and therefore repent whilſt I give you a day, for I gave *Jeſabel* a day, and I gave *Jeruſalem* a day, but they would not; therefore mind what I ſhall ſay, and where I do ſpeak be ſtill, and low, and wait in ſilence, and then you ſhall hear a voice ſaying, *This is the way walk in it*, and if any have any deſire to walk in this way, I will be with them, and guide them, and there ſhall you find ſweet paths, and plentious redemption. Therefore for your ſouls health, for it was for the good of your ſouls that I took upon me the feed of *Abraham*, and became the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, were it not that I loved the world; therefore I would not have you go aſtray as ſheep without a ſhepheard, ſcattered up and down upon every Mountain and Valley, and carried away with every wind of doctrine; but now am I a raiſing up my own ſeed which hath been ſo long under *Pharaoh* the task-maſter. *Cambridge* thou task-maſter, *Pharaoh* thou oppreſſer which oppreſſeth the Juſt ſeed within thee, in ſetting up thy own righteouſneſs and wiſdom, which ſhall grow as ragged as an old garment that moths hath eat, and I will make thee know that my righteouſneſs endureth from generation to generation, and ſo for ever. And now let hills be removed, and mountains be daſhed to pieces, and the ſtrong hold be levelled, for a day there is coming that will make the keepers of the houſe tremble; woful and ſorrowful will that day be to the wicked; would the ſtrong-man keep the houſe all is at peace, but when a ſtronger than he comeeth, he then muſt be turned out; *Peace not to bring peace but war*, ſaith Chriſt Jeſus, and now turn in your eyes from beholding vanity, for that eye looketh from Chriſt, and that nature is accurſed from God, for Chriſt Jeſus is pure, and can behold no vain thing: *Eſau* is accurſed from God, Jacob *have I loved and* Eſau *have I hated, for out of* Abraham *ſhall my name be called*. Death reigneth over all men till they be regenerate and bornagain: and they that be born again of God ſin not, but their ſins are forgiven them; therefore repent that your ſins may be forgiven you all, the maſter hath given you a talent to ſee how you will improve it, that you may be found faithful Stewards, when the Lord ſhall call for that which he hath given you, that when the Lord comes, He may ſay, *Come ye good and faithful Stewards, enter into your Maſters*, ſo but for the wicked, *go ye curſed* and ye that forget God ſhall be caſt into hell. Praiſes, praiſes to the Lord, that he is raiſing up his own times to judge the earth: and many now do witneſs their judgements true, but to the wicked, judgements are terrible: and none but them cometh to ſee the freſh ſprings of eternal life, but they that live in the life of them that gave them forth, and there they will come to ſee the filthineſs of theſe two wicked Cities, how they ly wallowing in their blood, and their blood ſhall be required at their own hands for they that come forth of *Cambridge* & *Oxford*, they are ſuch as *Iſaiah* was ſent to, to cry wo againſt, greedy dumb-dogs that never have enough, and love greeting in the Market-places, and long prayers in the Synagogues and the upper ſeats at feaſts, and be called of men *Maſters*; they are filthy bruit-beaſts which maketh my people to err, therefore the ground is curſed for your ſakes: thorns and thiſtles ſhall it bring forth for your ſakes, until you return to *Adams* firſt eſtate. And now I have ſhown you the way that you ſhould walk in, take heed to the light that ſhineth in a dark place; light ſhineth in darkneſs, & the darkneſs comprehendeth it not; therefore repent that the darkneſs may be taken away, and ſo become children of the light, and not children of the night, but children of the day; for they that wak in the day ſtumble not, becauſe they have the light with them; but they that walk in the night ſtumble, becauſe they are in darkneſs: And now let the light ſearch you, for Chriſt Jeſus is now ſearching *Jeruſalem* with Candles, and not one corner of it muſt go unſearched. Beware of ſeducers that cometh in ſheeps cloathing, but inwardly are ravenous wolves; for ſuch Chriſt Jeſus ſpoke of, that ſhould come in the latter days. Oh *Cambr.