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The poor in seventeenth-century England: A corpus based analysis¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines changing perceptions of poor people in seventeenth-century England by means of a corpus analysis of the phrase *the poor* as it appears in the Early English Books Online (EEBO) corpus. We address the challenges of using a very large historical corpus and describe our methodological approach – our study is based upon a collocational analysis in which collocates are categorised in terms of how often they attach to *the poor* in each decade. Dominant popular discourses regarding people living in poverty tell us who these people were, the hardships they faced, and the type of relief, both official and charitable, they were given. We found that the phrase *the poor* was often associated with the criminalized poor at the beginning of the century but, as the decades progressed, the phrase was increasingly accompanied by collocates which presented poor people as deserving of compassion.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, history, early modern England, Early English Books Online, EEBO, collocations, poverty, the poor.

1. Introduction

Poverty was the principle social problem in Early Modern England (Coats 1976: 115). Hartlib (1650) described people in London “that lived upon Dogs and Cats these deer and hard times; others upon Beasts blood and Brewers graines boyled together, and the poor woman that killed her child, and

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died for it the last Sessions 1649. upon her examination, she confest extream need and feare of famine occasioned it". Poverty was seldom a static state: early modern people might encounter poverty at several points during their lifetimes. Research suggests that changing personal circumstances, such as having to support young children or entering old age, could make an individual particularly susceptible to financial pressures².

In this paper, we combine a corpus analysis with knowledge obtained from close reading of contemporary texts to examine language of the seventeenth century which was used when referencing poor people. We have published previously on groups who were thought to be poor but undeserving of help – variously referred to by words such as *beggar*, *rogue*, *vagabond* and *vagrant*. Yet what of the deserving poor, or the poor referred to using less loaded terms how were they represented in the seventeenth century? In this paper we explore whether, by using a less loaded search term, we can answer the following questions:

- i. what kinds of people were thought to belong to this category of poor (Section 4);
- ii. what form did poverty take (Section 5);
- iii. were poor people regarded with sympathy or censure (Section 6) and
- iv. how did people of the time react to being compelled to support the poor financially through the state and personally (sections 7 and 8).

To do this we explore the ostensibly neutral phrase *the poor*. Historians have acknowledged the difficulty in identifying poor people in seventeenth-century England and have discussed the relevance and prominence of such contemporary terms and phrases as *pauper*³; *stragling poor*; *labouring poor*⁴;

² The study of 'lifecycle' poverty, initially developed by Rowntree, is an important area for researchers studying early modern England. Stapleton (1993), for instance, has looked at inherited poverty in Odiham, Hampshire, and concluded that although large numbers of children could push a family into poverty, most people were already dangerously close to its precipice due to inadequate wages. Hence any small change in family circumstances could be disastrous. Williams (2011) uses case studies from one Bedfordshire parish between 1760 and 1834, highlighting the significance of gender and lifecycle poverty in relief claims. She shows that most regular payments went to orphans, families, single parents and the elderly.

³ The term *pauper* was not used in order to refer to a person in receipt of a parish pension until the late eighteenth century. Before then, it suggested someone who was destitute. See Hindle (2004b: 13).

⁴ The phrase *labouring poor* appears in the EEBO corpus for the first time in 1596 in a text by Edward Topsell. Hindle (2004a: 38-39) defines the phrase as "the under-

and *impotent poor*⁵. In the EEBO corpus, as will be shown shortly, the noun phrase *the poor*, in which no immediate modification of the word *poor* occurs, is far more frequent than any of the other phrases or words employed to describe poor people. Hindle (2002: 56) has written that “the poore was a notoriously elastic (perhaps even a ‘gentry-made’) term” and has emphasised that not every poor person claimed regular poor relief so was not necessarily a *pensioner* or *collectioner* (see Hindle 2002: 55-56). Poor people did sometimes describe themselves as poor⁶ and, by analysing the phrase *the poor*, in which no immediate premodification of the word *poor* occurs within the noun phrase, we can hope to explore a wide range of attitudes towards people who were considered to be impoverished by their contemporaries. Moreover, this group will potentially include poor people who were not yet, or not regularly, in receipt of official relief. Accordingly, it is through the phrase *the poor* that our exploration of the poor in the seventeenth century is undertaken.

2. Utilising sources: Reaching the poor of Early Modern England

Our understanding of the lives of poor people in seventeenth-century England is hampered by a scarcity of direct sources. There is a dearth of records authored by lower class people which is overwhelmingly due to

employed or unemployed who were prevented by adequately maintaining their families either by prevailing levels of wages or structural problems in the economy”. He explains that it was the *impotent poor*, rather than the *labouring poor*, who were deemed deserving by seventeenth-century policy makers on account of their inability to support themselves. *Labouring poor* was used throughout the seventeenth century and its usage burgeoned in the eighteenth century, most notably appearing in the writing of Daniel Defoe (e.g. Defoe 1700). At the end of the eighteenth century, the phrase was criticised by Burke (1836: 181), who argued that the term *poor* should be reserved for people who were unable to work. *Labouring poor* is a common identification in modern-day academic works, such as the corpus project, Letters of Artisans and the Labouring Poor (<https://lalpcorpus.wordpress.com/>).

⁵ See Slack (1995: 4) and Pearl (1978: 225). Also see Pelling (1998: 72-73) who has highlighted the most common terms used for the sick in the Norwich census of 1570. The author of ‘An Ease for Overseers of the Poore’ (1601) legally defined the impotent as those “deprived and destitute of all meanes to live” and noted that, since the time of Edward III, the definition of the term had expanded from meaning those who were weak or lame, to those who were unable to support themselves “by reason of Decrepitie; Infancie; Natiuitie; Casualtie; and Familie”.

⁶ Shepard (2008: 51) has explored which words and phrases poor people used to describe themselves when asked for an estimate of their wealth in the English church

the widespread illiteracy of the time (see Cressy 1977: 141-150). However, historians have utilised an abundance of illuminating archival records, such as records of the church and secular courts. Beier (1985), for instance, has consulted records of county quarter sessions, of various borough courts, of houses of correction and of arrests by parish officials⁷. Other historians have turned to parish documents relating specifically to the administering of poor relief, such as overseers and churchwardens accounts and vestry records. Kent (1981) and Hitchcock (2012) have made use of surviving constables' accounts. Estate studies, such as Houston (2014), provide insight into the relationships between the landlord and tenant.

The vast majority of archival sources have not been digitised but this situation is changing. For instance, the Old Bailey Online website and the London Lives website offer scholars of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England invaluable online access to records of the time⁸. However, historians interested in the entire seventeenth century are less well served by these sites. Fortunately, scholars of Early Modern England have access to another digitised resource of unparalleled value, the website Early English Books Online (EEBO), which offers access to virtually every piece of literature printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America between the years 1473 and 1700. In this study, we use a billion words from seventeenth-century writers⁹, drawn from the transcribed version of Early English Books Online (EEBO) being constructed by the Text Creation Partnership¹⁰. Our analysis was conducted using CQPWeb, an online concordancing system¹¹.

