Language and Ideology in an English Civil War Pamphlet: A Study in Historical Media Discourse Analysis

Edward Haig

Introduction

The English Civil War which began in 1642 remains one of the most extraordinary periods of British history. It consisted of a series of military conflicts fought between the supporters of Parliament and the Royalist forces supporting King Charles I (and, after his death, his son Charles II). The war was without precedent in living memory – the country had not seen such an open military confrontation between monarch and citizens since the War of the Roses ended over 150 years before – and the public were eager for news.[1] In consequence, the armed struggles were reflected in an equally dramatic outpouring of stylistically and ideologically diverse printed publications. The scale of the 'pamphlet war' is an indication both of how much the war affected the country and how important the role of the news media was in reporting it. In this study, I shall continue the investigation begun in previous publications[2] into the pamphlets and other printed matter produced during the war. My focus in these studies has been on the publications produced in just one year, 1642, the year that the war began, and specifically those which relate to the fortified town of Kingston-upon-Hull.[3] Generally referred to simply as Hull, it is a port on the River Humber in the East Riding of Yorkshire which in 1642 housed a large magazine of arms and ammunition. The besieging of Hull by the Royalists in July of that year is widely regarded as the first military conflict of the war. Although the progression of the war, which lasted until the Parliamentarian forces gained a final victory at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, saw both sides make increasingly sophisticated use of news media as a tool of propaganda, the year 1642 is particularly important from the perspective of media history because it was in that year that these new forms were in their infancy. Much of the news consisted of printed versions of documents produced by the two sides and addressed to each other. However, as Austin Woolrych, one of the leading modern historians of the civil war, has pointed out, the intended audience was in fact much wider. In the spring and summer of that year,

> *There was a constant exchange of declarations between king and parliament, and all of them were promptly printed, for they were addressed at least as much to the public at large as to the formal recipients. Each side was trying to put the better case to the political nation, primarily to win its support, but partly (one senses) to stoke up the fires of their own self-righteousness to a heat that would nerve them for a war*[4]

In addition to helping to understand the way in which the media reported on events during this period, specifically with regard to the question of how texts served as a means of communicating ideological messages between the contending parties and the wider public, a study of the way in which the media evolved in response to various contextual factors can help shed light on the much broader question, which is of no less relevance with respect to the contemporary media scene, of the complex interrelations between media, technology and social context. Such questions have received much scholarly attention from historians of the civil war period but surprisingly little work has taken a linguistically-oriented approach. However, in recent years a number of scholars have begun investigating civil war media texts from a linguistic perspective, albeit using a quantitative corpus-analysis methodology to analyse broad patterns across multiple texts.[5] What distinguishes the present study, then, is that as with the author's previous investigations into this topic it foregrounds the close textual and discoursal analysis of individual documents as a means of gaining new insights into how aspects of both form and content were designed. The emphasis is less on what the texts mean but how, linguistically, they make the meanings that they do. To this end, in addition to analysing the texts themselves, my aim in these investigations is to relate textual features to the context of text production and also, wherever possible, to consumption. As will be seen, such a study inevitably involves considering the relationship between language use and power in its various guises – social, military and textual.

Aims, data and method

My interest in this topic began by chance a few years ago when I discovered that the library at Nagoya University had an extensive collection of materials relating to the English civil war. This collection had been assembled and curated by Professor Hiroshi Mizuta, formerly of the Department of Economics at the

university.[6] In addition to several thousand printed items, including both rare contemporary documents and works of modern scholarship, the collection also includes a complete set of the Thomason Tracts on microfilm. The Thomason Tracts are a rather miscellaneous assortment of some 22,000 items including pamphlets, books, broadsides and news sheets, most of which were printed in London from 1640 to 1661.[7] They were collected with truly remarkable assiduousness by the London bookseller George Thomason who, in doing so, provided an incomparably rich treasure trove of materials for future generations. It soon became apparent that, combined with Professor Mizuta's own copy of the British Library's two-volume catalogue[8] to the Thomason Tracts, this collection offered a superb resource for conducting research on the social and media history of seventeenth century England.[9]

The specific aim of this paper is to investigate the use of language in a single pamphlet included in the Thomason Tracts that was published on or around 14 April 1642[10] in the city of York, where the King had recently set up his court and just nine days before the King was refused entry to Hull by the town's military governor, Sir John Hotham. This pamphlet was selected on the grounds that this study is the second in a projected series of papers looking at the 1642 pamphlets and this is one of the earliest pamphlets in the Thomason Tracts that concerns the events at Hull. Moreover, it consists of a petition addressed to the king by both Houses of Parliament and the King's answer to them. It is also of interest due to the fact that the collection contains another version of the pamphlet, published in London, which enables a number of useful comparisons to be made. Above all, in the King's answer section we find a quite remarkable new textual persona appearing, something virtually without precedent in the history of the English monarchy's public discourse with the citizenry.

