Constructing a Linguistic Commonwealth in Tudor England:

John Hart and the Religio-Political Conceptualization of Orthographic Reform

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Abstract

This thesis situates the study of John Hart's proposals for orthographic reform in a religio-political context. Instead of focusing entirely on the scientific content of his linguistic writings, it brings together the technical, ideological, and rhetorical dimensions in one discussion, seeking to investigate how Hart's ideas about language were informed by the theory and practice of Tudor politics. Text analyses throughout the four analytical chapters show that Hart's religio-political conceptualizations of orthographic reform are (at least) threefold: First, the program was motivated by both religious and secular needs: the pushing-through of religious reform and the strengthening of central government (Chapter 2). Second, the technical aspects of orthography—the constituent elements, internal structure, and governing forces—were modeled on social facts and political theories (Chapters 3 & 5). Third, the ideology of reform was wrapped up with political rhetoric borrowed from commonwealth literature (Chapter 4). In brief, Hart's scholarly cause can be tersely summarized as constructing a linguistic commonwealth of orthography, which was modeled on the ideology and rhetoric of creating a religio-political commonwealth in Tudor England.

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Chapter One

Introduction

A publik weale is a body lyuyng / cópacte or made of sondry astates and degrees of men / whiche is disposed by the ordre of equite / and gouerned by the rule and moderation of reason. In the latin tonge hit is called Respublica / of the whiche the worde Res / hath diuers significations / and doothe nat only betoken that, that is called a thynge / whiche distincte from a persone / but also signifieth astate / condition / substance / and profite. In our olde vulgare / profite is called weale: And it is called a welthy contraye / wherin is all thyng that is profitable:

Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (1531: fols.1ʳ–1ᵛ)

1.1 Topic, Aims, and Motivation

This thesis examines how John Hart (*c*. 1501–1574) maps the ideology and rhetoric of the Tudor political concept "commonwealth" onto his envisioning and conceptualization of a perfect English orthography in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, aiming at approaching his three linguistic treatises from a couple of religio-political perspectives which are hitherto comparatively lesser known and little examined by scholars of English philology. It seeks to investigate how the *technical* discussions of linguistic issues of spelling were informed by the currents of *political* thought and the on-going movement of *religious* reform; or, in other words, how Hart set out to construct a *linguistic* commonwealth of orthography which is modeled on the ideology and rhetoric of a *religio-political* commonwealth. The central argument is that in Hart's eyes orthographic reform was not only *likened to* but also *seen as part of* the ideal and practice of religio-political reforms under the Tudor governments. For Hart, politics serves more than merely as a context in which his ideas about language were engendered; it is, more importantly, also the underpinning model and supporting framework of his system of linguistic thought. In the existing literature, Hart's writings are predominantly read and analyzed from purely *technical* perspectives, having been used, for instance, as materials for reconstructing English pronunciation in the Tudor period or tracing the history of phonetic studies in early modern England. While these studies have achieved a great deal in making Hart's linguistic scholarship visible in modern academia, they seldom provide much specific information on the political background, let alone investigate how Hart spells out in terms of Tudor politics the technical aspects of orthography and the necessity of orthographic reform. By foregrounding the religio-political dimension, this doctoral project aims to cast a new light on the understanding of Hart's linguistic ideas.

Hart is a remarkable figure in the history of British linguistic thought. Along with Thomas Smith (1513–1577), William Bullokar (*c*. 1531–1609), and Richard Mulcaster (1531/2–1611), he is one of the most important advocates of spelling reform in a period when orthographic questions were becoming central to discussions of the vernacular.[1] But before moving on to explain my research motivation in some detail, it is necessary to say something about John Hart's origin, education, career, and linguistic writings.[2] There is much uncertainty concerning Hart's birthplace and his family's social standing. Danielsson holds that Hart "must have been born and brought up in or near London" (1963: 271) and "belonged to the Harts of Northolt,

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[1] It should be noted that English linguistics (by which I mean systematic study of English rather than Latin or any other languages in England) began with the study of spelling in the sixteenth century.

[2] According to my survey, there are mainly six pieces of work that are wholly dedicated to (or with some mention of) biographical studies on John Hart: Thompson (*DNB*, archive version), Kökeritz (1949: 239–248), Danielsson (1955a: 13–32; 1963b: 5–6 & 269–271), Dobson (1968: 62–66), Salmon (*DNB*, 2004b), and Lass (2009: 616–619).

who had been owners of lands and tenements there since the days of his grandparents at least"
(1955: 19). But some scholars believe that the Northolt family was just of tenant farmers (*DNB*,
Salmon 2004b) and Hart "was a Devonshire man by birth" (Kökeritz 1949: 243). He must have
been born before the summer of 1501 because "the death of his father, John Hart, was presented
at the Northolt Court Baron 19 October 1500" (Danielsson 1955a: 20). No record is available
about Hart's education and thus his early schooling remains the object of guesswork to a large
extent. But his linguistic writings reveal three crucial facts. First, he had a good command of the
linguistic thought of classical authorities such as Cicero, Quintilian, and Priscian, to name a few,
which can be seen from the large amount of quotations that he uses throughout the texts. He was
also well-versed in the two classical languages in addition to several contemporary vernaculars
such as French, German, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Flemish. Second, Hart had an academic
association with Cambridge scholars such as Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke (1514–1557)
who were active promoters of orthographic reform, and was heavily influenced by them (see
Hart 1551: 100; 1569: fol.6ʳ, fols.37ʳ–38ᵛ). But according to the investigation of Danielsson
(1955a: 21), there is no record at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford showing that he was
a student there. Third, Hart had much overseas experience. One of his published works tells us
that he had "bin a traveller bi-iond ðe seas, emong vulgar tungs, ov huitʃ, ðat smaul knʒōled ei
hāv, haþ bin ðe kauz ov mein enterpreiz" (1569: fol.57ʳ), and that "the trauayle, the cost and
time which I haue spent in other affaires thereby attaining to the knowledge to be able to
compose this worke hath bene more deare vnto me than some wil think" (1569: fol.3ᵛ). He had
much knowledge of contemporary French scholars of orthography such as Louis Meigret (see
Hart 1569: fol.57ʳ). As for his career, "it is not until the middle of the century that we get a first
glimpse of his activities" (Danielsson 1955a: 21). During the 1550s he began to serve as a
diplomatic courier. By the year 1563 Hart had been appointed by Sir William Cecil (1520–1598)
as an official in the Court of Wards and Liveries,[3] and later as Newhaven Pursuivant. It is well-
documented that Hart was promoted to Chester Herald on 18 July 1567.[4]

John Hart authored three treatises on spelling reform during the middle decades of the sixteenth
century, the motivation for which was related to the current state of the spelling of English. As
Hart observes, in his times, there were mainly four types of "corruptions" in English spelling,
i.e. "diminution", "superfluity", "usurpation", and "misplacing" (1569: fols.14ʳ-14ᵛ), and this
"confusion and disorder" made the "present" manner of writing "rather a kinde of ciphering, or
such a darke kinde of writing" (1569: fol.2ʳ). Hart proposed to carry out orthographic reform to

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[3] According to the survey of Danielsson, "the first mention of John Hart as an official in the Court of
Wards and Liveries is in the Receiver-General's Accounts of Exhibitions for Wards, which include
payment to John Hart of a bill of the 6th October, 5 Elizabeth, i.e. 1563" (1955a: 24).

[4] (1) The Letters Patent (enrolled in Patent Roll 9 Eliz. p. 7); (2) Earl Marshal's letter of attorney to
Sir William Cecil for Hart's creation as Chester Herald. (See Danielsson 1955a: 15)

remove the obstacles to the acquisition of literacy brought about by the inconsistency and irregularity of the current English spelling. The first piece of writing is an autographic manuscript, entitled *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of Our Inglish Toung: wherin is shewid what necessarili is to be left, and what folowed for the perfect writing therof.*[5] Dedicated to King Edward VI, it was "begun, possibly, in 1549 and completed in 1551, but conceived much earlier" (Danielsson 1955a: 106). When he was drafting this manuscript, it is highly probable that "he lived in London and was in the service of the King" because "he refers to himself as the King's humble servant" and intends to submit it "to the royal censorship" in the prefatory passage (Danielsson 1955a: 21). Originally, he planned to publish it on completion but did not do this for some unknown reason.[6] Twenty years later, during the time he was serving as Chester Herald at the College of Arms in London, he revised the manuscript and published it as a book under the title of *An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature* (1569).[7] As Dobson points out, "its publication seems to be foreseen in the verses written before the manuscript (probably at a later date than its composition)" (1968: 63). It is an epoch-making work in the history of British linguistics for it is the first treatise in England not only dedicated to the study of the English language but also written in English (rather than in Latin).[8] In the next year he published another thin pamphlet, entitled *A Methode or comfortable beginning for all vnlearned, whereby they may bee taught to read English, in a very short time, vvith pleasure*

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[5] There is only one extant copy of this manuscript: British Museum Royal 17.C.VII. in the British Museum, London. The pages of the manuscript were numbered in sequence by the author with Arabic numerals—not in the form of "folio" (which is the general practice of published books in the sixteenth century) but in a modern form. It was annotated by Daniellson and reprinted in 1955 (pp. 109–164), with the original page number preserved in the reproduced version.

[6] As for the delay of publication, Danielsson observes as follows: "The curious introductory verses in H 1551 ("The booke to the Author" and "The Author to the booke") inform us that he had become involved in some of the potential matters of the time and deemed it wiser to postpone the printing. They also seem to indicate that for a considerable time to busy himself with other affairs, but that he intended to have the book published later on, and to write a second book on the subject" (1955: 21–22). In another place, Danielsson adds that "he may have been abroad after 1551 in some sort of official or semi-official capacity, probably in France" (1955a: 22).

[7] According to the survey of Danielsson (1955a: 89–96), there are nine extant copies of this book: (1) British Museum G. 7481 in the British Museum; (2) Bodleian Library Douce H 92 in the Bodleian Library; (3) University Library, Cambridge (Syn. 8.56.6); (4) Henry E. Huntington Library (61311); (5) Newberry Library (X 996.38); (6) The Folger Shakespeare Library; (7) Plimpton library in Columbia University Library (422:1569:H 25); (8) New York Public Library (*KC 1569); and (9) British Museum C.57a.35 (earlier 626.a.3).

[8] It should be noted that Thomas Smith's *De Recta et Emendata Linguae Anglicae Scriptione, Dialogus* [On the Correct and Improved Writing of English] is dedicated to a systematic study of English spelling reform and was published in 1568, one year before Hart's *An Orthographie*, but it was written in Latin (rather than in English), which is a general practice of scholarly writing in the sixteenth century.

(1570).[9] It is a little primer of reading, designed to instruct learners in the use of his new alphabet.[10] In these three treatises, Hart systematically elucidates his proposition for reforming the existing orthography strictly on phonetic principles: one letter represents one sound, and vice versa. That is, in Hart's own words, "we write as we speak" and "the writing shuld have so mani Letters, as the pronunciation neadeth of voices, and no more, or lesse" (1551: 32).

My first encounter with John Hart's name was in E. J. Dobson's monumental work *English Pronunciation 1500–1700* (1957/1968) where he is recognized as deserving "to rank with the greatest English phoneticians and authorities" (1968: 62) and is said to be "still not as well known as he should be" (1968: 63). In fact, as early as 1897, Otto Jespersen "called Hart the first phonetician of the modern period" (1907: 10).[11] To check out the phonetic achievements of Hart praised by Dobson and Jespersen, I got down to a close reading of Hart's three original texts. I saw the splendid *technical* attainments indeed. But, unexpectedly, my attention was more seized by the *religio-political* dimensions of the material and their influence on shaping Hart's orthographic ideas—the interplay between the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the discourse. The on-going movement of religious reform and the political ideal of commonwealth, along with other interrelated sociopolitical issues, pervade his texts, and are used rhetorically as images and models of his linguistic thought.

For instance, Hart argues that his new orthographic design should be supported because "yt toucheth the Communewelth" (1551: 12); superfluous letters should be eliminated as they are "the ydle or offensive members, in a politike common welth" (1569: fol.12ʳ); borrowed words (which are with letters showing "deriuations" from other tongues) are supposed to be "naturallized" (1569: fol.16ʳ), "euen as we whould not haue any straunger to be conuersant, nor dwell amongst vs, though he be a frée Denison" (1569: fol.15ᵛ); The "order" between sound, letters, and diacritical marks is framed in normative vocabularies and concepts of Tudor commonwealth, brimming over with sociological hints. A well-ordered orthography is expounded in terms of "good order and obedience within an essentially hierarchical society" (Jones 2000: 34). Letters are required to keep their proper "natures", "orders" and "offices", without abusing and usurping the "power" of others (1551: 141–163; also see 1570: sig.A.iiijʳ).

Orthographic reform is also compared to religious reform and, indeed, regarded as indispensable for Christian belief and salvation. The principle of having "the writing to be

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[9] According to Danielsson (1955a: 97–98), there are two extant copies of this pamphlet: (1) British Museum C.54.b.15.; (2) Folger Shakespeare Library.

[10] For convenience, the titles of these three works are used in their short forms in the remainder of this thesis as follows: *The Unreasonable Writing*, *An Orthographie*, and *A Methode*.

[11] Jespersen's footnote (1907: 10): *Fonetik*, Copenhagen 1897, p. 17; *Zur geschichte der phonetik*, in *Die neueren sprachen* XIII, 211.

framed to the speaking" and ensuring "the letter" to "kéepe the voyce" (1569: fol.9ᵛ) is taken by Hart as the "compasse they must take, and vse as infallible and certaine, to led them the right course to be brought into the desired hauen" (1569: fol.10ʳ; also see 1551: 34). The "usurped and vicious coustume" maintained in English orthography is set side by side with the "usurped authorite" of "the bisshop of Rome" (1551: 39), and "the vices in the corruption of letters and writings" are regarded as similar to the "sinne" which "crept in among us" and stayed "in the flesh" (1551: 40). The law of true writing (1551: 76) is a revelation of God's eternal law on the paper, and having an absolute spelling system strictly based on phonetic principles is in accordance with the spiritual pursuit of truly faithful Christians who turn their "soules into a purenes of lyfe, and to represent the nature of God" (1551: 40–41; also 1569: fol.12ʳ). Moreover, the psalter, the "order of morning and euening prayer", and the New Testament (1570: sig.[A.vi]ᵛ) are conceived to be published in the new alphabet. It is envisioned by Hart that with the new method of spelling "the multitude" would be able to read books which could help them "meditate and record prayers méete for Christians, and learne the better to obay their Princes and Magistrates" (1570: sig.A.iiijᵛ). A literate public, able to read the Scriptures, are seen as essential to a Christian commonwealth. It should be noted at this point that religion and politics in the Tudor era were different but for most of the time closely interrelated and inseparable.

All of these contribute to the complexity of the texts, and a full understanding and interpretation of them requires much historical contextualization. When these points are considered in comparison with Hart's contemporaries, i.e. Thomas Smith, William Bullokar, and Richard Mulcaster, the issue becomes even more complex. These salient discourse features suggest that it will be interesting to conduct a doctoral research for investigating Hart's religio-political conceptualization of orthographic reform. The following literature review is to demonstrate to what extent the religio-political aspects of Hart's texts have been studied.

1.2 Literature Review and Prospective Contributions

So far there have been eight academic publications specialized on the study of Hart's works: three books and five articles (including book chapters) which are listed as follows. There are also a fairly large number of books and articles which include some discussion of Hart's works, in some cases a brief mention and in others a slightly more developed account.

Books:
- Jespersen, Otto. *John Hart's Pronunciation of English*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1907.
- Danielsson, Bror. *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation. **Part I: Biographical and Bibliographical Introductions, Texts and Index Verborum***. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955a/1963a.
- Danielsson, Bror. *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation. **Part II: Phonology***. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955b/1963b.

Articles:

- Kökeritz, Helge. "**John Hart and Early Standard English**". In *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, edited by Thomas A. Kirby and Henry Bosley Woolf. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949.
- Lass, Roger. "**John Hart Vindicatus? A Study in the Interpretation of Early Phoneticians**". *Folia Linguistica Historica* 1, no. 1 (1980): 75–96.
- Salmon, Vivian. "**John Hart and the beginnings of Phonetics in Sixteenth-Century England**". In *Perspectives on English: Studies in Honour of Professor Emma Vorlat*, edited by Keith Carlon, Kristin Davidse and Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn. Leuven: Peeters, 1994.
- Dobson, E. J. "**II. The Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spelling Reformers: [...] John Hart**". In *English Pronunciation 1500–1700, Volume I: Survey of Sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957/1968.[12]
- O'Neill, Maria. "**John Hart's Discourse on Spelling Reform: Disease and War in the Body Politic**". *SEDERI: Journal of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies* 12 (2001): 301−11.

In terms of their research theme, these publications place their attention predominantly on the *technical* aspects of Hart's three treatises. His linguistic writings are used as materials for doing historical research, which mainly fall into any one or more of the following categories: first, the history of English pronunciation in the sixteenth century (e.g. Jespersen 1907; Kökeritz 1949; Dobson 1957a/1968a; Zachrisson 1971); second, the history of phonetic studies (e.g. Jespersen 1907; Danielsson 1963b; Dobson 1957b/1968b; Lass 1980; Salmon[13] 1994); third, the history of English spelling (e.g. Zachrisson 1971; Scragg 1974; Suárez 1996; Carter 2006; Upward 2011; Horobin 2013); fourth, the history of English language standardization (e.g. Jones 1953; Barber 1976; Freeborn 1992/1998/2006; Suárez 1996; Venezky 1999; Singh 2005; Nevalainen 2006). Dobson's *English Pronunciation 1500–1700* (1968: 62–88) is a typical representative of the first category. Since Hart advocates strict phonetic spelling, his systematic description and transcription of sounds is used by Dobson as evidence for the reconstruction of English pronunciation in the Tudor age. But scholars such as Jespersen and Salmon put their attention on Hart's accurate descriptions of speech organs for producing sounds and the classification of sound elements. The third category can be well represented by Scragg's *A History of English Spelling* (1974) and Horobin's *Does Spelling Matter?* (2013). Both of them have a chapter on "Renaissance and re-formation/reform", in which they examine Hart's orthographic thought together with his contemporaries, setting the focus on how the scholars under discussion differ from each other in constructing a linguistic theory of English spelling. Lastly, since Hart is widely deemed a seminal figure in the process of language standardization, his name and works often appear in books dedicated to the history of English, for instance, Singh's *The History of*

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[12] This book includes two volumes. The second volume is entitled: *English Pronunciation 1500–1700, Volume 2 Phonology*. The first edition was published in 1957, and the second edition 1968. In my in-text-citation and reference list, Volume I is referred to as "1957a/1968a", and Volume II is referred to as "1957b/1968b".

[13] It should be noted that in England Vivian Salman was an outstanding scholar in the study of Hart's works from the "technical" perspective.

English (2005) and Nevalainen's *An Introduction to Early Modern English* (2006). In addition, Hart has also been mentioned in historical studies in relation to spelling, such as printing (e.g. Brengelman 1980; Lucas 2000; Howard-Hill 2006), education/instruction (Howatt 1984; Lamb 2014), and punctuation (Salmon 2000).

As the above publication list shows, Maria O'Neill[14] is so far the only scholar who has published an article (2002) specialized on a *political* reading of Hart's *An Orthographie*. In the abstract of the article, she makes the following statement, which marks a new turn in the study of Hart's linguistic thought.

> John Hart has long been recognized as one of the most accomplished phoneticians of the sixteenth century. The novelty of his spelling reforms has also attracted attention, if not for their rationality, at least as testimony to the changes in pronunciation taking place at the time of writing. However, <u>the discourse in which these are framed and embedded merits as much attention as the linguistic content for the light it sheds on the motivations and objectives of the reform movement</u>. (O'Neill 2002: 301, my emphasis)

Her scope of investigation is limited to "the imagery of disease and war" which is regarded as "the key to understanding" "the social and political weight attached to the issue" of orthographic reform (p. 301). However, the political connotation of Hart's discourse is much richer than this. O'Neill opens up a promising new direction, but does not further develop her discussion in terms of either depth or breadth. I will begin Chapter 3 of this thesis with a detailed review of this article. In summary, most of the studies on Hart's texts stress the *technical* aspects but neglect their *ideological* and *rhetorical* dimensions; the study of Hart's texts from a *religio-political* perspective remains virgin soil to a large extent, which leaves much space for original research.

It is also rewarding to extend the literature review to Hart's contemporaries. According to my survey, there are seven articles/chapters which are mainly targeted at studying the religio-political elements in the linguistic texts of Smith and Mulcaster, which are listed as follows.

- O'Neill, Maria. "**Richard Mulcaster's Allegory: A Humanist View of Language and State**". *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies* 18 (1997): 241–252.
- O'Neill, Maria. "**Strategies of Rebuttal in the Spelling Reform Debate: An Analysis of Richard Mulcaster's Denunciation of the Phonemic Reformers**". *Sederi: Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies* X (1999b): 47–52.
- O'Neill, Maria. "**Chapter Four: The Language of Politics; The Politics of Language**". In *Many Strands from Different Looms: Eclecticism and Contradiction in the Works of Richard Mulcaster*. PhD diss., University of Lleida, 2000.
- Shrank, Cathy. "**Rhetorical Constructions of a National Community: The Role of the King's English in Mid-Tudor Writing**". In *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, edited by Alexander Shepard and Phil Withington. Manchester:

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[14] The late Maria O'Neill (died 2011) was Professor of English in the Department of English and Linguistics at the University of Lleida, Spain. She did research in spelling and educational reform in the Renaissance, and got her PhD in 2000 with a thesis on the study of Richard Mulcaster.

- Manchester University Press, 2000b.
    ▪ Shrank, Cathy. "**Thomas Smith and the Senate of Letters**". In *Writing the Nation in Reformation England 1530–1580*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.[15]
    ▪ O'Neill, Maria. "**Richard Mulcaster's Politicised Defence of Traditional Spelling**". In *Writing and Reform in Sixteenth-Century England: Interdisciplinary Essays*, edited by John Blakeley and Mike Pincombe. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.
    ▪ Wesley, John. "**Mulcaster's Tyrant Sound**". *Oral Tradition* 24, no. 2 (2009): 337–58.

The political nature of Mulcaster's treatise *The First part of the Elementarie vvhich Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of Our English Tung* (1582, *The Elementarie*, hereafter)[16] has been much investigated mainly by one scholar, again O'Neill. All her four articles/chapters listed above are dedicated to the study of Mulcaster. Shrank is another scholar who approaches Tudor writings about language from religio-political perspectives. These materials are key references for my thesis. They are relevant to my research in two aspects, either because they include some mention of Hart or because they have important observations on Mulcaster and Smith that can shed light on my understanding of similar issues in Hart's texts. For instance, O'Neill (1997, 1999b, 2000, and 2008) has examined the fact that Mulcaster discusses the historical development of orthography in terms of the historical development of the forms of government. Commenting on Smith's allegory "the senate of letters" (1568: 109), Shrank employs the terms "alphabetical commonwealth" to depict Smith's comparison of letters to the members of the body politic (2004: 151–152). All of these observations are useful for my study of Hart. At this point, I do not discuss the articles listed above in detail. I will begin each of the analytical chapters of this thesis with a literature review which will be largely based on these materials. The purpose of the literature review in this introductory chapter is just to outline the research gaps in a rather general way. In brief, O'Neill and Shrank go some way towards investigating the issues I am interested in, but I want to develop a more comprehensive picture of Hart's ideological and rhetorical orientation, drawing on their work but extending it considerably.

In this doctoral project, I would like to argue that in Hart's three linguistic writings on orthographic reform, beneath a chaotic mass of seemingly unconnected arguments, there is a *deep structure* that is highly coherent and even tightly organized—the ideal of *commonwealth*. This thesis aims to visualize this underlying pattern and work out the manner in which it is employed by Hart to conceptualize an ideal orthography and structure his argument all through his three linguistic writings. This project will be the first thesis-long study on the religio-

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[15] This book is adapted from her doctoral thesis entitled *English Humanism and National Identity, 1530–1570* (University of Cambridge, 2000a).

[16] A photograph of the original text (published in 1582) held by the Bodley Library was reprinted in 1925, with an introduction by E.T. Campagnac. Since the page number of this reproduced edition does not correspond to that of the version available on EEBO (Early English Books Online), in this thesis it is quoted in the following form: (Mulcaster 1582/1925: page number).

political nature of Hart's works, combining the technical, ideological, and rhetorical aspects within one integrated framework. In addition, the study of Hart will also be set in a comparative context with Mulcaster and Smith, drawing on the dialogical and intertextual elements in their linguistic writings. Since "commonwealth" is a concept central to the understanding of Hart's linguistic thought, I will first discuss what it means in the Tudor context before moving on to offer an overview of the four analytical chapters of this thesis.

1.3 The Tudor Concept of "Commonwealth"

"Commonwealth" (or "commonweal"), for its semantic complexity, is a very slippery concept in the sixteenth century. Neither the *OED* nor the literature so far available to me offers a clear and comprehensive repertoire of its denotations and connotations. In order to reduce the uncertainty brought about by the ambiguity and polysemy of this term, I use two types of material in my investigation: (i) original texts authored by some typical commonwealth idealists of the Tudor period, such as Edmund Dudley (1462–1510), Thomas Elyot (1490–1546), Thomas Starkey (*c.* 1495–1538), and Thomas Smith; (ii) some secondary literature by scholars such as Jones (1970 & 2000), Hale (1971), and Withington (2010).

The term *commonwealth* "has a continuous history from the Middle Ages to the present day" and "the precise implications of the word have shifted with changing circumstances" (Jones 1970: 1). Since the nineteenth century, it has been used to describe the British Empire—the association engendered by imperialism and colonialism, and in the postcolonial period it refers to a group of territories that were formerly part of the British Empire. But in the sixteenth century, it was a term that meant something different. According to the survey of Withington, the term *commonwealth* was "a vernacular construction that was in regular (albeit non-printed) use from at least the first half of the fifteenth century and appears on a printed title-page as early as 1496" (2010: 137). Originally emerging from "local civic politics", this term was "violently" assimilated "into national political culture" (Withington 2010: 138). In the Tudor period, the meaning of this term was greatly enriched and "was subject to profound conceptual palpitations from the 1530s onward" because "the classical concept of *res publica*" was introduced into English and *commonwealth* "serve[d] as its vernacular translation" (Withington 2010: 137). As a result, *commonwealth* "became a term of the English Renaissance" (Withington 2010: 137), and "the ideal of commonwealth was firmly established very early in the Tudor era" (Jones 2000: 29). In the sixteenth century, four strands of interrelated meaning of *commonwealth* can be discerned in political texts, which are related to the ideological and rhetorical aspects of the concept.

Firstly, it means **the common good, the common well-being, and the public welfare of the society** (*OED* "commonwealth", n, †1.). This element of meaning had been in use since the late medieval period (*OED* "commonweal", n, 1.). According to Withington, the term was employed to refer to "the good of human society in terms of the just and equitable distribution of resources (material and moral) and the preservation of those resources from various kinds of threat: external enemies, private interests, institutional corruption, and so on" (2010: 139). Edmund Dudley's *The Tree of Commonwealth* (1509),[17] authored in the opening decade of the sixteenth century, is a good example of commonwealth ideology in this sense. He likens the commonwealth to a tree which bears four fruits for all the estates of the realm: "honourable dignity" for the monarch, "worldly prosperity" for the chivalry, "tranquillity" for the commonalty, and "good example" for the clergy (1509/1948: 51–59). It depicts "a shared resource nourished and cherished for the benefit of all" (Withington 2010: 140). The theme of the treatise is "the monarch's responsibility for his subjects' welfare" (Jones 2000: 26).

Secondly, commonwealth is used to refer to **a well-ordered nation or country**, foregrounding the **hierarchical nature of the social structure** which was made up of different degrees of people. In *The boke named the Gouernour* (1531), Thomas Elyot highlights its connotation of *degree* and *order* by distinguishing "common weal" and "publik weal". He takes "common weal" as an English equivalent of the Latin *Res plebeia* which carries the implication that "euery thinge shulde be to all men in cómune without discrepance of any astate or condition" (1531: fol.1ᵛ). However, in a stark contrast, "publik weal" is regarded as an equivalent of *Res publica*, which is a word "only made for the discrepáce of degrees: wherof p[ro]cedeth ordre" (1531: fol.2ʳ). It is defined by Elyot as "a body lyuyng / cópacte or made of sondry astates and degrees of men / whiche is disposed by the ordre of equite and gouerned by the rule and moderation of reason" (1531: fol.1ʳ). On this ground, Elyot claims that "common weal" (or "commonwealth") is a mistranslation of the Latin term *Res publica*, and thus he prefers "publik weal" to emphasize the sense of social hierarchy. In addition, Elyot further explains why there should be degree and order in society with the idea of "the Great Chain of Being": God has "set degrees and estates in all his glorious warkes" (1531: fol.2ᵛ) and "gyueth nat to euery man like gyftes of grace / or of nature / but to some more / some lesse / as it liketh his diuine maiestie" (1531: fol.4ʳ). This "divinely ordained and rigid social hierarchy" (Jones 2000: 66) also finds expression in Tudor tracts authored by commonwealth idealists such as Edmund Dudley and Thomas Smith although there are slight differences between their categorizations. In *The Tree of Commonwealth*, Dudley maintains the traditional division of society into four layers:

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[17] Dudley's *The Tree of Commonwealth* was originally published in 1509. It was edited with an introduction by D. M. Brodie and republished in 1948. In this thesis, it was cited as: (Dudley 1509/1948: page number).

"souereigne lord" (monarch), "chivalrie" (lords), "clergie" (clergy), and "commonaltie" (commons) (1509/1948: 32–50). His treatise is a profound representation of the breakdown of social order in the early Tudor age and was intended as advice to the king to recover it. In *De Republica Anglorum*,[18] Smith divides the men in England into four sorts: gentlemen, citizens, yeomen, and artificers and laborers (1583/1906: 31). William Harrison also has nearly the same typology as Smith in his book *The Description of England* (1577). The concept of *office* and *duty* according to their place on the social hierarchy lay at the center of Tudor social philosophy, which also found expression in *The Book of Homilies*: "every degree of people, in their vocation, calling, and office, hath appointed to them their duty and order".[19] On this point, Dudley maintains that "the prince hath need to see his officers, purueiours and takers to pay his subiectes trulie, according to the good ordynances therof made, and not to use their office to the contrarie" (1509/1948: 41–42). In the Tudor age, commonwealth writers repeatedly emphasized in their work that "the maintenance of 'good order and obedience' was accepted as the essential basis of the very existence of the commonwealth" (Jones 1970: 43). The term commonwealth had become "the banner for *social* improvement and reconstruction" (Jones 2000: 21) during the 1530s.

Thirdly, commonwealth is not merely an "often-convenient synonym" for **the realm or kingdom of England** (Jones 1970: 1; 2000: 13 & 25); it is also used to mean "**a state**, an independent community" and "**the whole body of people** constituting a nation or state" (*OED* "commonwealth", n, 2.; also see *OED* "commonweal", n, 2. a.; my emphasis). It should be noted that "before the mid-sixteenth century the word 'state' was in fact rarely used in its modern sense" and "it might be argued that 'commonwealth' often served instead" (Jones 2000: 14). Jones maintains that during the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the meaning of commonwealth is richer than merely serving as an alternative of "realm" and "state". More importantly, the term conveys "a concern for society as a whole as well as for its governmental aspects" (2000: 14), and implies "**a typology of political forms** through which commonwealths could be (in theory) **best governed**—monarchy (rule of one), aristocracy (rule of few), democracy (also known as 'commonwealth'), a mixture of all the three" (Withington 2010: 141, my emphasis). For example, in *De Republica Anglorum* (1583/1906) Thomas Smith divides the governmental forms in history into three "simple kinds" and declares that he prefers a "mixed" government for the commonwealth of England. A similar division also appeared in Elyot's *The*

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[18] Its full title is *De Republica Anglorum: the Maner of Gouernment or Policie of the Realme of England* (written between 1562 and 1565, and first published in 1583). It is edited by L. Alston and republished by Cambridge University Press in 1906 (under the title of *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*), with a preface by F. W. Maitland. Alston's edition is used in this thesis, and all quotations taken from this work is cited as "(1583/1906: page number)" in order to emphasize that the original work was published in 1583.

[19] The Two Books of Homilies, p. 105.

boke named the Gouernour. The difference between Smith and Elyot is that the former advocates the mixed government while the latter "ostensibly preferred the 'governance of one person' over both aristocracy and democracy" (Withington 2010: 143).

Fourthly, the connotation of "commonwealth" is also related to the **rhetorical aspect** of the term. Jones points out that "the ideal of the Commonwealth was […] frequently related to the completely medieval analogy of the **body politic**" (1970: 13, my emphasis). This metaphor serves two purposes at the same time: it not only portrays "the essential interrelationship and differentiations in function of members of the body politic" but also depicts "their shortcomings as **ills and diseases** of that body" (Jones 2000: 35, my emphasis). David George Hale did a most in-depth study on the history of ideas about the metaphor of the "body politic". As for its meaning and typology, he observes as follows:

> There are two traditions in the history of the analogy. The first considers the balance of elements or humors in a body; analyses of the diseases of the state derive from this concept. The second describes the parts of a body, their structure and interrelation. The fable of the belly and the rebellious members is one aspect of this tradition. (1971: 7; also see 1971: 15)

As for the historical development of this concept, Hale observes that "both traditions appear in the Greek writers who discuss the unity and well-being of the *polis*" (1971: 7). During the Renaissance period, the organic analogy was much employed in religio-political texts under the influence of "the rise of national states, the Reformation, and the revival of Platonism" (1971: 7). But in the seventeenth century, this analogy gradually lost popularity with the emergence of the idea of "the contractual origin of the state" (1971: 8). Starkey's *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (1529–1532) serves as a typical example of commonwealth ideology in the Tudor times. In this text, he makes extensive use of the metaphor of body politic and the metaphor of disease in describing the "disorder" and problems of the current commonwealth.

In addition, according to the *OED*, the term *commonwealth* also has two rarely used meanings in the sixteenth century: (i) "an appellation of the Norfolk insurgents of 1549 (or their adherents)" (*OED* "commonwealth", n, †6.), and (ii) "Christendom" in the collocation of "Christian commonwealth" (*OED* "commonweal", n, 2. †b.). It is also noteworthy that "between 1649 and 1660 it served to describe the experiment of government without a king in England" and it is also used "as the title of a short-lived political party" founded in 1942 (Jones 1970: 1), although these lie beyond the scope of my investigation.

To summarize, in the sixteenth century, *commonwealth* is a fairly wide-ranging term that can be appropriated by writers with rather different understandings of how a state should be governed. It is a real keyword in Tudor politics and political writing, embracing four major meanings listed as follows:

- It refers to the common good, the common interests, and the public welfare of the society;
- It refers to a well-ordered society, and the social degrees and hierarchy;
- It refers to the realm of England or the state, and the forms of government that is appropriate for the people;
- It refers to the rhetorical aspect of the term, i.e. the analogy of body politic and the metaphor of disease.

The polysemous nature of this concept has made it possible to consider a multitude of departure points at the intersection of orthographic reform and Tudor political ideas which form the basis for the individual chapters that follows. The clarification of the meaning of commonwealth is important because it informs the *argument structure* of this thesis—the four strands of meaning respectively correspond to the topic of the four analytical chapters of this thesis.

1.4 An Overview of the Analytical Chapters: 2–5

This thesis consists of four analytical chapters. Each of them examines how Hart maps one meaning of *commonwealth* onto his conceptualizations of orthography and orthographic reform. **Chapter 2** deals with how Hart attempts to draw royal support for his project of language reform by displaying the potential common good and public interests that will be brought about by constructing a linguistic *commonwealth* of orthography. I will argue that this "common good" is framed by Hart with a God-King-Commonwealth rhetorical model. That is, having a new orthography strictly based on phonetic principles is supposed to be commodious for pushing through religious reform, for enhancing the monarch's supreme power, and for building a linguistically unified national state. This is Hart's mapping of the first meaning of commonwealth onto his understanding of the benefits of achieving an *orthographic commonwealth*. **Chapter 3** deals with how Hart projects the second meaning of commonwealth—the concept of social degree and hierarchy in a well-ordered nation—onto his vision of a well-ordered internal structure of orthography. That is, sound, letters, and diacritical marks are "members" of an orthographic commonwealth, and there are "degrees" and "estates" between them which should be carefully observed if the orthographic commonwealth wants to be perfect and harmonious. Sound, just like the king, stands on the top of the social pyramid and possesses supreme power. It is the sovereign lord of the commonwealth of orthography. Letters for vowels and consonants are the inferior and real governors of the realm, coming from the class of the nobility and serving the kingly sound faithfully and obediently. Diacritical marks are the "labourers and artificers" which have no "voice" and stand at the bottom of the social hierarchy. **Chapter 4** investigates how Hart borrows the rhetoric of body politic and disease metaphor (the fourth connotation) from the contemporary commonwealth literature and deploys them in his linguistic discourse. I will discuss how Hart appeals to Tudor medical concepts such

as the four "elements" and "humours" in delineating and explaining the problems that were supposed to be endangering the alphabetical commonwealth. I will also discuss how Hart fashions himself as a physician, aspiring to cure the orthographic diseases and offer a set of remedies. The purposes and effects of importing the analogy of body politic and the metaphor of disease will be analyzed in terms of Aristotle's three modes of persuasion: logos, ethos, and pathos. **Chapter 5** puts the discussion of Hart in a comparative context by foregrounding the dialogical and intertextual features of Hart's texts. It aims to examine how Hart, as a phonetic spelling reformer, differs from his opponent Richard Mulcaster both ideologically and rhetorically. I will try to explore how Hart and Mulcaster transfer the third meaning of commonwealth, i.e. the best form of government for the commonwealth, to frame their dissenting ideas about the role of Sound, Reason, and Custom as ruling powers in an ideal orthography. Political concepts such as "absolute monarchy" and "mixed government" will be highlighted in my discussion to show how they use them respectively to frame their opposing ideas. Since rhetoric and ideology are inseparable, all the discussions in each of these four analytical chapters involve the two aspects at the same time although at certain points I focus more on one of them.

Chapter Two

The Religio-Political "Commodities" of Orthographic Reform:

The God-King-Commonwealth Rhetorical Model

I am your highnes humble servant, and of late received of your gracious liberalite: which causes doo manifestli declare my bounden duetie, to do what my simple habilite may, both to your highnes, and to your bodi the Commune wealth: as God willing I shall: whom I pray, to geve your Majestie the grace (for the obtaynyng of the goodwilles, and hartes of men) which had the Emperour Titus, the renounce, and Glory of Alexander, and the long raigne of Argantonyus.

Hart, *The Unreasonable Writing* (1551: 13)

This chapter aims to examine how Hart persuades his readers to accept and support his proposals for orthographic reform. The study is mainly based on seven pieces of paratext attached to his three linguistic treatises.[20] I would like to argue that a God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model is discernible from Hart's persuasive writing. On this ground I further argue that Hart discusses the profits of spelling standardization in relation to the pushing-through of religious reform, the amplification of monarchical power, and the construction of national commonwealth. To be more specific, these religio-political benefits include:

- God: Being literate and able to read the vernacular Bible was taken as a necessity for salvation. A reformed spelling will make it easier for English people to learn and to read their language, which satisfies the pressing need for general literacy during and after the Reformation. (Section 2.2)
- Commonwealth: A standardized English spelling is seen as essential to building a coherent national community, incorporating the Irish and Welsh as well as parts of England that speak different dialects. It also contributes to creating a superior civilization and developing the printing industry, etc. (Section 2.4)
- King: Both of these things done for Christian belief and the commonwealth are beneficial for raising royal power and authority. (Section 2.3)

2.1 The Background and Rationale for This Chapter

This section aims to demonstrate how this chapter is a contribution to knowledge and how I organize my argument in the following sections. My literature review, drawing on the works of Shrank (2000a, 2000b, 2004) and O'Neill (2000, 2002), is carried out from three perspectives: research theme, research focus, and argument structure.