Through an analysis of the EEBO corpus, we are able to uncover how the (mostly) men, from landlords and employers to social reformers and local officials, with social power in England construed the poor. This is of extreme importance not least because these contemporary discourses influenced changes in government legislation and arguably helped shape the New Poor Law of 1834. By engaging with the texts in the EEBO corpus,

courts. Standard responses were variants along the lines of *worth nothing*; *worth little* or *not much*, but occasionally witnesses evaluated themselves as *poor*.

⁷ The disadvantages in relying upon the records of court proceedings have been discussed by McEnery – Baker (2017).

⁸ Old Bailey Online – The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674 to 1913 <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/> and <http://www.londonlives.org/index.jsp>

⁹ The exact figure is 996,472,953 words.

¹⁰ See <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/>

¹¹ See Hardie (2012) – readers can create a free account on CQPweb to explore the EEBO corpus by visiting <https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/>

we are able to undertake an analysis which reveals patterns in discourses, changes in perception, and to unearth new insights into social relations between the propertied classes and the poor.

Some limitations of using the EEBO corpus should be noted here. The EEBO texts provided by the EEBO TCP consortium have minimal metadata – while we have (where known) for example i.) the author of the individual texts; ii.) their place of publication and iii.) the date of publication, other information, which would be useful for pursuing some research questions, are not provided by EEBO TCP. Most importantly, we have no genre classifications for the texts. So, for example, we cannot contrast automatically, at scale, the way in which a group like the deserving poor are represented in different genres of writing using this resource at present. Sometimes through the process of analysis the dominance of a genre in a representation may become so salient that it may be observed; as Baker – McEnery (2017: 160-161) found, the link between mentions of whores and plays in the latter half of the seventeenth century was so strong it was easily discovered through the techniques used in this paper. Later in this paper we similarly find we are able to comment on genre as our analysis proceeds. Nonetheless, EEBO, as any data source does, opens possibilities, but also does not enable, or at least easily facilitate, other promising avenues of research as it is currently configured.

Set against these disadvantages are the substantial advantages of the corpus approach – the data is open to all. Hence the analyses undertaken here can be repeated by anyone accessing the freely available CQPweb system – the need for us to provide lengthy listings of results is removed as those results can simply be repeated online. Similarly, the accountability of the results presented can be assured by this approach – all of the examples given here, and examples we do not focus on in this paper, are accessible to readers of this paper and may be used by them, in the spirit of the scientific method, to challenge and refine our findings. Also, should other techniques become available, or should readers wish to explore other features of the study which we do not here, again the study can be repeated with a publicly available data set and the work presented here recontextualized or challenged. So while our goal in this paper is to focus on the findings arising from an investigation of the representation of the poor in our corpus, the corpus lies open to others who wish either to further explore our method, use a different method, to gain access to the full findings for each analysis we present or to explore other features of this representation that we do not here.

3. Words and methodology

We approached this study having already read a wide array of seventeenth-century works regarding the condition of poor people. As noted, we decided against exploring a number of evaluative descriptions of the poor we had come across, such as *honest poor* or *impotent poor*, because these phrases self-evidently represent poor people in a particular way. Moreover, such phrases generated too few examples in the EEBO corpus for study. Thus we used the much more frequent phrase, *the poor*, as the basis for our investigation in order to obtain insight into how all kinds of people experiencing poverty were perceived in their society¹². This phrase occurs 81,930 times in the seventeenth-century material in the corpus. By contrast, *honest poor* occurs 171 times and *impotent poor* occurs 78 times. Our main tool of analysis entailed finding collocates of the phrase *the poor*. Collocates are words which co-occur with a word to a greater extent than might be ordinarily expected. They can help reveal the meaning of a word by showing us what kinds of associations a writer made when using it. Note that collocation explicitly accepts structure in the texts – it is not a ‘bag of words’ approach to the study of language that is found in some techniques such as topic modelling (see, for example, Blei 2012). Collocation works by looking at structure, as evidenced by co-occurrence in the immediate context of a word, and from that provides a window into looking at the interplay of grammar and meaning in the immediate context of a word. The technique not only expressly avoids the false premise that words are subject to random association (see Kilgarrieff 2005 for a critique of the notion that language can be viewed as random) it also has the merit of appealing to psychological reality – psycholinguistic experiments as reported by Durant – Doherty (2010) and Millar (2011) provide evidence that the technique of collocation is not simply something that can be computed and provide useful results, it also seems to be a process with a close analogue in the human mind.

Note that the corpus approach to the study of language is not an automated approach – it requires, and guides, the interaction of distant and close reading. The collocation analysis presents us with some high level

¹² We asked CQPweb to find collocates of *the poor* in each decade of the seventeenth century, using the log ratio statistic, a window of 5 both left and right of the node, and a frequency of 10 for both collocate and node. Note that only the top 50 collocates of each decade were considered. The EEBO corpus has been annotated with normalised spellings by VARD (see Archer – Kytö – Baron – Rayson 2015) but we became aware in the course of our examination of concordance lines that VARD had not provided a normalised form for some terms. Hence, we searched for *the poore* alongside *the poor*.

linguistic abstractions from the text, but it is the analyst's interaction with those abstractions and, crucially, their close reading of texts which are linked to those abstractions which guide the process of meaning making from the corpus. Corpus linguistics cycles through distant reading, using processes such as collocation, but finds meaning not in an assumption that the distant reading allows one to make sense of the data, but by a critical exploration of the extent to which the distant reading makes sense of the data once texts are re-engaged with. The corpus approach is computer assisted text analysis, not computational text analysis *per se*.

Our focus in this paper is squarely on the dominant attitudes to the poor in written discourse. To reveal these, we use the ideas of consistent, terminating and initiating collocates (McEnery – Baker 2017: 25-28). Consistent collocates occur as collocates in at least seven decades of the century. Terminating collocates are consistent for at least three continuous decades and then cease being collocates. Initiating collocates are not collocates at the beginning of the time series being explored, but then become consistent for at least three decades and do not terminate. While these are admittedly heuristic measures of shifts in discourse, they have proved of use in exploring consistent and shifting patterns of meaning in discourse over time in our previous work (notably McEnery – Baker 2017). Our use of these measures in this paper is to explore stable attitudes to the poor in the seventeenth century (consistent collocates), attitudes being discarded (terminating collocates) and attitudes developing (initiating collocates).

Before we present our findings, it is necessary to address an issue which arose due to the polysemous nature of the term *poor*. Alongside being used to relate to poverty, *poor* was also used to characterise people who were humble or those who were pitiable. We initially attempted to find ways of isolating the instances when *the poor* was used to describe people with insufficient financial means. Our first attempt involved searching for instances when the automated part-of-speech analysis that the EEBO corpus had been provided with indicated that *poor* in the phrase *the poor* was a noun. From an inspection of concordance lines we believed that this would reliably identify examples of *the poor* relating to poverty. Unfortunately, there were no instances of this in the EEBO corpus which surprised us as we had seen such examples when reading some corpus texts. When we concordanced *the poor* and examined the part of speech annotation of it, however, we found that all examples of the word *poor* as a noun in the phrase *the poor* had been incorrectly assigned the label adjective. We then explored if we could manage this difficulty by restricting our choice of collocates for investigation

by only considering collocates to the left of the node. We hoped this might reduce collocates which expressed pity or referred to meekness, for instance, in a phrase such as *the poor child* – as an adjective the word would directly modify the right context, as a noun it would be directly modified by the left context. However, we found that this method excluded too many relevant collocates which did indeed refer to poverty but did not match this pattern of modification. Therefore, although time-consuming, we manually analysed both left and right collocates of *the poor*: after determining the principal meaning of each collocate of *the poor*, we proceeded to set aside those which usually expressed pity or suggested a person who was humble¹³.