The paper adopts a descriptive methodology, beginning with an outline of the historical context within which the pamphlet was created. The layout of the title page is then described. This is followed by a comparison with a different version of the same pamphlet, which in turn leads to a consideration of the personnel involved in their production. After discussing a noteworthy phrase used in the pamphlet the paper concludes by analyzing a number of linguistic features of the petition and the King's answer to it.

The study can be seen as a contribution to the field of historical media discourse analysis. As such, I am indebted to the work of several scholars, from the seminal

early studies of Dahl, Siebert and Frank, to more recent work by Peacey, Raymond and the contributors to the collection edited by Holstun.[11] For information about social conditions and literacy at that time I have principally consulted the work of Cressy and Sharpe.[12]

Historical context

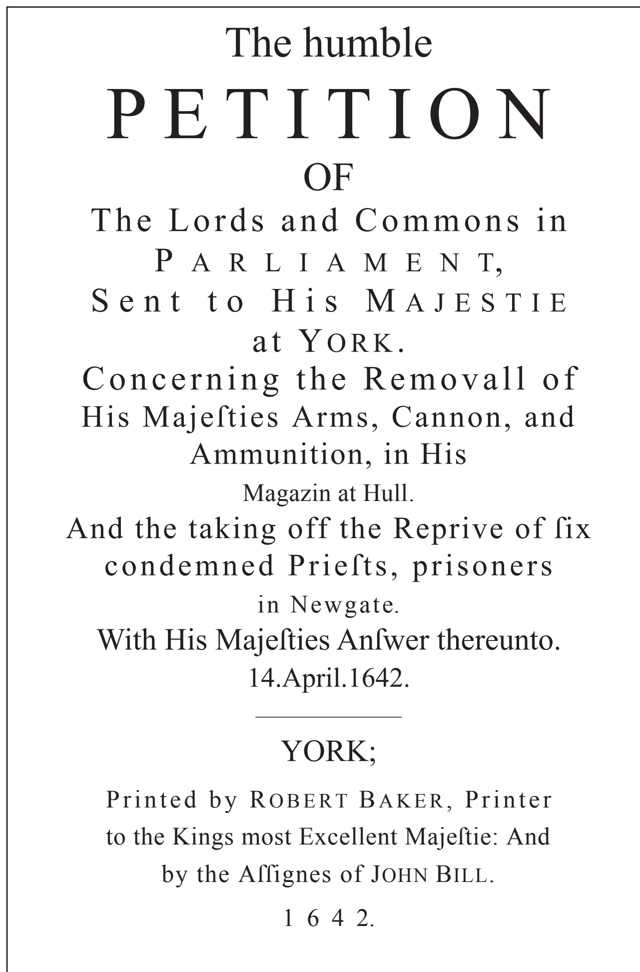
I can only provide a much abbreviated overview here of some of the main events which led up to the publication in 1642 of the pamphlet to be analysed in this study.[13] At the beginning of 1642 the relationship between Parliament and the King was deteriorating rapidly and both sides were groping more or less consciously towards civil war. A Royalist plot to accuse five leading Members of Parliament of high treason was hatched on 3 January. The King went personally to Westminster Hall to arrest them the next day but he was repulsed and the five members fled the city. To fight a war both sides required large quantities of armaments and at this time the largest repository of weapons and gunpowder outside the Tower of London was at Hull. Therefore, William Cavendish, the Earl of Newcastle, was secretly appointed by Charles on 11 January as governor of Hull. Charles also sent William Legge, a Royalist army captain, from London to secure the town for him. However, the plan was betrayed to Parliament which immediately dispatched Captain John Hotham to do the same until his father, Sir John Hotham, could himself assume the post of governor, something he did not actually do until mid-March.[14] Around the same time, Charles arrived at York where he established his court. This, then, was the historical context within which Hull begins to make its appearance in pamphlets and newsbooks[15] of the civil war period.

The Humble Petition

The pamphlet under consideration here consists of eleven printed pages in octavo size.[16] The first page is a title page. This is followed by two pages giving the petition from Parliament to the King and the remaining nine pages give the King’s answer to it. The typeface used for the title page and the petition is a serif one resembling Garamond. In marked contrast, for the King’s answer a variant of the “Old English” blackletter typeface is used, giving these pages a distinctly antique ecclesiastical appearance. The rather lengthy title of this pamphlet[17] is:

> *The Humble Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, sent to His Majestie at York. Concerning the Removall of His Majeſties Arms, Cannon, and Ammunition, in His Magazin at Hull. And the Taking Off the Reprive of ſix condemned Prieſts, priſoners in Newgate. With His Majeſties Anſwer thereunto.*[18]

Henceforth, this shall be referred to simply as The *Humble Petition*. This kind of long, descriptive title serves more like a contents page than a title, enabling customers to the various booksellers' shops and stalls in London to understand what it was about before purchasing.[19] A schematic representation of the layout of the title page of *The Humble Petition* is as shown in Figure 1 below.