Firstly, in terms of its research theme, Shrank's article (2000b) investigates the "impact of language on nation formation" (p. 181) in mid-Tudor England, emphasizing the function of language standardization in constructing and enforcing "a national identity" (p. 180). My focus on orthographic reform extends from identity construction to a broader religio-political concern.

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[20] The seven pieces of paratext are:

(1) "First the dedication therof unto the Kings most excellent majestie" (1551: 4–13)
(2) "The authors prologue to his Countryemen" (1551: 14–28)
(3) "Then a few words to the vulgar man" (1551: 226–232)
(4) "The Preface, wherein is brieflye conteyned the reasons, causes, commondities, summe and effect of this Treatise" (1569: fols.1ʳ–8ʳ)
(5) "[The Epistle] To the doubtfull of the English Orthographie, Iohn Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperitie" (1569: fols.[¶.2]ʳ–[¶.4]ʳ)
(6) "The Preface" (1570: sigs.A.ijʳ–A.iiijᵛ)
(7) "The Epistle Dedicatorie" (1570: sigs.[A.v]ʳ–[A.vi]ᵛ)

Both Shrank and I appeal to the term "rhetoric" in characterizing our research theme, but we use it differently. Shrank employs a phrase "rhetorical construction" in the title of her article, and later in the text explains its meaning as follows: language "was not solely a means of defining a nation" but also "a means of creating one, on a practical as well as rhetorical level, to gather potentially disparate groups into one cohesive community, using and understanding one tongue" (p. 181). It suggests that Shrank uses "rhetoric" as an antonym of "practical"—the latter refers to the real action taken and laws enforced by the Tudor governments to establish English as a national language, while the former means those linguistic discussions and scholarly propaganda based on written texts, dedicated to amending English and promoting it as a national language. However, I use "rhetoric" in its traditional sense—how Hart persuades his readers (i.e. the monarch, "the learned sort", and "the vulgar man") to accept his proposal for orthographic reform, which constitutes the subject of this chapter. Moreover, the effect of persuasive writing is sensitive to the uniqueness of time and place; this is especially true for Hart's Renaissance rhetoric of spelling reform. Thus, the interpretation of rhetorical effect needs more contextualization. Shrank sets her discussion of Tudor ideas about language standardization in a historical context. For instance, in dealing with William Salesbury's works, she briefly notes the *practical* linguistic policy of the Henrician governments in relation to Wales and Ireland (p. 181). But, in arguing how Hart achieves success in his persuasive writing, I would like to offer more detailed historical contexts and original materials drawn from Tudor political texts in order to unveil its rhetorical effect.

Secondly, in terms of their research focus, O'Neill's thesis chapter (2000) mainly concentrates on Richard Mulcaster and Shrank's book chapter (2004) on Thomas Smith. Nevertheless, Shrank's article (2000b) has a larger scope of investigation, i.e. "a group of authors, active between 1540 and 1570", including Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham (1515–1568), Sir Thomas Hoby (1530–1566), Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Wilson (1524–1581), William Thomas (died 1554), etc. But in this chapter my focus is placed on John Hart, who is identified by Shrank as a "lesser known" linguistic scholar of the Tudor age (Shrank 2000b: 180), and I exclusively address the issue of orthography (instead of language standardization in general).

Thirdly, in terms of its argument structure, it can be inferred from Shrank's work (2000b, 2004) that she uses a tripartite political model, i.e. language-law-religion, in organizing her discussion on the relationship between language and commonwealth. In her book chapter (2004), Shrank points out that "our tongue, our laws, and our religion" were identified by Smith as "the true bands of the commonwealth" (p. 148). In line with these three essential elements of commonwealth, her argument in that subsection of the book chapter (pp. 144–148) is broadly composed of three parts. The first elaborates on "Smith's belief in the unifying power of language", namely, its function of "drawing together a nation of speakers" by means of

"amending the English tongue" (p. 148). The discussion of language in association with law and religion constitutes its second and third parts. Shrank explicates that "these three discourses—of correct language, worship, and behaviour [...] underpin *De Scriptione*, a text that not only sets out Smith's plans for orthographic reform, but also reflects his conception of the commonweal" (p. 148). Shrank also observes in her article (2000b) that these are terms that "he would apply to his definition of the 'nacyon' in the *De Republica Anglorum*" (pp. 180–181). This is very important. It tells us that Shrank notices the intertextuality of Smith's political and linguistic texts. She uses Smith's own political model in her discussion of Smith's linguistic ideas. Shifting the focus from Smith to Hart, I would like to argue that I have identified a different religio-political model from Hart with reference to the commonwealth literature of Edmund Dudley, and use it as a structure in organizing and representing Hart's rhetoric of orthographic reform.

To sum up, this chapter attempts to distinguish itself from previous studies by working on a new theme, shifting the focus, and adopting a rhetorical model. It is intended to examine whether Shrank's and O'Neill's insights on Hart's contemporaries apply to Hart or not. At the same time, it seeks to uncover the idiosyncrasies of this "lesser known" scholar of language. In the rest of this section, I will briefly discuss how this rhetorical model is identified and why it is important.

Hart's 1551 manuscript, the first piece of his persuasive writings, opens with a "dedication" to King Edward VI, at the end of which he presents three "reasons" for why his proposal for spelling reform should be supported. It goes as follows:

> My reasons wherfore ar, **first** for that your highnes is Goddes depute (to execute his will) in this circuit and cumpasse of erth in which I am borne, and norished subiect: So that which I shall do unto your Maiestie, <u>I take yt done unto his Godhed</u>: the difference only as betuixt the lord, and his Steward. **Also** forasmoch as I can not think a good thought unto your excellencies, but <u>yt toucheth the Communewelth</u>: nor defraud hur of one myte, <u>but yt is don unto your majestie</u>. What difference can be made? but, as betuixt the husband, and the wife: the head, and the body: and finalli, as betuixt the uniuersal, and whole Church, and our Sauiour Crist. So betuixt eueri king and his Subiectes. **Further** for that I am your highnes humble servant, and of late receyved of your gracious liberalite: which causes doo manifestli declare my bounden duetie, to do what my simple habilite may, <u>both to your highnes</u>, <u>and to your bodi the Commune welth</u>. (1551: 12–13, my emphasis)

This passage is very informative. It suggests that the purposes of Hart's work rest on a tripartite hierarchy—for God, for the King, and for the commonwealth. This religio-political structure is underlined by the popular Renaissance concept, "body politic". It is an analogy by which the whole Christendom of England is compared to a human body, with God as *the spiritual head*, the king as *the earthly head* (God's deputy on earth), and the commonwealth as *all the rest of the body*. This three-layered religio-political structure, i.e. God-king-commonwealth, corresponds to the medieval view of society. It is a common feature of commonwealth literature

and a fairly common way of thinking about politics in the sixteenth century. If we read the above quotation together with the opening paragraph of Dudley's *The Tree of Commonwealth* (quoted as follows), we can identity a striking resemblance: his treatise was also designed to achieve three "effects": for the remembrance of God, for the honor of the prince, and for the common welfare of every degree of people in the commonwealth.

> Theffect of this treatise consystith in thre speciall pointes, that is to say: **Furst** in the remembrance of god and of the faith of his holy Churche, with the which thing euery Christyan prince hath nede to begynne, **Secondly** of some condicions and demeanours necessarie in euery prince both for his honour and for the suertie of his contynewaunce, **Thirdly** of the tree of common wealth, which tochith people of euery degre, of the condicions and demeanours which thei should be off.[21] (1509/1948: 21, my emphasis)

Such resemblance offers an excellent framework, which, although not being explicitly stated by Hart in his work, is crucially important to be identified and exploited to frame and represent the author's rhetoric—the random points of "profits" scattered all through his persuasive writings. For this reason, I divide my following discussion into three sections, arguing that Hart's orthographic reform is "commodious"[22] (1569: fol.5ʳ) for God (section 2.2), for the king (section 2.3), and for the commonwealth (section 2.4), although there is a lot of overlap between them.

2.2 For the *Spiritual Head* of the Body Politic: "I take yt unto his Godhed"

This section examines the first layer of the God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model, discussing the profits of orthographic reform and literacy in relation to godly belief, particularly in the context of English religious reform under the Tudor governments. In "The authors prologue to his Countryemen" attached to the 1551 manuscript, Hart explains that an advanced linguistic knowledge developed by "zelous men" (1551: 15) in the Greek and Roman world played an important role in their accepting and disseminating Christian belief "when Goddes sone came into the world" (1551: 18). Just as Hart explains as follows, a perfect orthography, together with a good knowledge of grammar and abundant vocabulary, explains why they can take the lead in rendering God's Word into their mother tongues. And "we" will never have "holi workes in our mother toung: as the Grekes, and Latines have" unless "our toung be brought in art" (1551: 21).

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[21] In the sixteenth-century political literature, the word "prince" was often used to mean "the king".

[22] In "The Preface" to the 1569 published work *An Orthographie*, Hart puts forward "four commodities" (i.e. four purposes) for orthographic reform. The four "commodities" have much correlation to the three-layered rhetorical model. I will discuss the correlations and correspondences between them in the following three sections (see sections 2.2, 2.4.1, 2.4.3).

So by the vertu therof, mani lerned men labored about the translating of Goddes old testament (from the Hebrue being the Juish toung) into their mother toungues, as the Grek and latine: and Goddes new aliance, covenant, or testament from the Grek into Latine: which now (God be praised) ar in mani other toungues. And wrot in the said Grek, and Latine toungues great and godli expositions therupon: so that none other people (or man) not understanding theim, or lakking the multitud of works in their mother toung, which ar writen in theim, can or may be well learned. (1551: 19–20)

This associated discussion of language and religion, especially Bible translation, has a contemporary sociopolitical background in Tudor England. It reveals how Hart got himself engaged in the religious Reformation in the form of a series of scholarly linguistic works.

Since the late Middle Ages, the authority of the priest and their role as "the sanctioned and only intercessor between the people and their God" (Singh 1995: 140) had been greatly challenged. For instance, as early as the fourteenth century, John Wycliffe had claimed "that the priest was dispensable in matters of salvation and that each true Christian, with the guidance of the scriptures, could therefore be responsible for their individual spiritual well-being" (quoted from Singh, 1995: 140–141). The early sixteenth century saw an increasing hostility to the established Catholic Church in England. The anti-clerical feeling reached a new height in the early Tudor ages. Vernacular Bibles "which a ploughboy can understand" (Pollard 1926: vi)[23] were preferred by some radical thinkers. For instance, William Tyndale, in his translation of *The New Testment*, remarked that "it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth, excepte the scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tongue" (1525/1926: v). In another later work *The Obedyence of a Christian man* (1548), a separate section is devoted to explaining why the Scriptures ought to be translated into the native tongue, and the following quotations are taken from it.[24]

Chryst Cómaundeth to serche the scripture. John v. Thoughe that that myracles bare recorde vnto hys doctrine, yet desired he no faith to be giuen, eyther vnto his doctrine or vnto his myracles, without recorde of the scripture. Whá Paule preached, Actes xvii. the other searched the scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shal not shal not I lykewyse se, whether it be the scripture that thou allegeste: yea, why shall I not se the scripture and the cyrcumstaunces, and what goeth before and after, that I may know, whether thyne interpretation be the ryg[h]t sense, or whether thou iugleste & drawest the scripture violently vnto thy carnal and fleshly purpose, or whether thou be about to teache me or to disceyue me. (Tyndale 1548: fol.xii^r)

In so great diuersitee of spirites, howe shall I know who lyeth and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I trye them and iudge them? Trerely by goddess worde, whyche only is true. But howe shall I that do, whan thou wylle not let me se the scripture? (Tyndale 1548: fol.xiii^v)

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[23] This is a paraphrase of Tyndale's sentence in the book *The Obedyence of a Christian man*: "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough should know more of the scripture than thou dost".

[24] Tyndale's *The Obedyence of a Christian man* was first published in 1528. But these two quotations are taken from the version published in 1548.

On this point, Cressy, quoting Nicolas Bownde,[25] notes that "Englishmen, like their protestant co-religionists throughout northern Europe, were expected to 'learn to read and see with their own eyes what God bids and commands in his holy word'" (1980: 3). Under this circumstance, the sixteenth century witnessed the early efforts in translating and spreading the vernacular Bibles, which, together with prayer books, psalters, homilies and other religious books, were made available in churches. In the year 1526, William Tyndale published the first English Bible in Germany by taking advantage of the printing press. In 1539, King Henry VIII, "as befitting the head of the English Church and English State" (Singh 1995: 142) authorized the English translation of the Bible—the *Great Bible*, which was to be used in the services of the Church *of England*. With "strong Protestant leanings" (Singh 1995: 142), Edward VI, took a leap forward in the reforming of the English Church. As Singh comments, he "stripped it of many of the Catholic traditions which had survived under his father and sanctioned the publication of the *Book of Common Prayer* and of biblical translations in English" (1995: 142).

On this ground, there is a compelling need for general literacy in connection with religious purposes. Being literate and able to read the vernacular Bible was taken as a necessity for salvation. Literacy "was singled out as a tool for godliness and an essential component in leading a proper Christian life" (Cressy 1980: 3). It was believed that "a person who could read was better equipped to prepare for salvation than his illiterate fellow Christians" (Cressy 1980: 1). In order to enable the "unlearned natural English people" (1569: fol.4ʳ) to read the vernacular Bible by themselves, the central concern of Hart's program is to promote national literacy. Cressy reconstructs the profile of literacy in his book *Literacy & the Social Order: Reading & Writing in Tudor & Stuart England*, observing that "more than two-thirds of the men and nine-tenths of the women were so illiterate at the time of the civil war that they could not even write their own names" (1980: 2). Quoting from Francis Clement's *The petie schole, with an English orthographie* (1587), Cressy adds that there are few that "under the age of seven or eight years [...] are towardly abled and praisably furnished for reading" and there are as many "above those years [that] can neither readily spell nor rightly write even the common words of our English" (1980: 43). He also uses a whole chapter of this book (pp. 118–141) to highlight the social distinction of literacy in the sixteenth century, showing "how well the ranking based on literacy agreed with the ordering by social status and esteem" (1980: 118): "Three clusters stand out, each composed of people with comparable attainments in literacy. The *gentle and clerical elite* were well distanced from the *yeomen and tradesmen*, who in turn maintained a solid superiority over the *husbandmen and labourers*" (1980: 118–119, my italics). Cressy's observation reflects the fact that "the promotion of literacy was so thin and socially selective"

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[25] Cressy (1980: 204) acknowledges the reference in an endnote as follows: "6. Nicolas Bownde, *The doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595), p. 202".

(1980: 142). Against this background, Hart's project aims to "cause the naturall English knowing no letter, to be able to learne to decerne and easily to reade" (1569: fol.4ʳ), which is the first of the four "commodities" that Hart lists in "The Preface" to his 1569 work. By recodifying English orthography strictly along phonetic lines, he promises to make the acquisition of literacy easier. Hart recognizes that his new design is "profitable and necessary […] for the common reader" (1551: 226), and believes that "if a certaintie, order, and reason may by experience be found to be profitable for the vnlearned sort, it may in short time preuaile generally" (1570: sig.A.ijᵛ). A distinction was made by Hart between "the vulgar men" and "the learned sort". The project, as Hart points out, is designed mainly for the illiterate and unlearned "vulgar men", who would be the major and direct beneficiary of his reform. The advantage of his design, as Hart claims, is that it can remove the barriers to the entry into reading and writing, aiming at a dramatic reduction of illiteracy at a national level. As Hart states in *A Methode*, he is devising a new manner of writing "which euery one that is able to read, may at first sight vnderstande, and so be able to teach it to others" (1570: sig.A.iiijᵛ). Hart even presents an estimated calculation of how much time is needed for the unlearned to acquire literacy by using his new writing system.

> souch an instrument, as a learner being ignorant of any one letter, shuldbe hable to kno their difference pefectli in .6. howres, whersoever he shuld see any one of theim: and to read (though rudely) after the diligent labour of two howres dayly in .6. continewal dais: which ar in numbre .12. other howres. (1551: 226–227)

This religious motivation underlying Hart's and his contemporaries' linguistic work aroused scholarly attention in existing literature. In her doctoral thesis, O'Neill acknowledges that "the ability to read took on a new importance in post Reformation society when it became the master key to discovering the contents of sacred authority as revealed in the Bible" (2000: 346). Later on in the same chapter, when commenting on Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*, O'Neill re-emphasizes the same point that "the ABC in English was the launching pad for study of the fundamental tenets of the faith" (p. 347). On this ground, it can be tersely summarized in her own words that "literacy was religious literacy and the religious motive dominated the teaching of the skill" (pp. 346–347). Coincidentally, Shrank also makes similar comments in her article published in the same year, pointing out that "the link between reformed language and a reformed national church held strong for […] writers" such as Hart, Smith and Mulcaster (2000b: 191). As she further explains, "the bent of these reformers was [...] to enable their compatriots' participation in Protestant, book-based worship" (p. 192). But I would like to emphasize that Hart's works are imbued with a stronger and much more prominent religious tone than his contemporaries. The religious pursuit of his linguistic work does not just rest on the ideological level. Instead, he puts the new design into real practice, the practice of testing its

usability in rewriting "the Christian beliefe, the ten Commaundmentes of God, and Lordes prayer" in the new alphabet at the end of *A Methode* (1570: sigs.D.i^r–E.ij^v).

2.3 For the *Earthly Head* of the Body Politic: "yt is don unto your majestie"

This section focuses on the second layer of the God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model, investigating Hart's view on the profit of orthographic reform for the sovereign lord of the realm of England, who is the acting head of the body politic. As has been pointed out in section 2.1, Hart opens his persuasive writings with a dedicatory preface to the 1551 manuscript: he appeals to the monarch in promoting his linguistic ideas. In "The Preface" to *An Orthographie*, he claims that a reformed system cannot be imposed unless there is "excelling authoritie" (1569: fol.3^v) and thus he needs the King's endorsement to implement his design.[26] As O'Neill observes, "the idea that the language could be brought to a zenith of perfection through the intervention of individual reformers and endorsed by the monarchy is nowhere so confidently and wholeheartedly evidenced as by Bullokar" (2000: 120). This also holds true for Hart. Many personal and historical factors determine that Hart needs the King's authoritative power to put his plan into action. First, according to Bror Danielsson's biographical investigation (1963b), Hart does not hold any academic credentials. This is an obvious shortcoming compared with his contemporary reformers, such as Smith and Mulcaster.[27] It is necessary for him to find a way to increase the authoritativeness of his work. Second, although Hart had been promoted to Chester Herald when he published his 1569 work, he was still not politically as influential as his peers aforementioned. Third, it is not an easy task to change the habits of those who have acquired literacy. They do not constitute a large portion of the society, but they are ruling elites, holding the real governing power of the country. The fourth reason is concerned with financial problems. Hart's requests not only include the King's favorable policy ("yt mought be accepted, and allowed of your Majestie, and your highnes most honorable counsell" (1551: 6)), but also financial support. He proposes that the King should "use his princeli liberalite" to bear the cost ("one hundred pounds") of making the "new punchons" necessary for printing his reformed script (1551: 169). Fifthly, Tavoni's following observation on the role of Italian vernacular

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[26] According to the observation of O'Neill (2000: 139), this is also the case for other contemporary language reformers, such as Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Baret.

[27] Smith obtained a degree from Cambridge, and later became a Fellow and a professor of the university, lecturing on natural philosophy and Greek. He also studied in France and Italy, holding a degree in law from the University of Padua. He was an influential scholar in his time, especially for the study of the pronunciation and orthography of Greek. Well-versed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Mulcaster studied at Cambridge and Oxford, and later became the headmaster of the Merchant Tayler's School.

literature in the rise of the national language in Italy seems to suggest a fifth reason for the English scholars' appeal to royal prerogative:

> The 'questione della lingua' which developed in Italy some decades earlier than in other European countries (and which acted as a model at least for the situations which arose in France and Spain) was characterized by a fourteenth century literary tradition which can be summed up by the names of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, which Italian men of letters already recognized as 'classical' (and which men of letters outside Italy recognized as lacking any equivalent in their national histories). (1998: 14–15)

However, in England "the absence of literary traditions of exceptional authority" makes the standardization of orthography "emerged in the presence of an objective centripetal force represented by the capital and the court, [and] in the presence of various promotional attitudes on the part of the monarch" (Tavoni 1998: 15). For these reasons, approval and support from the royal prerogative in authorizing a dialect as the standard is exceedingly important in the case of Hart.

For Hart, King Edward VI is the "engine" (1551: 11) for his linguistic enterprise and is praised as "a most worthie prince" who "will more foresee the publyke profit then the people self can" (1551: 7). In order to engage the monarch in his project and draw political and financial support from him, Hart lays out the value of a perfect spelling for the king. He promisingly envisages that his program of spelling reform will enhance King Edward VI's status as the "defender of the Faith, and in erth of the Church of Ingland, and Ireland supreme head" (1551: 4). Hart makes clear his "goodwill, and affection" (1551: 11) that through linguistic reform, he "desireth augmentation of honour and maiestie: with a long, and helthefull lyfe, the increase of all kingli vertues, illustration of his name, and armes in all prosperite" (1551: 4), and finally and mostly importantly "geve your Maiestie the grace (for the obtaynyng of the goodwilles, and hartes of men) which had the Emperour Titus, the renoune, and glory of Alexander, and the long raigne of Argantonyus" (1551: 13). By doing so, Hart was flattering Edward VI by comparing him to the great kings (or emperor) of ancient Rome, Greece, and Tartessos. The profit of orthographic reform for the king is not only the one directly related to him; it also includes those for the spiritual head (God) and the king's body (the commonwealth). It is due to the fact that the king, as "Goddes depute (to excute his will) in this circuit and cumpasse of erth" (1551: 12), plays an intermediate role, working both for God and the commonwealth. And, in other words, what is done "unto his Godhed" and "your bodi the commune welth" is done "unto your Maiestie" (1551: 12–13). In other words, this "Chain of Being" is also a chain of benefits: if it is done for one of them, it is done for all the others. Hart's discussion on the second layer of the God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model is in general because in Hart's mind, the contribution of orthographic reform to the amplification of the king's majesty is realized through what he does for God and what he does for the commonwealth. For example, I have discussed the role of a

reformed orthography in the movement of Reformation. The translation of Bible into English posed a direct challenge to the Roman Catholic Church's absolute authority in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Through this religious reform, King Henry VIII, as well as his son King Edward VI and daughter Queen Elizabeth I, became the head of both the English state and the Church *of* England. It is not only a religious reform, but also a redistribution of political power. By doing so, the monarchical authority was enormously enhanced. On this point, Singh writes as follows:

> In 1539, the Great Bible was published, with the illustration on its frontispiece clearly encapsulating the idealized marriage of Church and State. Henry sits in the top centre of the page, receiving the Word directly from God. He passes this on (in the form of the Bible) to Cranmer, who as Archbishop oversees the spiritual welfare of the realm, and also to Cromwell, who looks after secular matters. Each in turn ministers it to smiling and grateful clergy and laity. (1995: 142; also see Illustration 1)

Illustration 1: The Title-page from the *Great Bible* Published by Grafton and Whitchurch in 1539. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Bible#/media/File:GreatbibleI.jpg)

The discussion of a reformed spelling in relation to "commonwealth" will be the topic of the next section (2.4), but it is necessary to preview the main idea for its direct relevance to the point under discussion in this section. Linguistic uniformity both home and abroad via spelling standardization contributes to the centralization of government, an advanced civilization, and a prosperous printing industry. All of these give the king, as Hart claims and I have mentioned above, "the grace of the Emperor Titus, the glory of Alexander, and the long reign of Argantonyus".

2.4 For *All the Rest* of the Body Politic: "it toucheth the Communewelth"

In this section, I move on to the third layer of the God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model, examining the role of orthographic reform in constructing a coherent and prosperous commonwealth.

2.4.1 Linguistic Colonialism: "the desirous VValshe and Irishe, maye be muche advanced thereby, to the true pronunciation of our speeche"[28]

The first point of discussion concerns the use of the English language for the incorporation and assimilation of the Irish and the Welsh, arguing that a reasonable orthography makes it easier for them to learn English, which in consequence could facilitate the Henrician governments to enforce linguistic policies of uniformity and exercise colonial control over these regions. Hart complains about the "confusion" brought about by the "disorders" of the current orthography (1569: fol.2ʳ), which are so great that "a verye good iudgement, maye doubt in what sound, many a word shoulde be pronounced, […] and many a man doth scantlye know how the writing of his owne name should be sounded" (1569: fols.4ᵛ–5ʳ). Hart takes a "true spelling" of words as a precondition for the making of a perfect dictionary and grammar of English, "which are very commodious for any straunger that desireth to learne our tongue by Arte, or for the rude to learne to speake well" (1569: fol.5ʳ). Among those "straungers" (1569: fol.4ᵛ), Hart singles out the Welsh and the Irish in the prefatory remarks of his 1569 treatise, explaining that his new orthography is for those "which may desire to read English as the best sort vse to speake it" (fol.4ᵛ; the second "commodity" that Hart discusses in "The Preface" to *An Orthographie*). Although the "straungers" may not exclusively refer to the Welsh and the Irish, it is highly probable that they are the main groups of people that Hart's project was targeting.[29] Again, in "The Epistle Dedicatorie" of his 1570 pamphlet, Hart recapitulates this point as follows: "the desirous VValshe and Irishe, maye be muche advanced thereby, to the true pronunciation of our

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[28] This is quoted from Hart's *A Methode* (1570: sig.[A.vi]ʳ).

[29] As I will discuss in the next chapter of this thesis (section 3.2), "strangers" may also include the new "denizens".

speeche, vvhice vvas neuer before this tyme present them: for our present manner is as vnfitte to help them in any vvyse" (sigs.[A.vi]ʳ–[A.vi]ᵛ). If we read this in association with the contemporary historical context, we can see that Hart's program of orthographic reform has its extra-linguistic meaning. According to the literature available to me, O'Neill is the first and so far the only scholar who gives a political reading of the above quotations from Hart, keenly aware that English serves a colonial purpose in Hart's works and explicitly using the term "colonialism" in her comments as follows:

> Hart […] evidently sees in spelling reform a tool of colonialism. He cites the two rebellious groups, the Welsh and the Irish, if their writing were recorded could be more easily "civilised", that is brought under the yoke of the protocolonial power. He entertained the possibility that linguistic control in the form of spelling reform could be an instrument of suppression in the struggle for power just as effectively abroad as at home. (2000: 158)

Shrank's colonio-political reading of Thomas Smith's and William Salesbury's writings (2000b: 180–181)[30] also provides a background for my investigation of John Hart. It contains much historical contextualization which needs to be accompanied with more detail. Wales had been conquered by England since the late Middle Ages and was finally incorporated in the early sixteenth century. The Act of Union of 1536, chiefly designed by Thomas Cromwell, was an effort by law to "bring the king's subjects in Wales into 'amicable Concord and Unity'"[31] (Jenkins 2007:132), which "was part of an overall strategy of recasting diverse elements of the commonwealth into a unitary state" (Jenkins 2007: 131). From 1536 to 1543, a series of Acts[32] were passed by the Henrician government, to reduce "the Welsh to English norms of behaviour" (Jenkins 2007: 132). The Acts of Union, as Jenkins holds, should better be understood as "Acts of Assimilation" which "would provide a more accurate indication of the integrative process at work" (2007: 146). Brennan maintains that "language policies were part of the movement to increase the power of the Tudor monarchy by centralization of government" (2003: 83). The local language Welsh was taken "as being 'nothing like nor consonant to the natural mother tongue'[33] known as English" (Jenkins 2007: 144). In contrast, English was decreed as the official language in Tudor Wales—it was the language of courts and "no person who was Welsh speaking should hold any public office unless he could 'use and exercise the speche or langage

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[30] One paragraph of 29 lines (p. 181), with 9 lines in another two paragraphs (pp. 180–181, 181–182).

[31] The source of the expression "amicable concord and unity" is an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII, for which the standard historical reference is: *Act for the Government of Wales (27 Henry VIII, c.26, 1536)*. A verbatim extract from this act, contained the expression in question, can be found in Key and Bucholz 2009: pp. 42–44.

[32] They are collectively known as the Acts of Union.

[33] This part ("nothing like nor consonant to the natural mother tongue") is quoted by Jenkins from the 1536 Act (of Union).

of Englisshe'"[34] (Williams 1964: 71). This linguistic law "designed to bring Welsh justice and administration in line with that of the English" (Brennan 2003: 89) found expression in Clause 17 of the Act of Union, which is entitled *An Acte for Laws & Justice to be ministred in Wales in like fourme as it is in this Realme* and is specified as follows: "All Justices, commissioners sheriffs, coroners escheators, stewards and their lieutenants and all other officers and ministers of the law shall proclaim and keep the sessions courts and all other courts in the English tongue" (quoted from Brennan, 2003: 89). Since English was enacted to be the language of government, law and administration in Wales, no monoglot Welsh could hold office henceforth, and thus the learning of English became essential for those who wished to serve in the government of Tudor Wales. All these tell us that the uniformity of speech is an integral part of the Tudor government's colonial control in Wales. In the dedicatory remarks of *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe*, the contemporary well-known Welsh scholar William Salesbury notes the role of English in nation unification.

> by the iudgement of all wyse men it is most conveniente and mete that they that be under dominion of one most gracious Hedde and Kynge shal use also one language and that even as theyr hertes agree in love and obedience to your grace so may also theyr tongue agree in one kind of speche and language. (Quoted from Williams, 1964: 77)

Williams also points out the social importance of learning English in Tudor Wales: "English manners were naturally copied and the ability to speak English was held to be as much a social qualification as an economic necessity for the gentry" (1964: 68). The rise of the gentry in Wales and their passion for the English manner of living and the English language explain the above-mentioned "commodity" that Hart raised—for the strangers who want to "read English as the best sort vse to speake it" (1569: fol.4ᵛ). On the side of the Henrician government, English is a colonial tool. But, on the side of the Welsh people, "English was now unquestionably the language of opportunity and advancement" (Jenkins 2006: 166). An easy way of learning reading and writing in English, like the program designed by Hart, is exceedingly in need for a large monoglot and illiterate people in Wales, which adds weight to his linguistic work.

The case of Ireland is quite similar to that of Wales. In the year 1537, the Dublin Parliament passed *An Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language*, which announced that "its people would speak English and be governed by English law" and assumed that "obedience to the state would be in doubt if people did not speak the same language" (Brennan 2003: 91). The order

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[34] This part ("use and exercise the speche or langage of Englisshe") is quoted by Jenkins from the following source (as he indicates in an endnote): William Rees, "The Union of England and Wales", *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1937), p. 96.

also "promised to 'use various instruments, including education and religion, to propagate the English language'[35] in Ireland" (Blank 1996: 145). Part of the *Act* goes as follows:

> his Highness tendreth as his members of this political body, whereof immediately under God, he is supreme head and governor, that there is again nothing which doth more contain and keep many of his subjects of this his said land, in a certain savage and wild kind and manner of living, than the diversity that is betwixt them in tongue, language, order, and habit, which by the eye deceiveth the multitude, and persuadeth unto them, that they should be as it were of sundry sorts, or rather of sundry countries, where indeed they be wholly together one body, whereof his highness is the only head under God. (Quoted from Crowley, 2000: 21)

Shrank's observation (2000b) suggests that she also notices the colonial aspects of Hart's contemporaries' work, although she does not use explicit terms such as colonization and colonialism. As I have discussed in section 2.1, the English language was exploited by Smith as a tool of subjugating Ireland and as one of the three essential parts of national commonwealth. It tells us that Smith's emphasis on the role of English in creating a concord and harmonious British entity is a shared ideology of Tudor scholars of language—it is as important as law and religion.[36]

2.4.2 Linguistic Nationalism: "the accustomed name of eche thing is written therevnder, as they are called in the Court and London"[37]

A standardized English orthography is essential to achieving political unity both at home and abroad. Uniformity of speech not only happened between England and its outlying territories; it also took place among a large variety of dialects within England, which constitutes my second argument in this section. As Freeborn observes, "a number of inter-related dialects" (2006: 219) of English were in existence by the beginning of the sixteenth century, although there is at present not much textual evidence in the form of printed books or manuscripts that can tell the range of the varieties. But a general idea concerning dialectal differences in and around the sixteenth century can still be roughly delineated by referring to some fragmentary commentaries in early modern writings. In the "prologue" to his 1551 manuscript, Hart suggests that English people were enormously divided by dialectal barriers so much so that they were prevented from mutual understanding, which even constitutes a source of prejudices and conflicts between different regions.

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[35] This is quoted by Blank from the following source (as he indicates in an endnote): See Brian O'Cuiv, "The Irish Language in the Early Modern Period", in *A New History of Ireland*, p. 520. On the 1537 ordinance, see O'Cuiv, "The Irish Language," pp. 509–10.

[36] Apart from the above-mentioned linguistic policies, the Acts of Union also include policies concerning the use of English laws and the reformed religion in Ireland and Wales. There were disputes about the Catholic and Protestant belief in these two colonies and the language for prayer. (See Williams 1964 and Jenkins 2007)

[37] This is quoted from Hart's *A Methode* (1570: sig.B.jʳ).

contenting, and flattering theim selues they think no spech so good as that they use. So that yf they heare their neyghbour borne of their next Citie, or duelling not past one or two dais Iorney from theim, speaking some other word then is (in that place) emongest theim used, yt so litell contenteth their eare, that (more then folishli) they seem the stranger were therfore worthie to be derided, and skorned. (1551: 14–15)

Six decades earlier, William Caxton (*c*. 1420–*c*. 1491), generally thought to be the first person brought the printing press into England, also complained about linguistic impediments at the turn of the century in the prologue to his *Eneydos* (1490). By using the following tale about a merchant's experience, he vividly shows us the enormous communicative troubles in commercial activities brought about by the diversity of the English language.

comyn Englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother. In so moche that in my dayes happened that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in Tamyse, for to haue sayled ouer the see into zelande, and for lacke of wynde thei taryed atte forlond, and wente to lande for to refreshe them; And one of theym named Sheffelde, a mercer, cam in-to an hows and axed for mete; and specyally he axyd after eggys. And the goode wyf answerde, that she coude speke no frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no frenshe, but wolde haue hadde egges, and she vnderstode hym not. And thenne at laste a nother sayd that he wolde haue eyren: then the good wyf sayd that she vnderstod hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte, egges or eyren. Certaynly it is harde to playse eueryman by cause of dyuersite and chaunge of langage. (Caxton 1490: 108, quoted from Harris & Taylor, 1989: 87)

Similar observations can also be found in the works of Hart's contemporaries such as George Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, 1589) and linguistic scholars of the next century such as Alexander Gill (*Logonomia Anglica*, 1619). Paula Blank makes a comprehensive study on dialects and the politics of language in Renaissance writings in her book *Broken English*, observing that "English itself was a construct of the period, produced, in large part, by discriminations made among competing 'Englishes' then current" (1996: 1). English language standardization is a process of selecting one variety from the many and forging it to be a standard. In the sixteenth century, standardization took place mainly in the form of orthographic reform which, as has been repeatedly said before, is based on the discussion of sound-letter relation. The dialectal variety that Hart chose to "frame his tongue therevnto" is the one used in London and the Court "where the generall flower of all English countrie speaches, are chosen and vsed" (1570: sig.B.j[r]) and which is "the best and most perfite English" spoken by "euery reasonable English man" (1569: fol.21[r]). By doing so, Hart is suggesting not only a geographical difference—such as the English spoken by people living in "Newcastell vppon Tine" or "Bodman in Cornewale" (1569: fol.20[v]), but also a social difference—English spoken by "the learned sort" (1569: fol.21[r]) and "the rude multitude" (1569: fol.13[r]). Additionally, Hart's proposal is a design invested with political purpose. He insists that "we must be ruled by our speech" (1569: fol.26[v]), to be exact, the speech of the social elites and royal members. By recodifying and standardizing English orthography in accordance with the sovereign lord's variety "with certaintie, order, and reason" (1570: sig.A.ij[v]) and in turn to teach the

"countrymen" to speak and write this variety, Hart was striving to "bring our hōl nasion tu ōn serten, perfet and dʒeneral spēking" (1569: fol.47ᵛ). Through advocating the pronunciation of one dialect in the standardization of spelling for the whole nation, Hart is in fact pursuing linguistic national uniformity—it "compressed geographical distance, transforming inhabitants of different towns into neighbours" (Shrank 2000b: 188). Hart chose the King's variety and thus put it "under royal authority", which grants the rising vernacular a status that was later known as "the King's English" (Shrank 2000b: 187).[38] It suggests that speech, like government, can be centralized, and this centralized language, in turn, contributes to the centralization of the government. Hart's program of linguistic uniformity is an embodiment of English patriotic and nationalist sentiments, and it is, in nature, a movement of national elite aiming to forge or strengthen group solidarity. The association between language and national identity is not anything new in England. But the sixteenth century brings the nationalization of English to an unprecedented height.

> by the sixteenth century, […] the linguistic position was entirely different in England itself. Latin retained much of its prestige, but English after the reformation became the official language of the church and, save for the use of Latin in certain classes of legal records, had also become the language of the state, whilst English had long been established as the language of aristocracy, both in everyday life and culturally. All the forces making for the creation of a modern, national sovereign state, reaching their climax in the 1530s, prescribed a uniformity in language as well as a uniformity in administration and government. (Williams 1964: 70)

It is the first era that saw a group of scholars dedicated to discussing English language standardization and codification in the form of published books. As one of the core elements of nationhood and a bond of national union, language assumes the character of a clear identity marker. The idea behind nationalism is that the people view themselves as unified as a single group. In Hart's mind, language is one of the binding elements of the English nation: having a common language is one big part of expressing that *sameness*. Hart's work aims to promote the use of, and pride in, a vernacular language, characteristic of linguistic patriotism. Compared with Smith (who wrote in Latin when discussing the issue of English orthographic reform), Hart himself set an excellent example by insisting on using English to write all three of his linguistic treatises. He is committed to establishing a standard for the language. This is evident from his frequent use of a set of words, such as *rule*, *law*, *order*, *perfection*, etc., in order to demonstrate that English is a *ruled* or *regulated* language. Hart's choice of the title of his 1569 book *An Orthography, Conteyning the Due Order and Reason* announces law and regularities that can be uncovered from English, claiming it as a potentially logical language. Shrank's following comment on Smith's work holds true for the case of Hart: "attempting to force a wide variety of spoken Englishes into one standard model" (2004: 153), it can be seen as part of an agenda of

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[38] This is a comment made by Shank on Thomas Wilson, which also applies to Hart.

"defining and drawing together a nation of English speakers: what the poet Edmund Spenser would later dub 'the kingdome of oure owne Language'" (Shrank 2000b: 182; also see Shrank 2004: 148).

This development of one vernacular as a national language has a larger European context. In the sixteenth century, language became central to the processes of nation-building in Europe, being used for political ends. I surveyed seven books dedicated to the general history of linguistics,[39] and each of them has a variable length of discussion on the role of vernaculars in building nation states in Europe during the Renaissance period. For example, R. H. Robins offers a list of factors influencing "the recognition of a single variety of a territorial language as official": "(i) the rise of national states and (ii) of a commercial middle class within them, (iii) patriotic feelings, and (iv) the strengthening of central government" (1997: 116–117, numbers added). Scholars such as Percival (1986, 1995), Tavoni (1998), Law (2003), and Linn (2013) also make case studies of different European countries concerning the cultivation of vernacular languages for the purpose of nation-building, including Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England.