4. Who were the poor?

Given that our hope in using a neutral phrase, *the poor*, was to access more neutral, or at least less inherently biased, views of how British society constructed poverty in the seventeenth century, the first question we must address is what do the collocates of the phrase tell us about who the poor were perceived to be? Consistent collocates provide insight into which social groups were most often associated with poverty throughout the seventeenth century. *Fatherless* appears as a top 50 collocate in every decade of the century, usually in religious texts. For instance, the phrase *the poor and fatherless* is often reproduced from the Book of Common Prayer¹⁴. This coordination of *fatherless* and *poor* suggests that both groups share characteristics or possess a similar status. *Orphans* also collocates consistently with *the poor* and again this occurs most frequently in religious texts, such as a translation of the Qur'an which was published in 1688: "Do no injury to Orphans, devour not the poor, and recount the graces that God hath conferred on thee" (Du Ryer 1688). However, *the poor* and *orphans* do not co-occur only in religious texts. Collocate analysis also highlighted a text by Sparke (1636) entitled 'The poore orphans court, or Orphans cry' which urged the crown to support both orphans and elderly people (see Davies 1986: 29). Sparke (1636) offers the first categorisation of the poor that we

¹³ In cases where it was not entirely clear whether a writer was using *the poor* to mean a person who was deserving of pity or one who was living in poverty, we looked for evidence of financial circumstance in the surrounding text. For instance, if a description of a person as poor was preceded by a reference to them being cheated of all their money, then we considered this an instance of poverty. If no such reference to their financial circumstances was present, the concordance was disregarded.

¹⁴ See, for instance, The Church of England (1693).

have come across during the corpus analysis: “The poor I thus distinguish into three sorts: 1 Sturdy Rogues and Whores. 2 Blind and Lame. 3 Aged and Young”. Those in the first category are dismissed by Sparke as “vermaine” and he suggests that those in the second might still support themselves by work. However, Sparke demonstrates more compassion for the “aged and the young”, describing children who have been “cast off by wicked parents” and who are farmed out as apprentices by parish officials who wish to be released from the responsibility of their care. Sparke’s solution was for ships to employ young children and for many of them to be shipped to New England at the expense of their parishes¹⁵.

Widow, which collocates with *the poor* in every decade of the seventeenth century, sometimes appears in lists which also include the fatherless, such as in this sermon by Reynolds (1658): “I have remembered the Widow, the Fatherless, the Poor and Helpless, to provide for them”. *Widow* mostly appears as a collocate in the R1 position¹⁶ in the phrase *poor widow*; it is often unclear, in these instances, whether or not the widow is perceived to be an object of pity or believed to be living in poverty. However, *widow* also frequently appears in the R2 position in phrases such as *the poor indebted widow* (Cottesford 1622) and *poor famished widow* (Goodwin 1637), suggesting a clear link with poverty and spousal bereavement. Yet, it is possible that religious rhetoric, which suggested that all widows were suffering financial hardship, was misleading; the collocate *widow* led us to another text which suggests that widows were able to give charity as well as receive it. The fourth edition of Stow’s ‘Survey of London’ (1633) with additions by the writer Anthony Munday listed widows who had made substantial charitable donations. For instance, Mistress Jane Baker “gave to the relief of poor maids marriages, an hundred pounds”; Mistress Margaret Search “gave unto Christs Hospital, twenty pounds”; and Mistress Sambach “gave to the poor of the parish of Saint Brides in Fleet Street, the sum of twenty five pounds yearly”. These records not only tell us that many widows were financially solvent but they give us an idea of the kinds of people or institutions thought worthy of charitable relief¹⁷.

¹⁵ This practice of shipping poor or orphaned children to the English colonies had already started before the publication of ‘The poore orphans court, or Orphans cry’ and continued right up until the 1960s.

¹⁶ The R1 position means that the collocate immediately follows the node; the L1 position means that the collocate immediately precedes the node. In the R2 position, the collocate is the second word to the right of the node.

¹⁷ The plural of *widow*, *widows*, also collocates with *the poor* consistently throughout the century and appears in similar texts to those of *widow*.

The term *beggars* is a terminating collocate as it collocates with *the poor* in the first three decades of the seventeenth century and then disappears. McEnery – Baker (forthcoming) have undertaken a corpus-based analysis of the criminal poor in Early Modern England and found that beggars were characterised in a consistently negative light throughout the century, being presented as foolish, idle, drunk and proud. At the beginning of the century, the poor were mentioned alongside beggars, suggesting that whilst the two were not necessarily considered synonymous, they were perhaps thought to have shared some common characteristics. For instance, Lawson (1689), in a famous work of political theory, declared: “Therefore the Magistrates should have a special care to order these, to cast out all idle people, all lazy beggars, and set the poor on work. None that can work should be idle, but take upon them some honest profession, and no professions or persons should be suffered, who bring detriment into the Common-wealth”. The message was that some poor people who were able to work were choosing not to support themselves.

However, there is a discourse which carefully separates the persona of the poor person from that of the beggar. A proverb of the time stated: “The Poor have little, Beggars none, The Rich too much, enough not one”¹⁸. Thus the poor are needy but are perhaps not utterly destitute and they are separated from beggars. The Anglo-Irish clergyman, Hezekiah Holland (1649) praised a woman named Hellen Tomson because “you have sent your charity to the door, not knowing to whom, (it was enough they were poor People,) not desiring your left hand should know what your right hand did; also how oft you have chided with your servants for calling the poor, beggars (in contempt,) because perchance we are all such”. It might be tempting to dismiss Tomson’s dislike of the word *beggar* as an instance of something approaching Early Modern political correctness – after all, the poor people she helped do appear to have been engaged in begging. However, just as present-day political correctness is arguably in place for good reason and tells us a great deal about our own cultural values, so too is this passage revealing: the term *beggar* was clearly perceived to be a pejorative term and Tomson, and probably others like her, were disinclined to label any local poor in such a way.

¹⁸ This proverb is usually attributed to Benjamin Franklin. See, for example, Cordry (2005: 142). We believe this is an incorrect attribution. The EEBO corpus contains a handful of instances of this proverb, the earliest being in 1619, but Franklin was not born until almost a century later, in 1706. See Owen (1619).