The humble
PETITION
OF
The Lords and Commons in
PARLIAMENT,
Sent to His MAJESTIE
at YORK.
Concerning the Removall of
His Majeſties Arms, Cannon, and
Ammunition, in His
Magazin at Hull.
And the taking off the Reprive of ſix
condemned Prieſts, prisoners
in Newgate.
With His Majeſties Anſwer thereunto.
14.April.1642.

YORK;
Printed by ROBERT BAKER, Printer
to the Kings most Excellent Majeſtie: And
by the Aſſignes of JOHN BILL.
1 6 4 2.

Figure 1. Approximate layout of the title page of *The Humble Petition*

Like the pamphlet discussed in a previous paper in this series[20], the layout of this title page displays many of the features characteristic of pamphlets published at this time. The most eye-catching and headline-like element on the page is the noun used to describe the nature of the pamphlet's principal item of content ("petition"), preceded by an adjective further specifying what its authors represent as being its most salient interpersonal characteristic ("humble"). The use of the definite article here is also quite typical although its precise meaning may appear unclear, suggesting as it does either that there was only one such petition or that its existence had been previously established in public discourse. Since these pamphlets were the main source of political news for most of the literate public one may feel reasonably confident in rejecting the latter possibility. And, of course, when taken together with the information about the pamphlet's addressee and the issue (or rather, in this case, issues) in response to which it was created, it can be regarded as *sui generis*. However, it should be borne in mind that this was not the only version of this petition to be printed and distributed, as I shall explain below.

A comparison with the "London" version of *The Humble Petition*

As noted above, the Thomason Tracts contain another version of this pamphlet, which according to the title page was printed in London.[21] Fortesque's *Catalogue* of the Tracts lists this version under the same date of April 14 although this actual date is neither printed on the pamphlet itself nor appended as marginalia in Thomason's own hand. It seems likely that Fortesque assigned this date on the basis of this version's obvious similarity to the "York" version. A comparison of the "York" and "London"[22] versions yields a number of interesting facts. Firstly, let us consider the variations evident in the title page, which in the London version reads as follows (compare with Figure 1): [23]

> *The Humble / PETITION / of the Lords and Commons / to the King, / for leave to remove the Magazine at* Hull / *to the Tower of* London: / *And alſo to take off the Reprieve of the ſix / condemned Prieſts now in* New-gate. / *Together with his majeſties / anſwer thereunto.*

Below this title there are two horizontal lines enclosing a decorative floral device of fleur-de-lis and Tudor roses extending downwards the equivalent of two lines of body text. Below this the following details of publication are given:

London: / Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to / the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie: And by / the Aſſignes of John Bill. / MDCXLII.

The first thing we may note in relation to the title page is that this version displays a rather more contemporary understanding of what makes for an appealing page design than the York text, using a more succinct and consequently more easily readable style. The first part of the title, concerning the Hull magazine, is expressed in just twenty-four as opposed to thirty-one words. However, the most remarkable difference between the two versions is that although printed in cities approximately 170 miles apart and, at least according to Fortesque, on the same day, they both claim to have been printed by the same person, Robert Barker, one of the King's officially licensed printers. I shall return to this rather curious fact later.

Turning now to the format of the two versions, we find that although remarkably similar in appearance, the London version covers six pages compared to the York version's ten. Unfortunately, based on the microfilm versions of the Thomason Tracts upon which this study has relied it is not possible to ascertain the precise physical dimensions of the pamphlets. However, given what we know about pamphlet production in those days, and given also that the York version has almost twice as many pages as the London one, we may reasonably suppose that the London version was printed as an octavo and the York version as a quarto pamphlet. The other possibility, that the two versions are of the same size but that the font sizes used in the London version are roughly twice as large (perhaps as a rudimentary precursor of modern 'large print' books!) seems less likely if we compare the hand-written underlined numbers on the title pages, both of which seem to be in Thomason's own hand, and both of which ("11" for York and "15" for London) are of very similar size.

The printing quality of the York version is appreciably sharper and clearer than the London one. Again, how much this might be due to differences in paper quality or simply the differential effects of the passage of time on the two versions is not possible to verify. But in such features as the degree of detail and definition of the decorative borders used and above all the sharpness of individual letters and punctuation marks, it is evident that the printing technology employed by the York presses was superior to that used at London. Why this might have been the case

will be discussed below.