Although the central concern of this section is orthographic reform and standardization, it is especially worth noting the "inkhorn controversy" at this point, which is closely connected to the issue of linguistic patriotism in Renaissance England. In the sixteenth century, English writers were greatly concerned about the inadequacy "of their mother tongue as a literary medium" (Nevalainen 2006: 39) and its capacity for reproducing "the eloquence and elegance of other languages, ancient and modern" (Jones 1953: 68). In order to enrich the vocabulary for emerging concepts and newly developed registers, and to cultivate an eloquent English style, many lexical items were borrowed into English from other European languages, especially Latin and Greek. As Barber argues, "the great expansion of the lexicon […] was a highly conscious affair, and people argued about it a good deal" (1976: 78). The Neologizers, who were keen on loan words, were criticized by the so-called Purists and Archaizers,[40] which constituted the great "inkhorn controversy" in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The Purists and the Archaizers labelled the learned loans as "inkhorn words" and attacked them on the ground that the proliferation of neologisms "sometimes led to abuse and excess" and "could easily degenerate into obscurity, affection, and pomposity" (Barber 1976: 82). Tudor scholars, such as Roger Ascham, John Cheke, George Puttenham (1529–1590), Ralph Lever (*c.* 1530–

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[39] Bynon & Palmer 1986, Harris & Taylor 1989, Koerner & Asher 1995, Robins 1997, Lepschy 1998, Law 2003, and Allen 2013.

[40] According to Barber, the Purists refer to those who "advocated the use of existing English words, either by giving them new meanings for technical purposes or by forming new compounds from them" (1976: 78). The Archaizers refer to those who "advocated the use of dialect words" and "obsolete English words" (Barber 1976: 78). It should be noted that "the Archaizers are really a subgroup of the Purists" (Barber 1976: 78).

1585), and Thomas Wilson, appealing to patriotic feeling and nationalistic spirit, expressed in their works the disfavor of inkhorn terms and the ideas of linguistic purism.

There are two places in Hart's works where he expresses his attitude towards the use of inkhorn terms. In *An Orthogrphie*, Hart states that his orthographic reform should be based on the "best and most perfite English" which is "the liuely voice" (1569: fol.21ʳ) rather than the current written language. The written language of Renaissance English embraced "manye an Inckhorne terme" which often included "superfluous" letters that went against the principle of phonetic spelling and which were therefore "left" out in his new orthographic design (Hart 1569: fol.21ʳ). In *A Methode*, Hart points out that "blind affection", "nice curiositie", or "vaine imitation" caused the educated elites to become fascinated with inkhorn terms even though "when their owne mother speach might much better expresse the qualitie of the thing" (1570: sig.[A.iij]ʳ). In Hart's eyes, the problem with those "straunge termes" is that they were introduced into English not only for the reason of mere necessity but also for the sake of ostentation. Inkhorn terms were often used by the London elites as "a new means of social ascendancy, a competition for 'place' through language" (Blank 2006: 226), and thus "for the most part the attack on borrowing was directed against the vanity of the practice" (Jones 1953: 96). As noted by Jones (1953: 108–109) and Blank (2006: 224), Hart complains about the injurious impact of classical borrowing on "the Countrie men" (1570: sig.[A.iij]ʳ), and moderately expresses his objection to using inkhorn terms. He admits that inkhorn terms "beautifieth an Orators tale, which knoweth what he speaketh, and to whom", but greatly emphasizes the fact that it "hindereth the vnlerned from vnderstanding of the matter" (sig.[A.iij]ʳ).

2.4.3 From Spelling Reform to Civilization, Printing, and Academics

But Hart's prospective profits of spelling reform for national commonwealth are not confined to raising the level of literacy and building a coherent and linguistically unified nation. It extends from the teaching and learning of English to the creation of a great civilization. This is my third argument in this section. As Hart observes in the prefatory text ("The authors prologue to his Countryemen") attached to his 1551 manuscript, the lack of a widely-accepted standard orthography for the straightforward acquisition of reading and writing was identified as the cause of "that blind tirant ignorance" (1551: 15). In this way, Hart figures out the correlation between the lack of literacy and "the confusion of knowledge" (1551: 15), and takes the acquisition and dissemination of literacy as the first step to eradicate the aforementioned prejudice brought about by linguistic barriers. In explaining the remarkable value of a "true writing", he points to the historical fact that it is the pioneering work in the invention of alphabets, orthography, and grammar in ancient Greece and Rome that paves the road to the great civilizations (see section 2.2). Furthermore, Hart also takes the neighboring countries in

Europe for illustration, explicating that their achievements in reaching a standard and uniform orthography benefited the people with the acquisition of literacy and the creation of abundant vocabulary. As a result, they could take the lead in getting access to history, science, and godly writings and in developing advanced civilizations and prosperity.

> we see great studies mainteyned in all our neighbours regions [...] for their excellent worthiness [...] in their perfait, and true writting: in the easi meanes, and ordre for the lernyng of speaking: with habundance of wordes and fit names of things: and the histories, sciences, and Godli writtings which ar in theim. Wherefore no toung lakking the premisses can or may be Justly compared with theim. (1551: 20–21)

With this advantage, they are exposed to "notable actes" and "honest matter" (1551: 17) and morally well-equipped with virtue. Additionally, they "studied the seven liberall sciences, and finalli so manie things as possible was for mans wit to attaine, and rech unto" (1551: 17). On this ground, they were taught by those wise and virtuous men called philosophers who "were worthely honoured, and loved of all men", and consequently, "their counseils followed, commandements obeyd, and their lawes established" (1551: 18). In short, a true orthography brought in both virtue and wisdom, which in turn were followed by their posterity and finally gave rise to civilized nations. An observation to the same effect is also made in "The Preface" to his 1569 work. Again, Hart builds the connection between literacy, the development of civilization, and the construction of commonwealth, from which we can see the consistency of Hart's argument in the manuscript and the revised version.

In addition, the benefits of a new orthography for the commonwealth also go beyond politics and civilization to socio-economic and academic arenas. The economic profit is mainly based on the third "commodity" discussed in "The Preface" to *An Orthographie*, which is summarised by Hart as "for cost and time saued" (1569: fol.5[r]). A salient feature of Hart's radical orthographic design is the removal of superfluous letters: "we should not néede to vse aboue the two thirdes or thrée quarters at most, of the letters which we are nowe constreyned to vse" (1569: fol.5[r]), which, as Hart explains, can "saue the one third, or at least the one quarter, of the paper, ynke, and time which we now spend superfluously in writing and printing" (1569: fol.5[r]). This concern has its historical background: the sixteenth century began to usher in a wider use of printing in England.

Finally yet importantly, as the fourth "commodity" discussed in "The Preface" to *An Orthographie* shows, Hart also suggests the academic value of his reformed spelling system for "the English Latinists" (1569: fol.5[r]). Under the heading of "for a helpe for the learned sort which desire to pronounce other tongs aright" (1569: fol.5[r]), Hart remarks as follows:

> English Latinistes maye hereby vnderstand, the Italian and high Dutch and Welshe pronounciation of their letters, which by presumption is verie neare as the auncient

Gréekes and Latines did, being according to thorder and reason of their predecessors first inuention of them, whereby our errors are the better perceyued. (1569: fols.5ʳ–5ᵛ)

It is a fact that the discussion of English orthography was triggered by the scholarly disputes on the pronunciation of Greek and Latin at Cambridge during the early sixteenth century, and English spelling was discussed in relation to the classical languages, as exemplified by the work of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith. Likewise, Hart's discussion of English orthography was also realized through an intensive comparative study of the European languages. He presumes that when the orthographies of the classical languages were first invented, they were based on strict phonetic principles—one letter for one sound and vice versa, and this, as he reckons, is also the case for English. By placing the examination of English spelling in the light of languages such as Italian, high Dutch, and Welsh whose "pronounciation of their letters […] is verie neare as the auncient Gréekes and Latines", Hart aims to spot "our errors" in a persuasive way and show the legitimacy of his own design (1569: fol.5ʳ). At the end of his 1569 book (fols.63ʳ–66ʳ), Hart uses seven pages to give examples with his new orthography, concerning "how certain other nations do sound their letters both in Latin and in their mother tongues, thereby to know the better how to pronounce their speeches, and so to read them as they do" (fol.63ʳ). Moreover, it should be noted that Hart is "consistently international in perspective" (O'Neill 2000: 122). He holds that "his new spelling system could, with minor adaptations, be used by other languages besides English with equal efficacy 'to pronounce any straunge speach' [Hart 1569: fol.4ᵛ]" (O'Neill 2000: 122). The ideal of achieving "a consistent spelling system with a separate symbol for each sound" (Percival 1995: 151) is a shared ideology among the European orthographic reformers. As a linguistic scholar, Hart was keenly engaged in the intellectual activities of language in Europe. Trends of orthographic reform on the Continent had a heavy influence on Hart and his contemporaries in England. They were consistent in terms of general orientation, which is clearly evident from Hart's mentioning of Louis Meigret[41] in his own book and his travel experience in Europe. By producing a *universal grammar* of spelling, Hart aspires to show that he is able to produce an orthographic system applicable not only to English but also to many other European languages.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined Hart's discussions on the extra-linguistic purposes and benefits of orthographic reform. My contributions are twofold. First, I set the investigation of Hart's

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[41] As I will mention again later at different points of this thesis, Hart's *ideology* and *rhetoric* of spelling reform were heavily influenced by those of the French orthographers (especially Louis Meigret of Lyon and Jacques Pelletier du Mans) in the sixteenth century. I will write a separate journal article to discuss this issue in detail.

purposes of orthographic reform in religio-political contexts—the rise of national states and the movement of religious reform. Second, I identified a God-king-commonwealth rhetorical model from Hart's persuasive writings with reference to Dudley's political treatise, and used this model to organize Hart's arguments for the benefits of orthographic reform, which permeate all three of his linguistic texts. In Hart's mind, his strictly sound-based spelling system is profitable for all parts of the body politic. To be brief, *spiritually* it is necessary for pursuing Christian belief, and *temporally* it enhances the king's power and contributes to nation-building.

Chapter Three

The Politicized Internal Structure of Orthography:

"The division of the parts and persons of the common wealth"

So ought the law of Reason which is in vs, to turn our handes to order justly those figures and letters which we shal make, to represent the voyces of our pronunciation, wherfore we write them: and not to vsurpe others powers, or to be ydle in their owne: or for want of better example of our predecessors, to portrait a monstrous figure, wanting such members as are manifest in the voice. For such an abused and vicious writing, bringeth confusion and vncertaintie in the reading, and therefore is iustly to be refused, and the vicious parts therof cut away, as are the ydle or offensiue members, in a politike common welth.

Hart, *An Orthographie* (1569: fol.12ʳ)

This chapter examines the internal structure of orthography (including sound elements, letters, and diacritical marks) and how far we can make meaningful parallels with the social order. It aims to demonstrate how Hart conceptualizes the technical aspects of orthography in terms of Tudor politics. I would like to argue that Hart's politicization of the alphabet principally finds expression in two ways. Firstly, the **constituent elements** of the alphabet are personified and compared to members of the commonwealth. On this ground, abused letters are described as "offensive" citizens in the realm of England, and the four types of spelling disorders (e.g. *superfluity*) are examined in light of social problems (e.g. the *idleness of men*) (section 3.2). Secondly, it is discernible that a sense of hierarchy is maintained with respect to the **internal structure** of orthography. The pyramidal image of social ranking is transferred to account for the hierarchical order in the alphabet. This politico-linguistic mapping can be specified as follows:

- Rank 1: The role played by the "absolute" **sound elements** in determining a perfect orthography is comparable to the reigning power of the monarch who is the "head governor" of the commonwealth of England. (Section 3.3)

- The function of the "obedient" letters is akin to the magistrates[42] who are the "inferior governors" of the commonwealth, exercising their administrative power in the name and by the authority of the monarch. The magistratical letters can be subdivided into two ranks. (Section 3.3)

- Rank 2: **Vowel letters** occupy the upper tier of the alphabetical ladder. The "office" and "power" of the five vowel letters can be represented in terms of the five ranks of the *Nobilitas major* (i.e. the greater nobility, including dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons). (Section 3.4)

- Rank 3: Inferior to vowels, **consonantal letters** are assigned a lower status which is analogous to the *Nobilitas minor* (i.e. the lesser nobility, including knights, esquires, and simple gentlemen). (Section 3.5)

- Rank 4: **Diacritical marks and punctuation** stand for no "voice" in the alphabetical commonwealth and thus correspond to the bottom level of the social hierarchy, which is made up of all laborers and artificers. (Section 3.6)

3.1 The Background and Rationale for This Chapter

In section 4.2 of O'Neill's doctoral thesis (2000), she makes some brief but immensely interesting comments on a bundle of sixteenth-century ideas concerning the internal structure of

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[42] Magistrates were mostly selected from the two ranks of "gentlemen", i.e. the *Nobilitas major* and the *Nobilitas minor* (Smith 1583/1906: 31–37).

orthography. Her ten lines of remarks stand out for uncovering the politicization of letters. O'Neill notes that in the dictionary *An Aluearie* (1580),[43] the Elizabethan lexicographer John Barret (died 1580) suggests that "the order in which letters are arranged corresponds to some hierarchical grading" (2000: 119). A case in point is his assertion that the letter "c", subject to "miscalling" and "miswriting", cannot occupy "the third place of honour" (i.e. appear third in the alphabet) (Barret 1580: sig.[K.iii]ᵛ). Moreover, as O'Neill comments, Barret points to the "current social reality" in examining the confusion that "some vowels cannot be distinguished from consonants" (O'Neill 2000: 119). That is, misused vowels are likened to "the despised but boldly assertive merchant classes" (2000: 119) which "wallowe in wealth, and being in some fat office of writing" (Barret 1580: sig.[Mm.v]ᵛ). In another section (4.3),[44] O'Neill adds that in Barret's mind the letter "c" does not have a legitimate place in the alphabet but has usurped the proper power of "s" and "k". For this reason, it is analogous to "the upwardly mobile social classes who occupied a position neither fitting nor assigned to it" (O'Neill 2000: 132). In addition, the variously pronounced letter "e" is also labeled by Barret as "idle" which is characteristic of "the non-productive social classes who do not pull their weight" (O'Neill 2000: 133). Surprisingly, O'Neill also identifies something similar in William Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598). In Act 5, Scene 1 of the play, when discussing the issue of orthography, the humble Mote is addressed by Holofernes as a "consonant" ("Quis, quis, thou consonant?"). From this, O'Neill draws the inference that "vowels were placed in the upper echelons and were followed by 'mere consonants'" (2000: 119). In addition, it should be noted that in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Act 2, Scene 2, line 62) Oswald is addressed by the Earl of Kent as a "whoreson zed", an "unnecessary letter" ("Thou whoreson zed! thou unnecessary letter!") in the middle of a quarrel. The sound changes of Latin made the letter 'z' unnecessary for orthography and gradually dropped from the alphabet around 400 BC. By invoking this association, Kent is telling Oswald that, as a humble servant of Goneril, he is as trivial and useless as the letter 'z'. To be brief, the works of Barret and Shakespeare show, firstly, that an idea of *hierarchy* is maintained among letters in the alphabet and, secondly, that abused letters are explained with reference to the *change of social classes* and *its consequential problems*.

As far as my project is concerned, it is crucial to see whether this is the case for Hart as well because Hart employs a wealth of terms and concepts full of political connotation. In her thesis (sections 4.2 & 4.3) and a later published article (2002), O'Neill finds that the social order in the state is also cited by Hart as a model in conceptualizing the restoration of harmony and hierarchy in the alphabet. However, she does not explicitly state what the *hierarchy* refers to in the alphabet on the part of Hart—the superiority of vowels over consonants (as she observes for

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[43] This treatise was originally published in 1574.

[44] The discussion is of 14 lines, pp. 132–133.

Shakespeare), or any other? Nor does she tell us how the *alphabetical hierarchy* relates to *social order*—she just explains some spelling disorders in terms of social problems but misses the underlying macrostructure. That is to say, O'Neill recognizes that the political model used by Hart is the *true commonwealth*, or in other words, the *well-ordered society*, but her steps stop at very general comments. It is fascinating to investigate and spell out the framework of the political model and to see how it is (by parts or in its entirety) mapped onto Hart's understanding of the internal structure of orthography. This chapter attempts to fill the gap, setting out to argue that the hierarchies comprising all layers of social classes are the unstated political model underpinning the internal structure of orthography. A correspondence can be constructed between these stratified social layers and the constituent elements of the alphabet. In the Introduction chapter I have briefly discussed the fact that the Tudor society is based on a rigidly hierarchical structure (see section 1.3). For instance, in *De Republica Anglorum*, Smith divides the commonwealth into "four sorts": gentlemen, citizens, yeomen, artificers and laborers (1583/1906: 31). At this point, I would like to re-emphasize that this fundamental social concept is based on the idea of the "Great Chain of Being" (See Tillyard 1943 and Illustration 2). In *The boke named the Gouernour* (1531), Thomas Elyot explains why the society should be hierarchically structured in terms of the "Great Chain of Being" (fols.2^v–3^v).
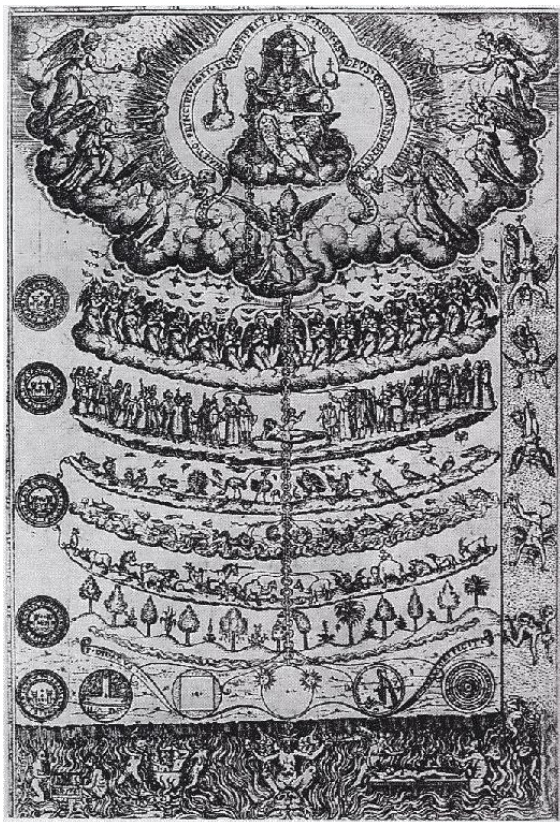

Illustration 2: 1579 Drawing of the "Great Chain of Being" from Didacus Valades, *Rhetorica Christiana*. (Source:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_chain_of_being#/media/File:Great_Chain_of_Being_2.png)

This chapter is divided into two parts. In section 3.2, I discuss how letters are politicized and how Hart's four types of alphabetical disorders can be interpreted by referring to social problems. From 3.3 to 3.6, I discuss in detail the hierarchical internal structure of orthography and how it can be understood in light of social classes.

3.2 The Corruption of Letters: "the dekey of our commyn wele, wyth al the commyn fautys & mysordurys"[45]

In the second chapter of *An Orthographie*, "the vicious parts" of the abused writing are compared to "the ydle or offensiue members, in a politike common welth" (1569: fol.12^r). This remark sets the tone, which is that Hart politicized the internal structure of orthography. In the third chapter of both *The Unreasonable Writing* and *An Orthographie*, after drawing out a blueprint of what a perfect orthography should be like, Hart moves a step further and searches out the "vice and abuse" that were maintained in the current alphabet. He argues that English writing can be corrupted in four ways: *usurpation*, *misplacing*, *diminution*, and *superfluity* (1551: 47; also see 1569: fols.14^r-14^v).[46] In this section, I would like to argue that these quadruple causes of spelling disorder are closely connected with Hart's politicization of alphabet. It is a further development of the idea that the abused letters of an unreasonable orthography can be conceptualized with the problematic members of a decayed commonwealth. These four terms are heavily invested with political connotations, bearing a certain resemblance to the then contemporary social reality.

3.2.1 The Four Forms of "Corruption" and Their Political Connotations

Firstly, for **usurpation**, Hart cites an example and explains that the letter "g" (whose proper use can be exemplified by words such as *together* and *give*) is often abused to stand for the sound of the letter "j", which can be illustrated by words such as *gentle* and *genet*. In this case, one letter is abused for the function of another, which echoes Starkey's observation made in *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (1529–32/1989) on the usurpation of power between social classes in

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[45] This is quoted from Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (1529–32/1989: 18). According to the survey of A. R. Buck (1992), Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue* was written at some time between the late 1520s and the early 1530s. It was first published by J. M. Cowper in 1871. Before that, it was an "untitled, unpublished, and unfinished manuscript" (Buck 1992: 27). Thomas Mayer published a "more exacting transcription" (Buck 1992: 27) in the year 1989. In this thesis, I use Mayer's critical edition.

[46] It should be noted that in *Traité touchant le commun usage de l'escriture francoise* (1545), Meigret Louis also outlines three "vices" (i.e. "Trois vices d'escriture") of the current French orthography, including (i) "diminution", (ii) "superfluité", and (iii) "vsurpatió". As I mentioned earlier (in a footnote in section 2.4.3), I will write a separate journal article to discuss the French influence on English orthographic reform in terms of ideology and rhetoric.

the ill-ordered Tudor society: for instance, ploughmen and laborers were abused to fulfill the duty of yeomen in the time of war, fighting for the peace of the country (1529–32/1989: 53–54). Social disorder was generally regarded as a seminal problem in the sixteenth century. For example, some of the yeomen, with the accumulation of wealth and power, uplifted their social status, which contributed to the rise of the gentry in England. They aspired to achieve social advancement and reach the ranks of the aristocracy. As a result, the lines between the social classes were getting blurred. Facing this social problem, Starkey envisioned that in an ideal commonwealth, "every parte dow […] hys duty & offyce requyryd therto" (1529–32/1989: 38). The using of "usurpation" in Hart's linguistic texts evokes the above sociopolitical association.

The second form of "corruption" that Hart argues is also related to *social order*. He explains that "a writing may be corrupted, by **misplacing** of letters" (1569: fol.21ᵛ, my emphasis; also see 1551: 53). This abuse, as he observes, is mostly found "in the finall sillables, ending in r, or l, aspired in pronunciation" (1569: fols.21ᵛ–22ʳ; also see 1551: 53), which can be exemplified by words such as *fable* and *bordre*. The problem is that "we write the e, after, when we pronounce it before, or no perfite e, at al sounded" (1569: fols.21ᵛ–22ʳ; also see 1551: 53). If we write in accordance with the order of pronunciation, words such as *numbre*, *fable*, *circle*, *ordre*, *bordre*, and *rendre* should be spelt as *number*, *fabel*, *cirkel*, *order*, *border* and *render* (1551: 53; 1569: fol.22ʳ). Hart's appeal to the concepts of "disordering" and "misplacing" helps to create a political atmosphere in his linguistic texts. They lay a ground for the reader's understanding of orthographic order in association with social order. Actually, the word "order" bears a twofold meaning in Hart's writing. Narrowly speaking, it refers to the placing of letters according to the sequence of pronunciation; in a broader sense, it equals to "reason" or the "law" of true writing, upon which all the rules of a perfect orthography rest. They find expression in the title of Hart's 1569 treatise: *An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason*. In his 1570 pamphlet, under the book title, Hart puts that "order" is "the Nurse of al humain perfections" (see the title-page). It implies that, if a writing system is intended to be perfect, each letter should stand in its due order. The words "order" and "disorder" evoke two associated meanings at the same time, both linguistic and sociopolitical. As I have mentioned earlier, the "order" of letters, just like the order of social classes, comes from the divine order—the Great Chain of Being. In this sense, keeping oneself in one's proper place is in itself a "virtue" (Hart's term) and an abused orthography can be seen as the *sin* of letters.

Thirdly, **diminution** means that an alphabet does not have "sufficient markes" for symbolizing all "the voices of the speech" (1569: fol.14ᵛ); thus one letter is used to stand for two or more sound elements. For instance, a vowel is made to serve as a diphthong or is used in the "office"

of a consonant.[47] Fourthly, as for **superfluity**, Hart explains that "a writing is corrupted when any worde or sillable hath more letters, than are vsed of voyces in the pronunciation" (1569: fol.15^r; also see 1551: 48). Superfluous letters should be removed from English spelling because "by souch a disordre a writing can not be but fals" (1551: 48). Superfluity goes against the principle of one letter for one sound and "cause[s] to the vnexpert that voice to be pronounced in reading, which is not in the worde in speaking" (1569: fol.15^r; also see 1551: 48). Terms similar to "diminution" and "superfluity" are also employed by Thomas Starkey in criticizing problems endangering the commonwealth in his *Dialogue*. Starkey identifies four types of "common faults" and "general disorders" in the commonwealth which bear the potential of leading to the ruin and decay of the realm, two of which are: (i) the lack of people and scarceness of men, and (ii) the existence of idle and ill-occupied persons. *Diminution* is quite similar to Starkey's observation on "the lake of pepul & skaresnes of men" in the realm (1529–32/1989: 48), which constitutes an impediment to building a prosperous and flourishing commonwealth. Successive waves of plague and warfare since the late middle ages led to the decline of population (Fellows 2001: 1), which in consequence caused the "ruyne of cytes & townys", the "dekey of craftys in every place" and the "rudenes & barrennes of the ground" (1529–32/1989: 50) in England. As for *superfluity*, the concept of "idle persons" is employed by Hart three times in his comments on "superfluous letters" (1551: 33–34; 1569: fols.9^v–10^r, fol.12^r). "Idle" and "superfluous" are used synonymously. This resembles Starkey's observation on one of the "faults" troubling the commonwealth. That is, there are a great number of "idul & unprofytabul personys" in the country who are "other ydul or yl occupyd" and "a smal nombur of them excercysyth them selfe in dowyng theyr offyce & duty perteynyng to the mayntenance of the commyn wele" (1529–32/1989: 52). Starkey recognizes that those idle persons exist in all social degrees. It is estimated by Starkey that one third of the people were living in idleness (1529–32/1989: 52). By using this political term, Hart attempts to achieve the rhetorical effect that the full "duty" and proper "office" performed by all the letters are necessary for the maintenance of the alphabetical commonwealth—he is using the politics of the time to back up his argument about the alphabet.

Hart uses a large part of his texts to deal with the issue of *superfluity*, emphasizing that "this abuse is great" (1551: 48; 1569: fol.15^r). He divides the cause of superfluity into three types: *difference*, *time*, and *derivation*, which, as Starkey remarks on the idle men, "al togyddur make

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[47] It is noteworthy that in the unpublished manuscript, Hart lists *diminution* as one of the four ways of corruption, but when he sets down to discuss them one by one in detail, he remarks that "shewing our good wittes, we have not (that I can find) diminished, any one of our letters from our writing" (p. 47). However, in the published work of 1569, he not only recognizes that this diminution is a "fault" that actually in existence in the abused English writing, and identifies several subtypes, but he does not give any abused letters for illustration. A possible reason is that some examples of *diminution* overlap with another two categories that he is going to cover: usurpation and superfluity.

our polytyke body unweldy & hevy" (1529–32/1989: 54). The first cause of using superfluous letters, as Hart observes, is "to put *difference* betwixt words of one sound" in order to avoid "the reader […] gather[ing] a mysseunderstanding of theim" (1551: 70, my italics; also see 1569: fol.25ᵛ). Hart comments that, in the sentence "A hatt for my fayre *sonne*, to save him from the burnyng of the *Sunne*" (1551: 50, my emphasis; also see 1569: fol.19ᵛ), it is unnecessary to write the one referring to the "planet" (Hart's term) with a "u" and the other referring to a boy with an "o". He explains that "a mans iudgement, is able to decerne, the sundry meaning of words, like as in hearing, so in reading: by the reason and discourse of the matter and sentence" (1569: fol.25ᵛ; also see 1551: 73). The second cause of using superfluous letters (i.e. *time*), as Hart identified, is "when a letter shuldbe longer sounded in one place, then in an other" (1551: 48), and we can identify these superfluous letters in both vowels and consonants. Hart points out that vowel letters are sometimes used superfluously for signifying the length of another vowel in two ways: first, in mono-syllabic words and the final syllable of multi-syllabic words, an "e" is used to symbolize that the vowel used immediately before it is long in quantity, as exemplified by words such as *spake*, *take*, *there*, *before*, and *beholde*. Second, in middle syllables, a diphthong or two double vowels are often abused in order to indicate that it is a long vowel. Hart does not give any example for this second type of superfluous vowels at this point. But he offers a lot of words for instances in the later chapters exclusively devoted to the discussion of vowels and diphthongs: for instance, "ea" is abused for the sound of the long *e* (1551: 103) and "ee" is abused for the long *i* (1551: 104–105). Consonantal letters are also used superfluously for signifying the length of the sound they stand for. Firstly, we double "the consonant in myddel syllables […] when he shuld be longer then commune" (1551: 51). Again, Hart does not give any example to illustrate this point. But the words "myddel" and "syllables" which appear in the preceding quotation are two typical examples: the letter "d" in the first word and the letter "l" in the second word are doubled because (as Hart sees it) they are long in quantity. Secondly, Hart notes that "in final syllables, we adde therto also the same "e", which in writing maketh a syllable more then is pronounced" (1551: 51), and he gives this sentence for illustration: "*stoppe* the *bulle* that he *passe* not" (1551: 51, my italics). It means that the sounds of "p", "l" and "s" are long consonants in these words. What I discussed above in this paragraph does not have much to do with my central concern of this chapter—Hart's politicization of letters, but it helps me present a complete picture of his typology of *superfluity*. In the rest of this section, I will concentrate on discussing the third cause of superfluity—*derivation*, the importance of which lies in the fact that it contains much information concerning Hart's politicization of letters in terms of social members in the commonwealth.

3.2.2 The Metaphors of "Denizen" and "Arms": Attitudes towards the Spelling of Borrowed Words

To Hart, letters for *derivation* is to show the identity of words borrowed from other languages, as illustrated by the bold letters in the following words: *doubt, eight, authorite, souldiours, people, condempned,* and *baptisme* (1551: 50).[48] Hart denies the legitimacy of observing superfluous letters for derivation, maintaining that there is neither "meetness" nor "convenience" but great "discommodity" of "disordering our writing from our pronunciation" (1551: 62).[49] In addition, there is neither "the law of nature" nor any "agreement between peoples" that require us to write these redundant letters (1551: 64–65). In Hart's mind, such "fantasies" are just "as the shining of the Sunne, uppon anie other countrey besides ours" (1551: 65). In the 1569 revised version, Hart takes a step further and gives more in-depth discussion. With other things remaining the same, Hart adds a metaphor in explaining *derivation*—**the metaphor of "Denison"** (i.e. denizen), which offers another inlet to the sociopolitical understanding of Hart's linguistic thought. As follows, he personifies those borrowed words by likening them to "strangers" from other countries, and characterizes them with the term "denizen".

> For the opinion to maintaine a certaine superfluitie of letters, to shew the deriuations of wordes from any *straunge language* into ours, it is euen as we would not haue any *straunger* to be conuersant, nor dwell amongst vs, though he be *a frée Denison,* and is fully bent to liue and die with vs to thend of his life: except (of a certaine fond curiositie) he should *weare continually some mark,* to be knowen whence he is, I think, to thend we should be able to know thereby how to refuse him when some of vs listed. Otherwise if he may be accounted as one of ours? Why shoulde he not be framed in euery condicion as we are? that is, to shew himself, appeare and be in very déede, naturall in euerye condition, as wée are, and leaue all his colours, *or markes of straungenesse,* for so the French doe terme it, when any forren is so receiued amongst them, they cal him *naturalized.* (1569: fols.15v–16r, my italics)

Denizen means "one who lives habitually in a country but is not a native-born citizen" (*OED* "denizen", *n.* and *j.*, A. *n,* 2. a.). Since he is "an alien admitted to citizenship by royal letters patent" (*OED*), he should be "naturalized" (Hart 1569: fol.16r), "be accounted as one of ours" (1569: fol.15v) and "be framed in euery condicion as we are" (1569: fol.15v). In the same way, the borrowed words should not use any superfluous letters to mark their origin. Instead, they should be pronounced in English and be written as they sound. It can be inferred from this metaphor that, just as a naturalized denizen must be obedient to the King of England, the

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[48] It should be noted that Hart and Mulcaster use the term *derivation* in different senses. To Hart, it means loan words. But, to Mulcaster, "*deriuation* handleth the coplements of one hole word, and som addition put to it" (1582/1925: 162), which is either "*substantiarie*" (those for "possessiues, localls, materialls, aduerbialls, &c.") or "*accidentarie*" (those for "numbers, tenses, persons, and such properties as we call accidents") (1582/1925: 163). But both Hart and Mulcaster discuss the spelling of loan words in terms of "denizen" and "enfranchisement".

[49] As Hart observes, advocates of letters for *derivation* give two reasons: "It is méete to be superfluous in writing, first for the knowledge whence the word is deriued: and besides, that we are bound, to leaue some letter or letters, in the words which we borowe of other tongues, though we sounde them not: to be as of duetie, for a continuall knowledging and remembrance, of the profit receyued" (1569: fol.16r; also see 1551: 62).

writing of a borrowed word should be a faithful reflection of its English pronunciation. Otherwise, it breaks "the law of true writing" just as a free denizen breaches the law of England. Interestingly, this metaphor is also used in Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*.

> This benefit of the *foren tung*, which we vse in making their termes to becom ours, with som alteration in form, according to the frame of our speche, tho with the continewing in substance of those words, which ar so vsed, that it maie appear both whence theie com, and to whom theie com, I call *enfranchisment*, by which verie name the words that ar so *enfranchised*, becom bond to the rules of our writing, which I haue named before, as *the stranger denisons* be to the lawes of our cuntrie. […] it best for *the strange words to yeild to our lawes*, bycause we ar both their vsuaries & fructuaries, both to enioy their frutes, and to vse themselues, and that as near as we can, we *make them mere English*. (1582/1925: 173–174, my italics)

Mulcaster's employment of concepts such as "enfranchisement" and "the stranger denisons" as quoted in the above passage has aroused O'Neill's attention (1999a, 2000). Her contribution forms the starting point of my discussion of Hart. She points out that "the term 'denizen' had a precedent in Elyot" (1999a: 534; 2000: 177) and the French critic Joachim du Bellay (1522–1560) also employed the same analogy (2000: 177). This suggests that the metaphor of "denizen" was a popular linguistic idea in the sixteenth century concerning language standardization and that scholars of spelling reform did not work in isolation. Hart and Mulcaster, though holding opposing opinions in general, agree on this issue of naturalizing borrowed words and appeal to the same rhetorical device. In her interpretation of Mulcaster's analogy, O'Neill firmly grasps the central point that the writing of a borrowed item should reflect its English pronunciation faithfully, just as the enfranchised citizen "must swear allegiance to the reigning sovereign" (1999a: 534; also see 2000: 177). But in these two pieces of publication (1999a, 2000), she does not mention Hart, which makes it worthwhile to investigate him. To me, most of the above interpretations made by O'Neill for Mulcaster apply to Hart (although Mulcaster is using the metaphor to talk about the *duties* of the immigrant, whereas Hart is talking about the immigrant's *rights*). But I would like to add that this metaphor may also be read as a political proclamation, which entails two levels of meaning. First, English should be used for building nationhood, especially for those Irish and Welsh "strangers" (which I have discussed in Chapter 2); second, those newly incorporated citizens should be loyal to the new monarch. They cannot serve two kings at the same time, just as a letter cannot stand for two sounds. As such, Hart is emphasizing the subject's loyalty and obedience to the monarch, which is greatly in need in Tudor England which was successively ruled by "an ageing bully, followed by a young boy and then a woman, as well as a female usurper"[50] (Fellows 2001: 2). Furthermore, O'Neill maintains that the image of Denizen "grow naturally from the political events of the age" (1999a: 534). She points to the sociopolitical context of Elizabethan England, referring "denizens"

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[50] Queen Elizabeth I was a "usurper" in the sense that in the sixteenth century the legitimacy of a female monarch was challenged to a large extent.

specifically to refugees from the European continent. As she remarks, during the ten years of the 1570s "approximately 360,000 refugees arrived in" England and thus the "process of integration no doubt attracted analogies with borrowed words" (1999a: 534). In addition, I would like to argue that the idea of enfranchising loan words, as manifested by the inkhorn controversy, is for a large part motivated by patriotic feeling. It should be noted that the phonetic principle is not the only driving force of enfranchisement in orthography. Mulcaster is against phonetic spelling, but he agrees to delete those unsounded letters signifying the origin of words. For him, having "the strange words […] yeild to our lawes" and "mak[ing] them mere English" (1582/1925: 174) is essential to working the vernacular towards the "artificiall direction" (1582/1925: 85). He recognizes the need for classical borrowings, but, appealing to patriotic sentiments, he claims that "I loue Rome, but London better, I fauor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but worship the English" (1582/1925: 269).

Furthermore, in the 1569 revised edition, in denying the "meetness" of using superfluous letters for borrowed words, Hart also uses **the metaphor of "arms"**, which in fact is an extension of the above metaphor of denizen. It is very natural for Hart to appeal to this metaphor since he was then Chester Herald whose "office" was in charge of "arms". Hart's opponents insist that it is profitable to write superfluous letters for derivation, "to be as of duetie, for a continuall knowledging and remembrance, of the profite receyued: euen as euery Gentilman is knowne by his armes, which are duelye belonging to him" (1569: fol.16ʳ). Hart responds that once a soldier from abroad is employed under the service of the king of England, he should serve him faithfully (1569: fol.17ʳ). Similarly, a word can be borrowed and used in different languages, but once they come into the service of the English language, they should be pronounced and written in an English manner. If a word preserves the "arms" of the language from which it is borrowed, it is just as if it serves two "princes" at the same time in the commonwealth of language, which is not allowed according to the law of true writing.

> And for the reason of armes, there is no such conueniencie or duetie in writing of a straunge word, for lyke as euery straunger that any Prince receyueth to be imployed in his seruice, what armes soeuer his house doth giue, he beareth notwithstanding the generall marke wherwith the Princes naturall subiectes are knowen from his aduersaries: so ought the straunge worde (of what language soeuer) haue the generall and perfite marke of the Idiomate, whereinto it is receyued, euen as in speach, so in writing. And like as two Gentlemen Aliens of one house and armes, may séeke their aduentures, and serue two Princes enimies, and differ their conditions, as much from their naturall, as the time and maner of the countrie shall minister occasion, and that without reproche of any reasonable man: so may euery nation vse others words, as they maye best frame their tongue therevnto, the writing whereof ought to be accordingly, without any scrupulositie. (1569: fols.17ʳ–17ᵛ)

On this point, O'Neill has a brief note in section 4.10 of her doctoral thesis (2000). She acknowledges that Hart, in "arguing against the retention of the original spelling of the word,

compares it to a foreign mercenary in the service of a Prince" (p. 177). But in her book chapter (2002), O'Neill gives more comments on this issue in her discussion of Hart's war-related images. In her mind, Hart is "an army general" who "aims to impose discipline on the wayward alphabet" (p. 309). As such, "he is particularly militant in relation to borrowed terms", emphasizing that once those hired soldiers from alien countries are "under pay from a prince", they are obliged to "wear his colours, no matter what their original precedence" (p. 309). In the same vein, "borrowed terms should be naturalised and not reveal their etymological origin" (p. 309). In order to unveil the contemporary meaning of the image and its rhetorical power, O'Neill sets the interpretation of the metaphor of arms in a historical context, pointing out that it has immediate relevance to the battles against constant military threats from Ireland, the border counties, Scotland, and other countries on the continent (p. 309). To be more specific, I would like to add some historical fact that, as A. R. Buck remarks, the sixteenth century "was a period of great political turmoil and religious upheaval" (1992: 27). On this point, Fellows adds that, "the greatest challenges to the regime were in 1540–1563 when there were a series of disastrous foreign wars, four attempted coups, [and] three serious rebellions", and "the scale of events, such as the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 and Kent's rising of 1549, was similar to many of the disturbances of the Wars of the Roses" (2001: 2). Dobson's biographical study of Hart includes a sentence, which is very informative for the interpretation of Hart's use of the military image. It tells us that Hart really got involved in military service in the year when his treatise *An Orthographie* was published—he delivered "treasure to Doncaster in 1569 during the rebellion of the North" and "at any rate thought himself the social equal of the military leaders among whom he was" (Dobson 1968: 64).