This exploration of consistent collocates characterizing *the poor* is revealing – *the poor* has an inherently positive discourse prosody (Stubbs 2001), i.e. it is associated with collocates that incline us to a positive evaluation of the phrase. *The poor* are associated with groups that the society saw to be deserving. An association of *the poor* with less deserving – indeed vilified – groups such as beggars terminates early in the century, indicating that the concept of the undeserving poor was detaching itself from the deserving poor in the early part of the century, leaving the bare phrase *the poor* as inherently positive. It is worth noting that this is in line with the views quoted from Sparke earlier in this section – one group of poor people were being set aside from another. This differentiation in the lexis would explain equally why more positively (*the deserving poor*) and negatively (*the undeserving poor*) modified forms of the phrase are comparatively rare – words such as *beggar* and the unmodified form *the poor* were increasingly differentiated and represented through polar opposites in terms of evaluation through discourse prosody, obviating the need for explicit evaluative modification of a phrase like *the poor*.

This hypothesis is borne out when we look at the distribution of *the poor* relative to *the X poor*, where X indicates any immediate premodifier of *poor* in the noun phrase. The instances per million of *the X poor* declines after *the poor* stops collocating with words such as *beggar*, i.e. at the point where we would argue that a positive discourse prosody attaches to *the poor*. From a peak of 2.55 examples per million words of *the X poor* pattern in 1620-29, the frequency of the pattern declines to 1.93 examples per million in 1690-99. So while looking for a more neutral term to explore representation of the poor in the century, our study instead serves to underline the emerging polarized view of the poor in the century.

5. What form did poverty take?

Let us move now to consider how the poor came to be so. Some of this is implied in the previous section by words such as *orphan* and *widow*, which blur the distinction between identity and cause of poverty. Yet other consistent collocates are more general in referencing the cause of poverty – *distressed* and *needy* are consistent collocates of *the poor* throughout the seventeenth century. *Distressed* is sometimes used to describe the state of the poor – “pity the distressed state of the poor” (Alemán 1623) and is sometimes listed as a noun alongside the poor to refer to a group of people also in

need of assistance – “in assisting the distressed, and relieving the poor with plentyfull alms” (Hawkins 1632). *Needy* occurs overwhelmingly in the R2 position from *poor*. Of the 1,725 times that *needy* collocates with *poor* in the seventeenth-century EEBO material, 1,335 of these occur in the R2 position, all in the phrase *poor and needy* or *poor & needy*. We studied a random sample of 100 concordances from these 1,335 matches and found that all but six came from religious texts. The authors of these works sometimes quoted the Bible directly – indeed, there are 17 mentions of *poor and needy* in the King James Bible altogether¹⁹. Hunger is a state associated with *the poor*: *starve* is a consistent collocate; *hungry* appears in the top 50 collocates in four decades; and *starving* collocates with *the poor* in the 1690s. Thus poverty was linked with a lack of food. Many of the concordances, again religious in nature, question why the rich have so much and the poor so little: “Why should such a Lord, Gentleman, Merchant, &c. have so many Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year amongst them; and the Poor ready to starve?” (L'Estrange 1679).

Indigent is an initiating collocate, attaching to *the poor* in the 1630s, then disappearing, only to re-attach in the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Again it links to a general attribution of neediness, not to a source of poverty. In order to uncover if *indigent* was increasingly used to describe poor people as the century progressed, we searched the entire EEBO corpus for the term *indigent* and isolated instances where the term collocated with *poor*. We found that in 53 per cent of cases, *poor* attached to *indigent* in the L2 position, usually in the phrase *poor and indigent* or *poor & indigent*. In terms of distribution across the century, this phrase peaked in usage in the 1670s, 1680s and 1690s, with frequency per million words being respectively 0.28, 0.27 and 0.27. This does suggest that the term was associated with the poor more towards the end of the century. Writers suggested that the poor and indigent were deserving of pity; for instance, Blount (1692): “as for the Poor and Indigent, truly they deserve our pity”. Interestingly, the phrase *indigent poor* only appears 14 times in the entire EEBO corpus. The phrase is used for the first time in the corpus by Edgeworth (1557) in a sermon calling for his flock to look upon “our indigent poor, and needy neighbours” with pity and compassion. There is one more instance of the phrase in 1622 (Malynes 1622); five instances occurring in three texts in the 1650s; and five instances occurring in two texts in the 1690s. In the 1650s and 1690s, these terms tend to appear in texts by social reformers, such as Malkin (1697) who discussed

¹⁹ <https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/>

the cost of maintaining “the Old, and Indigent Poor, and Children”. The term does not appear in eighteenth-century texts in the corpus.

Overall, what is striking is that, other than the impoverished identities already identified, the texts are at best vague and at worst silent on the causes of poverty, at least at the level of discourse as viewed through the optic of collocation. So while discourse in the early modern period did link certain identities to poverty, those identities were linked to dependence, not occupation. We see public discourse identifying dependents such as orphans and widows as being poor, but we do not see specific professions associated with it. What we see rather are simply expressions of want, the source of which seems to be vague and general. Yet while the source of poverty may have, at times, been expressed in vague and general terms, the pitiable actions and nature of the poor was not, as the next section will show.

6. The state of the poor

In line with the emerging overall positive discourse prosody of the phrase *the poor*, collocates revealing attitudes to the poor evoke sympathy for a group of people suffering in hardship. This notion that the poor were oppressed was widespread in Early Modern English society. *Oppress* (with its variants *oppressing*, *oppressed* and *oppression*) is a consistent collocate of *the poor*. An analysis of this collocate shows that those who were deemed to be oppressing the poor were the rich, namely landlords, described by Hall (1663) as “those cruel men that rack Tenants, and enclose Commons to themselves, that oppress the Poor, and then when they die build them an Alms house” (Hall 1663; also see Perkins 1608) and usurers (see Jelinger 1679). However, the collocate does lead us to texts where, for the first time, the poor are given some real agency, albeit in a negative way. The poor are described as retaliating against oppression by envying, devouring and stealing from the rich – see Rogers (1662); Bisbie (1684); and Collier (1695). Yet, the poor are still presented as victims more than they are portrayed as criminals. *Rob* (with its variant *robbing*) is a terminating collocate which detaches itself from *the poor* after the 1640s. Poor people are not being described as thieves in these texts. The collocate usually appears in the L1 position in the phrases *rob/bing the poor*. Most of the relevant concordances emphasise that robbing the poor is a sin but make no accusations against particular individuals or social groups. For instance, Hare (1692), who was chairman of the general quarter sessions for Surrey, declared that “certainly to rob and defraud the Poor is a Crime

above the common Level". However, the theologian, Sanderson (1627), argued that a criminal underclass were responsible for indirectly robbing the poor: "as for those idle stubborn professed wanderers, that can and may and will not work, and under the name and habit of poverty rob the poor indeed of our alms and their maintenance: let us harden our hearts against them".

Grind/ing is a consistent collocate of *the poor*. It usually occurs in the L4 position, in phrases such as *grind the faces of the poor*, which is a direct quotation from Isaiah 3:15²⁰. The people accused of doing the grinding in these examples are, respectively, landlords (see Stewart 1667) and usurers (see Hookes 1653). The discourse of usurers defrauding the poor is represented by other collocates: *lend/s* is attached to *the poor* consistently. Its variant *lending* and *usury* both occur in two decades, 1600-09 and 1670-79. The decade each of these collocates has in common is the 1670s and this can be explained by the publication of two texts concerning usury towards the end of this decade: an essay by Christopher Jelinger (1679), a German Puritan who had settled in England, and a reply by an anonymous writer, T.P. (1679).