* thou art full of filth, thy Prieſts are all corrupt as braſs and iron is corrupted & cankered, ſo is this Town full of hanious ſins; thou art full of pride & covetouſneſs, thou art polluted in thy blood, and joyns houſe to houſe, and field to field, until there is no place left for the poor. God exalteth the poor in ſpirit, but the rich he ſendeth empty away; it is the humble and lowly mind that trembles at my Word, that I teach. And now ſee in you, and ſearch in you whether you are in *Cains* ways, murdering and killing the juſt in you, and whipping, and ſtocking them that the Lord hath ſent to you; therefore repent and do ſo no more, take heed and do ſo no more, leſt I render my plagues double on thy head; and when the book of conſcience is opened then ſhalt thou witneſs this to be true; therefore remember that thou waſt forewarned in thy life time, therefore wait in ſilence till the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts, then will you come to witneſs ſweet ſprings, freſh ones of eternal life; but for the wicked they be like the raging Sea that toſſeth to and fro, that caſteth up nothing but mire and dirt: your hearts are full of dirt, and filth, thy pride ſhall become as filthy rags upon the dunghill; therefore ſit down and bethink thee that thou art, thou art but duſt and aſhes; and cannot I kill and make alive, cannot I caſt down and raiſe up, ſpread abroad and bring together? yea, my hands have done all theſe things; I am gathering all my ſheep together, where they have been ſcattered in the darke and cloudy day, I will bring them from under *Pharaoh* that they may have one Maſter, one Shephard, and one ſheepfold I. The true Shepherd will lay down his life for his ſheep; but the hireling will fly when perſecution comes; and therefore will I gather my ſheep out of their mouths, & he that hath an ear let him hear; & therfore will I pour out my judgements upon them, to cut down & burn up, & to deſtroy for it is to the cutting down of pride, of filth, of covetouſns, voluptuouſns, & all wicked ways, & what delight is in the pride of life? thy conſcience accuſe thee, what peace canſt thou have? therefore have I ſent light into the world, but men love darkneſs rather then light, and there is their condemnation. Chriſt Jeſus is the eternal life, and they that cometh to witneſs him in power and glory, cometh witneſs Chriſt Jeſus the ſubſtance, and this light will lead thee out of all forms & ſhaddows, & in it thou will come to ſee all things have an end but Chriſt Jeſus, and he endureth for ever; and therefore build upon him that endureth for ever, build not upon the ſand, ſee the waves beating to and fro, they bring the ſand into the Sea, and ſo the builder loſeth his work, and he that waiteth upon me ſhall not wait in vain, but have eternal life: it is then that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved: it is not him that cryeth Lord, Lord, but them that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven ſhall be ſaved, and ſee whoſe will thou art doing, & ſee if thou be not in thy own will & man in his own will hath never ſee God at any time, for *Adam* when he was in his ſaln eſtate, he was driven out from God, & ſo alienated from God & ſee if you be not vagabonds as *Cain* was, for *Cain* was a vagabond & a runagate, he ſlew the juſt, and ſo doſt thou; therefore thou haſt run after other gods, & haſt caſt my righteous Law behind thy back, and therefore am I coming to rip up all hearts, it is I that tryeth the reins, it is I that knoweth the thoughts long before, and how can you hide your ſelves from ſuch a God as I? I will reciſe judgements upon the head of the wicked, and all the world ſhall ſee the glory of God, for he is ariſing in his glory to judge the earth, with righteous judgement & equity will he judge the earth, and the wicked ſhall ſee it & tremble; and now am I looking for the corn & wine & oile I gave to feed the poor, but you have ſpent it upon your luſts; the whole Creation groans under you, for your evil deeds & corrupt language: in *Cains* nature you are, and death ſpeaketh of the fame of God. Powerful, powerful is the God of glory in all his works his ways paſt finding out, and to them that live in Chriſt Jeſus, they know the mind and will of God their guide and keeper; but to the wicked he is a deſtroyer, to deſtroy their wicked ways with fire & with a ſword to cut down the fruitleſs branches; for what is the wild grape-tree good for? men cannot make any Inſtruments of the wood; therefore it is good for nothing but to be caſt into the fire; ſo ſhall the wicked; for Tophet is prepared of old for them that will not obey Gods Word, and his ſervants, but obey ſin and Satan; and therefore will I pour out my ſeven vials upon the ſeat of the beaſt (the wicked beaſt is in every wicked heart) and there ſore ſink down and wait and ſee how thy ſoul lyeth in death, drowned in filth, ſmothered in wickedneſs, therefore repent that that which preſſeth down thy ſoul may be taken away, for the ſoul is mine, and I deſire nothing of any but my own, and that with advantage; for he is the ſloathful ſervant that improveth not his Maſters goods; & therefore from him that hath a little, that little he hath ſhall be taken away and given to him that hath moſt, and he that hath an ear let him hear: and while you have time prize it; Remember you are warned in your life time, and all left without excuſe.