In addition, Hart uses another allusion and comments that the writing of superfluous letters is "worse than Corinths" (1569: fol.10^v). "Corinth" allusively means "a house of ill fame" (*OED* "Corinth", *n*, 1. b.) for its luxurious and licentious adornment. Its negative meaning discredits the use of superfluous letters for derivation, which are identified by Hart as only "to make a garnishing or furnishing […] to satisfie the eye to another ende than it ought: or the fancies of others" (1569: fol.15^r; also see 1551: 48). This comment bears much resemblance to Starkey's evaluation of the *vain pleasure* of man and *vain ornaments* of the commonwealth, which can bring in nothing beneficial but break the good *order* and perfect *civility* of the commonwealth (1529–32/1989: 55). As a conclusion, Hart reiterates that using superfluous letters brings about "the disordering and corruption of our writing"; it is "both against the law of perfection" and "against all reasons" (1551: 69).

To summarize, the attention of this section has been focused on how the *abused letters* and *their problems* are politicized in terms of contemporary social problems. In Hart's mind, letters, no matter whether they are "natural citizens", "denizens", or "mercenaries", once they come into

royal service, should be obedient to the kingly sound and reflect their pronunciation in English faithfully. Otherwise, the four types of corruptions will take place and the alphabetical commonwealth will decay. Having discussed the general "faultes" (1551: 27) Hart identified in the current orthography, I will continue to elaborate on the hierarchical orders envisioned by Hart for a perfect orthography in the rest of this chapter.

3.3 Sound and Letters: the "souraigne lorde" and the "inferiour gouernours called Magistrates"[51]

In this section, with reference to Thomas Elyot's political treatise *The boke named the Gouernour* (1531), I examine Hart's discussion on the relationship between speech and letters, arguing that the roles played by sound elements and letters in orthography are comparable to those played by the king and magistrates in the commonwealth. I use Elyot's text to parallel my reading of Hart's discussion about the relation between sound and letter because it distinguishes the roles of the "sovereign governor" and the "inferior governors" and also describes the relationship between them in the "public weal" (Elyot's terms).

First and foremost, *The Gouernour* is, as Walker notes, "a lengthy justification of monarchy as a system of government" and is read by some critics as "an apologia for royal absolutism" (2007: online). The opening chapters of "The First Book"[52] are very impressive. After defining what is "a publike weale" (1531: fol.1ʳ) and its significance, Elyot goes on to write about "the office or duetie of a soueraigne gouernour or prince" (1531: fol.12ᵛ), attempting to legitimize the supreme power of the monarch in two ways. First, by resorting to history, he tells us that "one soueraigne gouernour ought to be in a publike weale" (1531: fol.6ʳ) who has the absolute power and governs all the people. Compared with all the other forms of "public weal" that have ever existed, he claims that "vndoubtedly / the best and most sure gouernáce / is by one kynge or prince: whiche ruleth onely for the weale of his people to hym subiecte: and that maner of gouernaunce is beste approued / and hath longest continued / and is moste auncient" (1531: fols.7ʳ–7ᵛ). Second, he appeals to the Holy Scriptures to find supporting evidence for the divine right of the monarch, claiming that the king "retayned the soueraintie by goddis commandement" (1531: fol.8ᵛ). It is rather interesting to note that Hart defines the *power* and *office* of sound elements in a similar vein, which I explain as follows. He devotes the first chapter of both his 1551 and 1569 works to discussing "what letters are, and of their right vse" (1569: fol.8ᵛ), maintaining that "we must be ruled by our speech" (1569: fol.26ᵛ) if we want to have a writing that is to be considered as perfect. He defines *letter* as "the figure of the lest part of the voice,

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[51] This is quoted from Thomas Elyot (1531: fols.6ʳ–15ᵛ).

[52] *The boke named the Gouernour* consists of three "books", i.e. three major parts.

which we mai also call a maner of Image of the voice made that by the quantitie, and qualite therof we mought know for what voice it serveth" (1551: 31; also see 1569: fol.9ʳ). He further explains that since "letters ar the Image of mannes voice, ye ar forced to graunt, that the writing shuld have so many Letters, as the pronunciation neadeth of voices, and no more, or lesse" (1551: 32; also see 1569: fol.8ʳ). At this point, if reading Hart's linguistic thought in the light of Elyot's political ideas, we can draw much resemblance. Namely, *sound* is the *king* of the orthographic commonwealth, who has the supreme and absolute power in determining the choice and use of letters. In other words, *sound* is the "sovereign lord" in the "realm" of orthography. The kingly *sound* that Hart chose to frame his orthography is (as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis) the variety used in London and the Court, which was favorably selected in the uniformity of speech. In Chapter 5 of this thesis, a comparative study between the political models used by several Tudor spelling reformers (i.e. Smith and Mulcaster) will highlight Hart's ideas about the tyrannical status of sound in *appointing* letters as governors of the alphabetical commonwealth.

Following the prospectus for monarchy and the tyrannical role of the king in the opening chapter, Elyot continues to define the *office* and *power* of the magistrates. He observes that "it is expedient and also nedefull / that vnder the capitall gouernour be sondry meane authorities / as it were aydyng hym in the distribution of iustice in sondry partes of a huge multitude" (1531: fol.13ᵛ). They are called the "inferiour gouernours" of the public wealth "hauynge respecte to theyr office or duetie" (1531: fol.14ʳ) which is to govern the realm justly under the king. With the assistance of those magistrates, the king "shall gouerne with the better aduise / and consequently with a more perfecte gouernance" (1531: fol.13ᵛ). Elyot notes that those inferior governors were named by Aristotle as the King's "eies / eares / handes / and legges" (1531: fol.14ᵛ). Elyot does not tell us which social degrees constitute the rank of magistrates, but they are the "gentilm[e]n" (1531: fol.15ᵛ) or the "noble menne" (1531: fol.16ʳ), either having inherited titles or created by the monarch for service in war or in government. If we read this with references to Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1583/1906: 31), they include the greater nobility (i.e. *Nobilitas major*, including dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons) and the lesser nobility (i.e. *Nobilitas minor*, including knights, esquires and simple gentlemen). As "a representation of gouernance" (1531: fol.14ʳ), they are the real administrators of the realm, performing their respective duty and exercising their governmental power. If we keep on pushing forward the above association between language and politics, it is quite tempting to say that the role and status of *letters* in English orthography resemble those of magistrates in the commonwealth. In the commonwealth of orthography, sound is the sovereign lord who has the absolute power, while letters are the inferior governors (of the orthographic commonwealth) who are chosen and appointed by the king to work under him with full faithfulness. Letters, in

the name and by the authority of the kingly sounds, administrate all the things in the alphabetical commonwealth.[53] Hart identifies 26 *alphabetic magistrates* that are appointed by the *monarchical sound* in the linguistic commonwealth, and in sections 3.4 and 3.5 I will discuss how he spells out in detail the office and duty of each of them in section 3.4 and 3.5. Based on the discussion of the nature of letters, Hart puts forward "the law of true writing" (1551: 76; also see 1569: fol.26ᵛ):

> Trueli I […] iudge everi thing to be writen as yt soundeth. This trueli is the use of letters, that they shuld kepe the voices, and yeld yt unto the readers as a paune. So they ought to expresse that which we wold say. You may see that Quintilian wold have the writing to be framed to the maner of speaking, and how the letter ought to keep the voice, and not to be idle, mysplaced, or usurped. […] Yt must be our measure therbi to prove our writing, and to serch diligently whether yt be souch, that we find therin the same nombre of letters, which we use of voices in the speaking: being alwais careful that we confusely myx, and alter not the power of the one into that of the other: but use theim with their proper, and singuler vertu, […] without disorder. (1551: 33–34; also see 1569: fols.9ᵛ–10ʳ)

By dint of *The Tree of Commonwealth*, Dudley was attempting "as a loyal subject to describe what he saw as the ideal conditions for the prospering of the kingdom under its new king, Henry VIII" (Wrightson 2009: online). If we follow this political comment, we can say that, with the three linguistic treatises, Hart was seeking to erect a perfect order in the alphabet so as to construct a linguistic utopia where all the letters serve the sound loyally, in a "due" and "proper" manner. As a lawyer, Dudley strives to put the disarrayed social classes in order, stating that "my full purpose, praier and entent, is that all thinges well orderyd may so contynew and increase to the Better" (1509/1948: 32). Likewise, Hart was also acting as a *linguistic* lawyer in pursuit of an order among letters—using letters "with their proper, and singuler vertu" (1551: 34). It is an order that "all nations must necessarili folowe, yf they will have their writing perfaict, easi, and pleasant to lerne: and lerned to read" (1551: 34). Hart also refers to "the law of true writing" as "the law of perfection" (1551: 69). In a perfect orthography, the letters should "be obedient unto the pronunciation" (1551: 69, 76; 1569: fol.48ʳ). In addition, Dudley takes the love of God as the principal and chief root of his tree of commonwealth, which is "nothing els but to know hym and gladly to obserue his lawes and comaundymentes as his trew and faithfull people" (1509/1948: 32). Thus, to Hart, making efforts to have a reasonable and perfect orthography is a way of observing God's commandments and thus an embodiment of the love of God. Moreover, by associating the internal structure of orthography with that of the commonwealth, Hart was granting sound elements the same divine right as the king who is "Goddes depute (to execute his will) in this circuit and cumpasse of erth" (1551: 12). Playing an intermediate role, sound elements get the eternal law from God and realize it through letters in

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[53] This sentence is adapted from Thomas Smith's following remarks on the king or queen: "In whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administred" (1583/1906: 46).

the form of "the law of true writing". That is to say, the "Great Chain of Being" finds the same expression in the linguistic and political commonwealths.

> lyke the law of Nature in our hartes, teacheth us to tourne our soules into a purenes of lyfe, and to represent the nature of God wherefore he created them, So ought the law of reason (which is in our head) turne our handes to ordre iustli the figures, images and letters, to represent the voice of our pronunciation wherefore we write theim: and not usurp others powers, or be ydel in their owne. For such an abused and vicious writing, bringeth confusion and uncertainte in the reading wherefore yt is iustli to be refused of us, even as of God the soules with their bodies ar which live against the law of Nature (one ambiciousely usurping the rometh of an other) to the disordre and breaking of that tranquilite, which shuld be emongest al men: and wherfore they ar sett upon the erth, as our letters ar uppon the paper. (Hart 1551: 40–41; also see 1569: fols.11ᵛ–12ʳ)

To summarize, by referring to the roles played by the "head" and the "inferior" governors of the commonwealth, I have argued that sound stands at the top of the alphabetical ladder while letters follow immediately and take the second place. In the next two sections (3.4 & 3.5) I will continue approaching the internal structure of orthography, putting my attention on investigating the hierarchical orders among *letters* in Hart's works.

3.4 Letters for Vowels: "the first part of gentlemen of englande called *Nobilitas maior*"[54]

As I have discussed in section 3.1, O'Neill points out that in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* "vowels were placed in the upper echelons and were followed by 'mere consonants'" (2000: 119). But she leaves out Hart in her account. It is tempting to ask whether this hierarchical grading among letters also exists in Hart's works or not. Moreover, O'Neill points to the change of social classes for the interpretation of disorders brought about by misuse of letters. But her observation stops with general comments. Since the pecking order of the Tudor commonwealth can be described as a hierarchical pyramid, I wish to examine whether we can move a step further and construct a correspondence between the alphabetical and social orders. My discussion in this section and the next will be centred on these two questions. I attempt to make the point that Hart's alphabet can be further subdivided into two strata, with vowel letters as the upper layer and consonantal letters as the lower layer. This is mainly based on the role and function of letters. For instance, first, Hart sets a definite boundary between vowels and consonants. As I will discuss later, the consonantal letters "j" and "v" cannot go beyond the border and be used for the power of vowels such as "I" and "u" (1551: 86; 1551: 89). Second, the sound of consonants can be discerned "onli by the vertu of the voell" (1551: 123–124), which implies the dependent nature and inferior status of consonantal letters. Third, as Hart

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[54] This is quoted from Thomas Smith (1583/1906: 31).

observes, the five vowels are used universally in both classical languages and the current European vernaculars.[55] They hold the "ancient power" (1551: 94) which was inherited from their ancestors, just as the five degrees of lords got their titles and power in succession to their noble parents and forefathers. But none of these apply to Hart's discussion of consonantal letters. Fourth, Hart also personifies letters and makes a heavy employment of political terms and images. All of these suggest that there also exists an idea of hierarchy in Hart's treatment of the alphabet. Fifth, as a synonym of *hierarchy*, the term "order" is used as a keyword in both Hart's linguistic texts and Tudor literature of commonwealth, which suggests the structural similarity between them. In the last section, I have suggested that letters are on equal footing with the rank of "gentlemen", which is divided by Smith into two parts: "the Baronie or estate of Lordes conteyning barons and all that bee above the degree of a baron" and "those which be no Lords, as Knightes, Esquires, and simply gentlemen" (Smith 1583/1906: 46–47). And it should be noted that Hart was Chester Herald and therefore had expert knowledge of the degrees of nobility. All of above imply that it is possible to argue for a general resemblance. In my reconstruction of the hierarchical orders in Hart's alphabet, I place vowel letters on the social layer of *Nobilitas major* (the greater nobility) and locate the consonantal letters on the layer of *Nobilitas minor* (the lesser nobility). In this section, I first discuss the five vowel letters and how they were abused in the current English writing. In the next section (3.5) I will discuss the consonantal letters.

Hart defines the "power" of vowel letters by describing how each of the sound elements that they symbolize is made by speech organs such as breast, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, etc. The following (Illustration 3) is an excerpt taken from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569: fols.30^r–30^v). It shows that the production of the five vowels forms a continuum from "a" to "u". They are not isolated but interconnected, constituting a spectrum of power. For example, the sound *a* has the full power, "with *wide* opening the month", but *e* has less power, "with somewhat *more closing* the mouth" (1569: fol.30^r, my italics). The sound *o* and the sound *u* rest on a scale between two extreme points: the former is made by "turning the lippes rounde as a ring, and thrusting forth of a sounding breath", while the latter by "bringing the lippes so neare togither, as there be left but space that the sounde may passe forth with the breath, so softly" (1569: fol.30^v). Each of them, as Hart argues, has their own proper office and position, and cannot be abused for the power of another.

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[55] Hart compares the five basic vowels to the sounds of music. By doing so, he is trying to tell us that the five vowels are universal to all languages just as the five basic musical elements are universal to different varieties of music.

Their due and auncient soundes, may be in this wise verye sensibly perceyued : the first, with wyde opening the mouth, as when a man pauseth : and is figured a. The seconde, with somewhat more closing the mouth, thrusting softlye the inner part of the tongue to the inner and vpper great teeth, (or gummes for want of teeth) and is marked e. The thirde, by pressing the tongue in like maner, yet somewhat more forewarde, and bringing the iawe somewhat more neare, and is written i. The fourth, by taking awaye of all the tongue, cleane from the teeth or gummes, as is sayde for the a, and turning the lippes rounde as a ring, and thrusting forth of a sounding breath, which roundnesse to signifie the shape of the letter, was made (of the first inuentor) in like sort, thus o. For the fift and last, by holding in lyke maner the tongue from touching the teeth or gummes (as is said of the a, and o) and bringing the lippes so neare togither, as there be left but space that the sounde may passe forth with the breath, so softly, that (by their ouer harde and close ioyning) they be not forced thorow the nose, & is noted thus u.

a.

e.

i.

o.

u.

(fol.30ʳ)

(fol.30ᵛ)

Illustration 3: Hart's Description of the Five Vowel Sounds in *An Orthographie* (1569).

Hart scrutinizes the abuse of vowel letters one by one. As for the letter "a",[56] Hart admits that it is used "in his proper power" (1551: 83) in English as well as in other nations. However, letters for the other four vowels are all abused for various reasons. The letter "e" is used properly in words such as *better* and *ever*, but it is abused in words such as *we*, *be* and *he* (where we should use the letter "i"). Namely, the letter "e" is made to "usurp the power of" (1551: 83) the letter "i". In addition, "e" is also misemployed to stand in the place of diphthongs such as *ey* or *ei*, *ay* or *ai*, or *ea*, which are joint powers held by two different vowel letters. On this point, Hart comments that it is "for lak of a note for time" (1551: 84).[57] Thus, we can see that letter "e" is

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[56] In this thesis, I use "i" (a letter in inverted commas) to mean it is a letter, and *i* (an italicized letter) to mean it is a sound element, except in direct quotations from Hart.

[57] It is worth noticing that Hart mistreats diphthong as the length of a vowel in his 1551 work.

mainly abused for two reasons: *usurpation* and *diminution*. As for the letter "i", Hart observes that it is abused in two ways. Firstly, it monopolizes the power jointly held by itself and the letter "e" (i.e. "ei", as exemplified by words such as *bi*, *side*, *thie* and *life* in the sentence *he borowed a swerd from bi a mans side to save this life*). Secondly, the letter "i" arrogates to itself the place and function of the consonantal letter "j", "wythout any diversifiyng of his shape from the voell" (1551: 86). Hart comments that the letter "i" is not "kept in one and singuler vertue" (1551: 86), being abused "for lake of other proper letters, for their divers soundes" (1551: 86). By blurring the difference between vowels and consonants, the lordly "i" (which belongs to "the degree of Lordes") takes the office of the knightly "j" (which stands below the degree of lords and is termed by Smith as *Nobilitas minor*). Typically, this is *usurpation*. Hart proposes that "we must somewhat diversifie their shapes: […] writ the voell as we have alwais done [*i*], and the consonant longer under the line [*j*]" (1551: 88). In the same way, the letter "u" is abused in two ways. The vowel letter "u" encroaches on the place of the consonantal letter "v". The reason is the same as that for "i" and "j". Thus, Hart suggests that we write "v" for the consonant (1551: 90) and let the letter "u" "remain in hur singuler power" (1551: 90). As has been mentioned earlier, Hart's objection to usurping "i" for "j" and "u" for "v" serves as one piece of textual evidence which gives weight to my claim that there exists a hierarchical order which separates vowel letters from consonantal letters, and the boundary is supposed to be as insurmountable as that between the *Nobilitas maior* and the *Nobilitas minor* in the commonwealth of England. Secondly, the letter "u" mistakenly assumes the power of the diphthong *iu* and thus it does not "kepe his true sound" (1551: 91). Hart suggests that, words such as *suer*, *shut* and *bruer* should be spelt as *siuer, shiut, briue,* "keeping both the *i* and *u*, in their proper vertue" (1551: 91) to avoid the "confusion and uncertainte of the power of letters" (1551: 92). Regarding the letter "o", it is used properly in words such as *of*, *or*, and *not*, but it is often abused in three ways. Firstly, the letter "o" is usurped for the power of the letter "u", as in words *do*, *to*, and *other*. Secondly, the letter "o" is superfluously doubled and usurped for the proper sound of the letter "u", as in words *poore*, *good*, and *root*. Thirdly, the letter "o" is not only usurped for the power of letter "u", but also doubled for its "long time", as illustrated by words such as *moost*, *goost*, and *goo*. Hart concludes that it is more reasonable to write *du*, *tu*, and *uther* rather than *do*, *to*, and *other*, "keeping the u in hur auncient and proper sound" (1551: 93).

In the 1551 manuscript Hart has a separate section for discussing diphthongs and it covers up to fourteen pages. But in his 1569 published book, he reduces it to less than two pages and places it near the end of the treatise, together with the "accidents" of vowels and punctuation. He defines a diphthong as "a ioinyng of two voels in one syllable keeping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortening the quantite of the first to the longer quantite of the last" (1551: 98). He

also points out that this "is the onli diversite that a diphthong hath, from two voels commyng together yet serving for two syllables" (1551: 98). From this definition we can infer that if we give each vowel letter their "proper", "singuler", and "ancient" powers (1551: 94, 96, 97) and use them in their "singular virtue", the problems with diphthongs will be naturally avoided. That might be the reason why they are treated briefly in the revised edition, and that is also the reason why I do not identify the diphthong as a separate layer on the hierarchy of alphabetical commonwealth.

To summarize, vowel letters are mainly "depriv[ed] of their right powers" (1551: 84) in three ways: *diminution*, *superfluity*, and *usurpation*. Based on the above discussion, Hart was declaring what the power of vowel letters should be like and what place they occupy in the alphabetical commonwealth. Those five letters, as Starkey observes on the five degrees of noblemen, should do what "perteynyth to theyr office & authoryte", "be true lordys & masturys" and let the members of the alphabetical state "be glad to be governyd by them" (1529–32/1989: 125). On this ground, Hart concludes that we must "use theim properli, in their Singuler and auncient powers" (1551: 96) if we want to "bring our writing to a perfection, and therby lively represent our pronunciation" (1551: 97).

3.5 Letters for Consonants: "the second sort of gentlemen […] called *Nobilitas minor*"[58]

In this section I proceed to examine how Hart discusses the abuse of the consonantal letters and how he sets all of them in their proper "office" and "power". With reference to his extensive use of personification and political terms, I attempt to argue that in Hart's orthographic system consonantal letters stand below vowel letters. Their role and status are comparable to the class of *Nobilitas minor*, which includes knights, esquires, and simple gentlemen (Smith 1583/1906: 31).

Hart's treatment of the consonants follows three steps: (i) describing their sound production, (ii) assigning proper letters to each of them, and (iii) examining abuses in existence.[59] For instance, Hart delineates the sound *z* as being "made of an inward sound the teeth almost joined, softli touching the fore upper teeth with the toung" (1551: 117). To be more accurate, the sound "commeth of an nois made from your stomake (moch lyk the sound of a humble bees fleyng) with a soft hizzing" (1551: 118). The sound *s* is identified as a contrast to *z*. Hart notes that "the

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[58] This is quoted from Thomas Smith (1583/1906: 32).

[59] But it should be pointed out that, in the revised edition published in 1569, Hart skips the first step, directly going to the second and third steps.

s is so nere kine unto the z, that yt is ingendred of the same nearnes of the teeth, and of the lyke touching of the toung: but with a harder hissing and breath, without any inward sound" (1551: 118). The differences in "with or without inward sounds" and in "soft or hard hissing" constitute the distinctive features of the two sound elements. In the same way, Hart identifies another six pairs of consonants (marked by "b" and "p", "v" and "f", "g" and "k", "dʒ" and "tʃ", "d" and "t", "ð" and "þ").[60] Additionally, Hart also identifies five "liquids" (or, "semivowels", marked by "m", "l", "n", "r", and "l") and two "breaths" (marked by "h" and "ʃ").[61] They are demonstrated by Hart as follows.

(fol.37ᵛ)

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[60] Hart's discussion of consonant letters involves three tasks: (i) "how mani we use", (ii) "of what affinite they ar one to another", and (iii) "which our toung requireth at some times with a more vehemencie (geving theim the accident of a breath from the brest) then at others" (1551: 112).

[61] Hart offers a very detailed description and comparison for every consonant. Since the focus of my research is on the political conceptualization of letters, I do not offer much detail about how Hart describes the production of all sound elements.

and thinne, and heſ hath hiz deſ.
For heath, hath, his death.

7 { ꝣ ꝣ ꝣi boꝛ For eaſie hoſe.

s es eſter, eſt-wind. For eaſter & caſt
winde, ſend mi ſum ſalt . For
me ſomme.

{ l el } Whoſe ſounds are ſo vniuer-
m em { ſally kept perfite and ſimple as
n en } is ſayd as I neede to giue none
r er) example of them.

đ eđ Before the vowell we doe not vſe
it, but after, as bedđ, habđ, ſabđ.
For beadle, bable, ſable.

(fol.38ʳ)

Breathes { ꝰ aꝰ aꝰ, aꝰcs, ꝰal, ꝰi uaꝰ. For aſhes,
two. ſhall ſbe waſhe.

b bah, hah, hch, and hath no ſounde but
of the vowell.

(fol.38ᵛ)

Illustration 4: An Excerpt from Hart's *An Orthography* (1569) about the Consonantal Letters.

After delineating the power of all consonantal sounds, Hart continues to scrutinize the abuse of each consonantal letter. As for the letter "z", Hart points out that we pronounce and write it "aright" and in "his" proper power (1551: 159). But "hir felow" (1569: fol.36ᵛ) "s" is abused in three ways. First, it is often usurped "in the power of z" (1551: 160–161) as exemplified by words such as *deserve*, *reason*, *preased*, and *desire*, and it is often used between two vowels (1551: 160). Second, the "-es" and "-se" finals are often employed for the proper sound of the letter "z" in words such as *lives, waies, bodies, wise, cause,* and *please*, which, according to Hart, should be written as *livz, waiz, bodiz, wiz, cauz,* and *pleaz*, if we write as we pronounce them (1551: 160–161). In this case, not only the letter "s" is abused for the power of the letter "z", but also the letter "e" is used superfluously, which stands for no sound in these words. This is analogous to Smith's comments on the social rank: letter "z" resembles the Gentlemen[62] who "magnifie them selves, and goes in higher buskins than their estate will beare", and "keep about him the servant [letter "e"] who shall doe nothing but waite upon him" (1583/1906: 41). Third, as Hart observes, for lack of "mark[s] for accent" (1551: 161) the letter "e" is also used superfluously after the letter "s" "for the longer time of the consonant" or "to shew the shortnes

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[62] It includes the *Nobilitas maior* (dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons) and the *Nobilitas Minor* (knights, esquires, and simple gentlemen).

and sharpnes of the voel" (1551: 161).[63] In summary, two forms of corruption are involved with the letter "s": *usurpation* and *superfluity*. At this point, it is worth considering how Mulcaster sees the letter 'z'. In *The Elementarie*, he remarks that "Z, is a consonant much heard amongst vs", but "seldom sene" (1582/1925: 223), which he explains as follows:

> I think by reason it is not so redie to the pen as *s*, is, which is becom lieutenant generall to *z*, as gase, amase, rasur, where *z*, is heard, but, *s*, sene. It is not lightlie expressed in English, sauing in forein enfranchisments, as *azur*, *treasur*. (1582/1925: 223)

This treatise includes a long list of common words used in the current time (1582/1925: 190–245), but only three of them start with the letter 'z'. All the above observations of Hart and Mulcaster show that most of the functions of the letters 'z' were played by the letter 's'. The letter 'z' was rarely used in English spelling during the Tudor period. That is the reason why, as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the Earl of Kent addresses Oswald "Thou whoreson zed! thou unnecessary letter!". This explains why the Shakespearean metaphor makes sense to the contemporary audience.

Letters "d" and "t", according to Hart's observation, are mainly usurped for *derivation*. The letter "d" is abused in the sounds of *th*. For example, a word is pronounced as *athoption* but written as *adoption* (1551: 154).[64] The letter "t" is abused in the sound of *s* in words such as *persecution*, *tribution* and *salvation* (1551: 157). Likewise, letters "ct" is also abused in the sounds of *ks* in words like *action*, *iunction*, and *correction*. In this case of "d" and "t", both of them fail to maintain the singular power of one letter. Hart criticises that we are "more obedient to the observing of derivations, then the good ordre of writing" (1551: 158). The letter "g" keeps its proper power in words such as *angeri*, *begged*, *thinges* and *together*, but it is in some cases usurped for the power of the letter "j". The letter "k" is not abused in English, but the "latin c" (1551: 145–147), which is also used in English for the proper sound of letter "k", is often abused for the sound of *ch* in words such as *chaine*, *chanbre*, *chaulx* and *chapitre* under the influence of the Norman Conquest. The letter "c" is abandoned as a letter by Hart in his new orthography. As for letters "b" and "p", Hart remarks that we "kepe theim as we ought in their proper and singuler powers" except using "theim superfluousely in derivations" (1551: 141). He offers no specific examples for this. The letter "v" is not abused in itself. However, as Hart adds, "yt shalbe so good to write the *v* after the voel, without anye final *e* for time" (1551: 141). As for its *fellow* "f", Hart notes that it is used well. But he insists that "we shuld use but one letter of one signification" (1551: 142), not "for any affection" (1551: 142) towards *derivation* to use

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[63] I will discuss the use of accent marks for "long time" (i.e. "quantity", as one of the "accidents" of sounds) in section 3.6.

[64] See section 3.2 for Hart's refutation of using superfluous letters for *derivational* reasons with political metaphors of "Denison" and "mercenary soldiers".

letters "ph" to symbolize the proper sound of the letter "f". Under the influence of Sir Thomas Smith, in the revised work published in 1569 Hart uses a new symbol "dʒ" to stand for the proper sound of the consonant letter "j",[65] and uses "tʃ" for his "fellow" (1569: fol.37ᵛ), the sound of the consonant *ch*.[66] Thus, letter "j" is abandoned, and letter "g" is left to serve a singular consonantal power. Again, by referring to Smith, Hart brings in two new figures to signify "a paire of soundes for which we doe vsurpe the th, alone" (1569: fol.38ʳ). He uses "ð" for *th* in **thone**, and "þ" for *th* in **thother**. Hart also scrutinizes the use of two breath markers. The letter "ʃ" is devised for the breathed *s* (i.e. the sound *sh*), which "veri reasonably we do writ yt for that sound" (1551: 161). However, he criticizes the usurpation of "h" in words such as *threasure* and *Thomas*, commenting that we should write them without the letter "h", "for that our speech doth not sufficientli blow yt" (1551: 137). In addition, Hart ends his discussion of consonant letters with the four *liquids* (or *semivowels*) "l", "m", "n", and "r", which "never usurped others powers […] but have ben kept in their own and singuler vertu, as they ought" (1551: 162). They "do better discharge their only and single office then others ambicious", with the only exception that "we have thrust and forced theim superfluouseli for time, difference and derivation" (1551: 162; also see 1569: fols.38ᵛ–39ᵛ).

Two features should be highlighted in Hart's above discussion: the personification of letters and the employment of terms with political connotations. The transfer of human attributes to letters echoes his comparison of letters to social members of the commonwealth. Each of the seven consonantal pairs is taken as "a couple", one being a "female" and "her fellow" being a "male" (1569: fols.36ʳ–36ᵛ). In the reformed alphabet, there are only twenty-one consonantal letters left. Those unnecessary letters, such as "y", "w", "j", and "q", are likened to "superfluous attire[s]" on a man, which are not "conuenient and fit clothes to furnish the want of his couuerture" (1569: fol.40ʳ), and for this reason they should be wholly eliminated. In a perfect alphabet, "one figure for one sounde is sufficient" (1569: fol.40ʳ). There is no need to "store" some extra letters "as is vsed of men in battell, or for wiues when one husbande is dead, another to dwell in the place" (1569: fol.40ʳ). Personification of letters, together with Hart's use of political terms, evokes the sociopolitical interpretation of orthographic problems. Apart from *superfluity* for derivation,[67] *usurpation* is the major cause for the abuse of consonantal letters. Hart's use of "usurpation"

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[65] It should be noted that there are some differences between Hart's 1551 manuscript and his 1569 published book: in the manuscript, the letter "j" is used to symbolize a consonantal sound, but in the published work, Hart replaced it with a new letter "dʒ" to symbolize the same sound. That is to say, letter "j" is abandoned in the revised and published work.

[66] But for this pair of consonants, Hart does not offer any example for illustration.

[67] As has been discussed in section 3.2, there are three causes for using superfluous letters in writing: for *time*, for *difference*, and for *derivation*. Hart gives specific examples for *time* and *derivation* in the part dedicated to general discussion of orthographic problems. In the part exclusively devoted to consonantal letters, Hart just discusses superfluity for *derivational* reasons.

and other concepts such as "power", "office", "virtue", and "abuse" in examining the problems with consonantal letters have their economic and sociopolitical background in the sixteenth century. They make it natural to ask questions such as *who usurped the power* and *whose power was usurped*?

Medieval England can be "described as a feudal pyramid which was based on the ownership of land, military service and peasant agriculture": from the top to the bottom are the king, the aristocracy, the knights, and the peasantry (Heard 2000: 19). But this rigid hierarchy of order and degree was faced with challenge in a gradual process and the lines between them were much more fluid and possible to cross in the sixteenth century than before: "many people had recently climbed up on the social ladder" and "the distinctions between the various estates has become blurred" (Caspari 1954: 270). A typical case in point is the rise of the gentry, which can be described as "an expanding group ranked below the aristocracy and above the yeomen", including "younger sons from the aristocracy and the upper ranks of the yeomen, as well as wealthy merchants, lawyers and professional men from the towns" (Heard 2000: 19). By the sixteenth century there had been more openings "for men of initiative to increase their power and wealth" (Heard 2000: 19) compared with the Middle Ages. Smith observes that the yeomen "have a certaine preheminence and more estimation than laborers and artificers" and "commonly live welthilie" (1583/1906: 42). They took more "advantage of commercial opportunities available after the breakdown of the medieval economy" (Heard 2000: 19). Caspari adds that the "former yeomen, like younger sons of gentlemen, often turned their legal earnings into land, thus becoming country gentlemen in their own right" (1954: 271). Then there were more possibilities of social advancement from the ranks of the yeomanry into the gentry in the Tudor times (Caspari 1954: 272). Heard observes that "the ambition of successful gentry families was to join the ranks of the aristocracy" (Heard 2000: 19) and to compete "with the aristocracy for offices in central and local government" (Heard 2000: 19) through pursuing university education and training in law. As Smith notes in *De Republica Anglorum*, by accumulating considerable wealth, sending "their sonnes to the schoole at the Universities" and "leaving them sufficient landes" (1583/1906: 43), the yeomen brought his following generations to the ranks of gentlemen.

This sociopolitical fact echoes Hart's observation of the *status quo* of the disorder between different strata in the alphabetic system. As I have discussed, vowel letters are comparable to the *Nobilitas maior* and consonantal letters to the *Nobilitas minor*. Based on this analogy, for example, we can say that as a member of the *Nobilitas minor*, the consonant letter "g" is usurped "before e and i in the power of j consonant" (Hart 1551: 112). Likewise, the vowel letter "i"—a member of the *Nobilitas maior*—goes across the line to act the role of the consonant letter "j" which belongs to the *Nobilitas minor*. In these two cases we do not use

"proper figures to signifie their vertue" but "usurp others corrupting their proper soundes without diversifijng of their shapes" (1551: 130–131). An ideal alphabet should "alwais kepe the i voel" and the "g" in its "ancient power" as in words *angry*, *begged*, and *together* (Hart 1551: 144). Therefore, the letter "g" (when being usurped for the power of the letter "j") is just like a yeoman seeking for advancement and attempting to play the role that was not originally assigned to him.

But there are another five letters, which do not belong to the "Nobilitas minor" but are comparable to the "middling sort" of the society.[68] If we push forward the analogy further, the four liquids are on an equal footing with the *citizens* and *burgesses*. They were appointed "next to gentlemen", being "free and received as officers within the cities" and "of some substance to beare the charges" (Smith 1583/1906: 41–42). In terms of "power", letters for liquids are inferior to letters for the seven pair of consonants: the latter stand for *fully* produced sounds while the former does not. As Hart explains, the syllables "er" and "el" in words such as *order*, *border*, *fabel* and *cirkel* do not sound fully as two elements but "one [*e*] and an addition of *a half* sillable [*r* or *l*] softly aspired" (1569: fol.22ʳ). The liquids can be likened to *citizens* and *burgesses* of the social pyramid because both of them hold less "duty" and "office" compared with *gentlemen*, but only "to serve the common wealth, in their cities and burrowes, or in corporate townes where they dwell" (1583/1906: 42).

To summarize, in the sections 3.4 and 3.5 I have examined all the twenty-six members of the alphabetical commonwealth, including five vowel letters and twenty-one consonantal letters. Hart concludes that he "find[s] not that we nēede any more simple figures" (1569: fol.42ᵛ). In my previous discussion I used two similar terms: *alphabetical commonwealth* and *orthographic commonwealth*. Actually they are different in terms of the scope of meaning. The former only refers to letters. But the latter embraces a broader meaning, emphasizing that sound elements (which letters stand for), letters, diacritical marks, and punctuation should all be included in the consideration of creating an absolute orthography. So far I have covered the first three layers of the orthographic commonwealth (i.e. sound, vowel letters, and consonantal letters). In the next section, I will continue to examine in terms of politics the bottom layer of the hierarchical pyramid—diacritical marks and punctuation.

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[68] I just discuss this "middling sort" briefly. So I do not put it into a separate section. But it should be noted that it does not belong to the "Nobilitas minor" but immediately below it.

3.6 Diacritics and Punctuation: the "sort of men which doe not rule" and "have no voice nor authoritie in our common wealth"[69]

As I have discussed in section 3.2, the length of a vowel can be marked by doubling the vowel letter itself, a (short and) strong-stressed vowel might be indicated by repeating the consonantal letter next to it, and a weak-stressed vowel might be signified by keeping the following consonantal letter single. In this section, I would like to argue that in Hart's mind this is not "the most perfect" way of indicating length and word stress because "time" and "tune" do not fall into the scope of the *quality* of sounds but the *accidents* of "our voices" (1551: 164–165).[70] The term "accident" in itself reveals the *dependent* and *supporting* status of the four kinds of "accents" (1551: 164–165), being unable to be marked by letters and having no proper places in the alphabet. Thus, letters are "not sufficient" (Hart 1551: 162) for constituting "an absolute writing" (1551: 162). It needs some special diacritical marks "to signifie the accidents of wordes and sentences of our commune spech" (1551: 163).

On this ground, Hart proposes that *length* ("wherbi the voel is both highned and based") should be indicated by the **circumflexed-accent mark** (ˆ or ˜), *strong stress* (i.e. sharp-tune, "wherby the voel is higher and sharper tuned then others") by **acute-accent mark** (′), and *weak stress* (i.e. flat-tune, "wherby the voel is lower and flatter tuned then others") by **grave-accent mark** (ˋ) (1551: 164–165). But surprisingly he does not offer any real example in his 1551 manuscript for these three cases. In addition, Hart puts forward another three accent markers for the accident of "our voices" that he terms as *passions*. The first is the accent mark **turner** (i.e. an apostrophe ’), which signifies "the eating and taking away of a voel at the end of a word, by the convenience of the folowing voel begining another word" (1551: 191). For example, the sentence *Christians do obey the officers and rulers that be appointed of God in the Earth* should be rewritten as *Christians d'obey th'officers and rulers, that b'appointed of God in th'Earth* (1551: 191–192). The second is the accent mark **joiner** (i.e. a hyphen -), which serves to link two syllables or words which are written as two words but actually "pronunce and sound in one, as yt doth the other divers syllables of one word" (1551: 192–193). Hart offers three words for illustration: *never-thelesse*, *not-withstanding*, and *non-other*. The third is the accent mark **sunderer** (i.e. a diaeresis ¨   ) which can be employed in two cases. (i) It is used to signify two adjacent vowels which are sundered into two syllables rather than forming a diphthong, such as *voël*, *goīng*, and *Poët*. (ii) It is also used for separating a single vowel coming before or after a diphthong, which can be exemplified by words such as *deneiëd, pouër, bouëd, viuëd, siuër,*

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[69] This is quoted from Smith (1583/1906: 46).

[70] As Hart explains, there are "fower accidents unto our voices", including *tune, time, breath,* and *passion*. They are named by Hart with the Greco-Latin term "accidents" (1551: 164–165).

süein, and *üeif* (for "denyed", "power", "bowed", "vued", "suer" "swine", and "wife") (1551: 196–197). Following the discussion of "accents", Hart proceeds to examine seven types of punctuation marks, including comma (,), colon (:), point (.), question (?), wonderer (!), parenthesis (( )), and square brackets ([ ]). As accent markers, they do not stand for any sound element but play a supplementary and supporting role in writing. Their importance rests on the fact that a perfect orthography requires more than merely an alphabet. Hart maintains that the "pointing" (his term for *punctuation*) gives the reader seven kinds of knowledge: "how to rest and stay", "what sentence is asking and what is wondring", "how to understand what is added and is not neadful to the sentence", and "what some translator or new writer of a worke, doe ad more then the authur at first wrate" (Hart 1551: 205).