In line with the developing positive discourse prosody of *the poor*, this seems to intensify as the century progresses. For example, *sighing* and *helpless* are initiating collocates, appearing in, respectively, the 1640s and 1650s and collocating in each decade thereafter. *Sighing* appears as a collocate due to its appearance in Psalm 12, the Evening Prayer: "Now for the comfortless troubles sake of the needy: and because of the deep sighing of the poor." – see, for example, Taylor (1647). *Helpless* and *the poor* are often coordinated together, suggesting commonality. Of the 277 times that *poor* and *helpless* collocate in the seventeenth century, they do so 63 times in the expression *poor and helpless*. For instance, the Calvinist writer, Bolton (1637), in a discourse against usury, observed that, "In the laws of Usury, and other prohibitions of oppression, express mention is made of the poor and helpless". This was, he reasoned, because the rich found it easiest to oppress the poor and that only those who were in need had occasion to borrow. Bolton also believed that "It is a more grievous sin to oppress the Poor". Again, the poor were presented as possessing little agency: they were powerless and easily subject to abuse.

Society's response to the group is shown in another consistent collocate – *hospital/s*. The poor are associated with ill health and disability in written discourse. In the sixteenth century, largely as a result of poverty becoming

²⁰ <http://biblehub.com/isaiah/3-15.htm>. *Mocks* also enters the top 50 collocates of *the poor* in the 1640s and tends to appear in quotations of Proverbs 17:5.

a more visible problem, some parishes seized the initiative in order to help their local poor. London taxed its wealthier citizens in 1547 and the money collected was directly used to re-establish the hospital of St Bartholomew's. This was followed by the re-founding of Thomas's Hospital in 1551 which, like St Bartholomew's, catered for those struggling with disease or disability. Clarke (1654) tells us that: "King Edward the sixth was as truly charitable in granting Bridewell for the punishment of sturdy Rogues, as in giving Saint Thomas hospital for the relief of the poor". Christ's Hospital, founded in 1552, and Bridewell Prison and Hospital, established in 1553, housed foundling children and sturdy beggars – see Slack (1995: 8) and Holinshed (1808: 1061-1062). Pearl (1978: 207) has shown that London residents continued to be taxed to fund the hospitals in the 1560s and, from the 1570s, in order to support the parish poor. Dyer (2012: 45-48) has explained that hospitals aimed to give residents a healthy diet and some offered private rooms and outdoor relief, but they were usually located in towns and were only able to offer relief to the local poor. The collocate *hospital/s* leads us to a rare reference to the poor of a named place other than London, by Bohum (1693): "Croydon, or Croyden, Neomagus, a Market Town in Surrey, the Capital of its Hundred; seated near the Spring head of the River Wandle, nine Miles from London, where the Archbishop of Canterbury has a Country House: it has an Hospital for the Poor, and a Free-School for Children, founded by Archbishop Whitgift".

Bequests were considered an important part of fulfilling one's Christian responsibilities to the wider community and they provided a substantial source of support to poor people, even after the introduction of the Elizabethan Poor Law²¹. The concordances in which *the poor* collocates with *hospital/s* often emphasise the importance of charitable donations to hospitals or mention specific instances of charitable giving. Gregory (1675) observes: "It is Charity that Embalms a Man's name, and keeps it fresh and sweet for ever; there's no Tomb like an Alms-house, no Monument like an Hospital, no Marble like the Poor Man's Box". The collocate *hospital* highlights a text which reproduces the last will and testament of John Kendrike (1625), a draper who lived in London, who left five hundred pounds to the poor of Christ's Hospital and fifty pounds to the sick in both Saint Thomas' Hospital and in St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Although there

²¹ Dyer (2012) has looked at more than 4000 wills, dating from between 1430 and 1530, in order to explain how people living in poverty survived before the introduction of the Poor Laws.

is scholarly disagreement about the extent that unofficial poor relief was funded by charitable donations²², it does appear that charitable bequests continued in significant numbers and even grew during periods of intense need: McIntosh (1988: 231), for instance, has calculated that in the parish of St Margaret's in Westminster, between 1584 and 1609, 66-75 per cent of the money distributed to the poor originated in donations and bequests and, moreover, it was these sources of funds which soared during times of crisis. Nevertheless, even increases in charitable activity could not keep pace with the continuing numbers of people who were requesting financial assistance and many parishes responded by attempting to reduce the cost of supporting the poor. Some communities stopped authorising poor widows to foster abandoned or orphaned children and instead invited employers to oversee their care in apprenticeships. A smaller number of parishes attempted to force able-bodied adults and children to become self-sufficient by means of work programmes, such as the cloth town of Hadleigh in Suffolk which established a workhouse in 1577 (see McIntosh 1988: 232).

Overall, the texts show the poor to be worthy of pity – they are oppressed, victims of crime and in need of medical assistance. They live in despair and in difficult circumstances. This is in contrast to studies of words such as *beggar* which have shown a much more negative evaluation, focussing on the shortcomings of the beggar and their own agency in their dependence. Again, the evidence points towards the semantics of *the poor* being quite distinct, and more positive, than that used for the criminalized poor.

7. Providing for the poor: Charity

What then was the response to the poor? How did Early Modern writers characterize what was and should be done to alleviate the condition of the poor? We have established that early modern writers exhorted their readers to give to the poor and that bequests to help people living in poverty were common. What other forms of charitable giving were common in the seventeenth century? To explore this, we analysed collocates which all seem to relate to charity which consistently appear in the top 50 collocates of *the poor*. These were *distribute/d* and *relief*, (with its variants *relieve*, *relieving* and *relieved*), *alms* and *charitable*. *Distribute/d* occurs in examples including instructions to churchwardens to ensure donations are distributed to

²² See Jordan (1959) and Bittle – Lane (1976), for instance.

the poor (Church of England. Archdeaconry of Worcester 1609); exhortations that charity intended for the poor should not be stolen (Bell 1609); and examples of exemplars of the community who gave to the poor during their lifetimes (Porter, J. 1632) and also after their deaths (Boreman 1669). Blount (1661), in his dictionary, tells us about a specific type of charitable donation: "We also call Alms distributed to the poor at a Funeral, Dole, quasi Deal, from the Sax". It was very common for attendees to receive a cash donation for attending a funeral and this ensured a respectable number of mourners for the deceased.

Relief and its variants usually appear in phrases such as *to relieve the poor and the needy* (Fonseca 1629) and *greatly relieving the poor and needy* (Mexâia 1623). Camden (1637) mentions the role of monasteries, during the time of Henry VIII "for the relief and maintenance of the poor and impotent". Bush (1650) draws readers' attention to legislation of 1647, 'An Ordinance for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, and the Punishment of Vagrants and other disorderly Persons'. The relevant concordances also include works by reformers such as Child (1690), who named the second chapter of his book: 'Concerning the Relief and Employment of the Poor'. Occasionally writers relate how people of other countries, both in historical and contemporary accounts, dealt with their poor. Purchas (1625), for instance, in a history of China, recounts how he asked why there were no beggars in the country and was told:

in every City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poor people, for Blind, Lame, Old folk, not able to travel for age, nor having any other means to live. These folk have in the aforesaid houses, ever plenty of Rice during their lives, but nothing else... When one is sick, blind, or lame, he makes a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proving that to be true he writes, he remains in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he lives: besides this, they keep in these places Swine and Hens, whereby the poor be relieved without going a begging.