Regarding the content of the two pamphlets, what must be asserted first of all is that they are substantially identical in substance. However, there are a number of illuminating differences that are worth noting and one in particular that is quite remarkable. According to my reckoning, there are over 150 textual differences between the two versions of this text, not including those relating to the first page which have already been noted. Specifically, there are 17 differences in the Petition part and 137 differences in the Answer part. Some of the most interesting findings of the analysis include those relating to capitalization of words, spelling and punctuation. There are 25 instances where a word written with an initial upper case letter in the London text is written with a lower case in the York text. Conversely, there are 19 instances where the London text uses an upper case letter but the York text uses a lower case one. However, my analysis produced no evidence of any clear criteria on which decisions about capitalization were made. For example, where the York text has "Rumour be warrant enough" the London text has "rumour be Warrant enough". However, the printers of both texts appear to have taken great care to always capitalize the initial letters of "We", "Our" and "Us" when these words referred to the King. Even in the case where the King's answer is actually referring to both himself and Parliament, both versions use capitals: "We cannot believe this miſerable Diſtance and Miſ-underſtanding can be long continued betwixt Us".

As for spelling, some differences show greater consistency than others. The York text uses "Publique" four times whilst in all four cases the London text writes "Publike". Slightly less consistently, the word "magazin" is used five times in the York text and "magazine" never. In contrast, the London text uses "magazin" four times and "magazine" once. And while the York text has "dignitie" and the London text has "Dignity", the former has "Envy" and "ſafety" while the latter has "Envie" and "ſafetie". The York text employs the abbreviated forms "'Tis" and "'Twas" throughout while the London version uses the non-abbreviated "It is" and "It was" exclusively.

Some differences in expression seem to hint at mistakes in copying or perhaps even mis-hearing. For example, consider the following passage from the King's answer as rendered in the York version:

And this, We hope, will give you full ſatiſfaction in this point, and that ye do

not, as ye have done in the bufineffe of the Militia, fend this Meffage out of complement and Ceremony, refolving to be your own Carvers at laft;

For “complement and Ceremony” the London version has “complementall Ceremony”. The first thing to settle here is whether the sense of “complement” intended is that of “praising” or “enhancing”. In modern English the former meaning is signified by the spelling *compliment* and the latter by *complement* but, as we have seen, the rules of orthography were far less rigorously applied during the turmoil of the civil war period than they are today. So, was the King characterizing the petition as one intended to praise (perhaps flatter) him by adhering to the ceremonial niceties of public discourse whereas (as he probably feared) all the while the Parliamentarians had already decided what they were going to do, namely to be their “own Carvers at laſt” and simply seize the magazine by force whether the King consented or not? Or does it mean that the ceremonial nature of petitioning the King was an enhancement, but not an essential part, of what Parliament intended to do anyway. It is no simple matter to adjudicate on which of the two forms reflects the originally intended version of the text. However, in his *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (1867) the lexicographer and philologist, Charles Richardson quotes from the Puritan polemicist, William Prynne’s *The Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms* (published in 1643, just one year after the events being discussed in this paper) as follows:

Then doubtlesse they, [the people] and not kings are the chiefe soveraigne legislators; and their royall assents to lawes, are no wayes essentiall to the very being of lawes, but rather a complementall ceremony.

On the strength of this contemporary source we may prefer to accept the London version in this case but there are other places where the York version seems to be more acceptable. For example, in the King’s quotation from John Pym, where the York version has: *if you take away the Law all things will fall into a Confufion, every man will become a Law to himself,* the London version reads: *If you take away the Law, all things will fall into a Confufion, every man will become a Law unto himself*. The phrase “law unto himself” is undoubtedly a commonly used if somewhat archaic expression in modern English, deriving, albeit with a slightly changed meaning, from its use in the King James Bible of 1611, which rendered

Romans Chapter 2 Verse 14 as follows:

> *For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves.*

However, in every printed copy of Pym's speech that I have been able to examine the phrase used is "law to himself", suggesting that the York version was the more accurate in this case. Finally, one glaring difference concerns the following sentence from the King's answer:

> *We ſpeak not this, as not thinking the ſending of Arms to* Scotland *very neceſſary, but onely for the way of the Proviſion*

As indicated here, the word "Scotland" is printed in a slightly different typeface to the rest of the text, in the same way that certain other words and sequences such as the quotation from Pym's speech are later on. This suggests that rather than compositing the word anew for this text the printer may simply have inserted a preformatted word here. Alternatively, it might have been done this way for emphasis. Whatever the reason, the same kind of alternative typeface is used in the London version but in this case the word used is "Ireland". Judging from the context, it seems likely that Ireland was the word intended here, suggesting perhaps that the printer in York may have been distracted by the presence of "Our Scots Subjects" in the previous sentence.

Robert Barker, Printer to the King

I should now like to return to the question of who actually printed these two versions. Thus, first we must enquire as to the identity of the printer named on the two pamphlets, Robert Barker. He was the son of Christopher Barker who had been the official printer for Queen Elizabeth. On his father's death in 1599, Robert succeeded to the position. Then, after Elizabeth's death in 1603 he became printer to King James I. It was under that monarch's rule that, in 1631, Robert achieved lasting notoriety as one of the publishers of the "Wicked Bible", a reprint of the King James Bible so called because in the Ten Commandments it left out the word "not" from the seventh commandment so that it read, "Thou shalt commit adultery". About a year later, the publishers were tried for this blasphemous

mistake by the Star Chamber which revoked their printing license and ordered them to pay a substantial fine.[24] Somehow, though, Barker retained his position as the King's printer, even though he was sent to prison for debt in 1635, where he remained until his death in 1645. While he was imprisoned, Barker managed to keep his business going, most likely through the use of family connections. His daughter married a printer named John Legate and in 1640 his grandson, Christopher, is known to have been active as a printer in London.