Heſter Biddle.

NOTES

1. See example at the end of this article
2. The structural nature of the broadside texts makes it impossible to specify precise boundaries of the stages of these stretches of discourse.
3. Modal auxiliary verbs are used by a speaker in conjunction with a main verb to express a judgment or attitude, or to make an assessment about a subject, for instance modals of obligation, possibility etc. One way of talking about the future in English is to use the auxiliary verbs *will* and *shall*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bambas, R. (1998), 'Verb forms in –s and eth, in Early Modern English Prose', in M. Ryden, I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade, and M. Kytö (eds.), *A Reader in Early Modern English*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 65-71.

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., and Finegan, E. (1999), *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, Harlow: Pearson Education.

Buber, M. (1923), *Ich und du*, Leipzig: Insel-Verlag (ET 1937).

Cecconi, E. (2009), 'Comparing Seventeenth-century News Broadsides and Occasional News Pamphlets: Interrelatedness in News Reporting', in Jucker (ed.), *Early Modern News Discourse*, pp. 138-57.

Culpeper, J., and Kytö, M. (2000), 'Data in Historical Pragmatics: Spoken Interaction (Re)cast as Writing', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1/2, pp. 175-99.

Elsness, J. (1994), 'On the Progression of the Progressive in Early Modern English' *ICAME Journal* 18, pp. 5-25.

Fortescue, G. (1908), *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration*, London: British Museum.

Fox, G. (1952), *The Journal of George Fox*, edited by J.L. Nickalls, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glaister, G. (1960), *Glossary of the Book*, London: Allen & Unwin.

Görlach, M. (1991), *Introduction to Early Modern English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Green, I. (2000), *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, I., and Peters, K. (2002), 'Religious Publishing in England, 1640–1695', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 67-93.

Hiltunen, R., and Skaffari, J. (eds.) (2003), *Discourse Perspectives on English: Mediaeval to Modern*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jucker, A. (ed.) (2009), *Early Modern English News Discourse: Newspapers, Pamphlets and Scientific News Discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kohnen, T. (2009), 'Religious Language in Early English Newspapers?', in Jucker (ed.), *Early Modern English News Discourse*, pp. 73-89.

Kohnen, T. *et al.* (2011), *Early Modern English Religious Prose—A Conservative Register?* Online: http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/06/kohnen_et_al/ (retrieved January 2012).

McShane, A. (2009), *Cultural Economics in the Broadside Trade: 'Commissioned' and 'Retail' Broadsides*. Online: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/csb/TakingSides.htm.

National Library of Scotland, *The Word on the Street*. Online: http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides (retrieved 25 April 2011).

Rissanen, M., Kytö, M., and Palander-Collin, M. (eds.) (1993), *Early English in the Computer Age: Explorations through the Helsinki Corpus*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Shiina, M. (2005), 'The Use of Vocatives in Early Modern English Gentry Comedies: A Corpus-based Approach', unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University.

ELECTRONIC REFERENCES

The Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts (http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/LAMPETER/LAMPHOME.HTM)

The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal (http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/hc/index.htm)

Wordsmith Tools Version 5.0 (www.lexically.net/downloads/version5/wordsmith_versions.htm)

Early English Books online (EEBO) (http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home)

AUTHOR DETAILS

Judith Roads is a PhD student combining the disciplines of corpus linguistics and English language within the English Department of the University of Birmingham. The further link to Quaker Studies has brought her incidentally and gratefully into an associative relationship with the Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies at Woodbrooke Study Centre. She is recently retired from a senior lectureship at Middlesex University where she combined the teaching of applied linguistics and English for Academic Purposes with the academic management of the university's pre-sessional courses for international students. In retirement she is a regular volunteer worker in the Library at Friends House, London, supporting the work of the retrospective cataloguing project.

Mailing address: 61 Malmesbury Road, South Woodford, London E18 2NL, England. Email: JAR867@bham.ac.uk.