Charitable usually appears in texts describing the generosity of individuals or exhorting the wider public to such generosity. Despite *alms* consistently collocating with *the poor* throughout the seventeenth century, there is not a great deal of information in the corpus concerning what constituted alms. However, it appears that alms took the form of both food and money; Hindle (2004b: 12) has written that the provision of the latter gradually came to dominate in the seventeenth century. The Church of England (1691) asks

"have you a Box in the Church to receive the Alms of charitable persons for the Poor?" Moreover, it appears that money may have been the preferred type of charity from the point of view of the recipient. Horne (1619) writes: "A reproof of our unthankful poor, who scorn the alms that is not of their own choosing, and murmur against an alms of bread; where this godly poor man desired but an alms of crumbs". Vernon (1654) gives us the impression that some people donated a lecture to the poor alongside alms. He describes one woman from Leicestershire, Elenor Armstrong, who "would seldom send away the poor without a double Alms, relief for the body, and good counsel for the soul". The term *box* collocates with *the poor* transiently in the 1610s, 30s, 40s and 70s, and usually appears in references to the poor man's box, a container placed in churches for the receipt of alms. However, an analysis of this collocate also highlights a discussion surrounding the willingness of early moderners to give to the poor. Whereas Purchas (1625), above, merely described the relief schemes of another country, the well-known pamphleteer, Nashe (1613), went further to condemn his contemporaries' selfishness and argued that other countries relieved their poor far more effectively:

If Christ were now naked and visited, naked and visited should he be, for none would come near him... In other Lands, they have Hospitals, whether their infected are transported, presently after they are stricken. They have one Hospital, for those that have been in the houses with the infected, and are not yet tainted: another for those that are tainted, and have the sores risen on them, but not broken out. A third, for those that both have the sores, & have them broken out on them. We have no provision but mixing hand over head, the sick with the whole. A halfpenny a month to the poor mans box, we count our utter impoverishing. I have heard Travellers of credit avouch, that in London, is not given the tenth part of that alms in a week, which in the poorest besieged City of France is given in a day.

Perhaps Nashe (1613) had a point. An interesting proclamation by Charles I (England and Wales, 1625) reveals the king's personal feelings towards the poor. After publishing restrictions on the practice of seeking healing by means of the king's touch, the King sought to dissuade the poor from approaching him during his travels by having his almoner "deliver his Majesty's Alms to the Overseers of the Poor, to be distributed amongst them, for their better & more equal relief, then they should receive by coming abroad in that dishonourable & indecent manner; which therefore his Majesty stringently

charge and commands them to forbear, and all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Constables, and other Officers, to take due care of accordingly". It is clear that the King did not relish these opportunities for closer contact with his less privileged subjects.

One further collocate in the top 50 collocates of *the poor* is worthy of note – *liberal* is a terminating collocate which disappears from the top 50 collocates of *the poor* after the 1640s; before that, it usually appears in the L2 position – it occurs in this position in 166 of the 299 times the words collocate. All but one of these 166 examples relate to the pattern *liberal unto/to/toward/towards the poor*. The phrase is often used by writers describing the generosity of an individual, particularly saints, popes and rulers, who lived in the past. For instance, Trapp (1657) tells us that "Pope Alexander the fifth; was so liberal to the poor". However, a weaker discourse is present which criticises certain people or groups for their lack of liberality. Burton (1632), who was imprisoned for a long stretch for his later pieces which attacked the church hierarchy, wrote that those who were "liberal to the poor" must ensure that their alms are not taken by "a Monastical Society of lazy and lustful Abbey-lubbers"; Abbott (1600) who would eventually rise to become Archbishop of Canterbury, shared this anti-Catholic sentiment: "I do not find that the Priests were very liberal to the poor".

So in terms of individual responses to the poor, the public discourse is clear. It is governed by a set of practices regulated by the church and in giving to the poor members of society are modelling the behaviour of saints. Yet, as the example of Charles I shows, this process of giving is mediated. Unlike beggars, the poor do not directly receive relief from the charitable – the charitable donate through an agency to the poor. This mediation, of course, raises issues and concerns, deflecting, in some cases at least, opprobrium away from the poor and on to those who may misuse the alms donated. Yet what of state-controlled responses to the poor – do these follow the same pattern, i.e. mediated giving with the mediating party being the subject of criticism?

8. Providing for the poor: Official relief

Whilst 26 of the top collocates of *the poor* seem to relate to charity, only 10 relate to official relief. The focus on mediation is, perhaps, predictable, but unlike in the case of alms-giving, prominent amongst the collocates for official relief are terms referencing parish officials responsible for

collecting and distributing the parish rate. A number of spelling variants of the singular and plural of *overseer* are present as collocates. *Churchwardens* enters the top 50 collocates of *the poor* in the 1640s as an initiating collocate²³. Elections for overseers of the poor and churchwardens took place annually at Easter time²⁴. These positions were unpaid and often fulfilled reluctantly, usually by those men in the community who were able to give their time for free. The number of officials required to serve in each parish depended upon its size. In larger parishes two or three overseers might be appointed but in smaller communities one officer might undertake both positions simultaneously with the aid of an official collector of parish rates. The overseer made decisions regarding who was eligible for relief, usually by means of a face-to-face interview with the claimant, and also supervised its distribution. Churchwardens shared duties regarding the parish dole with the overseers but their accounts tended to be limited to expenses arising from the maintenance of the church building and other types of parish spending²⁵. Churchwardens were often responsible for distributing charitable relief.

Overseers is the most popular term, collocating consistently with *the poor* from the 1620s onwards. An analysis of this collocate, from the 1620s to the 1690s, shows that over 555 of its 590 co-occurrences with *the poor* appear in the L2 position in the phrase *overseers off/for the poor*. *Churchwardens* usually appears in the L4 position (211 of 301 co-occurrences), in phrases such as *churchwardens or overseers of the poor* or *church-wardens and overseers of the poor* meaning that references to overseers and churchwardens often appeared in the same texts. Clearly the duties of these two parish officials were closely linked. In a number of cases, one author was responsible for a group of concordance lines. Some of these texts were guides written for parish officials, such as Robert Gardiner's 'Compleat Constable', first printed in 1692 and reprinted a number of times, and George Meriton's (1669) 'A guide for constables, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, surveyors of the highways, treasurers of the county stock, masters of the house of correction, bayliffs of mannours, toll-takers in fairs &c'²⁶. Sparke's (1636)

²³ The hyphenated version of *churchwardens* – *church-wardens* – is more commonly used in the seventeenth-century texts of EEBO.