In 1639, Charles commanded his printers to bring their presses to Berwick where he had based the court during the war with the Scots.[25] Because Barker was in prison, John Legate went on his behalf. The various proclamations and other documents published by Legate at that time were inscribed "Imprinted at Newcastle by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty". This indicates that the printer's name was used more like a brand name than as actual evidence of the person who got his fingers inky.[26] Robert's grandson also took some of the family's presses to York where he likewise produced documents bearing his grandfather's name.[27]

Since the King was at York, it is probable that the manuscript original of his answer was drafted there. The author was very likely Edward Hyde, then a Member of Parliament but who was made Earl of Clarendon by Charles II in 1661. It was he who was responsible for most of Charles' written pronouncements at around this time and whose *History of the Rebellion* became the first major history of the civil war.[28] If such is indeed the case then it seems reasonable to assume that the York version of *The Humble Petition* was the one printed first, which may explain why it is listed above the London version in Fortescue's *Catalogue*.

"Your own Carvers"

The intriguing expression "to be your own Carvers" used by the King in his answer merits some clarification. Although it has not been possible to establish how common an expression it may have been at the time when the pamphlet was published, there is at least some documented precedent for its use, at least in works of dramatic fiction. For example, it occurs[29] in the play *The Sea-Voyage* (1622), a work formerly ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher but now generally thought to be by Fletcher and Massinger. A pirate disputing ownership of his treasure with a Portuguese nobleman and "a shallow-brained gentleman" says "Stand further off! You must not be your own carvers". His meaning as judged from the context is

that they must not simply help themselves to the treasure, a usage which is clearly not so dissimilar to the meaning which the King intended to convey vis-à-vis the magazine at Hull. Less fancifully, the expression also occurs in Shakespeare's history play, *Richard II*, when the Duke of York, Richard's uncle, addresses the nobles supporting Henry Bolingbroke's plans to seize the crown[30]:

My lords of England, let me tell you this.
I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs,
And laboured all I could to do him right.
But in this kind to come, in braving arms,
Be his own carver, and cut out his way
To find out right with wrong – it may not be.
And you that do abet him in this kind
Cherish rebellion, and are rebels all.

The use of this expression here fits well with the theme of rebellion and the word play involving "braving arms" and "cutting out his way". But the literal meaning is more likely to do with the domestic English dinnertime scene in which the head of the household carves a roast fowl or joint of meat and serves it out to his family. There is considerable prestige in the role and something of a male rite of passage is involved in attaining the state necessary to legitimately occupy it. Just as it would be an act of filial usurpation for a son to carve his own meat, so too is Bolingbroke's plan to depose Richard. At this time Charles had no fear of his being deposed by a relative but one is tempted to wonder whether Charles may had been reading this play or even watching a performance of it at the time when this pamphlet was produced and the clouds of civil war were darkening around him. This is certainly within the bounds of possibility given that Charles and Henrietta are both known to have been enthusiastic supporters of the dramatic arts. The Puritan order that closed the theatres was not issued until September of that year and so it was still legal to present and attend theatrical performances. Moreover, the second folio edition of Shakespeare's works was published in 1632 and it is known that Charles owned a copy which later became part of the library at Windsor Castle. The King's copy of the book's fly-leaf bears a Latin inscription in his own hand that reads "Dum Spiro Spero" ("While I breathe I hope") that seems indicative of his state of

mind. If Charles had indeed been reading Shakespeare around this time, the story of Richard II would have given him much food for thought concerning, as it does, a king being deposed by a disaffected rival supported by a nobility that had grown tired of the king's misrule. Of all the lines in the play, perhaps the following, spoken by Richard himself, would have struck a particular chord:

> *For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground*
> *And tell sad stories of the death of kings;*
> *How some have been deposed; some slain in war,*
> *Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;*
> *Some poison'd by their wives: some sleeping kill'd;*
> *All murder'd: for within the hollow crown*
> *That rounds the mortal temples of a king*
> *Keeps Death his court*

In reality, Bolingbroke did depose Richard to become Henry IV while Richard is thought to have starved to death in captivity in Pontefract Castle, a mere 20 miles from York.

The petition

The petition itself consists of 184 words divided into four paragraphs.[31] It begins with the orthodox ceremonial forms of address used with respect to the King at this time, followed by correspondingly humble terms of self-reference. Four reasons for the request to allow the magazine to be moved from Hull to the Tower of London are adduced and then in the second paragraph the request itself is made, again in deferential terms. No reference is made to the fact that there had recently been a rather undignified race between the Parliament and the Royalists to install a military governor in the town, a race which Parliament had won so that the magazine was now under control of their appointee, Sir John Hotham. As if as an afterthought, the third paragraph introduces the separate issue of the imprisoned priests and the King's reprieve of them although no reasons are given for the request, made in the final paragraph, that the reprieve be "taken off" or rescinded.