These aforementioned marks for accents and punctuation are comparable to "the fourth sort of men" (1583/1906: 46) in Smith's division of the commonwealth. This is a group of people that are called *censij proletary or operæ* by the ancient Romans, including "day labourers, poore husbandmen, yea marchantes or retailers which have no free lande, copiholders, and all artificers, as Taylers, Shoomakers, Carpenters, Brickemakers, Bricklayers, Masons, &c." (Smith 1583/1906: 46).[71] They constitute the lowest stratum of the social pyramid. Unlike the monarch, nobility, knights, and yeomen, these persons "doe not rule", having "no voice nor authoritie in our common wealth" (Smith 1583/1906: 46). Their role and status fittingly applies to the situation of accent and punctuation marks in Hart's orthographic system. They do not stand for the *quality* of "voice" but their *accident*, inconsequential and sometimes being neglected—it should be noted that terms such as "office", "power", and "virtue" that Hart used frequently in describing consonants do not appear in his discussion of diacritical marks and punctuation. These marks for accidents perform a supporting role for the "noble" letters and, in Dudley's terms, "may not grudge nor murmure to lyve in labor and pain" (1509/1948: 45). They cannot usurp letters for the purpose of signifying "accents", just as in a perfect commonwealth laborers and artificers cannot "presume aboue ther owne degree […] and exceed in ther apparel or diet" (Dudley 1509/1948: 46). Any use of letters for "time" and "tune" violates the order of the orthographic commonwealth.

3.7 Conclusion

So far I have discussed all the four layers of a perfect orthography, including sound elements, vowel letters, consonantal letters, and diacritical and punctuation marks. I argued that an idea of

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[71] As has been discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Dudley names this group of people "commonalty"—the lowest layer of his tripartite social hierarchy (king-chivalry-commonalty), including "marchauntes, craftsmen, artificers, francklens, graciers, tyllours and other generally the people of this realm" (1509/1948: 45).

hierarchical order (which is identified by O'Neill in Barret and Shakespeare) was also perceivable in Hart's design of a true writing. What I did in this chapter was to spell out how a sociopolitical model (i.e. a well-ordered state) was employed by Hart in representing the internal structure of an ideal orthography. In other words, by appealing to the concept of building a political commonwealth in England, how Hart was attempting to set all the linguistic elements in order and construct an orthographic commonwealth. This religio-political mapping can be briefly demonstrated by Figure 1. The supporting evidence for my argument was drawn from both Hart's original texts and his contemporaries' political discourses. First, it is based on Hart's ideas about the *role and function* of sounds, letters, and accent marks; secondly, the political association was activated by the *political terms and images* that Hart used in dealing with the vowel and consonantal letters; thirdly, the identification of these words and concepts used in *contemporary political literature* for discussing social problems further confirms the above politico-linguistic connection in Hart's works. In summary, my findings of this chapter can be summarized in three points: (i) the *constituent elements* of true orthography are compared to the members of a true commonwealth; (ii) *orthographic problems* are addressed in terms of social problems; and (iii) the well-ordered *internal structure* of orthography is conceptually based on a hierarchical pyramid of social class in a perfect commonwealth.
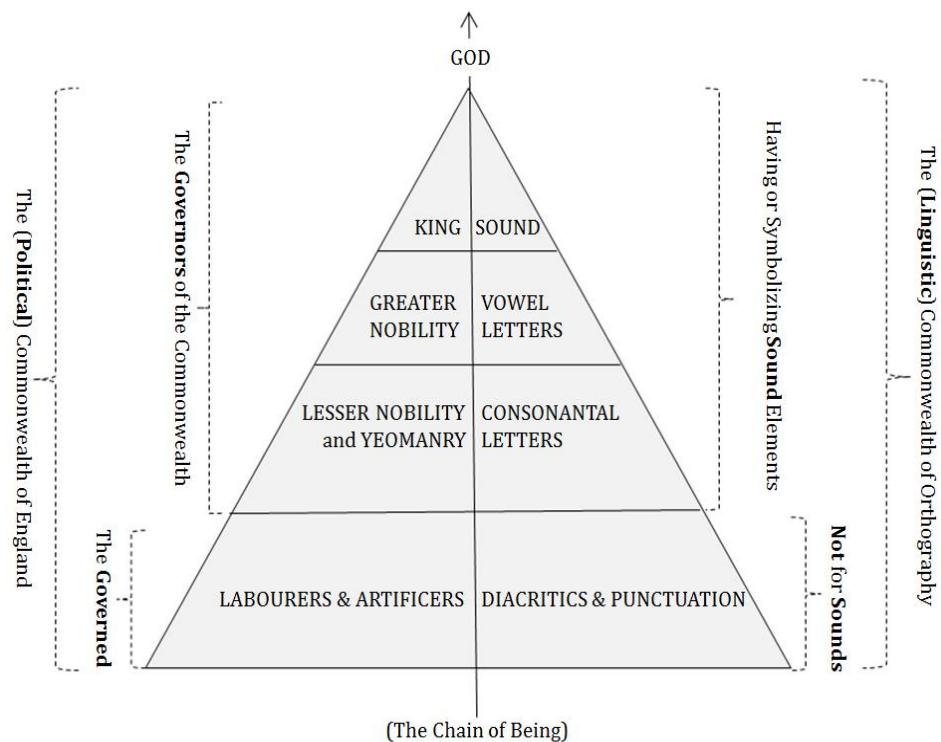
Figure 1: The Hierarchical Orders on the Politico-Linguistic Pyramid.

Chapter Four

The Metaphors of Disease and the Body Politic:

The Rhetoric Imported from Tudor Tracts of Commonwealth

For as the four Elementes are the matter and substance of all thinges that are made in bodies and shapes, so are the simple voyces the partes, whereof the whole and round word and sentence are composed and made.

And that after thorder of Phisicke, which is, first to vnderstand the complexion, disposition and parts of the body, and then to know the nature of the causes which doe offende, whereby the Doctor may procéede without daunger to minister purgations of the vicious humors, with certaine remedies, and then to prescribe the pacient a wholesome diet and order to be preserved from falling into the like againe.

Hart, *An Orthographie* (1569: fol.8^v, fols.10^r–10^v)

This chapter aims to investigate the multifaceted benefits of Hart's disease metaphor which is an important rhetorical tool imported from Tudor tracts of commonwealth. In terms of Aristotle's three modes of persuasion, I argue that this metaphor is employed by Hart for three purposes: (i) for *reasoning* about the legitimacy of orthographic reform, (ii) for fashioning his *ethical image*, and (iii) for provoking the readers' *supportive emotion*. Specifically setting my arguments in medical, political, religious, and intellectual contexts of the Tudor age, I attempt to spell out the internal links between some of the key concepts (such as the Great Chain of Being, elements, humors, body politic, and commonwealth) that are central to the interpretation of the disease metaphor. Moreover, based on a parallel reading of Hart's texts and the current commonwealth literature, I not only present an extended understanding of the *political* aspect of the metaphor, but also foreground its *religious* nature. The main arguments of this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- Logos: In explaining the content of his new orthography, Hart maps the Tudor concepts of medicine onto his theorization of linguistic thought; in addition, he also transfers the procedure of medical treatment to the steps of conducting spelling reform. (Section 4.4)
- Ethos: Fashioning himself as a "physician" who endeavors to offer proper remedies to cure orthographic disease, Hart employs the medical metaphor to demonstrate that his undertaking of language reform is well-intended and ethically legitimate. (Section 4.3)
- Pathos: Hart's texts of persuasion are not a static demonstration of unidirectional reasoning, but a well-conceived process of dynamic interaction with the reader. The medical metaphor is used to provoke the reader's emotional response to his proposal for spelling reform. (Section 4.5)
- The religio-political nature of the metaphor: The metaphor of disease is widely used in both religiously and politically motivated texts. The importation of this metaphor invests Hart's linguistic texts with a wealth of religio-political tones, which facilitates his persuasive communication regarding spelling reform. (Section 4.6)

4.1 The Background and Rationale for This Chapter

In Hart's persuasive writings on orthographic reform, he deploys a range of metaphors and images that contain political meaning (as I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters), but I single out the metaphor of disease and devote this whole chapter to the study of its rhetorical effect. This is mainly for three reasons: (i) only the metaphor of disease is oft-cited in Tudor *political* tracts and were imported into his texts on *orthographic* reform; (ii) the metaphor of disease, as part of the organic analogies of body politic, is a metaphor of the "commonwealth"; (iii) in Hart's texts, the disease metaphor has a wider range of use than other metaphors and plays a more important role in conceptualizing his ideas. Hart's medical metaphor is not without

discussions in previous literature, but I would like to approach it from a different perspective. In the article "John Hart's Discourse on Spelling Reform" (2002), O'Neill makes some noteworthy observations on Hart's use of the disease metaphor,[72] which can be summarized in three points.

First, concerning the source of the metaphor, she points out that when approaching spelling disorders in terms of disease and remedy, "Hart was drawing on a long tradition of political writing" concerning the body politic—"the established organic analogy between state and body" (2002: 303). Hart's discussion of the disease metaphor is based on the concept of body politic, which is used in two forms: health depends on the proper functioning of *all the parts* of the body; it is also determined by the balance of *humors* within the body. O'Neill also explains that Hart's analogy was taken from the current political tracts which were dedicated to uncovering social problems and offering solutions to them. On this ground O'Neill takes Richard Morison's *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536) as an example and reads it in parallel with Hart's *An Orthographie*, attempting to sketch their similarity in using the metaphors of disease and the body politic. At this point I identify the following research gaps: (i) O'Neill just points out the intertextuality between the political and the linguistic texts, without further discussing what this implies for Hart; (ii) her attention was mainly set on the political nature of the metaphor, with its religious aspect being neglected—it is worth noting that in Tudor England, religion and politics are in many respects inseparable; (iii) due to the reason that O'Neill's publication is in the form of an article, she neither develops her argument in more detail nor refers to more current political texts; (iv) O'Neill mentions that Morison's treatise is a piece of criticism on rebellions that occurred in England, but she does not explicate what "obedience" and "order" mean in the context of Hart.

Secondly, O'Neill conceives the four types of spelling disorder (i.e. diminution, superfluity, usurpation, and misplacing) identified by Hart as "the major diseases of English spelling" (2002: 305). She examines their political nature by pointing to the current *social reality*—problems brought about by the change of social classes (I have discussed this in Chapter 3), without mentioning any specific political texts for analysis, however. But what is really interesting is that a close reading of Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* shows that the author also identifies four "diseases" endangering the commonwealth, which bear much resemblance to those of Hart. But it seems that O'Neill misses this important detail although she has mentioned earlier Starkey's use of the body politic. Thus, Starkey's *Dialogue* is a more suitable text to be employed for a parallel reading with Hart's works because it has a more systematic and delicate use of the disease metaphor. Moreover, O'Neill's explanation of the key concepts (such as "humors") and their relation to other relevant concepts (such as "elements") is

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[72] The discussion on Hart's disease metaphor takes about five pages (thirteen paragraphs altogether, pp. 303–308).

not adequate. There are more detail about the medical metaphor that need to be foregrounded. For instance, as I will discuss in section 4.4, Hart considers himself as a doctor, but to be exact, a physician rather than a surgeon (which is very important for his self-fashioning).

Thirdly, to end her interpretation, O'Neill makes an attempt at explaining Hart's motives for "appropriating this language of political reform" (2002: 307) in dealing with linguistic issues. She reckons that a program of reform was dangerous in Tudor England, with the potential of being accused of revolution. By likening the amendment of an abused orthography to the restoration of social order and conceptualizing a *healthy* orthography with the ideas of "the conservative and hierarchical view of society" (2002: 307), Hart was attempting to "place [himself] not in the revolutionary role he feared but as a defender of the state, the established order and guardian of the *status quo*" (2002: 307). As far as I am concerned, this analysis is tenable although it is narrowly elucidated from the viewpoint of politics. Hart's metaphor of disease, although certainly highly politicized, was not reducible to politics. Apart from politics, we need more perspectives in the interpretation of Hart's motive for employing this metaphor. I would like to emphasize that the central motive for using the medical metaphor is to explain the content of Hart's linguistic theory itself.

To summarize, this chapter sets out to contribute to the understanding of Hart's disease metaphor from the following four perspectives:

(1) Drawing on Aristotle's three modes of persuasion to provide a new viewpoint for investigating his motives for exploiting the metaphor;
(2) Fleshing out more detail about the Tudor concept of medicine which are critical for the understanding of the metaphor in Hart's context;
(3) Developing a different and more delicate understanding of the *political* natures of the metaphor;
(4) Attempting to add a *religious* reading of the metaphor.

In accordance with this, I divide the following discussion into two parts: section 4.2 introduces the basic meaning of Aristotle's rhetorical triangle, which is followed by three parallel sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5, respectively examining the disease metaphor in relation to the three aspects of the triangle. All these constitute the first part. The second part (i.e. section 4.6) seeks to reach an extended understanding of the political nature of the metaphor and to uncover the religious dimension of it as well.

4.2 Aristotle's Rhetorical Triangle: Logos, Ethos, Pathos

In this section I briefly introduce Aristotle's three modes of persuasion (i.e. the "three appeals") which I will use in the following three sections (4.3, 4.4, and 4.5) for analyzing the rhetorical effects of Hart's medical metaphor. In *The Art of Rhetoric*, rhetoric is defined by Aristotle as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (2012: 8) that is "furnished by the spoken word" (2012: 9), and the following is his teaching concerning the appeals of good persuasion:

> Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's *personal character* when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible. […] Secondly, persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their *emotions*. […] Thirdly, persuasion is effective through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the *persuasive arguments* suitable to the case in question. (2012: 9, my italics)

These three criteria—being ethical, logical, and emotion-provoking—are identified as the "three artistic proofs"[73] and termed as *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* respectively. This schema is typically represented by an equilateral triangle, suggesting that these triumviral elements of persuasion should be well balanced within a speech. However, which one is more important is a matter of argument, and which aspect(s) of the rhetorical triangle is/are favored in a real speech depends on the subject matter, the audience, and the purpose of that speech.

Logos means, a speech, in order to be persuasive and to sway the audience, should be solidly based on rationality. It is central to the rhetorical appeals since it is necessary to have ideas supported with pillars of logical reasoning. In *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*, Charteris-Black maintains that "argument was the only obligatory stage in a speech" (2014: 11). I would like to emphasize that logos deals with the *content* and *structure* of the argument of a speech. That is to say, the construction of a good argument depends on two factors: the ideas itself (i.e. the substantial aspect) and the way in which it is organized (i.e. the formal aspect). In the view of Aristotle and his Roman successors, logos can be developed by using definitions, facts, historical and literal analogies, citations from experts and authorities, making comparisons, etc. For Aristotle, a complete argument is a form of deductive reasoning called *syllogism* which "relies on formal logic and most commonly follows this pattern: major premise (general condition), minor premise (specific instances), and conclusion" (Coopman & Lull 2012: 323). But in actual speaking or writing, as noted by Aristotle, we just build our argument upon some unstated or presumed premises or assumptions, which is termed as *enthymeme*.

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[73] Aristotle coined the term. It is also referred in different pieces of literature as "the rhetorical triangle", "the golden triangle of persuasion", "the Aristotelian appeals", "the rhetorical appeals", "the Aristotelian Triad", "the triumvirate of elements of persuasion", etc.

Ethos means the speaker's effort to convince the audience of his *credibility or character*. In Aristotle's words, when an orator is seeking to establish a relationship with an audience, the appeal should be based on "the personal character of the speaker" (2012: 9). The aim of ethical appeal is to show the trustworthiness of the speaker, and the overall ability to achieve it can be called self-portrayal. It is widely believed that pathos can be put into effect by using proper language, making unbiased statements, demonstrating knowledge and expertise in the field, and showing personal values. In a public speaking context, it can also be constructed by non-verbal and paraverbal factors, such as tones and pitch. The speaker can also use statements to position himself, revealing his status in the social hierarchy and showing his preferences and distastes. The actual effect of self-portrayal and impression management depends primarily on the situation and context in which it is used. But it is expected that a good orator should be personally of goodwill and virtue, and his words and actions should demonstrate ethical credibility. The appeal to ethos contributes much to the power of persuasion, since, as Aristotle remarks, "we believe good men more fully and more readily than others" (Aristotle 2012: 9). In *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*, Charteris-Black adds that "establishing ethos is a prerequisite for persuasion" (2005: 15). Trust is built up by showing that the speaker's intentions are honorable and that he assumes a set of values that are shared with the audience. He must show that his undertakings are for the welfare of the public rather than his self-interest. Additionally, he is expected to lead a morally virtuous life and embrace the virtue of modesty and responsibility. In short, as Aristotle holds, "his character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses" (2012: 9).

Pathos means to persuade or elicit support from the audience by appealing to their emotions. Persuasion is not merely about establishing trust by organizing a sound argument and portraying a virtuous self-image; it is also a complex, continuing and interactive process. Apart from having good personal character and reasonable logic, the persuader "also needs to engage emotionally with an audience through empathy, humour or arousing feelings, creating the right emotional climate for persuasion to occur" (Charteris-Black 2005: 15) and putting the audience in the appropriate emotional state. We tend to take it for granted that decisions are made mainly on the basis of rational thinking. But Aristotle's observation tells us that emotions such as irritation, compassion, anxiety, depression, and their opposites all have a strong hold on our rational thinking. Normally, pathos can be elicited by drawing sympathy or inspiring resentment from the audience. Furthermore, the speaker needs to resort to something relating to the audience's beliefs, values, attitudes, and personal experience. In *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle provides an analysis of the dynamics of various important emotions. He also claims that "[o]ur judgements when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile" (2012: 9). On this point, Charteris-Black further explains that "rational arguments could

also be influenced by the emotions" because emotions "lead us to make evaluations which in turn influence our opinions and judgements" (2014: 14).

In short, Aristotle's rhetorical theory proposes that there are three things which help persuade someone to agree with us and lead them where we wish to take them: (i) we need to have a strong argument, based on rationality and logically structured, (ii) we need to present ourselves as credible and trustworthy to our audience; (iii) we should emotionally engage the audience so that they will be enthusiastically mobilized to join us. Some critics of rhetoric, particularly Plato, argue that we should only really be persuaded by good argument, but Aristotle quite explicitly includes emotional and ethical appeals in his account of what persuasive discourse is. The inclusion of *ethos* and *pathos* extends the scope of rhetoric beyond the construction of a strong and logical argument. All three elements are important, and it can be tricky to say which one is more important without a specific context. Aristotle's three artistic proofs were originally proposed for persuasion in the context of political debate, especially in verbal form, but they have also been applied to written texts in a general sense. The above explanations are based on Aristotle's original meaning, but also include some extended understanding by other classical and modern scholars in the literature I have covered. In the next three parallel sections I will move on to examine the rhetorical function of Hart's medical metaphor in terms of logos, ethos, and pathos respectively.

4.3 Logos: Reasoning Orthographic Reform with the Medical Metaphor

This section examines how Hart appeals to logos with the medical metaphor. First *medical concepts* are employed to frame his understanding of orthographic problems; second, *the procedure* of medical treatment is transferred to Hart's arrangement of spelling reform. The former focuses on the *content* aspect of his argument while the latter on the *structural* aspect. Accordingly, I divide my following discussion into two sub-sections.

4.3.1 Mapping Medical Concepts: "minister purgations of the vicious humors"[74]

Hart begins his 1551 and 1569 works by discussing the nature of the "letter" and in this context, he characterizes letters as the "elements" of speech: "the inventors of letters, whatsoever they were, had a regard to mans voice, considering how mani divers simple wais, he mought use his toung, and lippes with his voice in his spech. Which has been called Elements" (1551: 30; also see 1569: fol.8ᵛ). In ancient Greek, the word "element" (*stoicheion*) had been used to refer to both the four Elements (i.e. Air, Fire, Water, and Earth) and the letters of the alphabet (see Leithart 2016: 29–31). As Hebron notes, the four Elements "are not things, but qualities

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[74] This is quoted from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569: fol.10ʳ).

attributable to all matter" (2008: 49) and this concept "has an ancient source in Empedocles (Fragment 17) and was adopted by Aristotle, whose version was passed on to the Middle Ages" (2008: 49). When applied to the "letters", the implication of the term is a finite group of essential units which form the basic material from which words and larger linguistic units are formed. In this sense the "letters" which form the basic constituents of words have an analogical relationship with the basic constituents from which the world itself is made. As Hart observes, "For as the four Elementes are the matter and substance of all thinges that are made in bodies and shapes, so are the simple voyces the partes, whereof the whole and round word and sentences are composed" (1551: 30–31; also see 1569: fol.8ᵛ). By characterizing "letters" in this way, Hart emphasizes that the pronunciations of words are decomposable into a finite set of essential units and hence that written representations of pronunciation can be "reasonable" and "perfect".[75] Based on this analysis, Hart lays out the basic principle of what he calls a "perfect" orthographic system, which can be shown by the following concluding remarks:

> euen as euery body is to be resolued into those Elements whereof it is composed, so euery word is to be vndone into these voices only whereof it is made. Séeing then that letters are the figures and colours wherewith the image of mans voice is painted, you are forced to graunt the writing should haue so many letters as the speach hath voyces, and no more nor lesse: so that if it be founde otherwise, for the abusion and falsenesse therof it is to be refused. (1569: fols.9ʳ–9ᵛ; also see 1551: 32)

His account of this idea was covered in Chapter 3 of this thesis from a technical perspective. But, more importantly, the parallel that Hart draws between the four material elements and the "letters" of the alphabet can be seen as mapping part of the image of medicine as it was conceptualized in the Tudor period (i.e. Galenic humoral theory) onto his own work in orthographical reform. And this becomes clearer when his comments on the "elements" are read in association with the following quotations. In the first, Hart draws a parallel between his activities as an orthographic reformer and the practice of medicine ("phisik") or surgery ("chirurgery"):

> I have undertaken this treatise of our inglish writing: […] The which shall appear after the ordre of *phisik*, or *chirurgeri*: which is after the Nature, proprieties, and qualities of the *grief* well knowen, to prepare with deligence the *remedie*. (Hart 1551: 27, my italics)

In the second, he abandons the comparison with surgery in the published work of 1569 and develops the comparison with medicine more fully, using a series of terms (italicized in the passage quoted as follows) which are associated with early modern medicine:

> as shall be more at large sayde hereafter, and that after thorder of *Phisicke*, which is, first to vnderstand *the complexion*, *disposition* and *parts of the body*, and then to know *the nature of the causes* which doe offende, whereby the *Doctor* may procéede without

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[75] It should be noted that in the Tudor times, "letter" is a term used to refer to both the "sound" itself and its written representation (i.e. the graph).

daunger to *minister purgations of the vicious humors*, with certaine *remedies*, and then to *prescribe the pacient a wholesome diet and order* to be preserved from falling into the like againe. (Hart 1569: fols.10ʳ–10ᵛ, my italics)

In this second quotation Hart offers an extended metaphor, in which the concepts of early modern medicine (signaled through terms such as "purgation", "humors", and "remedies") are transferred to his treatment of orthographic problems. In interpreting Hart's metaphorical discourse, I find that the specific characteristics of contemporary medicine offer useful resources to him as he develops his account of orthographic reform.

At the center of Tudor medicine lies the theory of the humors—the notion that the health of a person is determined by some basic substances which "take the form of fluids, produced in the body" (Hebron 2008: 63). These fluids are termed as *humors* which "correspond to the elements, and so are likewise four in number: black bile, phlegm, blood and choler" (Hebron 2008: 63).[76] One's personality and physical health might be negatively affected by the superfluity or deficiency of any of them. Diseases are generally considered to be a result of imbalance between the humors, with one or more being inadequate or excessive. In other words, "the elements make up the matter of the earthly sphere and correspond to the four humours which make up the human physical constitution" (Hebron 2008: 49). As Table 1 shows, Air principally exists in the blood, Fire in the yellow bile, Water in the phlegm, and Earth in the black bile. And each humor is associated with one of the four possible combinations produced by pairing the two states of temperature (hot & cold) and the two associated with humidity (moist & dry) which are the intrinsic qualities of the Four Elements. While humors are formed in the body, the nature of them is influenced by the seasons of the year and period of life. And the interaction of the four humors explains the four different types of disposition: sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic and melancholic (Copeman 1960; Hebron 2008: 63–65). Thus, in the light of Hart's comments on "purgations of vicious humours", his parallel between the "letters" and the "four Elements" can be read as part of a larger metaphor by which he characterizes his work in orthography as an intervention akin to that of a Tudor physician.

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[76] It should be pointed out that these terms only partly correspond to the modern medical terminology.

Humor: Blood	Humor: Yellow Bile
• Element: Air • Season: Spring • Age: Adolescence • Qualities: Hot & Moist • Organ: Heart • Planet: Jupiter • Disposition: Sanguine	• Element: Fire • Season: Summer • Age: Childhood • Qualities: Hot & Dry • Organ: Gall Bladder • Planet: Mars • Disposition: Choleric
Humor: Phlegm	Humor: Black Bile
• Element: Water • Season: Autumn • Age: Maturity • Qualities: Cold & Moist • Organ: Brain • Planet: Moon • Disposition: Phlegmatic	• Element: Earth • Season: Winter • Age: Old Ages • Qualities: Cold & Dry • Organ: Spleen • Planet: Saturn • Disposition: Melancholic

Table 1: The Four Humors and Their Associated Influencing Factors.[77]

Humoral theory, or the doctrine of the four temperaments, originated in classical Greek medicine and was kept being popular in Western medicine for hundreds of years via the highly influential writings of Galen (120–201 AD). During the second decade of the sixteenth century, Thomas Linacre (*c*. 1460–1524) translated into Latin an important and influential section of Galen's works, which influenced the development of medical thought in England for the rest of the century, and promoted medical teaching. The aim of his scholarship was to edit and translate the learning of the past, since, as Copeman remarks, "it was firmly believed that in late antiquity all the secrets of finite knowledge had been known and it was expected confidently that these would be recovered" (1960: 13). Humoral theory was thought by Tudor physician as adequate. Until the time of Harvey, the whole art of diagnosis was thought to lie in estimating the type of imbalance between the four humors of the body. It afforded a ready explanation for the causes of disease, and medical treatments—diagnosis, cause, remedy and prescription—are centered on this theory.

The field of medicine as outlined here offered Hart a range of opportunities. For example, in Hart's linguistic theory, in line with the concept of the Four Elements, he firstly divided speech

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[77] This table is quoted from the following source with tiny adaptations:
https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/shakespeare/fourhumors.html

sounds into a certain number of elements, to be exact, 26 essentially basic units. According to the nature of them, those sound elements are grouped into either vowels or consonants, and this has been elaborated in Chapter 3 where the focus was set on the technical aspects of Hart's linguistic theory. Like the Tudor physicians, Hart takes the inquiry into "elements" as the starting point of the rationalization of his thought. This is explicable on the ground that both the "Four Elements" in a medical sense and the "elements" in a linguistic sense are intended to work out the most fundamental things determining the nature of their own fields. By drawing an explicit connection between them, Hart is trying to map the Tudor physician's understanding of the "Four Elements" in a medical sense onto his understanding of what is, in the same way, essential to a perfect orthography. Those elements are basic, essential, and thus have a decisive role in determining the *healthiness* of their own fields—the body and the language.

What is more, there is a parallel between, on the one hand, "temperature" and "humidity", and on the other "place" and "manner" of production. Just as "temperature" (warm & cold) and "humidity" (moist & dry) define the "quality" of the Four Elements (e.g. Fire is hot and dry), the "place" and "manner" of production determine the "quality" (Hart's term) of each of the sound elements. For instance, in describing the production of the sound of *o* (see section 3.4), "teeth", "gum" and "lips" are the places of sound production, and "turning round" and "thrusting forth" are manners. In this way, Hart arrives at the twenty-six sound elements through a process of combination analogous with that used in defining the four elements, each of which is correlated with one of the four humors. Based on these parallels between "letters", "elements", and "humours", Hart is able to continue his argument that, just as the health of human body is determined by the balance of the four humors, a perfect orthography is based on the principle of one letter for one sound, and any violation of this principle will led to "illness" of orthography. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, Hart worked out four types of orthographic "diseases": *diminution*, *superfluity*, *usurpation* and *misplacing*, explained the "causes", and "prescribed" resolutions for each of them. Like doctors curing diseases by "the purgation of the vicious humours" (Hart 1569: fol.10^r), Hart solves orthographic problem, e.g. *superfluity*, by surgical treatment, having "the vicious part cut away" (1569: fol.12^r). In so doing, Hart is re-establishing the "proportion" (1551: 27; 1569: fol.2^r, fol.28^r, fol.62^r; 1570: sig.A.iiij^r, sig.[A.v]^r) of letters in the sense that a Tudor physician is restoring the balance of humors in human body.

After defining the nature of letters and laying down the principle of a "perfect" orthography, Hart goes on to quote extensively from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, the twelfth chapter of which is a section exclusively dedicated to the discussion of orthography, centering on the idea that "all thinges ought to be written as it soundeth".

> Of which minde was *Quintilian*, as it appeareth in the vij Chapter of his first booke, noting the custome of abused writings, when he sayeth. *Ego (non quod consuetudo*

obtinuerit) sic scribendum quicque iudico quomodo sonat. Hic enim est usus literarum, vt custodian voces, et velut depositum reddant legentibus. Itaque id exprimere debent quod dicturi sumus. Which signifieth, I doe not allowe that which custome may haue obtained. But doe iudge that all thinges ought to be written as it soundeth. This truly is thuse of letters, that they shoulde kéepe the voyces and yéelde them againe vnto the Readers as a pawne or gage trusted vnto them to that ende: So they ought to expresse that which we woulde say. (1569: fols.9ᵛ–10ʳ; also see 1551: 32–33)

By doing this, Hart is trying to restore a linguistic truth that has already been discovered and recorded in the classical texts, just like his contemporaries, the Tudor physicians, such as Andrew Boorde (1490–1549), Thomas Linacre, John Caius (1510–1573) and William Gilbert (1544–1603), who resorted to classical medical texts, doing translation and annotation. In this sense, Hart himself emerges as a Tudor scholar-physician, Quintilian is his *Galen*, and Quintilian's orthographic theory is his *humoral theory*.

It is noteworthy that the education Tudor physicians received placed much emphasis on the linguistic skills required to access texts such as Galen's. As Copeman observes, "they could both speak and write Latin as a living language", and "during the Elizabethan era most of them would become almost equally familiar with Greek" (1960: 33). As a result, "this linguistic superiority led the physician[s] to resent the use of the vernacular in medicine" (1960: 33) which "was in part to maintain superiority over the laity, as well as his humbler brethren, the unlatined Barber-Surgeons and apothecaries" (1960: 33–34). Although most wrote in Latin, there were a few exceptions in the Tudor age, for example, Andrew Boorde, who chose to write in English,[78] and the number of works in the vernacular steadily increased.[79] Hart, like Boorde, chose to write in the vernacular[80] and even when he uses quotations from Quintilian's classical texts, he offers an English translation of the original Latin. In the "Preface" to *The Seconde Boke of the Breuyary of Health, named the Extrauagantes*, Boorde reiterates his principal motivation for authoring the treatise: "I do nat wryte these bokes for lerned men, but *for symple and vnlearned men*, that they may have some knowledge to ease them selfe in their dyseyses and infirmities" (1587, my italics), and in fact this aim has been declared in the colophon of this work: "Thus endeth these bokes, to the honour of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, *to the profyte of all poore men and women*" (1587, my italics). This is a point of contrast with

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[78] According to the survey of F. J. Furnivall (1870: 9), all the eleven genuine works of Boorde were written in English.

[79] For example, Elyot's *Castel of Helth*, Robert Recorde's *The Urinall of Physick*, Humphery Lloyd's *Treasury of Helth*, Thoms Phaer's *Regiment of Lyffe*, William Bullein's *Bulwarke of defence against all sicknesse, sores and woundes*, and Philip Barrough's *The Method of Physicke*, Thomas Cogan's *Haven of Health*, Wiliam Bullein's *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*. (See McLean 1972: 197)

[80] For example, the followings are the main medical books of Boorde: (i) *Here foloweth a Compenyoous Regiment or Dyetary of health, made in Mountpyller*; (ii) *The Brevyary of health*; (iii) *The Peregrination of Doctor Board*.

Hart's associate, Smith. Although they held a similar position in terms of linguistic theory, Smith like Linacre, uses Latin as his written language.[81] In this sense, Hart is not only a Tudor physician but, to be exact, a physician of the type of Boorde, who chooses to use English rather than Latin as the written language which may be more approachable to the "unlearned" and "poor" people. In so doing, Hart is developing logos: he and Boorde choose to address an audience wider than that which can safely be addressed in Latin. This surely has something to do with their conception of what it means to serve the commonwealth.

It is especially interesting that Hart's interpretation of the "elements of sounds" is akin to a scholar-physician's understanding of anatomy in mid-Tudor England. This period of time saw a "rapid advance in anatomical knowledge and surgical techniques" (McLean 1972: 199). In the year 1543 the College of Surgeons "obtained […] the right to dissect four bodies each year" (McLean 1972: 199) and "in 1565 the College of Physicians was [also] given four bodies to dissect per year" (McLean 1972: 189). During this time, although physicians could do part of a surgeon's work and took anatomy as their essential knowledge, their understanding and interpretation of anatomy and physiology was framed in the inherited humoral theory. For instance, the physician John Caius (1510–1573) had begun consciously "to employ precise personal observation" in addition to book learning (Copeman 1960: 22), and lectured "on anatomy and surgery for over twenty years at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall to emphasize the need for systematic correlation between medicine, anatomy and surgery" (Copeman 1960: 27; also see McLean 196). However, as Copeman comments, "like all his contemporaries […] he did not doubt the validity of the humoral hypothesis", and in their heart "the classical authoritarian tradition still burnt strongly" (1960: 22–23). Copeman also adds that "whenever John Banister found on dissection some feature of the body unlike that described by the Master [Galen], he would postulate to his apprentices that it was the body structure that had changed since his time" (1960: 87; also see McLean 1972: 196). Hart's understanding and treatment of linguistic issues is reminiscent of this tension between the inherited humoral theory and the new development of anatomy (as well as physiology) in medicine during the mid-Tudor period. It can be seen in Hart's texts that his "elements of sounds" are different from the "Four Elements" in a philosophical and medical sense. For a philosopher or Tudor physician, the "Four Elements", as I have mentioned earlier, are not something specific, "but qualities attributable to all matters" (Hebron 2008: 49). They are regarded as "aspects of each substance", and thus "we cannot see them directly, but discern them from their effect" (Hebron 2008: 49). However, Hart's "elements of sounds" are concrete things, the result of a physical division of the sounds produced by vocal organs. That is to say, Hart's "elements of sounds" are obtained from an "anatomical analysis" of human speech. To be specific, his precise description of the "five

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[81] Thomas Smith, *De Recta et Emendata Linguae Anglicae Scriptione*, Dialogus, 1568.

elements" of vowel sounds is obtained from empirical observation and comparison. But Hart compares his "elements of sounds" to the "Four Elements", and takes an *a priori* stance, claiming that he is just recovering and restoring the "five ancient vowels" that had been in existence before the language was corrupted in history (see section 3.4). He is doing something new in the name of classical authority, just as the physicians interpret new findings from observation with Galenic theory. On this ground, Hart's use of the term "element" in his linguistic theory is akin to a scholar-physician's understanding of anatomy within the theoretical framework of humoral theory.

4.3.2 Mapping Medical Procedure: "after thorder of Phisicke"[82]

As has been emphasized at the beginning of this section, logos deals with the *content* and *structure* of an argument used in persuasion. So far I have examined how Hart maps the source and content of medical theory onto his rationalization of orthographic reform, which constitutes the *content* aspect of his argument. In the rest of this section, I will move on to discuss how Hart maps the procedure of medical treatment onto his account of the procedure of orthographic reform. At this point, it will be useful to requote part of Hart's text and develop an analysis from a new perspective. In order to show the structure of it more clearly, I have numbered some parts of the sentence and emphasised some of the key words in it.

> as shall be more sayde hereafter, and that **after thorder of Phisicke**, which is,
> [1] **first to** vnderstand the complexion, disposition and parts of the body,
> [2] **and then to** know the nature of the causes which doe offende,
> [3] **whereby** the Doctor may procéede without daunger to minister purgations of the vicious humors, with certaine remedies,
> [4] **and then to** prescribe the pacient a wholesome diet and order to be preserved from falling into the like againe.

This quotation is very informative. It not only contains the key theoretical concepts of Tudor medicine (i.e. "phisicke", "complexion", "disposition", and "humours") that have been discussed, but also reveals the procedure of how a physician performs his medical treatment: (i) observing the symptoms and the state of health, (ii) diagnosing the disease and identifying its causes, (iii) carrying out treatment of the disease with remedies, and (iv) offering a prescription. This procedure is evident from Boorde's medical work *The Breuiary of Helthe, for all maner of syckenesses and diseases the whiche may be in man, or woman* (1557). It contains a long list of diseases, all of which are presented in the same way. As Boorde himself states: "you shall fynde it in this booke […] what the sickenes is, and howe it doth come, and medecynes for the selfe same" (1557: fol.v^v). In Hart's linguistic works, he transfers this four-step procedure of medical treatment onto his disposal of orthographic problems, which finds expression in two ways.

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[82] This is quoted from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569: fol.10^r).

Firstly, he organizes the whole structure of his argument according to the procedure of medical treatment. As an updated version, his 1569 book preserves the main structure of the argument despite some revisions on certain points. A close reading and analysis of the content table and the argument of the text reveals that, in the 1569 work, Hart is trying to modify the structure of the argument and present his linguistic thought in a more logical way. For instance, in "The Preface", Hart opens by explaining the reasons why it is necessary to undertake orthographic reform. These arguments have been discussed at length in the second chapter of this thesis. The key point here is that as a "doctor", Hart is trying to persuade the *victim* of the "disease"—the King and His Majesty's "countryemen", to accept his proposal for language reform. His real theoretical argument begins with Chapter One, in which he lays down the general principle of one letter for one sound (and vice versa), a condition that, for Hart, is essential for a "healthy" (sig.[¶.2]^r) orthography. Following this, from Chapters Two to Three of this treatise, Hart makes a general account of the problems in the current use of orthography. He lays out four types of "disease" incubating in the body of English orthography, including *diminution*, *superfluity*, *usurpation*, and *misplacing*, and offers "remedies" intended to save it from corruption. Hart's diagnosis and curing of the orthographic "disease" are akin to the theory and practice of Tudor medicine—eliminating the "vicious" letters and re-establishing the balance between them. From Chapter Four to Chapter Seven, the topic is centered on how many basic sound elements there should be and what the specific problems are with each of them. Here he is "prescrib[ing] the patient a wholesome diet and order to be preserved from falling into the like againe" (1569: 10b). As a responsible "doctor", Hart first brings forward a well-designed theory and then takes a step further to put it into practice, showing how it works and testing the effect of his "remedy". From Chapter Seven to the last part of his book, he chooses to write it in his new system of alphabet. In this sense, in contrast to his contemporary Smith, Hart is more of a practical Tudor physician, who is not only well versed in the lofty theory of classical medicine, but also indeed willing to bend his knees and get his hands dirty in real medical treatment.

In fact, in the "prologue" of his 1551 manuscript, Hart had used a medical metaphor to indicate the structure of his argument (see the following quotation). But this metaphorical mapping is less noticeable compared with that of his 1569 text, partly because it does not contain much vocabulary invoking a systematic semantic frame of medicine (there are four medical terms, "phisik", "chirurgery", "grief" and "remedy"). However, it suffices to say that the use of the medical metaphor is a deliberately-designed and well-chosen rhetorical device in Hart's reasoning of orthographic reform.

> For even so I have **first** opened the vices, and faultes of our writing: which cause it to be tedious, and long in learnyng: and learned hard, and evill to read: especially with souch as understand not the latine, and french tounges. **And then** haue I sought the meanes (herein writen) by the which we may use a certaine, good, and easi writing, onli

following our pronunciation, and keeping the letters in their auncient, Simple, and Singuler powers. (Hart 1551: 27–28, my emphasis)

Another noteworthy point is that, the above quotation appears in the "prologue" to his 1551 manuscript, i.e. before his definition of the "letter" with the concept of "element" in Chapter One. But in his 1569 book, Hart not only reverses the order but also puts his discussion of both the element and the medical metaphor in the first chapter. This is more logical because the definition of letter with the concept of "element" is a basis of his use of humoral theory and the medical metaphor. It also serves to render the medical metaphor much more salient to the reader and to make it central to Hart's exposition of his proposed orthographic reform.