²⁴ The following description of the roles of overseers of the poor and churchwardens owes much to the website London Lives. See <https://www.londonlives.org/static/ParishRelief.jsp>

²⁵ Dyer (2012: 73) believes that churchwardens did have a significant role in collecting and distributing alms but that their records were limited to their role managing church buildings because this is what the auditing process focussed upon.

²⁶ See Hitchcock (2012: 28-30) for a discussion of the *Compleat Constable*.

'The Poor Orphans Court' emphasises the role of the Overseers of the Poor in identifying how many "impotent, poor, and Orphans" resided in their parish in order to allot them relief accordingly; to arrange work for children who were able to work; and to conduct beggars or loiterers who belonged to other parishes to the care of their own overseer of the poor or constable. Occasionally, the concordance lines throw light upon other duties required of overseers of the poor, such as collecting support payments from alleged fathers of illegitimate children (see Kilburne 1681). England and Wales (1699) provides an important example of supplementary legislation which, if ignored by parish officials, might result in their own punishment:

After 1 September, 1697. every such person as shall receive Relief of any Parish or Place, and the Wife and Children cohabiting in the same House (except such Child as shall be permitted to live at home to attend some helpless Parent) shall, upon the Right Shoulder of their upper Garment, in a visible manner, wear a large Roman P, with the first Letter of the Name of the Parish or Place where the said person Inhabits, cut in Red or Blue Cloth, as the Churchwardens or Overseers shall appoint. The Poor person neglecting or refusing to wear such Badge or Mark, may be punished by any Justice of Peace of the County, either by ordering his or her Relief on the Collection to be abridged or withdrawn, or by Committing the party to the House of Correction, not exceeding 21 Days; and if any Church-warden or Overseer of the Poor, after the said 1 September. shall relieve any such Poor person, not wearing such Badge, he being Convicted by one Witness before a Justice of Peace, shall Forfeit for every such Offence 20 s. to be Levied by Distress and Sale of Goods, one Moiety to the use of the Informer, the other to the Poor of the Parish.

The poor then were to be visually marked and it appears that the crown was expecting some resistance to this new legal requirement.

So, as with individual relief giving, state relief giving focusses on those who mediate relief to the poor. In doing so the regulation and actions of those mediators is prominent in the discourse, again emphasizing the mediated and regulated nature of official poor relief. This contrasts markedly with the direct connection formed between the more negatively evaluated criminalized poor, where the transfer of alms was direct from donor to the recipient. Yet in replacing this behaviour with mediated giving, official relief, as personal relief did, shifted the focus of criticism from the poor to those who mediated the relief the poor received.

9. Conclusion

An exploration of *the poor* in Early Modern English is revealing of the society and language of the time. In the language, the expression is, at times, associated with the criminalized poor at the beginning of the century, but as the decades progress, the phrase is subjected to a process of semantic narrowing which leaves it with a positive discourse prosody. While the phrase could be treated as a near synonym of words such as *beggar* at the beginning of the century, within a couple of decades of the century beginning, the use of *the poor* as a near synonym of words such as *beggar*, as evidenced through collocation, ceases. The words *beggar*, *rogue*, *vagabond* and *vagrant*, as explored elsewhere (McEnery – Baker forthcoming), have a negative discourse prosody throughout the century. However, *the poor* narrows its meaning to focus on those who were thought to be what we might call the deserving poor – a group represented as being poor through no fault of their own, suffering from criminal acts and illness, and deserving of help. The lack of negative, judgemental collocates attached to *the poor* is perhaps surprising – indeed, we find that writers stressed the importance of compassion and our analysis reveals many instances of charitable activity and seemingly genuine concern for the less fortunate members of society.

The reason this happens, we would argue, is that language reflects social processes which change in this time. Society itself distinguishes between the deserving poor (those deemed worthy of state aid) and the undeserving poor (those who directly beg for support) in legislation. The fact that this legislation has an impact on language is undoubted in our view – as seen in the analysis in this paper, *the poor* attracts collocates which are directly related to the poor law from the 1620s onwards as was shown in the example of *overseers*.

As a demonstration of the importance of processes such as collocation and discourse prosody in the exploration of meaning change, the exploration of *the poor* is revealing. As noted at the beginning of the paper, there are few examples of the noun *poor* being directly modified by evaluative expressions such as in *the indigent poor*. Yet when viewed through the lens of collocation, the positive nature of the emerging positive discourse prosody of *the poor* in the century becomes clear. In exploring an issue of interest to historians, we also see the interface between language and society at work and the ways in which collocation can drive semantic change at the level of discourse.

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1675 *Agape, or, The feast of love a sermon at the Oxford-shire feast, kept on Thursday Nov. 25, 1675 at Drapers-Hall in London: preached at St. Michael's Church in Cornhill.* London.
- Hall, T.
1663 *An exposition by way of supplement, on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth chapters of the prophecy of Amos where you have the text fully explained.* London.
- Hare, H.
1692 *A charge given at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county of Surrey holden at Dorking on Tuesday the 5th day of April 1692, and in the fourth year of Their Majesties reign.* London.
- Hartlib, S.
1650 *Londons charity enlarged, Stilling the Orphans Cry. By the Liberality of the Parliament, in granting two Houses by Act, and giving a thousand pound towards the work for the imployment of the Poor, and education of poor children, who many of them are destroyed in their youth for want of being under a good Government and education, whereby they may be made serviceable for God, and the Commonwealth.* London.
- Hawkins, H.
1632 *The history of S. Elizabeth daughter of the King of Hungary. According to sundry authours who haue authentically written her life, distributed into three bookes.* Rouen.

- Holland, H.
1649 [no title]. London.
- Holinshed, R.
1808 (reprinted from the 1577 ed.) *Holinshed's Chronicles [of] England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Volume 3. Ellis, H. (ed.). New York: Ams Press.
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1653 *Amanda, a sacrifice to an unknown goddess, or, A free-will offering of a loving heart to a sweet-heart by N.H. of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge*. London.
- Horne, R.
1619 *Of the rich man and Lazarus. Certaine sermons, by Robert Horne*. London.
- Jelinger, C.
1679 *Usury stated overthrowen: or, usuries champions with their auxiliaries, shamefully disarmed and beaten by an answer to its chief champion, which lately appeared in print to defend it. And Godliness epitomized by Christopher Jelinger, M.A. Beza upon Matth. May a man with a safe conscience lend upon usury? No surely. And holy Usher, Arch-Bishop of Armagh, in his Body of divinity, pag. 300. Q. What is that which we call usury? It is lending in expectation of certain gain. So he well stateth it against usury ill stated by T. P. Q. What do you think of it? If we speak of that properly, which the scripture condemneth, it is a most wicked and unlawful contract; which if we live and die in, without repentance, we are excluded out of the Kingdom of Heaven. Psal. 15.1,5. Ezek. 18.12,13. and chap. 22. But there is much questioning, which is that usury which the scripture condemneth. Therefore it will be our wisdom wholly to forbear it, and not to put our souls, which are of more value than the whole world, upon nice discourses, and subtil distinctions. Thus this holy man*. London.
- Kendricke, J.
1625 *The last will and testament of Mr. Iohn Kendricke late citizen and draper of London who departed this life the 30. day of December, anno, 1624. Full of notable workes of charity, worthy of lasting memory and imitation*. London.
- Kilburne, R.
1681 *Choice presidents upon all Acts of Parliament relating to the office and duty of a justice of peace. With necessary notes and instructions thereupon taken out of the said Acts of Parliament, and other particular cases in law adjudg'd therein. As also a more useful method of making up Court-Rolls than hath been hitherto known or published in print. By Rich. Kilburne, Esq; late one of His Majestie's Justices of the Peace for the county of Kent, and principal of Staple-Inn*. London.
- Lawson, G.
1689 *Politica sacra & civilis, or, A model of civil and ecclesiastical government wherein, besides the positive doctrine concerning state and church in general, are debated the principal controversies of the times concerning the constitution of the state and Church of England, tending to righteousness, truth, and peace*. London.