What is remarkable in this petition is the impression of calm courteousness which its use of language conveys. This reflects the ideology of the governmental system in England at that time. Given that such petitions are, as Woolrych

observed, intended as much for the literate public as for the actual addressee, we get a sense here of Parliament endeavouring to present itself in the best possible light as a militarily responsible, cost-conscious, legally competent and loyal servant of the Crown. This is, of course, in marked contrast to the real attitudes of at least some of the Parliamentarians at this time. It is also in contrast to the way, once the war got underway in earnest, that both sides resorted to increasingly overt forms of propaganda and polemic.

The King's answer

The answer consists of 1,176 words, almost ten times as many as the petition itself, arranged into five paragraphs. What is most remarkable about it is that through his choice of words, the King presents himself in a way which contrasts markedly from the way he had before the conflict with Parliament arose. Whereas formerly he had presented a public persona commensurate with his status as an absolute monarch, in the period during which this pamphlet was produced we find him undergoing a radical transformation to a more deferential persona. Having said that, however, it must be acknowledged that the King does begin his answer in combative mood. Unlike the Parliamentarians, the King is clearly eager to raise the issue of Sir John Hotham's seizure of the magazine and asserts his view of its illegality. The Petition of Right which he refers to was a major constitutional document ratified in 1628 that limited the action of the King in relation to issues such as taxation, imprisonment without cause and, indeed, the enforced billeting of soldiers. When it was passed, it was intended to prevent the King from billeting soldiers in the very way that Parliament had recently done in Hull, making it somewhat ironic that he should appeal to it here. The fact that he chooses to emphasise that the magazine and ammunition are "Our own proper goods" seems like a case of the rhetorical device of apophasis or, as Hamlet puts it, "The lady doth protest too much". That is to say, it is one of several places in the answer where the over-stated nature of his parenthetical assertion undermines the reader's belief in it. For example, he is clearly acknowledging the unpalatable truth that Parliament is indeed preparing to refuse him access to the town when he writes that:

> *And being confident that that place (whatſoever diſcourſe there is of publique or private inſtructions to the contrary) ſhall be ſpeedily given up, if We ſhall require it,*

This acknowledgement of alternative views about the issue is an instance of what the Russian literary theorist and critic, Mikhail Bakhtin, described as dialogism and which is now more commonly referred to as intertexuality. It is generally regarded as a democratic feature of texts, reflecting an openness to difference. For that very reason a modern spin doctor might well advise the King not to even mention the existence of such rival discourses in this way.

The "complement and Ceremony" passage has already been discussed but we may note that here we find another form of intertextuality in that the King refers to previous published exchanges between him and Parliament regarding the militia. Ignoring the King's rejection of their petitions, Parliament passed the so-called Militia Ordinance just a few weeks earlier without obtaining the royal assent. The passing of a piece of legislation in this way was unprecedented and represented a significant development towards civil war. The Ordinance gave Parliament the right, which formerly belonged exclusively to the King, to appoint Lord Lieutenants in each county. As it was they who commanded the militias (otherwise known as the "trained bands") this gave Parliament significant control over the country's military forces.

The King's acceptance of the petition's request concerning the six priests seems like a strategic move to win favour with Parliament. It is as if the King had decided to sacrifice these six pawns in the hope of thereby capturing the castle of Hull or at least retaining the magazine there. If the King displayed a willingness to take risks in this case, it contrasts with his apparent disposition in the following sequence in which the he appears to have virtually admitted defeat, writing in almost domestic terms:

Will there never be a time to offer to, as well as to aſke of Us? We will propoſe no more particulars to you, having no luck to pleaſe, to be underſtood by you.

His repeated solicitous references to the public, including "the publique eaſe and benefit" and "early, ſpeedy care of the Publique", suggest that he is aware of the propaganda value of these printed exchanges and is trying to win favour with those who had not yet decided which side they were on. In this context, the King's use of Pym's speech is another noteworthy feature, given that Pym was one of the "Five Members" of Parliament that the King had gone to Westminster in person to arrest for treason. The speech quoted from itself was delivered by Pym in 1641 during the

proceedings for the attainder of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, who was one of the King's most loyal and trusted advisors. That Parliament forced the King to sign Strafford's death warrant was in no small measure due to Pym and yet here we find the King quoting him approvingly and at length. Moreover, the theme of the quotation is the defence of the rule of law against arbitrary power, exactly the thing for which the Stuart monarchs had been notorious and in response to which the Petition of Right had been made.