The second manifestation of Hart's use of medical procedure can be found in his organization of argument for the treatment of specific orthographic problems (mainly in Chapters Two and Three). The following (Illustration 5) is an excerpt taken from Boorde's *The Breuiary of Helthe* (1557: fol.lxiii^r), in which we can see clearly the structure on which Hart's work is modeled: Boorde starts by defining the disease, then analyses the cause of it, and finally offers a remedy. Hart's discussion of orthographic problems suggests that he is following a similar procedure.

Illustration 5: An Excerpt Taken from Boorde's List of Diseases in *The Breuiary of Helthe* (1557).

For example, among the four types of orthographic problems, Hart lays much emphasis on the discussion of *superfluity* (1551: 48–51). He begins by laying down a general standard of being

"healthy" (1569: sig.[¶.2]ʳ), just as the humoral theory does, a violation of this standard being the cause of *disease*: "a writing is corrupted, when yt hath more letters than the pronunciation neadeth of voices: for by souch a disordre a writing can not be but fals" (1551: 48). Then Hart continues to discuss the severity and harm of the problem by observing as follows: "This abuse is great" (1551: 48); it "cause[s] that voice to be pronounced in reading therof, which is not in the word in commune speaking" (p. 48) and "it can not be but confusible and uncertaine, and geve occasion of false reading" (1551: 49). This is followed by explaining the cause ("oneli to fill up the paper, or make the word thorow furnysshed with letters, to satisfie our fantasies" (1551: 48)) and describing the symptoms ("a letter or letters shal in one place signifie a voice or voices, and in an other place nothing or lyke nothing" (1551: 49)). Lastly, Hart identifies three subtypes of this "disease": *derivation*, *difference* and *time*, each of which is illustrated with rich examples. In the same vein, Hart's discussion of each of the 26 sound elements (from Chapter Four to Chapter Seven) also follows the same steps, and this is evident from Chapter 3 of this thesis. The material I have just examined highlights the process of medical treatment and its structural similarity to the steps of orthographic reform, which allows Hart to conceptualize what a rational argument is in terms of something that his readers would have understood more readily.

In summary, this section has attempted to examine how Hart appeals to the medical metaphor to rationalize his account of orthographic reform. The mapping from Tudor medicine to Hart's theorization of linguistic ideas is realized in two ways. First, there is a conceptual transfer from the *theory* of Tudor medicine (especially, "elements" and "humors") onto his understanding of a perfect orthography and the possible ways of corruption. Second, the material I have examined also highlights *the process of medical treatment* and its structural similarity to *the steps of orthographic reform*, which allows Hart to conceptualize the latter in terms of the former. By using medical metaphor, Hart is appealing to logos to construct and demonstrate his linguistic thought. In the next section, I will continue to investigate how Hart appeals to ethos to present his self-image in the efforts to persuade his readers to accept his proposal for language reform.

4.4 Ethos: Portraying the Reformer's Image as a Scholar-Physician

Hart's appeal to logos—his focus on the rationality of undertaking orthographic reform—is to be expected since the theorization and presentation of linguistic thought is characterized by a process of logical reasoning. However, it is interesting to see that Hart also uses the medical metaphor as a means to build his ethical image. This section sets out to examine how Hart employs the medical metaphor to demonstrate that his undertaking of language reform is well-

intended and ethically legitimate, a rhetorical program which turns on his self-representation as a "doctor" who endeavors to offer proper remedies to cure orthographic "disease".

In the "Dedication" to the king of the 1551 manuscript, Hart remarks that he took it as his "bounden duetie" to seek support from King Edward VI and his "highnes most honorable Counsell" (1551: 6) to adopt and implement his new design of orthography. And he has of late set forth this purpose "by an article in a proclamation", which, as he admits, "mought have [been] done [by] some doctour" (1551: 6).[83] In sixteenth-century usage, the term "doctor" was polysemous. It could be used specifically to denote a physician or more generally to denote a person learned in any branch of knowledge or art. On a first reading it seems that the latter sense is intended in the above quotation. To be specific, "doctor" here refers to contemporary scholars who had made efforts to promote orthographic reform. Hart does not mention the scholars' names, but, according to my discussion in Chapter One of this thesis, he is probably referring to a group of Cambridge scholars who were dedicated to the movement of orthographic reform during the early to mid-sixteenth century, among them John Cheke and Thomas Smith. In Chapter One of the 1569 book, Hart employs the word "doctor" again, in a passage which I have quoted twice in the last section ("as shall be more sayde hereafter […] to be preserved from falling into the like againe" (1569: fols.10^r–10^v)). It is obvious that in this passage the word "doctor" is used in its more specific sense of "medical practitioner", and this is clear from the addition of the prepositional phrase "of physicke". If we read these two quotations together, and set the understanding of the word "doctor" in the larger context of Hart's two works, we may interpret the first instance of the term "doctor" as a pun. That is to say, on one level, it means "scholars of orthography", but from another perspective, it suggests a comparison with those reformers to physicians working on curing diseases in human body. In fact, Hart's use of medical terms later in the "Prologue" of his 1551 text[84] gives weight to my conjecture taken on the polysemous and ambiguous feature of the word "doctor" used in the "Dedication" to the king.[85] That is to say, the salience of the medical metaphor used in the 1569 treatise helps us to foreground the implicit employment of it in the 1551 manuscript. In brief, the polysemous nature of the word "doctor" offers resource for examining the medical imagery in Hart's text: as a language reformer, Hart is a "physician" of orthographic "diseases".

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[83] In this quotation, I changed the sentence from active voice to passive voice. The original sentence is: "some doctour mought haue don."

[84] As I have quoted in the last section, Hart tells us that his reform "shall appear *after the ordre of phisik, or chirurgeri*: which is after the Nature, proprieties, and qualities of the *grief* well knowen, to prepare with deligence the *remedie*" (Hart 1551: 27, my italics).

[85] The "Prologue" comes immediately after the "Dedication".

As was mentioned in the last section, in the "Prologue" of his 1551 work Hart conceptualized himself both as a physician and a surgeon, but in his 1569 work, he deleted the term "chirurgery", just saying "after thordre of Phisicke". This change has important implications for Hart's positioning of himself in the hierarchy of the Tudor medical profession. During the sixteenth century, "medical practice was organised in three layers: physicians, surgeons, apothecaries" (Hebron 2008: 77). Beneath them, there were also herbalists, wise women, midwives, quacks, pettifoggers, and charlatans (Hebron 2008: 78). These various medical practitioners were not of equal status, either in terms of their expertise or their social rank, and the physician took the highest position in this hierarchy. After nearly twenty years' reconsideration, in the 1569 revised work, Hart only presents himself as a *high-level physician* without the image of a "surgeon" being employed again. This implies that in Hart's use of the medical metaphor, he is rather thoughtful and selective. In section 4.3.1, I introduced the theory and practice of Tudor medicine in general. At this point, it is necessary to highlight and foreground some of the key features of Tudor physicians, including their educational background, social status, professional qualifications, and political power.

The high-level physicians, especially royal physicians, of the Tudor period were often very learned men and part of the intellectual elite. They "were prosperous, well-educated and dignified gentlemen of good social position whose interests were generally classical literature and natural history, in addition to medicine" (Copeman 1960: 35). Quoting from a Tudor source, Copeman also notes that: "for the common man it were easier far to become a Cardinal than a learned physician" (1960: 33).[86] Boorde lists the qualities he thought essential for the successful practice of medicine in the "Prologe to Phisicions" of his medical book *The Breviary of Helthe*. He proposes a three-step training to master the "noble scyence of phisicke" (1557: fol.ii[r]): first the standard education in the liberal arts, then the study of physic by speculation,[87] and lastly the practice of physic, failing any one of which will make the doctor a "blynde physicion" (1557: fol.iii[r]). These qualities earned physicians the highest rank in the medical profession in the Tudor period and their status depended to a large extent on their knowledge of classical medical texts. The special status of physicians becomes more obvious when we compare it with that of the surgeons who were short of university education in liberal arts and mainly in charge of the practical part of the work of curing disease. To some extent, their salient difference in ranking can be displayed by how much they earned from their medical service in the Court. According to "the Household account of King Henry VIII", MacLean observes that "the salary of his physician, Dr William Butts, was a basic £100 per year" while "in contrast, the King's surgeon,

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[86] In Copeman's work, he does not offer the source of his quotation.

[87] In this case, "speculation" means the contemplation, consideration, or profound study of some subject.

Thomas Vicary, got a basic £20 per year" (1972: 204). The social status of physicians can also be revealed by the Elizabethan medical portraits (see Illustration 6), on which Copeman comments as follows:

> They wore, no doubt as a sort of trade-mark to distinguish them from the unqualified, a distinctive dress made of rich materials. This consisted of a silk or velvet cassock which buttoned up to the chin, and over this a mantle, or else the long gown with wide sleeves often trimmed with fur which was then the prerogative of the learned professions. Sometimes they wore a ruff at the neck and ruffles at the wrists, and the ensemble was completed with a belt from which, in later times, they would suspend a sword, or, as Dr. Caius preferred, a dagger, as evidence of their rank. Their cap which was of black velvet might be circular and of the same pattern as the one which robed doctors of Oxford and Cambridge still carry, or square like a biretta and similarly worn indoors, or sometimes close-fitting with ear-caps—"often of a conceited cut". (1960: 35)

Illustration 6: British physician John Caius (1510–1573), author of *A Boke or Counseill Against the Disease Commonly Called the Sweate, or Sweatyng Sicknesse* (1552). (Source: https://iiif.wellcomecollection.org/image/M0011981.jpg/full/full/0/default.jpg)

The status of physicians was also embodied in their political power: "Royal physicians enjoyed great influence and were often employed by the monarch in important and confidential missions abroad" (Copeman 1960: 33). A case in point was Andrew Boorde who "in Queen Elizabeth's reign acted even as ambassadors and also in other influential positions" (Copeman 1960: 33). Linacre used his personal power in the Court to persuade the King to found the College of Physicians. As McLean observes, "by granting the Charter of 1518 [College of Physicians], Henry VIII had created a corporate body of professional men with legal, administrative, and political powers" (McLean 1972: 187–188), and "the high proportion of fellows holding positions at Court meant that the College could in any case exert considerable influence" (McLean 1972: 189).

These considerations have important implications for an understanding of Hart's texts, especially the four pieces of paratext[88] attached to his 1551 and 1569 works, in which he casts himself in the role of a doctor and maps the positive image of Tudor physicians onto himself. The way in which Hart makes his point is comparable to the way in which physicians like Boorde underline the value of their work, all of which is connected with the medical metaphor. For instance, in "A prologe to Phisicions" of Boorde's medical work *The Breuiary of Helthe*, he states that he writes the book "for a common welthe" (1557: fol.ii^r), by which, he is "fashioning a patriotic persona" (Shrank 2004: 30). In "The Preface to the Readers of this boke", Boorde emphasizes that "I haue taken some peyne in makyng this boke, to do sycke men pleasure, and whole men profyte" (1557: fol.v^r), and repeats the ideal of contributing to the commonwealth (fols.v^v–vi^r). He presents himself as a selfless image by declaring that in making this and all other books, he "dyd neuer loke for no reward neyther of Lorde, nor of Prynter, nor of no man lyuing" (1557: fol.v^r). Hart makes very similar claims in his linguistic writings. He opens his persuasive writing by declaring that his work on language reform is in the interests of the public. It is not taken as "a matter of veri small importance" (1551: 8), but "for the common ease, and commodite that shall come thereof vnto for the writer, reader, and printer" (1551: 7). Hart's undertaking of orthographic reform is intended to contribute to each member on the Chain of Being: from *God* to his deputy the *King* and further down to the king's body the *commonwealth* (see Chapter 2). So far we can see that the central argument of Hart's persuasive discourse rests on the claim that his new orthography is beneficial for the commonwealth of the nation, which term and notion he repeatedly uses in his texts (1551: 12, 13, 15; 1569: fol.2^r, fol.3^v). In the

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[88] The four pieces of paratext used in this discussion include the following:

    (1) "First the dedication therof unto the Kings most excellent majestie" (1551: 4–13)
    (2) "The authors prologue to his countrymen" (1551: 14–28)
    (3) "Then a few words to the vulgar man" (1551: 226–232)
    (4) "The Preface, wherein is brieflye conteyned the reasons, causes, commodities, summe and
    effect of this Treatise" (1569: fols.1^r–8^r)

same vein, Boorde, as a physician, also presents his work as a contribution to the construction of the commonwealth of the English nation. At this point, we can see that Hart and Boorde share the same aim in their undertakings, although in different fields. In a certain sense, we can say that, as a "doctor" for the "diseased body" of English orthography, Hart devotes himself to the task of persuading his readers to accept his "remedy". By situating their work in relation to the ideal of constructing a national commonwealth, both Hart and Boorde are trying to demonstrate the ethical credibility of their respective projects. By mapping the image of a physician onto himself, he is trying to present himself as a well-intended "doctor" of orthography and to show that his undertaking is for the welfare of the public rather than self-interest. Moreover, it would be worth making the point that the study of English did not have much prestige in this period because the classical languages were of such great importance. Thus, Hart needs to *borrow* some of the prestige of the physicians as part of his own self-fashioning.

Hart also appeals to other aspects of the Tudor physicians' high profile to build his own self-image. As has been mentioned, he enlists the monarch's support for his proposed reform: his 1551 work was dedicated to the King. This is rather similar to the physician Thomas Linacre who used his own political influence in the Court to reform and improve the medical profession, for example, through the foundation of the College of Physicians. Hart, as a political figure, is quite clear that a top-down reform with the King's support is the best way of realizing his ideal of language reform, and his effort in this line can be seen, especially in his 1551 work. As I discussed in section 2.3, he sought political and financial support from the current monarch King Edward VI, whom he takes as an "engine" for putting his plan into force (see section 2.3). In Stephen Greenblatt's work *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, the author provides "a set of governing conditions common to most instances of self-fashioning" (1980: 8–9) in sixteenth-century England. He notices that all of the figures he investigated are middle-class, and "[s]elf-fashioning for such figures involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self—God, a sacred book, an institution such as church, court, colonial or military administration" (1980: 9). Hart is one of those sixteenth century figures who share the same technique of building self-image in their works.

Just like a Tudor physician who always tries to distinguish himself from the unreliable quacks, Hart is also building his positive image in contrast to those *quackish* men who stand opposed to a reasonable orthography. Knowing that his undertaking is, in his own words, "envied", "dispraised", "scorned" and "thrust down" by his opponents who just "prefer their own reputation", Hart still insists on promoting his own theory, "with a loving affection" (1551: 25). In face of opposition, his resolution becomes more steadfast: "[Their] maliciouse toungs shal spur me into al virtuous procedings, when they blindly think therbi to bridel me" (1551: 26).

Nineteen years after the completion of his 1551 manuscript, he points out, in "The Preface" to the 1569 book, that he stayed away from publishing his work for many years, considering the common opinion and weighing the benefits it can bring to the public. Hart was not overwhelmed by the doubts cast by those who were resistant to his ideas. He presents himself as a courageous, far-sighted, dutiful, and self-sacrificing figure, which is in stark contrast with his opponents who are envious, short-sighted, selfish, and obstinate. In Hart's rhetoric of linguistic discourse, the negative image of his "enemies" serves as a foil to highlight the devoted self-image of Hart himself.

Moreover, Hart also maps the image of Tudor physicians onto himself in order to show his credibility and reliability in terms of knowledge and experience. In *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*, Richard Kirwan makes the following observation, which can shed some light on the understanding of Hart's self-fashioning in terms of scholarly competence.

> Scholarly experience and knowledge […] could be part of a broader palette of characteristics that were components of an individual's social identity. […] [B]y the dawn of the early modern period a sizable proportion of learned men regarded their academic credentials as being especially important and sought to define themselves primarily in relation to them. (2016: 4)

According to Bror Danielsson's biographical investigation (1955a), it seems that Hart did not have a university education. It makes him someone who needed to engage in the kinds of self-fashioning discussed by Greenblatt. Throughout his texts, he seems to make every effort to show that he is really competent to produce an orthographic theory, and that he is a "physician" qualified to cure linguistic disease. At the technical level, his analysis and description of English sounds displays his expertise in this field of work. He loads his pages with a broad range of quotations and references from classical texts, suggesting that he is well-versed in classical theory, and he bases his linguistic thought on established authorities. Quintilian is to Hart what Galen is to Linacre and Boorde. In Boorde's eyes, Galen is the "prince of phisicions" (1557: fol.ii^v). As a "physician" of language, Hart shows the reader his linguistic knowledge, not only his mother tongue English, but also Welsh, Scottish, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Hebrew, etc., as well as the classical languages, Greek and Latin. Apart from the classical theories of orthography, he also knew his contemporary Smith's work very well, which he acknowledges in his 1569 book. Hart's acknowledgment of Smith also shows that he had close academic relations with the Cambridge Circle which was committed to discussing orthographic issues, first of ancient Greek pronunciation and then of English spelling reform. The association of Hart himself with this academic group creates a crucial effect in positively presenting his own image since (in Kirwan's terms) "the membership of this elite was based on the possession of a variety of qualities and qualifications" (Kirwan 2016: 4). Smith's influence on Hart is obviously

noticeable in the 1569 work, especially in the section dedicated to the discussion of consonants. Like those high-level Tudor physicians (for example, Boorde), Hart also had rich experience abroad, and this gave him opportunities to be exposed to orthographic theories and reform movements on the European continent, especially France (see section 2.4). This experience does contribute to his linguistic thought, which is recognized by Danielsson (1955a) as follows:

> He might have been abroad after 1551 in some sort of official or semi-official capacity, probably in France, for he knew French well and had studied the works of Meigret, Peletier, and other orthographical reformers. He has also some knowledge of Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Flemish and German. In 1569 he states expressly that he had been "a traveller beyond the seas, among vulgar tongues, of which, that small knowledge I have, hath been the cause of this mine enterprise …"[89] (Hart 1569: [fol.57ʳ]). And he tells us that "… the trauayle, the cost and time which I haue spent in other affaires thereby attaining to the knowledge to be able to compose this worke hath bene more deare vnto me than some wil think" (Hart 1569: [fol.3ᵛ]). (Danielsson 1955a: 22)

In summary, the picture that Hart paints of himself is akin to the portrait of a Tudor physician. He has cast himself in the role of a doctor of "orthographic disease", devoted to seeking the interest of the public, well-equipped with classical and contemporary knowledge, and richly experienced in traveling and working abroad. By doing so, he is appealing to ethos and was mapping the positive image of a doctor onto himself: firstly, like a Tudor physician, he is of a good personal character and his undertaking is well-intended—for the interest of the public and the commonwealth of the nation; secondly, as a "doctor" of orthographic "disease", he is really competent and knowledgeable, trying to distinguish himself from those unqualified "quacks" who are liable to offer improper remedies.

4.5 Pathos: Mobilization through Emotional Appeal

Since, by and large, Hart's work deals with the technical aspect of language, an act of persuasion based on emotional appeal may seem irrelevant. But, interestingly, apart from logical argument and technical expertise, Hart's texts are also heavily loaded with strong emotional tones, which serve an important persuasive purpose. This section is devoted to examining the function of the medical metaphor in provoking the reader's emotional response to his proposal for language reform. I will try to argue that Hart's texts of persuasion is not a static demonstration of reasoning, but a dynamic process of emotional interaction between Hart the reformer and his adversaries and potential readers. In the following discussion, this textual feature will be highlighted by drawing on comparisons with part of Boorde's 1557 medical work *The Breuiary of Health*.

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[89] The original text: "ei hāv bin a traveller bi-iond ðe seas, emong vulgar tungs, ov huitʃ, ðat smaul knȝōled ei hāv, haþ bin ðe kauz ov mein enterpreiz."

In a general sense, by using the medical metaphor, the feeling of hatred to disease and the sympathy for the patient can activate a similar emotional attitude towards orthographic problems. Firstly, *disease* is something unpleasant and undesirable, entailing different degrees of physical or/and mental suffering. It is obvious that people all wish to stay away from illness, and the mentioning of it tends to arouse the feeling of discomfort. Thus, it is natural to evoke an intense sense of hatred towards orthographic problems just as people hate diseases. This is especially true in the Tudor period since, from 1485 to 1551, England was beset by a severe, highly contagious disease, the "sweating sickness", and people were living in a state of panic. Secondly, Hart not only likens orthographic problems to diseases in the human body, but frequently uses words such as "vicious", "evil", "corrupt", "abuse", etc. to describe the degree of *severity*, which makes an urgent treatment necessary. By such comparisons, Hart intends to provoke a strong emotion in his readers' mind and convince them that they should detest the abuse of letters in orthography just as they hate the "vicious humours" which cause diseases in the human body. What is more, he also suggests that they should naturally take actions to get rid of it. Thirdly, in this medical metaphor, the spelling system is personified as a *patient* who is physically weak and suffering from the torture of disease. By comparing the corrupted spelling system to a patient, Hart is trying to suggest that English orthography was now in a *diseased* condition, which would lead to dangerous consequences. This helps Hart to arouse the same sympathetic feelings from the reader towards the issue of orthography by appealing to the image of a patient. When readers come across this analogy, it is as if the disease is in their own body, and thus it is natural for them to feel an urgent need to get it eliminated.

But, apart from these three general aspects which apply to all the medical metaphors, Hart has used more rich and complex techniques to arouse the reader's emotional response to his proposal, and the importance of these techniques will be investigated in the rest of this section by viewing them in a more specific context of Tudor medicine.

In the sixteenth century, a noteworthy distinction was made between "expert physician" and "blynde physician", which finds expression in Boorde's *The Breuiary of Health*. In "The preface" to this work, as discussed in the last section, Boorde emphasizes that physicians need a three-step training: from the learning of *liberal arts*, to the study of "physycke by speculation", and finally to medical practice (1557: fol.ii^v). In a sharp contrast, Boorde makes a rather negative account of those quacks in terms of their level of expertise: "they haue not a doctors learning, and also knowinge their symples howe they shall compounde them, and what operation they be of, and howe, and whan, and at what tyme they shoulde be ministred" (1557: fol.iii^r). Along with this, he also points out the harm of their ill medical practice: "suche ignorant persons may do great harm; […] suche practising sothe kyll many men that might lyue

many yeres" (1557: fol.iii^r).[90] By doing so, he is discrediting the professional qualification of those unlearned doctors; at the same time, he is also persuading them to follow his advice so as to be qualified, which, as shown below, suggests an urge invested with some emotional tones:

> I advise al marcyous Phisitions to beware heare after in the ministracion of interial medicines, for they do not only offende God and their neyghbour, but also they offende the kynges and laws, the which willeth and commaundeth *wyth greate penaltie* that no man shoulde enterpryse too medle with phisicke, but they whiche be learned and admitted. (1557: fol.iii^r, my italics)

This kind of confrontation or "war" between two opposing parties can also be perceived in Hart's works. In the second chapter of both the 1551 and 1569 works, faced with his opponents' defense against orthographic reform, Hart lays out his long argument in a "debate" (1551: 35) form—a debate between "they" and "I", trying to persuade the objectors to accept his program, which can be shown by the following quotation (1551: 36–46, my emphasis):

> their strongest defence which comprehendeth all, and that wherin they most triumphe is *use*: whereof I will first speak. As I have commoned with some of theim,
> [1] first lyke loving men **they** wold persuade me not to …
> [2] But **I** (not herewith satisfied) wold purpose and say, that …
> [3] **They** wold then answere, …
> [4] Yet wold **I** they shuld …
> [5] **You** may say that …
> [6] So sai **I**, that …
> [7] Further may **they** say, …
> [8] Wel then say **I**, …

In this debate, the technique of *antithesis* is used. Hart is attempting to persuade his opponents to accept his scheme of orthographic reform on the ground of "reason", while "they" are defending their own position by throwing out counter-arguments. In Hart's case, there is a clear contrast between his "reasonable" phonetic reform by using the medical metaphor based on restoring the health of English orthography and his opponents' "stubborn" insistence on "custom/use" which is characterized by the medical metaphor as causing illness. Since English orthography is conceptualized as a "sick man", then Hart's medical metaphor, to use the term of Charteris-Black, "reinforces an underlying problem-solution discourse pattern" (2005: 181)[91] in which he and his associates are "doctors" offering their linguistic theory as a *cure* for the *ailment* brought about by those stubborn opponents' abuse of letters.

In this complex, continuing and interactive process, his opponents are characterized not only as unlearned but also over argumentative. In Hart's eyes, "they" are discouraging and lacking in

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[90] It should be emphasized that the physicians themselves did quite a lot of harm because they didn't really know how the body functioned. Boorde points out the supposed harm done by quacks and empirics.

[91] This is a term used by Charteris-Black in his "health metaphor" with reference to Margaret Thatcher's political speeches.

wisdom, "greved and displeased at the amendment of ani thing" (1551: 39). But all through the debate, Hart keeps being passionate and kind, giving himself "paciently to endure the wrong Judgement of divers" (1551: 9) and explaining both the "reason" and "virtue" of his own proposal. However, from the end of this debate, the emotional and evaluative tones in Hart's comment become more obvious when his opponents continue to resist Hart's proposal and defend their own position on no solid ground. Actually, in the "Dedication" to the king of his 1551 work, Hart shows his attitude towards the unreasonable challenges posed by his opponents. The word "obstinate" is frequently used by him to describe his "adversaries" (1569: fol.3ᵛ) who have no strong "reason" and arguments but keep "murmuring" (1569: fol.8ʳ). After this round of debate, Hart comments that "their iudgement is of foly and malice, which shall speak agenst the plaine and perfait wai to the end pretended" (1551: 45–46), and what he chooses to do is just to "let theim resist and swell" (1551: 44). Being confident, in "The Preface" to the 1569 work, Hart claimed that he will "be armed with pacience to beare the anger of such as are obstinately bent to maintaine their custome and vse" (1569: fol.3ᵛ). At this point, we can perceive that a sense of emotional confrontation is brewing, and the reader is invited to be emotionally engaged in this campaign and take one side to stand by. It is just as if two Tudor doctors are attending the medical treatment of an ill person, one identifying the patient as having a disease based on a reasonable examination, and the other arguing against the result of his diagnosis and denying the patient's illness, but without a convincing justification.[92] They are not just two doctors of different opinions, but one is qualified and the other not. Here, Hart, as a friendly and responsible "physician" of orthography, is attempting to prevent the other from giving unreliable *medical* advice. This feature becomes more prominent with the "conversation" going on in Hart's texts, and the comparison between them turns out to be more tenable and relevant as will be shown by the analysis below.

Following this round of discussion, in the third chapter of both his 1551 and 1569 works, Hart continues this debate. He reemphasizes that an ideal orthography should be based on two points: "reason" and "profit". But his opponents keep being stubborn, and become bad-tempered when they find that there is no rational argument to be made in defense of their position. As Hart remarks, they are not content with his proposal, "but in their malice (when they sée reason thus assayle them) as men amazed, they will stand and scolde vntill they be ouercome" (1569: fol.22ᵛ). Here, it is worth noticing that "malice", "assail", "stand and scold" are all highly emotional words. At this point, a scholarly discussion has developed from a peaceful "debate" to a fierce *war*, as the temper of Hart's opponents' gets out of control. As the following

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[92] In chapter 5 of this thesis, I will discuss the "dialogues" and "debates" between Hart and Mulcaster in detail (sections 5.2 & 5.3); I will also discuss Mulcaster's different attitude towards Hart's use of the disease metaphor (section 5.3.3).

quotation shows, Hart explicitly describes this confrontation as a *war*, in which he is well-equipped with "arms"—"reason", while his "enemy" is short of such "weapons", but, again, "stande scolding" when seeing Hart "coming towards him".

> What are these raylings, other than like as a man, séeing his enimie comming towards him, strongly armed with his weapon, and himselfe vnarmed without weapon, and did not (as wisedome were) prouide himselfe with armour and weapons, méete for his defence: but stande scolding, and aske whether he thought to be able to ouercome him. (1569: fol.23^r)

Without any reasonable argument, "they" choose to attack Hart with slander, labeling him as a "vainglorious foole" (1569: fol.22^v). But Hart keeps in a sober state of mind, and in turn, after a series of reasonable refutations, goes on to comment that those resistant persons are "ignoraunt men" who are "at their wittes ende" (1569: fol.23^r) in the intellectual debate. In order to avoid bringing any infamy and shame to themselves, they insist on "their obstinate opinion in ignoraunce and false learning" (1569: fol.23^r). If we read Hart's texts in association with Boorde's "Preface" to *The Breuiary of Health*, a striking similarity can be drawn between them. Boorde also makes a similar evaluation of his foes in medical profession. As the following quotations show, in Boorde's eyes, those unqualified doctors, just as those obstinate resisters of linguistic reform, are ignorant, foolish, self-important, and very keen on meddling matter that beyond their competence.

> what a great detriment is this to the noble scyence of phisicke, that ignoraunte persons wyll enterpryse to medle wyth the ministraction of physicke. (1557: fols.ii^r–ii^v)

> fooles and incipiente persons, […] whiche doth thynke them selfe wyse (the whyche in this facultie be fooles in dede) wyll enterprise too smatter and to meddle to minister medecynes, and can not tell howe, when, and at what tyme the medesyne shoulde be mynystered. (1557: fol.ii^r)

Thus the above *combat* depicted by Hart concerning linguistic issues is evocative of the *war* between physicians and quacks in the field of medicine. The "debate" in Hart's texts can be seen as one between an "expert physician" and a "blind physician". Hart portrays himself as an "expert physician" who sets out to give appropriate remedy for orthographic problems, while his opponents are characterized by him as "blind physicians" who do not know "the noble scyence of phisicke" but "meddle to minister medecynes" (1557: fol.ii^r). In this way, Hart is trying to tell us that, as a "doctor" of spelling, he is distinguished from those unable *quacks* and his own "remedy" is more reliable. Therefore, Hart's expertise and patience is liable to earn the reader's respect and trust; on the contrary, his opponents' "weake reasons and arguments" (1569: fol.7^v) and hostile attitude towards "the law of true writing" (1551: 76) are easy to prompt the reader's antipathy. By this contrast, Hart is, on the one hand, presenting his own virtuous image, and, on the other hand, using this to evoke a favorable response from his readers. It is as if he is

asking his readers a question: who would you prefer to support, a *physician* with expertise and patience, or a *quack* without good medical knowledge but ill-tempered and selfish?

In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt observes that English Renaissance "self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien, that what is produced in this encounter partakes of both the authority and the alien that is marked for attack" (1980: 9). To be specific, in explaining what the "Other" means and how it works, Greenblatt further notes that "self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile", and "this threatening Other—heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist—must be discussed or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed" (1980: 9). The same is true in Hart's case. As discussed above, Hart presents his ideas in the form of a heated discussion with his opponents. He takes this opportunity to uncover the detriment brought about by the "threatening Other". Likewise, those opponents are depicted as *hostile* to Hart's reform and their stance on orthography is perceived as *alien* to Hart's "perfect" and reasonable phonetic principle. By characterizing them as unlearned and unchristian, Hart is attacking and destroying the image of the Other—the law of writing should be in accordance with the Law of God and thus resisting a perfect system of orthography means going against the Eternal Law. Greenblatt continues to remark that:

> The alien is perceived by the authority either as that which is unformed or chaotic (the absence of order) or that which is false or negative (the demonic parody of order). Since accounts of the former tend inevitably to organize and thematize it, the chaotic constantly slides into demonic, and consequently the alien is always constructed as a distorted image of the authority. (1980: 9)

Similarly, in Hart's case, the central problem of the current orthography is the lack of *order*. It is described as "disordered", "abused", and "corrupted". By characterizing the current orthography as *unformed* and *chaotic*, Hart weakens or even invalidates the argument of *the Other*. Based on this fact, Hart presents himself as an authoritative "doctor" who takes challenges to *reorganize* and "recover" it while his opponents are *demonic* villains who stand in his way and impede him from moving thereto.

Moreover from this discussion we can also see that, in Hart's persuasive writing about orthographic reform, logos, ethos, and pathos are often interrelated and inseparable. The display of good intentions and a clear line of reasoning lay a solid ground for evoking empathetic emotions. Hart, along with demonstrating his reasonable argument in the form of debate, has engaged emotionally with his readers by producing a suitable emotional climate for a persuasive communication to take place and putting the readers in an appropriate emotional state. In this process, Hart claims the status of an "expert physician", which is in stark contrast with his opponents who are more like Boorde's "blind physician". He has represented himself as a

dutiful and affectionate doctor and explained that his patriotic undertaking is not a mere linguistic issue but also for the public interest—the state commonwealth, which is a shared value and belief in Tudor England. All these help to prompt the reader's supportive actions. So far I have examined how Hart appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos by using the medical metaphor in his persuasive writings of orthographic reform. In the following section, I will move on to examine the religio-political nature of medical metaphor.

4.6 The Religio-Political Nature of Hart's Medical Metaphor

This section aims to demonstrate that the disease metaphor was widely used in both religiously and politically motivated texts during the English Renaissance. The central argument is that the importation of this metaphor endowed Hart's linguistic texts with a wealth of religio-political tones, which facilitates Hart's persuasive communication regarding orthographic reform. This section centers on three major questions: (i) What texts might be the possible sources from which Hart's disease metaphor was borrowed? (ii) How does the disease metaphor employed in Hart's linguistic texts parallel contemporary religious and political discourse? (iii) What are the benefits of importing such religio-political concepts into his linguistic texts? Although I will discuss the religious and political nature of Hart's disease metaphor separately in this section, we should bear in mind that, in sixteenth century England, religion and politics are in many respects inseparable. Instead, in most of the cases, they can be seen as two different aspects of one thing: on the one hand, the religious reformation is to some extent a redistribution of political power; on the other hand, Tudor politics is largely centered on and represented by religious ideology and movements.

4.6.1 The Religious Nature: "commaundmentes of God written, doe teache vs a purenesse of life to represent the nature of God"[93]

To begin with, I take Thomas More's discourse as an example to show how the concept of human body and the metaphor of disease were used to conceptualize **religious problems**. As has been examined in Chapter 2, in the year of 1525 William Tyndale translated the New Testament into English. But an unauthorized translation of the Scriptures was believed to be a challenge to ecclesiastical authority and denies (at least implicitly) the authority of the Church, and therefore it was taken to be heretical. Against this background, in the "Letter to John Firth" (1532), More points out the harmfulness of the English Bible and compares those "heretics" like Tyndale to disease in the human body, which can be shown by the following quotation:

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[93] This is quoted from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569: fols.11^v–12^r).

as the *canker corrupteth the body* ferther and ferther, and turneth the hole partes into the same *deadly sykeness*: so do these heretykes *crepe forth* among good symple soulys, and […] dayly wyth suche abominable bokes *corrupte* and destroye in corners very many. (Quoted from Rogers, 1947: 441, my italics) [94]

Something similar is also found in More's *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale* (1557): "then shall all these scalde and scabbed oieces scale clean off, and the whole body of Christ's holy church remain pure, clean and glorious without wem, wrinkle or spot" (Quoted from Campbell, 1927: 143).[95]

A striking resemblance can be perceived in Hart's conceptualization of linguistic thought and More's conceptualization of religious thought. As discussed in the preceding sections, Hart "compare[s] the liveli bodi of our pronunciation unto a man" (1551: 54–55; 1569: fol.27ʳ). On this ground, those abused letters, labeled as *disease* by Hart, are *vicious* members "crept in among our predecessours, long since the first inuention of letters" (1569: fol.11ᵛ). They led to the *corruption* of English orthography and should be eliminated. As the following quotation shows, all the three key political concepts—body politic, disease metaphor and commonwealth—are used in Hart's texts.

> For such an *abused and vicious* writing, bringeth confusion and vncertaintie in the reading, and therefore is iustly to be refused, and *the vicious parts* therof *cut away*, as are the ydle or offensiue members, in a *politike common wealth*: or of trées or *vines*, in any mans ground. (1569: fol.12ʳ, my italics)

A group of similar vocabulary items are employed by both Hart and More, which suggest intense religious connotations, especially in the context of the Tudor period. Words such as "abuse", "vice", "corruption", etc. (in different morphological forms), usually being employed in religious discourse for describing heretical doctrines, are also borrowed by Hart to evaluate and describe linguistic issues. Those *diseased members* "creep in" (Hart 1551: 39; 1569: fol.11ᵛ) the body of God's spirit on earth (i.e. the Church) and also the body of English orthography.[96] In Hart's mind, the "perfectness" of orthography is analogous to the "pureness" of Christian belief, and thus spelling reform is as crucial as the religious reform led by the king at that very moment in England.

> like as the law of nature in our hearts, and commaundementes of God written, doe teache vs *a purenesse of life to represent the nature of God*, wherefore he created vs: so ought the law of Reason which is in vs, to turn our handes to order iustly, those *figures*

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[94] This letter is contained in the following source: *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, edited by Elizabeth F. Rogers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).

[95] This quotation is contained in the following source: *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, edited by William Edward Campbell (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode limited, 1927).

[96] In a quotation used above, More also uses the term "creep" to describe the religious heretics: "these heretykes *crepe forth* among good symple soulys" (1947: 441, my italics).

> *and letters* which we shal make, *to represent the voyces of our pronounciation*, wherfore we write them: and not to vsurpe others powers, or be ydle in their owne. (1569: fols.11ᵛ–12ʳ, my italics; also see 1551: 40–41)

It is quite wise for Hart to resort to the sweeping religious movement initiated by the monarch Henry VIII to lift the level of his undertaking. Just like the king who purports to be restoring the purity of the Church through the Reformation, he is removing the "corruption" from English writing and trying to keep it "pure" and clean, which follows not only "the law of true writing" but also "the commandments of God". As the following quotation implies, the *Church* is the *body* of God on earth; in the same vein, *letters* are the revelation of God's law of writing on paper. Moreover, as the "Great Chain of Being" entails, there is also a hierarchical chain of laws, from the Eternal Law (i.e. the Law of God), to the Law of Nature and the Law of Reason. The rule of writing should be in accordance with the law of reason, which is governed by the law of God. Therefore, breaking the rules of writing means a violation of the commandments of God.

> For souch an abused and vicious writing, bringeth confusion and uncertainte in the reading wherefore yt is iustli to be refused of us, even as of *God the soules with their bodies* ar which live against the law of Nature (one ambiciousely usurping the rometh of an other) to the disordre and breaking of that tranquilite, which shuld be emongest al men: and *wherfore they ar sett upon the erth, as our letters ar uppon the paper*. (Hart 1551: 41–42, my italics)

But there is also a noticeable distinction between Hart's and More's use of religious metaphor, which is due to the differences in their historical background and religious stance. In Hart's 1551 manuscript, immediately before making the above two observations, he also uses the following comparison: he likens the abuse of letters in English orthography to the usurpation of authority by the bishop of Rome, which reveals his religio-political stance—he is against the abused power by the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. By doing this, he seems to suggest that he was standing with King Edward VI in the matter of religious reform, which might be taken as a well-designed strategy to gain royal support for his linguistic reform.

> For their argument proveth that we ought not to speake against the bisshop of Rome his usurped authorite in the most part of all Europa: yf that which crepeth into a peoples maner of lyving by lytell, and so take his use of a great continewance, shuld therfore be thought lawfull and good. (Hart 1551: 39, my italics)

But in his 1569 published work, Hart deletes this comparison. This suggests that, Hart's use of the disease metaphor is very cautious. In the 1569 work, he tells us that since the 1540s he had begun considering orthographic problems and attempted to "finde the meane of remedie, of our present abuse" (fol.6ʳ).[97] During this three-decade-long period of time, he experienced four monarchs from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, and they held different religious stances. For example,

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[97] According to the survey of E. J. Dobson, the time "shortly after 1540" is when Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith began to act "as defenders of the reformed pronunciation of Greek at Cambridge" (1968: 38). From this, they also developed an interest in English spelling reform.

Henry VIII and Edward VI conducted and promoted religious reform, whereas Mary I restored the Roman Catholic when she came to the throne. For this reason, he is very cautious in his 1569 work when using the religious metaphor.