L'Estrange, R.

- 1679 *The free-born subject, or, The Englishmans birthright asserted against all tyrannical usurpations either in church or state.* London.

Malkin, G.

- 1697 *A good-work for bad times, or, A way to make England rich and happy shewing how the charge of the war if it should continue may be born without any tax or pressure to the subject, and all the poor and idle persons in this nation may be employed or set to work, by which the nation will gain more than double the charge of the war as is herein plainly set forth, and the poor of all sorts that are not able to get their living by their work may be better maintain'd than now they are, without begging, and the children be brought up to work and taught to read, write and cast accompts, and be virtuously educated so as they may be serviceable to the nation: and also money will be made plenty and trade brisk, and some, amongst a great many, of the vast advantages that will accrue to the nation by it are here set forth: most humbly dedicated to the consideration of His Majesty and the Parliament.* London.

Malynes, G.

- 1622 *Consuetudo, vel lex mercatoria, or The ancient law-merchant. Diuided into three parts: according to the essentiall parts of trafficke. Necessary for all statesmen, iudges, magistrates, temporall and ciuile lawyers, mint-men, merchants, marriners, and all others negotiating in all places of the world. By Gerard Malynes merchant.* London.

Meriton, G.

- 1669 *A guide for constables, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, surveyors of the highways, treasurers of the county stock, masters of the house of correction, bayliffs of mannours, toll-takers in fairs &c. a treatise briefly shewing the extent and latitude of the several offices, with the power of the officers herein, both by common law and statute, according to the several additions and alterations of the law, till the 20 year of His Majesties reign.* London.

Mexâia, P.

- 1623 *The imperiall historie: or The liues of the emperours, from Iulius Cæsar, the first founder of the Roman monarchy, vnto this present yeere containing their liues and actions, with the rising and declining of that empire; the originall, and successe, of all those barbarous nations that haue inuaded it, and ruined it by peece-meele: with an ample relation of all the memorable accidents that haue happened during these last combustions. First written in Spanish by Pedro Mexia: and since continued by some others, to the death of Maximilian the Second; translated into English by W.T.: and now corrected, amplified and continued to these times by Edvard Grimeston Sergeant at Armes.* London.

Nashe, T.

- 1613 *Christs teares ouer Ierusalem. Whereunto is annexed a comparatiue admonition to London.* London.

- Owen, J.
 1619 *Epigrams of that most wittie and worthie epigrammatist Mr. Iohn Owen, Gentleman. Translated by Iohn Vicars. London.*
- Perkins, W.
 1608 *A godly and learned exposition of Christs Sermon in the Mount: preached in Cambridge by that reuerend and iudicious diuine M. William Perkins. Published at the request of his exequutors by Th. Pierson preacher of Gods word. Whereunto is adioyned a twofold table: one, of speciall points here handled; the other, of choise places of Scripture here quoted. London.*
- Porter, J.
 1632 *The flowers of the liues of the most renowned saincts of the three kingdoms England Scotland, and Ireland written and collected out of the best authours and manuscripts of our nation, and distributed according to their feasts in the calendar. By the R. Father, Hierome Porter priest and monke of the holy order of Saint Benedict, of the congregation of England. The first tome. Douai.*
- Purchas, S.
 1625 *Purchas his pilgrimes in fiue bookes. The first, contayning the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarkes, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne world: enquiries also of languages and religions, especially of the moderne diuersified professions of Christianitie. The second, a description of all the circum-nauigations of the globe. The third, nauigations and voyages of English-men, amongst the coasts of Africa ... The fourth, English voyages beyond the East Indies, to the ilands of Iapan, China, Cauchinchina, the Philippinæ with others ... The fifth, nauigations, voyages, traffiques, discoueries, of the English nation in the easterne parts of the world ... The first part. London.*
- Reynolds, E.
 1658 [no title]. London
- Rogers, N.
 1662 *The rich fool set forth in an exposition on that parable: Luke 12, 16-22. London.*
- Sanderson, R.
 1627 *Ten sermons preached I. Ad clerum. 3. II. Ad magistratum. 3. III. Ad populum. 4. By Robert Saunderson Bachellor in Diuinitie, sometimes fellow of Lincolne Colledge in Oxford. London.*
- Sparke, M.
 1636 *The poore orphans court, or Orphans cry. By M.S. Being a wel-wisher for a speedy helpe of their misery, and an eye-witnesse of their present calamitie. London.*
- Stewart, J.
 1667 *Naphtali, or, The wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the kingdom of Christ contained in a true and short deduction thereof, from the beginning*

of the reformation of religion, until the year 1667: together with the last speeches and testimonies of some who have died for the truth since the year 1660. Edinburgh.

Stow, J.

- 1633 *The survey of London containing the original, increase, modern estate and government of that city, methodically set down: with a memorial of those famous acts of charity, which for publick and pious uses have been bestowed by many worshipfull citizens and benefactors: as also all the ancient and modern monuments erected in the churches, not only of those two famous cities, London and Westminster, but (now newly added) four miles compass / begun first by the pains and industry of John Stow, in the year 1598; afterwards enlarged by the care and diligence of A.M. in the year 1618; and now compleatly finished by the study & labour of A.M., H.D. and others, this present year 1633; whereunto, besides many additions (as appears by the contents) are annexed divers alphabetical tables, especially two, the first, an index of things, the second, a concordance of names. London.*

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- 1647 *The psalter of David with titles and collects according to the matter of each Psalme: whereunto is added Devotions for the help and assistance of all Christian people, in all occasions and necessities. London.*

Topsell, E.

- 1596 *The revvard of religion. Deliuered in sundrie lectures vpon the booke of Ruth, wherein the godly may see their daily and outwarde tryals, with the presence of God to assist them, and his mercies to recompence them: verie profitable for this present time of dearth, wherein manye are most pittifully tormented with want; and also worthie to bee considered in this golden age of the preaching of the word, when some vomit vp the loathsomnes therof, and others fall away to damnable securitie. London.*

T.P.

- 1679 *Usury stated being a reply to Mr. Jelinger's Usurer cast whereto are adjoyned, some animadversions on Mr. Bolton's and Mr. Capel's discourses, concerning the same subject. London: Printed for Robert Clavel.*

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