It is here, above all, that we can appreciate the radical change that came over the textual persona projected by the King around this time and, as Joan Hartman has demonstrated, the key influence in this change was Edward Hyde, the future Earl of Clarendon. As she writes:

> Writing Charles for his subjects, he restyled him. Style as he uses it (in both the King's messages and in the *History*) signifies, at times interchangeably, both title and mode of address. A title (how I am styled) prescribes two modes of address: the style I use to speak to others and the style they use to speak to me. The style proper to one styled a king expresses his royal will and, at its least peremptory, his princely and fatherly intentions. The style proper to his subjects when they address him is deferential. Hyde violated the decorum of kingly expression by writing a deferential Charles who not only defended his actions but also explained his motives.[32]

It is this new spirit of deference to Parliament that seems most remarkable in this pamphlet. Hyde was attempting to win the hearts and minds of the King's subjects and he knew that to do that he had to present them with a modernized version of kingship. This pamphlet thus reflects a historical turning point in the ideology of monarchy in England which continues to have repercussions to this day.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a close reading of a single pamphlet has yielded a number of findings that relate to the question of how language was used in the English Civil War news media. In particular, through a comparison with an alternate version of the same pamphlet we have been able to observe several differences in how certain textual features such as spelling, capitalization and punctuation were used. However, the ideological significance of these features is difficult to assess. Far more clearly

ideological is the new tone or style of address adopted by the King. It as if he has decided to decend from the throne and address his subjects as equals. How successful this rhetorical strategy was, though, must be a matter for conjecture at this stage[33] but it is something that I hope to investigate in a future study.

Finally, one thing which has not been touched on but which should be noted here is that the pamphlets themselves ought not to be regarded as the period's equivalent of modern newspapers. For those, we need to turn to the newsbooks. Yet even there, one significant difference between them and modern journalism is the relative and sometimes total absence of the journalist's voice. Certainly, in this pamphlet we are given, ostensibly at least, direct access to the voices of the two news-making parties: Parliament and the King. But they are entirely unmediated by the reporter's voice and are free to speak for themselves without authorial framing, comment or evaluation. As I shall demonstrate in a future publication in which I will analyse printed news materials from later in this first year of the conflict, this is a situation which gradually changed as restrictions on printing and publication began to break down amidst the chaos of war.

Notes

1 For an excellent overview of civil war history see Austin Woolrych (2002), *Britain in revolution, 1625-1660*. Oxford U.P. For the intellectual history of the period there is still no work that surpasses Christopher Hill (1972), *The world turned upside down: radical ideas during the English revolution*. Temple Smith.

2 See Edward Haig (2006), 'The History of the Early English Newspapers, 1620-1642', *Studies in Media and Culture*, Vol.1 , No.2 , 15-35; (2015) 'Ideology and Propaganda in English Civil War News: A Study in Historical Media Discourse Based on the Thomason Tracts', *Studies in Media and Society*, No.7 , 1-20.

3 The town was granted city status in 1897.

4 Woolrych p. 220.

5 Sheryl Prentice and Andrew Hardie (2009), 'Empowerment and disempowerment in the Glencairn uprising: a corpus-based critical analysis of Early modern English news discourse', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, Vol.10, No. 1, pp. 23-55; Andrew Hardie *et al*. (2010), 'Historical text mining and corpus-based approaches to the newsbooks of the Commonwealth' In Brendan Dooley *(ed.) The dissemination of news and the emergence of contemporaneity in Early modern Europe*, pp. 251-286. Ashgate.

6 The present paper has relied for its data and most of its previous literature almost entirely on this collection and I am delighted to be able to express my gratitude to Professor Mizuta here. I would also like to record my great thanks to the staff of Nagoya University's Central Library, Economics Library and Informatics and Languages Library for their invaluable and unfailingly helpful assistance. For a detailed account of the Mizuta collection see Eriko Nakai (2013),

Outline of the Mizuta library [Mizuta Bunko Gaiyou] (Nagoya Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan, Fuzoku Toshokan Kenkyuu Kaihatsu Shitsu) [in Japanese with English abstract].

7 For a useful guide to the Tracts, see John Shawcross (2009), 'Using the Thomason Tracts and their significance for Milton studies', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp.145-172.

8 George K. Fortesque (1908), *Catalogue of pamphlets, books, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661* (2 volumes), British Museum, London. The author of this magisterial work was Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum.

9 For a study that draws extensively on the Thomason Tracts and pays particular attention to the role of the media see Michael Braddick (2008), *God's fury, England's fire: a new history of the English civil wars*. Allen Lane.

10 It should be noted here though that in some cases the dates listed in Fortescue's *Catalogue* of the Thomason Tracts are not those of the date of publication but of the events to which the contents are chiefly related. This is an unfortunate limitation of the Tracts particularly when one wishes to focus closely on the timing of media activity in relation to events as they unfold. For a discussion of such issues see Stephen Greenberg (1988), 'Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641-1644', *Albion* Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 387-401 and Michael Mendle (1990), 'The Thomason Collection: A Reply to Stephen J. Greenberg', *Albion* Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 85-93.