4.6.2 The Political Nature: "the vicious parts therof cut away, as are the ydle or offensiue members, in a politike common welth"[98]

The concept of body politic and the metaphor of disease were also used to discuss **political rebels** in the contemporary literature. I acknowledged in the first section of this chapter that O'Neill had briefly discussed the political nature of Hart's *An Orthographie* by reading it in parallel with Richard Morison's *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536). She points out the intertextuality between them in terms of the use of the disease metaphor, but without any further analysis of its implication. I would like to offer my perspective and fill this research gap by referring to more Tudor political tracts.

As a favorable response to Henry VIII's religious reform, both Stephen Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* [Oration of true obedience, 1535] and Thomas Starkey's *An Exhortation to the people, Instructynge Theym to Vnitie and Obedience* (*c.* 1540) "deny papal supremacy as part of an attempt to impress Englishmen with the necessity of uniformity of belief within the realm" (Hale 1971: 55). As Hale notes, "central to the pamphlets supporting the monarchy is the doctrine of passive obedience to the king in all things" (1971: 56), which "received official sanction in the Homilies of 1547" (1971: 57).[99] For example, a well-known treatise reacting to the rebels is Sir John Cheke's *The hurt of sedicion, howe greueous it is to a commune welth*, in which the "twin principles of order and obedience are defended with considerable use of the organic analogy" (Hale 1971: 58).

> The rebels, like a "byle in a body", are "the viler parts of the body", contending against the five wits, the Council. A body, politic or natural, "cannot bee without much griefe of inflamacion, where any least part is out of joynt, or not duely set in his owne natural place. (Hale 1971: 57–58)

Here we can see that the same disease metaphor used in religious texts is also employed in political texts. But my focus of discussion here is set on another concept that was closely related to the disease metaphor—the above-mentioned "twin principles of order and obedience".

By appealing to Quintilian's linguistic thought, Hart's *order* of orthography means to "have the writing to be framed to the maner of speaking" (1551: 33; also see 1569: fol.9ᵛ). It means that "the letter ought to keep the voice, and not to be idle, misplaced, or usurped" (1551: 33; 1569:

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[98] This is quoted from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569: fol.12ʳ).

[99] Homily X, entitled "An exhortation, concerning good order and obedience, to rulers and magistrates", begins with a fine invocation of the divinely established principles of order and degree.

fol.9ᵛ); there should be "the same numbre of letters, which we use of voices in the speaking" (1551: 34; 1569: fol.10ʳ) and we should "alter not the power of the one into that of the other" (1551: 34), but "use them with their proper, and singuler vertue" (1551: 34). This is the "order" of writing that, in Hart's mind, "all nations must necessarili folowe, yf they will have their writing perfaict, easi, and pleasant to lerne: and lerned to read" (1551: 33–34; also see 1569: fols.9ᵛ–10ʳ). If we read this linguistic proposition along with the above political thought *the principles of order and obedience*, a close similarity can be drawn between them. The underlying principle of Hart's "order" of orthography can also be accounted as a sort of *passive obedience*—"we must be ruled by our spech: and even as the toung douth change of voices, so we allwais in our writing to change the letters, being the images of voices" (1551: 76).[100] Hart uses four types of metaphors (i.e. "painting", "pawn", "drama", and "servant") to conceptualize this "obedient" relationship between sound and letter: a servant by definition must be obedient and the institution of pawning implies obedience to law and/or custom. The following is an example which can show how he uses the "servant" metaphor.

> For sutʃ kuriozite in superflūz lĕters, for derivasion or dĭferens, and so furþ, iz ðe disordring and konfounding, ov ani-ureiting: kontrari tu ðe lau-ov ðe perfeksion ðerof, and agenst aul rēzon: huer-bei, it ʃuld *bi obedient untu* ðe pronunsiasion, az tu hir lādi- and mistres: and so, ăd or diminiʃ az ʃĭ ʃaul in suksĕs ov teim kŏmaund. (1569: fol.48ʳ, my italics)

In other words, just as the subjects should act according to the king's will, the letters should serve the "voices" faithfully. Each of the letters, like each member of the Tudor society, has its "place" and "office", and none of them can take other's place, usurp other's power, or perform an improper function. In Chapter 3, I have discussed that terms such as "nature", "power", and "office" are frequently used in political discourse during the Renaissance period. Hart's texts show that they are also employed in the two sections dedicated to the discussion of consonants in both his 1551 and 1569 works. Here comes the link between the concept of passive obedience and the metaphor of disease. That is, no matter whether we are thinking about letters or the King's subjects, if they are not *obedient* and stand out of the *order*, they are "rebels" against the systems they belong to, and thus are considered as "diseased" members which should be removed. This explains why Hart discusses "the order of true writing" (in 1551 & 1569: Chapter 1) before moving on to point out the "diseases" of English orthography (in 1551: Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5; 1569: Chapters 2, 3). All these imply the political nature of Hart's disease metaphor.

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[100] In terms of the relationship between sound elements and letters, I have argued that, according to Hart, a perfect orthography should be based on a "one-letter-for-one-sound" principle. That is, letters should reflect sound elements faithfully. The former should be *obedient* to the latter.

In section 3.2 I had examined the political nature of the four orthographic disorders (i.e. diminution, superfluity, usurpation, and misplacing) by referring to the current social problems (e.g. "the lack of people & scarceness of men", "the existence of ill-occupied person & idleness") that Thomas Starkey identified in his work *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*. At this point I would like to turn to this treatise again because when Starkey discussing social problems, he also employs the metaphor of disease. In the rest of this section, I would like to further investigate the political nature of the four spelling disorders by comparing them with the four "diseases" that Starkey detected in the commonwealth. *Dialogue* presents a lively and detailed picture of the problems of England and offers a wide-ranging proposal for reform. In developing his definition of the "veray and true commyn wele" (1529–32/1989: 26), Starkey compares the state to a man, and he proposes that three things specifically are needed for the well-being of both the body of the individual and the body politic—"health", "strength", and "beauty" (1529–32/1989: 34 & 46). And then Starkey diagnoses the sickness of the body in terms of specific diseases. He finds eight diseases afflicting the English body politic. Four are listed under "health", one under "strength", one under "beauty", and one each for the head and hands-feet. For instance, the diseases of *health* are: "consumption", "dropsy", "palsy", and "pestilence" (1529–32/1989: 81–85). Table 2 shows the meaning of each of them.

Consumption	"'a gret sklendurnes' caused by England's loss of population. 'When the body ys brought to a gret sklendurnes, ther ys lake of powar and strength … so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wher ther ys lake of pepul, ther wantyth powar to maynteyne the floryshyng state of the polytyke body.'" (pp. 63–64)
Dropsy	"A great number of idle or ill-occupied people, the 'idul route' in the homes of noblemen and many of the higher and lower clergy. These are the servants and retainers who make no useful contribution to the common welfare. These yeomen neglect the practice of arms and so in time of need England must turn to the ploughmen to defend her." (p. 64)
Palsy	"The making and procuring things for the vain pleasures of others—ornaments, fashions, 'new fangulyed thyngys'. […] Those merchants and others who import strange meats and wines, fashion vain jewelry, compose songs, and the like are not idle but their activity is useless." (p. 64)
Pestilence	"The want of agreement between the parts of the body—commons against ruler, temporality against spiritual, etc. 'A pestylens … destrombur of the pepul wythout regard of any person had, or degre'." (p. 64)

Table 2: Starkey's Four Diseases Afflicting the English Body Politic.[101]

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[101] This table is adapted from Hale's work *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (1971). The quotations are taken from Hale's summary of the social diseases discussed by Starkey (pp. 63–64).

A striking similarity is apparent if we compare Hart's four forms of orthographic "corruption" with Starkey's four "diseases" of *health*. According to the meaning of each of them listed in the table, there seems to be some rough correspondences between them: "diminution" is akin to "consumption" in that both hinge upon insufficiency, in the one case of human actors and in the other of written marks; "superfluity" is akin to "dropsy" in that both highlight unprofitable excessiveness, and "misplacing" to "pestilence" in that both emphasize the maintenance of order. This similarity is revealed by their choice of vocabulary items. For instance, Starkey defines "dropsy" as "idle or ill-occupied people" who do not contribute to the "place" he takes. They are used to refer to those redundant servants and retainers (in the homes of noblemen and many of the higher and lower clergy) are not beneficial for the common welfare. Hart uses "not to be idle" (1551: 33; 1569: fol.9ᵛ) to express the meaning of avoiding "superfluity", and explicitly points out the political nature of his metaphor: "the vicious parts therof cut away, as are the ydle or offensiue members, in a politike common wealth" (1569: fol.12ʳ).

To end this section, it is necessary to return to the question I posted at the beginning of it: *What are the benefits of importing the disease metaphor into his linguistic texts?* In sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5, I have tried to answer the question by examining its rhetorical function in building logical argument, expressing ethical legitimacy, and provoking favorable emotions. But the discussion in this section shows that when we read Hart's texts in parallel with the contemporary religio-political discourse, we may find some more answers. Firstly, the borrowing of body politic and the disease metaphor helps to politicize Hart's linguistic ideas about English spelling, which adds weight to his persuasion of the need for orthographic reform. In Hart's texts, the disease metaphor serves as a bridge: it links Hart's understanding of speech as a human body (i.e. *body linguistic*) and his conceptualization of a perfect writing system as a political commonwealth (i.e. *body politic*). By doing so, Hart not only lifts a linguistic issue to a national level, but also extends the benefit of orthographic reform from language itself to the level of national commonwealth. As O'Neill observes, by "adopting the imagery of disease", Hart is trying to "drive home the far reaching benefits of standardised spelling for the health of the nation" (2002: 308). Secondly, by borrowing rhetorical devices from the religio-political discourse of the prestigious scholars and officials, he is grouping himself with those powerful figures. In *Scholarly Self-Fashioning* Richard Kirwan points out that Renaissance self-fashioning was "not solely dependent on creative, imaginative ability and a peculiar sense of individuality" (2016: 9). Rather, the fact is that "much self-fashioning is derivative" (Kirwan 2016: 9). Although Hart was Chester Herald when he published his second work, he was still not as influential as his contemporaries such as Thomas More and Thomas Starkey. Kirwan's conclusion applies well to Hart: in self-fashioning he "followe[s] or imitate[s] the representational models preferred by [his] peer-group" (2016: 9) and chooses to use the

"derivative" technique in presenting his own linguistic thought—the widely used medical metaphor and body politic.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the multifaceted motives for using the medical metaphor were focused through the lens of Aristotle's rhetorical triangle: logos, ethos, and pathos. I argued that it is used by Hart as a means of (i) elucidating the content and structure of his argument, (ii) fashioning his own image as a gentlemen scholar who is qualified for his undertaking and whose enterprise is well-based on the pursuit for public welfare, and (iii) arousing supportive emotions from the monarch and his targeted readers. The preceding discussion is also intended to demonstrate that John Hart was very much of his time in his fascination with appropriating political language and exploiting the disease metaphor. It is a constant feature of his linguistic writings, both published and unpublished. Drawing upon the resources of contemporary political tracts, I further demonstrated the political nature of the medical metaphor via constructing a rough correspondence between Hart's *orthographic* diseases and Starkey's *social* diseases. In addition, I also foregrounded the religious dimension of this metaphor, emphasizing its role in associating the two forms of reform taking place concurrently in England: one related to language and the other to Christian belief.

Chapter Five

The "Government" of the Alphabetical Commonwealth:

Dialogues, Debates, and Political Frames

Howbeit seing the common good did vrge them to speche, theie went on, & told him in plane terms, that he must be content to refer himself to order, and so much the rather, bycause their meaning was not to seke either his depriuation, or his resignation, but that it wold please him to qualify his gouernmét, and to vse the assistence of a further councell, which theie ment to ioyn with him, a thing of great frute, & of good example in manie such cases, where euen great potentates, and considerat princes, for the generall weall of their naturall states, (his being but voluntarie, and of their election) were verie well content, vpon humble sute made to them, to admit such a councell, and to vse them in affaires.

Mulcaster, *The Elementarie* (1582/1925: 75)

This chapter investigates how Hart and his contemporaries project the concept of good "government"—the fourth meaning of Tudor commonwealth—onto their conceptualization of an ideal English orthography, and how the ideological and rhetorical differences on this issue constitute a dialogical relationship between them. It aims to examine how the three writers (i.e. Hart, Mulcaster, and Smith) stake out their opposing positions concerning the power of Sound, Reason, and Custom in shaping orthography, and how they resort to different political models and non-political metaphors to frame their ideas. In particular, it explores how Mulcaster responds to things that have been said by Hart. The main argument of the three analytical sections can be summarized as follows:

- **Hart**, through four rounds of debate with his opponents, demonstrates his insistence on phonetic principle and opposition to the retainment of Custom in orthography. Custom is denounced in terms of the ill practice in the Roman Catholic Church and a chain of laws related to "God", "Nature", "Reason", and "true writing". (Section 5.2)

- **Mulcaster** traces the development of writing in terms of the four forms of government in history. He prefers the "joint government" of Sound, Reason, and Custom in a "right writing" and compares it to the idea of limited monarchy. By doing so, he develops a dialogue with Hart whose support of the sole government of Sound, as Mulcaster sees it, is similar to absolute monarchy. In addition, he also manifests a strong dislike for Hart's use of the metaphors of painting and disease. (Section 5.3)

- **Smith** presents his ideas in a real dialogue form, and his interlocutors are considered to be Hart and Mulcaster. This stylistic feature reveals Smith's belief in dialogue as a resonant medium and the influence he received from the Renaissance culture of dialogue. (Section 5.4)

5.1 The Background and Rationale for This Chapter

In this section, I clear the ground for my argument, explaining the reason why I have written this chapter with a brief review of the existing literature.

So far, O'Neill is the only scholar who has undertaken in-depth research on Mulcaster's political allegory of explaining the development of "right writing" in terms of the four forms of "government" in history—tyranny, oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy (1997, 2000, 2008). First, she points out that there is a problem in the previous studies: most of the critics, such as Quick, Demolen, Scragg, and Blank,[102] note the importance of the political allegory but "merely

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[102] Quick, Robert Herbert. *Essays on Educational Reformers* (1868). New York: Appleton, 1890. Demolen, Richard L. *Richard Mulcaster: An Elizabethan Savant*. PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1970. Scragg, D. G. *A History of English Spelling*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1974. Blank, Paula. *Broken English*. London: Routledge, 1996.

paraphrase" it in their own works, "without offering any comment" (2000: 148). Second, O'Neill acknowledges that Blank and Goldberg interpret the allegory "as a political statement" of Mulcaster (2000: 148), but declares that she does not agree with Blank's proposition that "if Mulcaster's theory of monarchy can be derived from the allegory, he is a constitutionalist rather than a monarchist" (2000: 148). On this ground, O'Neill's research efforts in the interpretation of the allegory can be summarized under two headings: first, more discussion on the effects of the political metaphor for explaining and delivering Mulcaster's ideas about the relationship between Sound, Reason, and Custom in a "right writing"; second, the implications that the metaphor offers concerning the political view of the author. But I would like to put the interpretation of this metaphor in a comparative context, to see how the rhetorical power takes effect as he defends himself against attacks from his opponents. For this reason, I highlight the dialogical elements in Mulcaster's work, attempting to show how he carries out a debate with Hart and Smith. My basic argument is that only when we set the discussion of this metaphor in a comparative context can we search out its real rhetorical power.

Smith's *De Scriptione* was written in the form of a real dialogue; Hart's *The Unreasonable Writing* and *An Orthographie*, and Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*, although written in the form of monograph, do exhibit dialogical elements—both of them state that their works were written after a dialogue with their "friends" who held different ideas from them. None of the authors address their interlocutors by their real names: Hart and Mulcaster use the pronoun "they" while Smith uses a nick name "Stubborn". Danielsson (1963b: 35; 1983: 13) is the only person who briefly touches upon the issue of the identity of the interlocutors in Smith's *De Scriptione* and Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*. But he does not offer evidence to support his conjecture, let alone develops any argument about the dialogical nature of these works. It is interesting to note that the spelling reformer Alexander Gill (1565–1635), who was born sixteen years after Mulcaster published *The Elementarie*, even thought mistakenly that the book was written mainly in opposition to Smith rather than Hart. Danielsson (1963b: 35) mentions this. But, again, neither Gill nor Danielsson provides any evidence from the original text to support their propositions. The discussion of the identity of Hart's interlocutor(s) remains totally untouched. In this chapter, I would like to fill the gap, offering textual evidence for my opinion on the identity of the interlocutors of Hart, Mulcaster and Smith before moving on to explore the dialogue between them. This is a prerequisite to discussing them in a comparative context.

Regarding the interpretation of specific terms and concepts such as Custom, Reason, and Art, O'Neill's attention is focused on their sociopolitical meaning in the Tudor context. For example, in explaining Mulcaster's emphasis on Custom for orthographic reform, she appeals to the concept of "common law" to show the deep social roots of Custom and its legitimate role in shaping rules for both a well-ordered society and spelling system: "common law, those laws and

customs devised by man, diverse and variable, derived from the opinions of man, rest on consent and vary according to time and place, enjoyed the sanction of custom" (2000: 171; also see 1997: 247). On this ground, O'Neill argues that "Mulcaster relied on the sacrosanctity of custom to build up a compelling argument in favour of tradition in spelling practices, maintaining that 'som change of great extremetie' to regulate spelling was not necessary" (2000: 171). However, in this chapter, I would like to add a new perspective concerning the interpretation of concepts such as Custom and Art. The question is: how Renaissance writers Hart, Mulcaster, and Smith attempt to increase the rhetorical effect of their persuasive writings by borrowing terms from the work of Roman philologists and applying them in their own discussion of linguistic issues.

To fill these research gaps, I divide the remainder of this chapter into three analytical sections, dedicated respectively to examining the dialogical elements in the works of Hart, Mulcaster, and Smith. My discussion in each section rests on four points: (i) the identity of the author's interlocutor(s), (ii) the way in which they developed their arguments and counterarguments, (iii) the metaphorical images they used to enhance their persuasive writing, and (iv) how these ideological and rhetorical differences constitute a dialogical relationship.

5.2 Hart's Dialogical Imagination: Firing at the "Ignorant" Mulcaster

> at times with souch of my familiers, and others as I thought to be reasonable, and as occasion mought serve, I wold talk of the abuse of our letters, and writing […] with souch reasons, as partly shalbe hereafter declared: which some wold conceive, and allow, others skorne me for moving therof: but I knew that to be the only defence and refuge of ignoraunce.

<div align="right">Hart, The Unreasonable Writing (1551: 5)</div>

The above quotation is taken from Hart's prefatory dedication to King Edward VI attached to his 1551 manuscript. It indicates that Hart's argument is articulated through dialogue rather than through a unitary voice, displaying a highly ideological tension in terms of the approach to orthographic reform. As Barber notes, "Hart spends a good deal of time answering possible objections to his reforms, and it is clear from more than one passage that he had argued with people about them before he wrote the book" (1976: 116). This section investigates the dialogical interactions between Hart and his *imagined* interlocutors. Taking the second chapters of *The Unreasonable Writing* and *An Orthographie* as an example, the dialogical debate is centered on the issue that a perfect orthography should be grounded on Reason rather than on Custom. Hart begins his argument by criticizing Custom which as he saw is his opponents' "strongest defence which comprehendeth all, and that wherein they most triumphe" (1551: 36). Hart presents this not as an artificial dialogue but as a representation of a real conversation,

stating that it took place when he "communed with some of them" (1569: fol.11ʳ; also see 1551: 36). In each round of the debate, he first "recit[ed] the obiections which [his] contraries use" before "debat[ing]" with them and presenting his own ideas (1551: 36; also see 1569: fol.10ᵛ). In other words, the technique of thesis-antithesis is used when Hart is trying to persuade his adversaries to accept his program, which can be shown by the following discursive pattern.

> first lyke loving men **they** wold persuade me not to …
> But **I** (not herewith satisfied) wold purpose and say, that …
> **They** wold then answere, …
> Yet wold **I** they shuld a litell better take heed what they said, …
> **You** may say that …
> So sai **I**, that …
> Further may **they** say, …
> Wel then say **I**, …

I requote this (which I have used in section 4.5) because it is very informative and tells us three things that are highly relevant to my main argument of this section. First, Hart's use of the thesis-antithesis form invests the discourse with a remarkable contour of dialogue—a dialogue between the two interlocutors "they" and "I". Second, it is also a dialogue with the reader in the sense that the author "I" is inviting the reader's ("you") participation and response. Third, if we read this in comparison with the opening paragraph of the fourteenth chapter of Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*, some evidence can be found to support the proposition that Hart's debater is just Mulcaster, although Hart always uses "they" to refer to his opponents. Mulcaster states that what he writes in that chapter is "a conference, as with a friend", endeavoring himself "to perswade them as frinds, then to confute them as foes" (1582/1925: 92). The dialogue is represented by Hart as follows: "first like friendes they wold perswade me, not to speake of any misuse in our English writing" (1569: fol.11ʳ). From this we can see that Hart and Mulcaster represent the occasion in quite similar terms. In addition, Hart wrote a section exclusively dedicated to criticizing Custom while Mulcaster had a separate chapter which is "an answer to" those who "rate at *custom* as a vile corruptor" (1582/1925: 92–93). Mulcaster writes that "theie appeall to *sound* […] & fly to *innouation*, as the onelie mean, to reform all errors" (1582/1925: 93, my italics) but Hart comments that "they are offended at all *innouations*" (1569: fol.11ᵛ, my italics) although those innovations have been proved by experience very beneficial. It should be noted that Mulcaster is the only Tudor scholar as far as we know who published work to fight against phonetic spelling reform. Moreover, in the "Epistle" of his 1569 treatise, Hart points out that "the fault is in the schoolemaisters, partly by ambition that the thing they promise shuld be thought the harder to be lerned, partly also by ignorance or negligence in teaching" (sig.[¶.3]ʳ). It is worth noticing that Mulcaster was a schoolmaster: according to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, he was appointed "in September 1561 as the first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School in London" which later "become one of the largest schools in England" (Barker

2004: online). In addition, at the time when Mulcaster was studying at Cambridge, the "Cambridge circle" was very active in discussing orthographic reform. He met very important scholars such as John Cheke who was an advocate of phonetic spelling. It is highly probable that he got involved, directly or indirectly, in this heated discussion. All these add weight to the above reckoning that Mulcaster is the most typical representative of a group of scholars who spoke against phonetic spelling and were collectively referred to as "they". Hart and Mulcaster are the interlocutors in each other's work.

The dialogue unfolds in four rounds of debate. The first point of discussion is about whether English spelling needs to be reformed or not. Hart's opponents hold that they should not "speake of any mysuse in our inglish writing" because it has been "of late brought to souch a perfection as never the lyke was seen" (1551: 37; also see 1569: fol.11ʳ). In other words, the current state of English writing is not as problematic as the phonetic reformers claim, and the misuse pointed out by Hart is not real in his adversaries' eyes. It is interesting to note that in *The Elementarie* Mulcaster dedicated a whole chapter to demonstrating that "there is in our tung great and sufficient stuf for Art" and "there is no such infirmitie in our writing, as is pretended" (1582/1925: 85). We can see that even in the manuscript finished in the year 1551 Hart had represented and criticized what Mulcaster published thirty years later. This offers us two pieces of crucial information: (i) the dialogue is a long-term debate, lasting for more than three decades—according to *A Cambridge Alumni Database*,[103] from 1548 to 1553/4 Mulcaster was a student at Cambridge; (ii) the identity of the two interlocutors becomes clearer—in *The Unreasonable Writing* Hart was debating with Mulcaster and in *The Elementarie* Mulcaster was arguing with Hart. Hart's response to Mulcaster is that the current orthography is not perfect because it is not based on the principle of giving "everi letter his singuler power" (1551: 37). The consequence is that it wastes "the forth nombre and part, of letters and papers" (1551: 37) in writing and printing. Unlike Mulcaster who holds an progressive view of language—"this period in our time, semeth to be the perfitest period in our English túg" and it has enough "stuff in it for art to bild on" (1582/1925: 85), Hart takes a retrospective stance, claiming that when English orthography was first invented, it was perfect and strictly based on phonetic principles. It got corrupted as time went by. So the amendment of orthography means to restore its primary state, i.e. to give each letter its singular power "as they had of their auncient users and inventers" (1551: 37). By using this round of debate, Hart intends to highlight the basic ideological divergence between Mulcaster and himself. As a conclusion, he reiterates and re-emphasizes the maxim of true writing that he lays out in the opening chapter of *The Unreasonable Writing* and

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[103] The weblink to "Richard Mulcaster" in *A Cambridge Alumni Database* (University of Cambridge): http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2016.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=MLCR548R&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50

An Orthographie: we should "writ as we speake, without ani skrupulosite in the superfluite of letters for time, derivation or difference" (1551: 38).

The key word for the second round of discussion is "custom". Hart's response is the antithesis of what Mulcaster discussed in Chapter Fourteen (entitled "An answer to som pretended imperfections in the writing of our tung") where Mulcaster devoted a large space to refute Hart's misunderstanding and misuse of the term "custom". As Hart recounts, he is admonished by his opponents that he should "do wisely to deport from speaking" against Use and Custom because they were brought into a people's manner of life little by little (1551: 38). A person is doomed to a "rigorous punishment" (1551: 38) for turning his back on Custom. But in Hart's eyes, they were that sort of "discouraging" men who "greved and displeased, at the amendament of ani thing" (1551: 39). At this point, Hart's words become increasingly evaluative, not only of his opponents' theory but also of their personal character. But what is really interesting in this round of debate is that Hart resorted to the on-going movement of religious reform as an analogy to uphold his counterargument that unreasonable Custom is refutable and should be overthrown. The problematic Custom and corruption of orthography is compared to and expounded in terms of the ill practice and abused power of the Roman Catholic Church which "crepeth into a peoples maner of lyving by lytell and litell" (1551: 39).[104] Hart argues that if the "countryemen" (1551: 14) follow the logic of Mulcaster, they "ought not to speake against the bisshop of Rome his usurped authorite in the most part of all Europa" (1551: 39). By doing so, Hart puts his opponents into a dangerous situation: being against spelling reform is akin to dissenting from the government's protestant policy, which is a deadly accusation in the Tudor age (although it is an exception during the reign of Mary I). All this leads to the conclusion that "the use of a great continuwaunce" does not mean something "lawfull and good" (1551: 39) and "an usurped and vicious coustume taketh no place" (1551: 40) in a perfect writing; what his opponents term as "use" is in fact "mysuse" (1551: 40).

The key word for the third round of debate is "law". But before moving on to elaborate on Hart's argument, I would like to explain the Renaissance understanding of the "laws" in order to clear the ground for my following discussion. In *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy* (1594), the theologian and philosopher Richard Hooker (1554–1600) distinguishes several types of law by drawing on St. Thomas Aquinas (1224/5–1274), including the eternal Law of God, the Law

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[104] It should be noted that Hart uses different spelling forms of the same word ("lytell" and "litell") even in the same sentence and on the same page of his works. Another typical example is the spelling of the word "perfect": "parfait" (1551: 24, 46), "perfect" (1551: 27; 1569: sig.[¶.2]ᵛ), and "perfite" (1569: fol.6ʳ). It does not tell us that Hart, even as a spelling reformer, is so careless and insensitive to be consistent in spelling. Rather, I take it as a well-conceived rhetorical technique of Hart. By using different spelling forms of the same word, he is trying to tell his readers how *imperfectly* the word "perfect" was spelled in the current orthography of English.

of Nature, and the Law of Reason. In the Tudor period, it was believed that all the religio-political order was based on the chain of laws. *The Eternal Law*, as defined by Hooker, is that "which God himself hath made, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and author" (quoted from Hale 1971: 83). *The Law of Nature*, in Hooker's eyes, "ordereth natural agents" (quoted from Hale 1971: 83). It is delimited as "an instrument of God's will, upon which the maintenance of the whole world depends" (Hale 1971: 83). *The Law of Reason*, in Hale's words, is one that is "peculiar to man" and "enables him to perceive his condition and to bring himself into the greatest conformity with God, which is achieved through man's realizing that he is a social animal" (1971: 84). In this round of debate, Hart further develops the religious conceptualization of orthographic reform in order to prove that it is reasonable and necessary to remove the "abuses" and "corruptions" from the current writing. Hart's argument is based on the common sense in reformation England that the holy Bible and the law of Nature "teacheth us to tourne our soules into a purenes of lyfe" and "to represent the nature of God" (1551: 40–41). In the same vein, the law of reason in the head requires "our handes to ordre iustli the figures, images and letters, to represent the voice of our pronunciation" (1551: 41). In this way, Hart draws an analogy between the *souls* and *bodies* of God set upon the earth and the *sounds* and *figures* of letters that are set upon the paper.[105]

The fourth round of dialogue centers on the feasibility of orthographic reform along phonetic lines. The question that "they" pose is that it is both theoretically and practically unlikely to refashion spelling along purely phonetic lines. Language keeps changing. If orthography is required to represent speech in an absolute sense, writing should also be changed all the time to keep pace with the change of sound. In fact, this is a very strong point and is hard for Hart to argue against. Hart admits that English "often and moch changed in one Thowsand yeares" (1551: 43). He does not make any kind of argument in response to this objection, but just repeats his maxim of phonetic spelling. Here we can see that in this round of discussion Mulcaster won the debate because he succeeded in pinpointing the contradiction and intrinsic vulnerability of Hart's theory of phonetic reform. It is impossible to have a "certain" phonetic writing which is based on the ever-changing and unstable sound. This constitutes the main argument of Mulcaster in *The Elementarie*. In the next section, I explore how Mulcaster depicts his debate with Hart.

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[105] David Cram explains the standard Doctrine of the Letters as follows.

> Within this framework, the letter is defined as the smallest element of language, and it has three primary attributes: it has a shape by which it is written (its *figura*), a phonetic force by which it is pronounced (its *potestas*) and a name (*nomen*) used to refer to it. The letter here is an abstract unit, which is manifested both in speech and in writing. (2018: 8)

Hart's works demonstrate that he makes a clear distinction between these three aspects of letters: in *An Orthographie*, he uses three terms "sound", "name", and "figure" which correspond to *potestas*, *nomen,* and *figura* (see Figure 4).

5.3 Mulcaster's Dialogical Monograph: Fighting against Hart

> This title tho it seme by the inscription to pretend som offence, yet is it nothing moodie at all, bycause it entendeth no defense, as against an enemie, but a conference, as with a frind. For those men, with whó I haue to deall therein, do wish their naturall tung, as well as I do, theie desire to se it right writen, no lesse then I do. Theie haue as good shew of iust enemitie to error, and corruption, as I haue assurance of right direction. And therefor I will rather endeuor my self to perswade them as frinds, then to confute them as foes, rather to ioyn with then in som points, them to defy them in all.

Mulcaster, *The Elementarie* (1582/1925: 92)

This section examines how Mulcaster fights against the phonetic reformers of English orthography in his monumental monograph *The Elementarie*. Like Hart, he also presents his linguistic ideas in a dialogical form, to be exact, a debate with his opponents. There are six pieces of evidence which can demonstrate dialogical elements in the text. First, as the foregoing epigraph shows, it is a representation of a "conference" with "friends" although Mulcaster does not tell us whether it is a real face-to-face debate or an imagined *conversation* in response to what he read about phonetic spelling reform. Second, Mulcaster's *The Elementarie* attempts to present a dissenting voice, answering to the phonetic reformers from both ideological and technical perspectives. If we adopt Bakhtin's terms and concepts (1981),[106] we can say that his opponents' voice constitutes the pretext for his response, and there is a hidden polemic in this double-voiced discourse where the author Mulcaster is addressing an absent interlocutor. Third, Mulcaster's ideas, as with Hart, were presented in the form of several rounds of thesis-antithesis. His propositions were always based on a negation of the one given by his opponents, and this dialectical method constitutes a dialogue between the two sides. Fourth, the argument structure of Mulcaster's *The Elementarie* closely corresponds to Hart's *An Orthographie*. It is evident that the first three Chapters of the *The Elementarie* were deliberately designed as a critical response to the first three chapters of *An Orthographie*. Fifth, the dialogical relation between Mulcaster and Hart can be manifested by the language. Mulcaster, when arguing against Hart, uses similar vocabulary items which Hart employs in making his point. Sixth, Mulcaster embraced a very different attitude towards the key metaphors, for example, portraiture and disease, which Hart used rhetorically to deliver his linguistic ideology. As for the identity of Mulcaster's interlocutor(s), Danielsson observes that, "According to Gill,[107] the book was written in opposition to Smith, but throughout Mulcaster's discussions his arguments and criticisms seem to be pointed more at Hart than at Smith" (1963b: 35). I agree with Danielsson on this point: both in content and structure of argument, Mulcaster was developing a critical

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[106] Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist. University of Texas Press, 1981.

[107] Danielsson's footnote: Gill 1621, p. xii: Thomas Smithus; cui volume bene magnum opposuit *Rich. Mulcasterus*.

dialogue in *The Elementarie* with Hart's *An Orthographie*. But it is also reasonable and evident to argue that he was also responding to Smith both ideologically and rhetorically. On this basis, I will investigate the intertextual relations—how Mulcaster addresses the absent interlocutors John Hart and Thomas Smith. In this section, I focus on Mulcaster's implicit polemic directed against Hart; in section 5.4, I elaborate on why it can also be seen as a dialogue addressed to Smith.

5.3.1 From Absolute Monarchy to Mixed Government: An Evolutionary View of Orthographic Development

In the first chapter of *An Orthographie* Hart expounds his maxim of true orthography: there should be as many letters as sound elements, "no more nor less" (1569: fol.9^r; also see 1551: 32). It is taken by Hart as the "weight and measure, *touchstone* and fire" (1569: fol.10^r, my italics) for testing the perfectness of writing. His ideas can be recaptured and summarized in three points: (i) Sound is the only determining factor of a true orthography; (ii) the English writing system was originally based on the one-letter-for-one-sound principle but corrupted as time went by, and the task of orthographic reform is to restore the ancient power of letters; (iii) the status of Sound, as Hart's politicized language suggests, can be compared to that of an absolute monarch who has the supreme power in the Tudor dynasty. As a response, in the opening chapter of *The Elementarie*, Mulcaster lays out his precept of "right writing" (1582/1925: 68), aiming to "answere all those obiections, which charge our writing with either insufficiencie, or confusion: and also to examin by it, as by a sure *tuchstone*" (1582/1925: 69, my italics). Different from Hart, who takes Sound as the only determining factor of true spelling, Mulcaster holds that Sound, Reason, and Custom all have a say in the shaping of an artful orthography. Taking an evolutionary stance, he argues that orthography of "the verie first tung" (1582/1925: 70) experienced three stages of development in history, "proceding from weaknesse to strength, from imperfection to perfitnesse, from a mean degré to a main dignitie" (1582/1925: 70), which goes as follows:

> The first is, while the *soúd* alone bare the swaie in writing. The secód is, while cósent in vse did transport the autoritie, from *sound* alone, to *reason*, *custom*, and *sound* ioyntlie. The third, which presentlie raigneth, is, while that *reason & custom*, do assure their own ioynt gouernment with sound, by the mean of *Art*. For *sound* like a restrained not banished *Tarquinius* desiring to be restored to his first and sole monarchie, and finding som, but no more then sounding fauorers, did seke to make a tumult in the scriueners prouince, euer after that, *reason* and *custom* were ioyned with him in commission. (1582/1925: 71)

This quotation tells us that Mulcaster personifies and politicizes the function of Sound, Reason, Custom, and Art in the making of a "right" writing,[108] which can be seen from his use of words such as "authority", "government", "Tarquinius" (King of Rome, 616–578, banished as tyrants), "tumult", and "commission". More importantly, he compares the three developmental stages of writing to the three forms of government which existed successively in history. In the following discussion, I will first introduce how Mulcaster describes the three developmental stages and then examine the rhetorical effect of this political framework.

Hart characterizes the first stage as "the gouernment of right writing vnder the autoritie of sound alone" (1582/1925: 71). At this stage, Sound is naturally the only "commander" (1582/1925: 73, with morphological change) of the province of writing since letters are invented to represent sounds. The matching of a particular sound and a particular letter is by the consent of those who first invented them and who first received them, and the writing is based on the sounds of those inventors. But there exists an inherent problem in this prescriptive orthography. Since letters are symbols of sounds, whoever can speak desired to partake in the governing of writing with their own variety of sounds, regardless of the diversity of their speech, which brought chaos into the system of writing. The fact is that the Sound itself is too "imperious", "without anie either mercie or pitie, but death for disobedience" of the contrary side (1582/1925: 74). Therefore, there was "no fit person to rule the pen alone" (1582/1925: 73). Under such circumstance, men of good wit and great understanding set out to qualify Sound's "humor" and government by using "the assistance of a further councell" (1582/1925: 75) of Sound, beseeching him "not to esteme more of his own priuat honor, then of the hole prouinces good" (1582/1925: 74). It is suggested that if Sound wants to be a "great potentate, and considerat prince, for the general weall of their natural state", he should be willing to "admit to his counsell two graue and great personages" (1582/1925: 76), and "to vse them in affairs" (1582/1925: 75). These two council members are Reason and Custom, with the former "to consider what wilbe most agréable vpon cause" and the latter "to confirm that by experience and prouf, which *reason* should like best" (1582/1925: 76), and neither can do anything in the making of orthography without consulting with Sound. Although Reason and Custom began to "empare" Sound's estate, they "did not seek to defraud him of his own" (1582/1925: 76). But with the increase of their power, Sound was forced to end his presumptuous regime and admit Reason and Custom to join with him in governing the province of writing.

> Neither yet [...] depriued theie *sound* of all his rialtie, which was dictatorlike before, but theie ioyned *reason* with him, & *custom* to, to begin then in right, and not in corruption after, as a *Cæsar* and a *Pompeie*, to be his colleges in a triumuirate. From that time forward *sound* could do much, but nothing so much, as he could do before,

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[108] It should be noted that Hart uses the term "perfect" to describe his ideal state of orthography while Mulcaster uses "right" instead to emphasize that an orthography can never be "perfect".

being verie manie times, verie iustlie ouerruled by his considerat companions, and fellowes in office. Thus ended the monarchie of *sound* alone. (1582/1925: 78–79)

Then it came to the second stage of orthographic development which is referred to by Mulcaster as the regime of writing under a compound government of Sound, Reason and Custom, which constitute a mutual relationship of checks and balances. Each of them played their own role in the making of "right" writing with limited power, but in a cooperative rather than separate manner. All decisions made by one side should be approved by the other two and be "subsigned by all their thrée hands" (1582/1925: 80):

> If the sound alone did serue, yet reason and custom must nedes confirm sound: if reason must take place, both sound and custom must nedes approue reason: if custom wold be credited, he might not passe, onelesse both sound did sooth him, & reason did ratifie him. (1582/1925: 80)

At this stage, all the matters concerning the precepts of a "right" writing grew to strength, with rules grounded and exceptions made. But these rules had not yet been "set down" but were "fleting in the memorie" (1582/1925: 81). This is due to the fact that Sound did not reconcile himself to the deprivation of his absolute power—he "did neuer rest, but allwaie sought means to supplant the two other" and "began to crepe in again, and cause a new truble" (1582/1925: 81). As a consequence, Reason was "injured" by these "creeping errors" and Custom was "assailed" by "counterfeat corruption" (1582/1925: 82). Under such circumstance, it is necessary to have a righteous "notarie" (1582/1925: 82) which can help to set what they three have achieved by consent in order to avoid any danger of sound's revolt.

> While nothing was set down in writing, *sound* and his complices were in hope of som recouerie, which hope was cut of, when the writings were made, and the conditions set certain. The notarie to cut of all these controuersies, and to brede a perpetuall quietnesse in writing, was Art, which gathering al those roming rules, that *custom* had beaten out, into one bodie, disposed them so in writing, as euerie one knew his own limits, *reason* his, *custom* his, *sound* his. (1582/1925: 82)

For this purpose, Art was appealed to by Reason and Custom to guarantee their sure and standing power in the council together with sound. When all the three governors of the alphabetical commonwealth were brought into order and the rules of orthography made by them were driven to certainty, it came to the third stage of orthographic development which is referred to as "the government of right writing under Art" (1582/1925: 82).