11 Folke Dahl (1952), *A bibliography of English corantos and periodical newsbooks, 1620-1642*. Bibliographical Society; Fredrick Siebert (1952), *Freedom of the press in England 1476-1776: the rise and decline of government control*. Illinois U.P.; Joseph Frank (1961), *The beginnings of the English newspaper, 1620-1660*. Harvard U.P.; Jason Peacey (2004), *Politicians and pamphleteers: propaganda during the English civil wars and interregnum*. Ashgate; Joad Raymond (1993), *Making the news: an anthology of the newsbooks of revolutionary England 1641-1660*. Weidenfeld Nicolson; (2005), *The invention of the newspaper: English newsbooks 1641-1649*. Oxford U.P.; (2006), *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain*. Cambridge U.P.; James Holstun (*ed.*) (1992), *Pamphlet wars: prose in the English revolution*. Routledge.

12 David Cressy (1980), *Literacy and the social order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge U.P.; Kevin Sharpe (2000), *Reading revolution: the politics of reading in early modern England*. Yale U.P.

13 For a longer account, including a timeline of events relating to Hull, see Haig (2015).

14 In the Journal of the House of Commons for Tuesday, 11 January 1642 it is recorded that it was resolved "That Sir John Hotham, or such Person as he shall be responsible for, do instantly repair to Hull, and put some of the Trained Bands, of the Parts next adjoining to that Town, into that Place, for the Defence of that Town, and Magazine there, according to the Resolution of both Houses." Likewise, the following day's entry records a resolution "That the Lords be moved to agree with this House, that Sir Jo. Hotham, or whom else he shall appoint under him, shall not deliver up the Town of Hull, or Magazine there, or any Part thereof, without the King's Authority, signified unto him by the Lords and Commons House of Parliament."

15 Newsbooks were the precursor of modern newspapers, printed at this time in editions of up to 250 copies. They were not really books, more like magazines that consisted of, typically, eight

pages.

16 The text of the pamphlet is shown in the Appendix which is available on the website of this journal (www.lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp/media) but due to limitations of space cannot be included here. In the following analysis it is assumed that readers have familiarized themselves with this.

17 Numbered E144(11) in Fortesque's *Catalogue*. It is to be found on microfilm Reel 26. In Donald Wing's *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English books printed abroad, 1641-1700* (2nd ed. Three volumes, New York, 1972-88) its number is E1582.

18 Some aspects of formatting and spelling but not punctuation, such as the use of italics and the long s (ſ) have been changed here for ease of reading but see Figure 1 for an approximate rendering of the original. Such aspects have been retained in the full text included in the Appendix, apart from the ct ligature.

19 Whether customers were allowed to browse through such pamphlets before purchasing them or not is not known but the fact that the contents were so clearly displayed suggests that perhaps generally they were not.

20 Haig (2015).

21 Tract No. E143 (15). Reel 25, Wing E1583.

22 Henceforth, the two versions will simply be referred to as "the York text", "the London version" and so on, without double quotation marks.

23 This title is written here with italics and normal type inverted and slashes used to represent line breaks. The use of small capitals and character spacing are not shown.

24 The Star Chamber was a court of law active from the late 15th century till around 1641. It was used to enforce the law against powerful individuals which ordinary courts may have feared to convict. It gradually turned into a symbol of the abuse of power by the monarchy.

25 The wars with Scotland were known as The Bishops' Wars because the conflict was between Charles, who wanted an episcopal (bishop led) system of government for the Scottish church and the majority of Scots who favoured a presbyterian system without bishops.

26 This is a relationship that resembles the way in which brand goods bearing the logo marks of modern western corporations are produced by anonymous armies of low-paid factory workers in developing countries.

27 While in York Charles lived close to the Minster in the mansion of Sir Arthur Ingram. The King's printing press was set up in nearby St. William's College where Royalist pamphlets and other documents were produced.

28 For more on Clarendon's work as the King's writer see Joan Hartman (1991), 'Restyling the king: Clarendon writes Charles I', *Prose Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 3, pp. 43-59. For a suggestion that the petition was written by Robert Devereaux, 3rd Earl of Essex, see Vernon Snow and Anne Young (*eds*) (1987) *The private journals of the Long Parliament 7 March to 1 June 1642*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London p.180.

29 Act 1, Scene 3.

30 Act 2, Scene 3.

31 The precise number of sentences is difficult to measure due to the irregularity of punctuation usage, particularly with respect to full stops.

32 Hartman, p. 45.

33 For example, Woolrych notes that, “One of the most interesting questions for the historian is how Charles, who seemed so isolated in the early months of 1642, was able to fight the first battle of the Civil War on equal terms and to keep up a fair chance of outright victory for nearly three more years. Part of the answer lies in the skill with which his propaganda was conducted during the crucial months when the English people were having to choose sides.” (p. 220).