But it should be pointed out that Mulcaster's use of concepts such as *reason*, *custom*, and *Art* is neither based on clear definitions nor illustrated with concrete examples. The meaning of them is not transparent but rather vague, difficult for modern readers to grasp. In the existing literature (Dobson 1968; O'Neill 2000; Lamb 2014), none of the scholars offer semantic interpretation on these abstract terms. As far as I am concerned, there are two ways to explore and figure out (maybe part of) their meaning in Mulcaster's texts. The first is to scrutinize the

co-texts in which they were used. The second is to see the wider dialogical contexts: since Mulcaster was debating with his contemporary linguistic scholars, how did they make different senses by employing the same group of terms? Regarding Custom, Mulcaster emphasizes that it does not mean "that which men do speak commonlie or most, vpon whatsoeuer occasion", but rather "which is grounded at the first, vpon the best and fittest reason, and is therefor to be vsed, bycause it is the fittest" (1582/1925: 80). In Hart's mind, Reason and Custom are contradictory and incompatible: the former means the principle of one letter for one sound, while the latter refers to the ill practice which goes against this principle. In this sense, Hart takes them as a pair of antonyms and "enemies". But, for Mulcaster, Custom was grounded upon Reason; they are equal "parties" and members of the council, making cooperative efforts in setting down the rule of writing. Different from Hart who takes Reason as synonymous to Sound's absolute reign, Mulcaster describes the function of Reason in terms of its two "retinues" *observation* and *comparison*: observation is used "to mark what were fairest in sense, what were readiest in pen, what were currantest in vse" and comparison is used "to confer that, which he allowed in one, with that proportion, which he found in another that the hole might be sutable" (1582/1925: 81). Lamb's discussion suggests another difference: For the phonetic reformers Smith and Hart, Reason was invoked "as a timeless principle, or postulate, which formulates its principles before applying them to *custom*"; however, for Mulcaster, it is "a temporarily based entity which exists within the movement of customary language" (2014: 112). As for Art, Mulcaster does not explain what it means either. But the foregoing discussion tells us that it functions for setting down the precepts and rules that have been reached by the three rulers of the compound government. He uses a whole chapter (Chapter XIII) to explain that his time was "the perfitest period" (1582/1925: 85) in the English tongue and it has "great stuff" for Art and "sufficient matter to work for her artificial direction" (1582/1925: 85).

It is more important to note that the terms of Mulcaster's debate with Hart originate in Roman discussions of the Latin language. It is a good example of the way in which Renaissance writers return to classical sources and try to work out their implications for their own times and their own vernacular language. The relationship between "custom" and "reason" was examined by Roman authors like Quintilian and Varro in their linguistic writings. In *De Lingua Latina* Varro discussed "ratio" (reason) and "consuetudo" (use/custom) in the analysis of the Latin language (Zetzel 2018: 46–49). For example, he considers the issue of irregularity in grammar, where "consuetudo" takes precedence over "ratio". In addition, the term *Art* used by Mulcaster, Hart, and Smith is comparable with "technē" in Greek and "ars" in Latin. These terms are used to contrast activities which are governed by rules from ones which rely on experience alone. For instance, Dionysius Thrax wrote the *Technē Grammatikē* (*c*. 100 BCE) and Aelius Donatus wrote the *Artes Grammaticae*. So the entry of *Art* into Mulcaster's linguistic writings has to do

with the establishment of rules and principles that mediate between the requirements of Sound, Reason and Custom. That is why Mulcaster takes *Art* as a "notarie" which plays the role of officially drawing up legal contracts between Sound, Reason, and Custom and making them a fixed law or rule. This use of concepts from the Roman tradition in the emergent study of English is comparable to the application of ideas from the Roman tradition of rhetoric in works like George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). If we investigate Mulcaster's terms with reference to these classical contexts, their meaning will become clearer. Moreover, Mulcaster's reference to the Roman triumvirate (i.e. the division of power among three actors)[109] is also an example of Tudor writers using classical sources in the context of their linguistic thinking. Comparing the joint government of Sound, Reason, and Custom to a triumvirate makes Mulcaster's orthographic thought not only convincing but also easier to understand.

In the opening section of this chapter I observed that there are two streams of political thought in the Tudor age concerning the forms of government: one is the already existing system of absolute monarchy inherited from the medieval period (which is a form of government examined in Thomas Elyot's *The boke named the Gouernour*), and the other is the emerging idea of limited monarchy which can be represented by Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*. In section 3.3, I covered how the concept of absolute monarchy was employed by Hart to frame his linguistic ideology of sound-letter relation. In the reminder of this subsection, I investigate how Mulcaster uses the idea of limited monarchy to conceptualize his opposing view on orthographic reform and to develop a dialogical relationship with Hart.

The above discussion shows that in Mulcaster's argument the disadvantage of the sole government of Sound is not explained in terms of the linguistics of spelling *per se*, but in terms of what he observes in politics. This is a striking textual feature of Mulcaster's rebuttal of phonetic spelling. In the conceptual frames of Hart and Mulcaster, the status of Sound in the alphabetical commonwealth is rather different, both ideologically and rhetorically. For Hart, absolute obedience to Sound is the guarantee of a perfect and true orthography. But for Mulcaster, in a stark contrast, the sole government of Sound is the source of orthographic disorders; a right writing rests on a joint ruling of Sound, Reason, and Custom. On this ground, "the common good" in Mulcaster's frame, as Lamb notes, refers to Reason's and Custom's "mutual dislike of the imperiousness of sound" (2014: 111). This echoes an emerging political ideology since the mid-Tudor period—that of a "mixed" government instead of a "simple, pure and absolute" sort (Smith 1583/1906: 14). The fact is that, on the one hand, the monarch's

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[109] There were two periods in which Rome was ruled by a triumvirate: one in the 50s BCE (Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus) and one in the 40s and 30s BCE (Octavian/Augustus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus).

power was greatly enhanced in the Tudor age with a series of religio-political reforms and the promulgation of Acts of Supremacy (1534, 1558, and 1559); on the other hand, the parliament experienced a dramatic change during this period. The governing form of the commonwealth evolved from the king's Privy Council to the Parliament, and the idea of "king in parliament" was germinating and developing: the monarch's power was constrained by Parliament's House of Lords and House of Commons. It shows that Mulcaster's analogy had much contemporary relevance and for this reason was able to produce remarkable rhetorical effect. By associating spelling matters with political currents of the age, he is trying to tell his reader that his linguistic thought on orthography represents the developmental orientation of the commonwealth. His opponent's theory, however, is characterized as being conservative and out of date. By dividing the development of "right" writing into three stages, Mulcaster wants to prove that Hart's linguistic idea rested at the primitive stage: if we return to the sole government of sound over writing, it is regression rather than progress. Thus, in Mulcaster's mind, phonetic spelling goes against the historical development of orthography. As O'Neill puts it, "by equating Sound with tyranny Mulcaster strikes at the heart of phonemic reform" (1997: 245); that is, the reign of an absolute monarch is "continuously in danger of degenerating into tyranny" (1997: 244). But the compound government of Sound, Reason, and Custom in the province of writing is just like the king in the parliament with members of the two Houses, which governs the commonwealth by joint efforts. Here we see how Mulcaster sets out to deconstruct the political model that Hart used to frame his linguistic ideas. The merit and rhetorical power of Mulcaster's political frame lies in the fact that it provides an evolutionary view of language and society. It is not important for us to check whether the orthography of "the learned tongues" (Mulcaster's term) really underwent such a three-stage development or not in figuring out the "right" writing. Maybe Mulcaster fabricates this. But it is crucial that it fits with Smith's three-stage development of the forms of government; or we might even say that he divided the developmental stages of orthography according to the already existing political theory in order to match it. Mulcaster's use of language—often blurring the line between language and politics—gives weight to this speculation.

But it should be pointed out that Mulcaster conceals the identity of his interlocutor(s) and he does not explicitly state that he is using limited monarchy as a rhetorical weapon to fight against the ideas which he takes as having the nature of absolute monarchy. It is maybe because he did not want to make academic enemies, or maybe because the metaphor of "mixed government" is easy to expose his political stance, which is rather dangerous in the Tudor age when there were too many religio-political changes. Limited monarchy is still a radical political thought and at its budding stage in the Tudor age. It is also very controversial and sensitive, although, as I have discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it had found some expression in certain political

tracts. As Eccleshall observes, in this period of time, "there was no need to raise questions of sovereignty" but "a need to justify the co-operation of the crown with influential groups in parliament" (1978: 110, quoted from O'Neill 2000: 152).

5.3.2 "Custom" and the Four Forms of "Corruption": "An answer to som pretended imperfections in the writing of our tung"[110]

In the last section, I discussed Mulcaster's critical response to Hart's maxim of orthographic reform—the absolute obedience to sound. In this section, I first examine how Mulcaster counterattacks all the accusations that Hart brings against Use and Custom. I then explore how Mulcaster answers Hart's observation of the four types of corruption in orthography. The dialogical feature is embodied by the textual fact that Mulcaster presents his argument in the form of thesis-antithesis. He always first lays out one idea of the phonetic reformers, which is then followed by his counter-argument. This discursive strategy contributes to creating an impression of dialogue in the reader's mind—the effect that Mulcaster is debating face to face with his academic opponents. It should be re-emphasized at this point that although Mulcaster uses "they" to refer to his interlocutor(s), in terms of both content and argument structure, Hart is the main object of his criticism, not Smith.

Mulcaster's first "objection" is targeted at Hart's "assailing" of Custom (which I discussed in section 5.2). His argument begins with distinguishing two different kinds of attitudes towards Custom. He points out that Custom was rated by Hart and his associate phonetic reformers as "a vile corrupter" (1582/1925: 93) and "an ill director to find out a right" (1582/1925: 93). In their eyes, as Mulcaster summarizes, "there is nothing in custó, but an hell of most vile, and filthie corruptions: that it alone infecteth all good things: that it alone corrupteth right writing" (1582/1925: 94). In a stark contrast, "good writers" tended to favour Custom, "praise it verie often, and giue it great credit" (1582/1925: 94). As Mulcaster reflects, they defined Custom from a different perspective: "when theie speak of *custom*, theie mean that rule in doing; and vertewous life, wherein good men agré" (1582/1925: 94). In other words, for those who commended Custom, it means "plain truth" which "directeth all the best" (1582/1925: 95). On this ground, Mulcaster points out that the term Custom "deceiues" because it has a "duble" meaning (1582/1925: 95), so it is necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between Custom and Error. Custom should not be "misconstrued" (1582/1925: 95) and misused by phonetic reformers to refer to "errors" and "corruption". And the task of an orthographer is to "scratch out the eies of common error, for misusing of good things, and belying of *custom*" (1582/1925: 95). By doing so, Mulcaster was developing a dialogue with Hart, showing their problems in

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[110] This quotation is the title of the fourteenth chapter of Mulcaster's *The Elementarie* (1582/1925: 92).

using the term Custom to name the errors they detected in spelling: it is right to correct errors but misleading to equal them to Custom. In this sense, the "cuntrimen" (Mulcaster 1582/1925: 95) which Hart addresses in the "prologue" to his 1551 work (p. 14) were "deceiued in the name" (1582/1925: 95) due to the reason that "*custom* certainlie in a matter of speche, is a great and a naturall gouernour, tho in other things it maie somtimes seme to be a sore vsurper" (1582/1925: 96). In this debate, Mulcaster fashioned himself as a scholar who made efforts to "fré *custom* from all offensive note" (1582/1925: 96), while Hart and his associates moved just towards the opposite direction by "entreat[ing] *custom* so hardlie […] vnder an vnproper name" (1582/1925: 96).

In *The Unreasonable Writing*, when Hart attempts to criticise the Use and Custom which contributed to the corruption of English orthography, he writes as follows:

> so that we now see that use in an **usurped and vicious coustume** taketh no place, but mought better be called **mysuse**. Further their **vices** in the **corruption** of letters and writings, ar but **crept in** amongst us, all sinne then which is natualli in the flesh, and of long used. (Hart 1551: 40, my emphasis; also see 1569: fol.11ᵛ)

It is interesting to note that when Mulcaster represents his opponent's *thesis* before constructing his *antithesis*, he employs almost the same vocabulary items that Hart has used, such as "corruption", "custom", and "creep in".

> common **corruption**, which theie term **_Custom_**, is an ill director to find out a right. Herevpon theie conclude, that as it semeth most probable, so it is most trewe, that the chefe **errors**, which **ar crept into** our pen, do take their beginning at the onelie infection of a **naughtie** *custom*. (Mulcaster 1582/1925: 93, my emphasis)

This is just one example among many in Mulcaster's thesis-antithesis structure of argument, indicating that Mulcaster knew Hart's work well and he was making critical responses. In addition, Hart aligned Reason with Virtue as opposed to Custom, which also finds expression in Mulcaster's representation of his debater's thesis.

> we ought to have none other respect unto our late **customes**, or souch as seme to be from ever, then as they shalbe agreing to **reason** and **vertu**, which ought to rule all things. (Hart 1551: 46, my emphasis)

> all these which ar but points of penning onelie, to aggrauate the discredit wherewith theie charge **_custom_**, theie seke to make it odious, as an enemie to **vertew**, euen abusing what is best. (Mulcaster 1582/1925: 93, my emphasis)

The significance of the above textual evidence lies in the fact that it not only reveals that there is a dialogical discursive pattern in Mulcaster's work, but also helps to disclose the identity of the interlocutors. Although Mulcaster always uses "they" to refer to his opponents, his main interlocutor is Hart rather than Smith and Bullokar. In fact, the word "custom" was rarely used in Smith's *De Scriptione* and Bullokar's *Book at Large*.

Mulcaster is well aware that Hart has made emotional appeals in the debate with him. He observes that "in their quarell to *custom*, theie seke first to bring it into generall hatred, as a common corrupter of all good things" (1582/1925: 93). It tells us that Mulcaster attempted to disclose Hart's rhetorical device and destroy the effect of his emotional appeals. The epigraph used at the beginning of this section is quoted from the fourteenth chapter of Mulcaster's *The Elementarie*. It is apparently a response to Hart's accusation. Hart seems to lose temper at the end of the "debate" although he claims to be "patient" with his adversary's "defence". Mulcaster clarifies that his response "is nothing moodie at all, bycause it entendeth no defense, as against an enemie, but a conference, as with a frind" (1582/1925: 92). In so doing, Mulcaster is trying to tell his reader that Hart exaggerates and misrepresents his emotional reaction in the debate.

After exposing Hart's misuse of the term Custom, Mulcaster goes on to respond to the four particular errors proposed by Hart. He reiterates them as follows:

> Then theie descend two particularities, wherein theie proue that customarilie, we do somtime burden our words to much, with *to manie* letters, somtimes we pinch them to near with *to few*, somtimes we misshape them with *wrong sounding*, somtime we misorder them, with *wrong placing*. (1582/1925: 93, my italics)

Mulcaster's "to many", "to few", "wrong sounding", and "wrong placing" correspond to Hart's "superfluity", "diminution", "usurpation", and "disordering" respectively. But it should be particularly noted that Mulcaster does not criticize all of them when he moves on to develop his argument. He just demonstrates his objection to Hart's criticism on the "insufficiency" of letters, without mentioning the other three. His refutation of "diminution" is built on the argument that speakers of different languages have "the same instruments of voice, and the same deliuerie in sound, for their speaking" (1582/1925: 99). If it is enough for "the best, and brauest tungs" (1582/1925: 98) whose letters English adopted, it should be enough for English use. Hart takes Sound's sole government and the one-letter-for-one-sound principle as the Reason of perfect orthography. But Mulcaster claims that "if there be anie *reason*, it is not naturall and simple, as in things, but artificiall & compound as in speche, vpon such and such a cause in *custom* and consent" (1582/1925: 99). By doing so, Mulcaster attempts to show that the fundamental problem with Hart's "diminution" lies in the fact that he takes Sound as the only ruler in the province of writing.

5.3.3 Objection to Hart's Non-politicized Allegories: The Metaphor of Portraiture and the Metaphor of Disease

I have looked earlier in this section at how Mulcaster fights against Hart with a *politicized* metaphor—limited monarchy—concerning the role of sound in the shaping of orthography. In

this section, I argue that Mulcaster also develops a dialogue with Hart in terms of the use of *non-politicized* allegories. A hidden polemic can be perceived from the wide divergence in their opinions on the use of the metaphor of portraiture and the metaphor of disease.

In explaining the relationship between sound and letter, Hart recurrently uses the metaphor of portraiture in both his 1551 and 1569 works to emphasize the idea that letters should be a faithful representation of voices. The best example is the one that he uses to analogize the four forms of corruptions which go against his maxim of a perfect writing. As Illustration 7 shows, Hart compares "the liuely body of our pronunciation" to a man named Esop[111] who "woulde commaunde an vndiscréete Painter to portraict his figure" (1569: fol.27^r), and explains that this is an appropriate metaphor since the "reason" of true writing "biddeth the writer to paint, and counterfet with letters" (1569: fol.27^r).

The interesting point is that Hart uses marginal notes (which is a general practice of sixteenth-century academic writing) to explicate the correspondence between the different parts of the metaphor and the four forms of orthographic corruption. For example, "though you weare hose and shooes, your figure shall néede none" (1569: fol.27^v) refers to the "diminution" of letters in writing. And the last sentence said by the painter[112] alludes to the concepts of Use and Custom, which Hart is just refuting (although he does not mark this in his marginal notes). By doing so, Hart wants to show that the current English orthography is just like the portrait of Esop: "halfe so well represent" (1569: fol.28^r) what they speak. As Hart remarks as follows, English orthography is as confusing as the portrait painted in that way.

> I demaund the maintainers of such Painters of our pronunciation, if they had forty or more of their portratures drawen, shaped and coloured of their foresaid friende: and those same set vppon the pillers of Powles Church, who should be able to know (but they themselues, being dayly vsed in naming them) which shoulde be for the one, or which for the other. For they should not halfe so well represent them, as should the well proportioned figures of so manye skipping Babians, Apes, Marmozets or Munkeys, and daucing Dogs and Beares. (1569: fols.28^r–28^v)

In discussing the relationship between sound and orthography, Mulcaster also turns to the metaphor of portraiture, but, in a stark contrast, to discredit the sole government of Sound in the province of writing.

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[111] Originally, in the 1551 manuscript, the person is named "Tulli"; but in the 1569 published version, it is renamed "Esop".

[112] The sentence is: "Bicause the Painters of this countrie, for time out of minde, haue vsed the like, and we continue therein, and because it is so commonly receyued as it is, no man needeth to correct it" (1569: fol.28^v).

I wil
vſe this Allegozie, and compare the liuely
body of our pzonunciation, which reaſon
biddeth the wziter to paint and counterfet
with letters, vnto a man, which woulde
commaunde an vndiſcréete Painter to
poztraia his figure, as thus : naming the
man Eſop. Who cõming to a Painter,
ſayth. Frend, I would haue thée to coun-
terſet the quantitie and qualitie of my bo-
dy and apparell, by thy craft, ſo liuely as
thoſe men, which haue euen nowe ſéene
me, may know (whenſoeuer they maye
ſée it hereafter) that the ſame is made to
repzeſent me vnto them, as I now am.
The Painter aunſwereth : Sir ſtande
you there, and I ſhall doe it, as I vſe to
doe others , and as all the Painters of

(fol.27ʳ)

this countrie are accuſtomed to doe. E-
ſope, howe is that ? The Painter aun-
ſwereth . Though you weare hoſe and
ſhœes, your figure ſhall néede none. But

*Diminu-
tion.* (marked **1**)

it ſhall therefoze haue painted
other apparell, by a thirde moze
than you weare, and vpon eue-
rie ſeuerall péce, I will marke
and wzite, the countries name
whence it came . And bicauſe
your clothes, as well the cloth
as the furre and ſilke, are of one
colour, I will make them to be
the better ſéene of diuers colozs.
I will alſo wzite in your fore-
head your fathers and mothers
name that men may ſée of what
ſtocke you are come of . Where
as in ſome countries Painters
doe vſe to make the noſe, of like
quantitie to that in the body, we
ſet others at the endes of them.
And foz making the littleneſſe
of the eyes, we make the com-
paſſe of þ head greater,than the
naturall, ⁊ double ỹ eie bzowes.

*Deriua-
tion.*

*Diffe-
rence.*

*Etymo-
logie.*

*Length of
vowels.*

*For ſhort-
neſſe of
vowels
the double
cõſonants.*

*Super-
fluitie,
foz* (marked **2**)

(fol.27ᵛ)

Then in the place of eares, we doe vſe
to paint eyes.
And laſt of all, I will chaunge the mid-
dell fingers and thombes in others pla-
ces.The Painter.How like you this,will
it not doe well. Eſope. Yes,but I would
faine knowe, foz what purpoſe : and the
reaſon wherefoze you woulde doe thus.
The Painter. Bicauſe the Painters of
this countrie, foz time out of minde, haue
vſed the like , and we continue therein,
and bicauſe it is ſo commonly receyued as
it is,no man néedeth to cozrea it .

*Vſurpation
of power.* (marked **3**)

Miſplacing (marked **4**)

(fol.28ʳ)

Illustration 7: An Excerpt from Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569) about His Use of the Painting
Metaphor.

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> For as in faces, tho euerie man naturallie haue two eies, two ears, one nose, one mouth, and so furth, yet there is allwaie such diuersitie in countenances, as anie two men maie easilie be discerned, tho theie be as like as the *Lacedæmonian* princes, and brethren were, of whom *Tullie* speaketh: so likewise in the voice, tho in euerie one it passe thorough, by one mouth, one throte, one tung, one fense of tethe, and so furth, yet is it as different in euerie one, euen for giuing the sound, by reason of som diuersitie in the vocall instruments, as the faces be different in resembling like form, by som euident distinction, in the naturall purtrait. Which diuersitie tho it hinder not the deliuerie of euerie mans minde, yet is it to vncertain to rule euerie mans pen in setting down of letters. (1582/1925: 77)

By using this metaphor, Mulcaster wants to show that there are substantial individual differences between different speakers of one language. A genuinely faithful "portrait" of speech means that the nuances of every man's voices should be taken into full consideration: it should "follow euerie mans ear" and "leaue euerie mans pen to his own sound" (1582/1925: 77). If we follow these individual differences in the painting of their voices, it is not only unfeasible but also confusing. On this ground, Sound is not a "certain" and reliable ruler of orthography. The absolute rule of Sound will lead to a "popular" government (1582/1925: 77), which means writing must follow the sound of every man rather than a group of people who could both speak best and give the best reason for explanation. On this ground, Custom and Reason are introduced to the council to end the dictatorship of Sound and "to be his colleges in a triumuirate" (1582/1925: 78). The above discussion shows that Hart uses the metaphor of portraiture to legitimize phonetic spelling while Mulcaster uses it the other way round—to discredit Hart's proposition.

In sections 4.3 and 4.4 I have discussed how Hart compares orthographic problems to disease, himself to a physician, and Quintilian's linguistic thought to Galenic theory of medicine. In what follows, I examine how Mulcaster critically responds to Hart's **metaphor of disease** and his appeal to Quintilian. In Hart's mind, as Mulcaster comments, Quintilian "wisheth *sound* to be obserued, as the surest teacher to write right, and not *custom*" (1582/1925: 104). Sound is taken by Quintilian as the "naturall Lord" while Custom is seen as "a vile vsurper" (1582/1925: 104) and "a crankard traitor" (1582/1925: 106). It will bring a great injury to writing "to leaue *sound* the right master, and to cleaue to custom the right marrer" (1582/1925: 104). On this ground, Hart takes Sound as "a right souerain were to be obeied" and Custom "as an vniust intruder were to be expelled" (1582/1925: 104). Thus, Hart offers the method to amend all the defects. As a consequence, he then acts "like a physician" (1582/1925: 104) and "turn[s] to the cure of this diseased corruption" (1582/1925: 106). But Mulcaster points out that Hart misunderstand Quintilian's orthographic theory presented in *Institutio Oratoria*, arguing that Quintilian did not "plead for *sound* against *custom*" (1582/1925: 104). Custom was defined by Quintilian "verie solemnlie, and vpon great deliberation" as "the consent of the skilfull, as in vertuous life, the consent of the honest" (1582/1925: 104–105). Thus, in Mulcaster's eyes, Hart

misunderstand Quintilian and misuses his theory to "stand for *sound* against *custom*" (1582/1925: 105). In summary, Mulcaster observes that "Quintilians *custom* is no corrupter, neither yet is sound but a naturall Lord, tho nothing so absolut, ne yet so imperiall" (1582/1925: 105). In this sense, Hart's metaphor of disease is criticized as being untenable: "it is a strange point of physik, when the remedie it self is more dangerous then the disease" (1582/1925: 107). Thus, by discrediting Hart's "pretended infirmities" and his misunderstanding of Quintilian, Mulcaster reaches the conclusion that his opponent's "physiking" lost its ground to rest on (1582/1925: 111).

5.4 Smith's Dialogue with Hart in *De Scriptione*: Criticizing the "Obstinate" Mulcaster

> QU. No news really. You know my friend Stubborn? I had a sharp dispute with him yesterday. We nearly came to a vulgar quarrel.
>
> SM. That's certainly no news; for he has a bitter and obstinate mind, and never gives way to reason, however plain and clear it may be. It may well be said of him: "Things often have appropriate names." I marvel indeed that you are such good friends with such different characters.

<div align="right">Smith, De Scriptione (1568/1983: 13 &15)</div>

The foregoing epigraph is quoted from Smith's *De Recta et Emendata Linguae Scriptione, Dialogus* (1568).[113] Written in the form of real dialogue, this treatise is a representation of an academic conversation between Smith ("Smithus") and Quintus who are criticizing a third person nicknamed Stubborn ("Obstinatum"). The concern is centered on expounding the idea that orthography should be reformed along strict phonetic lines. It should be emphasized in terms of the Bakhtinian theory (Vice 1997: 46) that Smith is developing three types of dialogical relation at the same time in this treatise: an *intratextual* dialogical relation with the present Quintus who holds similar ideas with him, an *intertextual* dialogical relation with the absent Stubborn who utters a different voice, and a third dialogical relation understood as *the reader's response to the author*. The book can be divided into three parts:

1. Setting the scene: the speakers and the topic
2. Introducing the maxim of a perfect orthography
3. Scrutinizing all the letters for vowels, diphthongs, and consonants

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[113] Danielsson's translated and edited version of this work (published in 1983) is used in this thesis. All quotations taken from this work are cited as "(1568/1983: page number)" in order to emphasize that the original work was published in 1568.

Regarding the identity of the interlocutors, Danielsson briefly remarks that Smith "must have known Hart well" and "it is possible that *Quintus* and *Obstinatus* […] refer to Hart and Mulcaster" (1963b: 35). He just cursorily indicates that "the extant letters of Sir Thomas Smith (*ca*. 2000) may provide a clue" (1963b: 35), without offering any textual evidence for support. In a footnote of his critical translation version of *De Scriptione*, Danielsson mentions again that Obstinatum "is considered to represent Richard Mulcaster" (1983: 13), but, again, without further explaining by whom and on what basis it was considered. In short, his observation on the identity of Smith's interlocutors is rather speculative. There is not much space to doubt that Stubborn refers to Mulcaster because he was (at least as far as we know) the only scholar who published a treatise fighting against phonetic spelling reform. But the identification of Quintus with Hart needs to be explained with textual evidence. Firstly, it is interesting and informative to note that in *An Orthographie* the word that Hart uses most to describe the person whom he is debating with is "obstinate", and that in Smith's *De Scriptione* the "friend" with whom Quintus "had a sharp dispute" (1568/1983: 13) is nicknamed Stubborn ("Obstinatum"). This suggests quite strongly that Quintus refers to Hart because Hart's own text tells us that he has had a "quarrel" with his academic rival and he uses exactly the same term (i.e. "stubborn") to label his adversary's character. Secondly, the person whom Mulcaster attempts to "persuade as a friend and confute as a foe" (1582: 92) in *The Elementarie*, as I discussed in section 5.3, is just Hart. That is to say, we can find textual evidence from both Hart's and Mulcaster's works that the identity of their interlocutors refer to each other. Thirdly, Hart, although well-learned and closely connected with the Cambridge circle in discussing issues of spelling reform, did not hold any university degree. But Smith was a renowned scholar. It fits with the academic status revealed in the dialogue: Smith is the master while Quintus is the inferior student who was listening to him attentively and accepting his ideas obediently. Fourthly, the possibility that Quintus refers to Bullokar can almost be excluded. The reason is as follows. In *De Scriptione*, Quintus tells Smith that he and Stubborn (i.e. Mulcaster) know each other very well (1568/1983: 13–23). But in *Booke at Large* (1580) Bullokar does not show he was familiar with Mulcaster's work; he just mentioned the works of Smith and Hart in the prefatory remarks.[114]

It should be noted that in early modern dialogue writing, whether real, artificial, or literary, interlocutors are usually not on equal footing. There tends to be one person who acts as an authority on the topic and leads the conversation. It is a general practice that "after an initial scene-setting, many dialogues abandon that conversational mode: turn-taking falls away and dominant characters hold sway, uninterrupted for pages on end" (Shrank 2013: 28). This observation holds true for Smith's case of spelling reform. In *De Scriptione*, Smith presents himself as an insightful master of orthography, for the most of the time reading out and

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[114] "Bullokar to his Countrie" (pages are not numbered).

explaining his manuscript to the student-like interlocutor Quintus. To quote Shrank again, "in discussions between two speakers (the most usual formulation) one frequently plays the 'straw-man', feeding lines for the superior speaker to refute, or acting the ignoramus, asking for clarification on specific issues or instruction in particular skill-sets" (2013: 28). In *De Scriptione* Smith's dialogue is characteristic of the fact that it is "rather one way, dominated by one speaker, and thus creating the illusion of debate, not actual debate" (Shrank 2004: 157). By doing so, Smith is trying to present his personal view in the form of a dialogue in order to give the reader an impression that what he is expressing is an objective and shared opinion.

Dialogue is a very popular discursive form in the Early Modern period, finding expression in a wide range of topics such as religion, politics, warfare, medicine, music, to name a few. Its pervasiveness in the sixteenth century can also be demonstrated by the impressive quantity—two hundred and sixty two examples of dialogue were published in England between 1500 and 1603, according to the survey of Roger Lee Deakins and John Terhune Day[115] (Heitsch and Vallée 2004: ix). It was generally believed that this genre originated from the ancient Greek and was vernacularized during the Renaissance period. Shrank explains that the prosperity of dialogue writing in the Tudor age is a result of the growing influence of humanist education which "raised schoolboys to admire and emulate writers of dialogues" (2013: 30) and "trained students to argue *in utramque partem* (for and against) to explore issues and refine rhetorical skills" (2013: 31). In "The Preface" to Smith's political treatise *A Discourse of the Common Weal of This Realm of England* (1581, *Common Weal*, hereafter),[116] Smith writes as follow to explain his belief in dialogue as a manner of establishing truth and reaching a rational conclusion.

> that kind of resoninge semethe to me best, for boltinge oute of the truthe, which is used by wale of dialogue, or colloquie, wheare reasons be made to and fro, as well for the matter intended, as against it. (1581/1893: 12)

The deep faith in this resonant medium can be reflected by the fact that *De Scriptione*, originally written as a monologue, was finally recast as a dialogue when it was published in 1568. There is a wealth of publications dedicated to discussing the use of dialogue in the Renaissance period. But Shrank is the only scholar who tangentially mentioned Smith's use of dialogue in *De Scriptione* (2004: 157, 158; 2008: 99; 2013: 29), without going further to make analyses, develop arguments, or draw conclusions based on this material. However, she (2004) carefully examined Smith's use of dialogue in *Common Weal*, commenting that this humanist

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[115] Deakins, *The Tudor Dialogue as a Literary Form* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1964); Day, *Elizabethan Prose Dialogue* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1977).

[116] This work was first printed in 1851. It was edited and republished, with an introduction, by Elizabeth Lamond in 1893.

genre reflects his "belief in reasoned and reformed debate as the surest method of formulating policy" (2004: 154).

Smith's dialogue with Hart and Mulcaster in *De Scriptione* involves ideological and rhetorical aspects, and one of the topics is centered on the issue of sound-letter relation. As a phonetic spelling reformer, Smith defines the *letter* as "the smallest part of articulate speech" (1568/1983: 29). On this basis, Smith also uses the metaphor of portraiture, taking *writing* as an imitation of *speech*.

> For as we sometimes see a man's face so well painted that a man who had never seen him can recognize by means of the lifeless picture the form of the living person the artist has chosen to paint: so in writing, the uttered words, speech, syllables and letters are recognized, and suddenly writing takes the place of a picture, so that writing may be truly described as a picture of speech. (1568/1983: 31)

By using this metaphor, Smith develops a dialogue with Hart. In the treatment of sound-letter relation, he emphasizes that the correspondence of one particular sound and one particular sign is "by agreement and consent between educated people" (1568/1983: 31), and Hart holds the same idea although he does not explicitly employ terms such as *agreement* and *consent*. However, Smith goes a step further and points out that writing does not "represent speech to us as obviously and clearly as a picture represents bodies and their shadows" because it just represents the voice of the "educated people" but excludes the "ignorant men" (1568/1983: 31). Actually Smith notices the limitations of the painting metaphor and thus tries to hedge his rhetorical device, stressing that it is just "among *those skilled* in this art, a sound is recognized by its sign as well as a body by its picture" (1568/1983: 31 & 33, my italics). By modifying the metaphor in this way, Smith is also developing a dialogue with Mulcaster.[117] As we saw in the last section, Mulcaster attempted to discredit the painting metaphor for the reason that it was impossible to use letters to symbolize the individual distinctions of speech. On this particular point, Smith is more alert and ready to counterattack Mulcaster's criticism—letters are portraits of sounds of the elite rather than every man. But even as such, Mulcaster's attack against Smith still seems effective because, as Mulcaster argues, the consent of the learned inventors of letters was soon replaced by the "popular gouernment" of sound which "leaue[s] euerie mens pen to his own sound" (1582: 77). On this ground, Mulcaster is telling his reader that orthography is evolutionary rather than static; the painting metaphor just applies to the very early stage when letters were first invented but is invalid for the second and third stage of orthographic development. But this is not the only metaphor where Smith and Mulcaster develop a dialogue with each other. I have discussed earlier that Mulcaster developed a critical dialogue with Hart

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[117] It should be noted that, in my argument, Smith's dialogue with Mulcaster is based on the assumption that these writers are recalling in their printed works dialogues they've already had many years ago although Mulcaster's text was printed fourteen years after Smith's *De Scriptione* (1568).

by comparing the sole government of sound to the idea of absolute monarchy and likening the compound government of Sound, Reason, and Custom to the political ideology of limited monarchy. In fact, with this political framing, Mulcaster also launches a debate with Smith, attempting to show his reader the latent contradiction lying behind Smith's linguistic thought and his political theory. The force of Mulcaster's politicized rhetoric lies in the fact that it shows some inconsistency in Smith. It helps to trigger a question in the mind of the reader: since Smith advocates limited monarchy in his political work *De Republica Anglorum*, why does he promote orthographic reform in *De Scriptione* which in nature pursuits the absolute power of Sound? Mulcaster's political conceptualization reveals that he is beating Smith fatally with the latter's own staff. Thus we see that the success of Mulcaster's rhetoric is due to the fact that he knew his linguistic values and chose an appropriate concept to frame his debate.

In the existing literature on Tudor dialogue, most of the discussions focus on its function for reasoning. But I would like to argue that in the case of Smith, the appeal to dialogue also serves to fashion the image of the interlocutors. The character of "Stubborn" is represented through a chat between Smith and Quintus at the very beginning of the text where the author is setting the scene for the dialogue. Quintus tells Smith that he had a sharp dispute with Stubborn the last day, which almost turned into a vulgar quarrel. Smith's answer shows that it is no surprise to him because Stubborn "has a bitter and obstinate mind, and never gives way to reason, however plain and clear it may be" (1568/1983: 13), which directly points to the person's character. It is interesting to note that, in this linguistic work which is dedicated to reasoning orthographic reform, Smith opens the text not with a rational argument but a comment on his opponent's reaction to different ideas. This goes across pages, and, as follows, Smith also makes a longer evaluation of Stubborn's attitude towards issues other than English spelling.

> He obstinately defends all kinds of errors and abuses, whether in religion and ritual, in ways of teaching, dressing, and living, or in anything else. Whatever has been usual and generally approved, however absurd, unfit, or stupid it may be, and blamed by the truthful, good, wise, and learned, is to him true and right. He cannot accept that anyone points out his inveterate errors and tells him to correct them. If he were less bitter about this, he would be easier to get on with. But that unreasonable obstinacy of his, in conjunction with such vehemence and bitterness, is more than I can bear. (p. 13)

But in the mouth of Quintus, Stubborn is "a very good fellow" and "a steadfast and faithful friend" (Smith 1568/1983: 15) in general although he tends to be argumentative in language matters. By doing so, Smith wants to tell us that he is a just person—he is presenting his opponents' image in a fair manner, with voices from both sides.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter set the discussion of Hart in a comparative context. By foregrounding the dialogical and intertextual elements in their linguistic writings, I have investigated how Hart, Mulcaster, and Smith differ from each other and how they respond to criticisms from the other side, both ideologically and rhetorically. I offered a range of textual evidence for making clear the identity of the author's interlocutors. On this ground, I examined how they expounded the role of Sound, Reason, and Custom in shaping orthography with reference to current ideas about the forms of government of commonwealth. Hart, taking Sound as the only determining factor of an ideal orthography, framed his proposition with reference to absolute monarchy. In contrast, Mulcaster, insisting that Sound, Reason, and Custom all should have a say in the matter of spelling, modeled his linguistic thought on the idea of mixed government (i.e. limited monarchy). Their rhetorical war was not confined to the use of political allegory. Mulcaster also uttered dissenting voices concerning Hart's use of the metaphors of portraiture and disease. All these show that Tudor orthographers did not work in isolation. They kept an eye on their peers' works and made responses in their own linguistic writings.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

for whose [a lord and his familie's] worthieness partly, and partli for the necessite of the ships more suretie, I wold new calfett hir thorow: and whit talow so moch as shuldbe under the water, for hir more swiftnes: and the upper part (as men use new, and new trimmed ships) I wold new coulour with oiles and rosen, partly for hir more fairnes, and partly for the defence of wasshings and stormes: wherby the ship was cleane altered from hir first coulour. [...] He that contineweth in souch a dreame (by the meanes of the holsome ships new coulour) yt wil be long or he gladly passe the seas in hir.

Hart, *The Unreasonable Writing* (1551: 229–230)

With particular reference to John Hart, this thesis has explored in detail the movement of orthographic reform in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Throughout the four analytical chapters, I sought to argue that Hart's three works constitute a consistent and coherent endeavor to conceptualize spelling standardization in terms of Tudor politics. His linguistic ideology is engendered and deeply rooted in the religio-political context of the Tudor era, and his undertaking is presented as contributing to the construction of national commonwealth. More importantly, his ideas are elaborately framed with social images and political models. This quality of Hart's works is underscored through an extended metaphor employed in both the manuscript and the published treatises—constructing a linguistic commonwealth of orthography.

Hart likens his alphabetical commonwealth to a ship, casting himself in the role of "navigator" who holds the principle of phonetic spelling as a "compasse" and directs the storm-tossed ship of orthography on the rough sea to "the desired hauen" (1569: fol.10[r]). In fact, this image of "orthographic ship" is adapted from the allegory of "the ship of state" which was proposed by Plato in Book VI of *The Republic* (lines 488a–489d). Originally, it refers to the comparison of governing a city-state to commanding a naval vessel, emphasizing that the absolute king is the only man fit to be the captain of this ship. It was oft-quoted in religio-political writings of the Tudor period, though sometimes with tiny adaptations. For instance, Thomas More writes in *Utopia* that the monarch cannot desert a problematic commonwealth, just as he "must not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, bycause [he] can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes" (1551).[118] John Hooper notes that "men of the best judgment in civil matters many times, under the name and similitude of a ship, understand the commonwealth" (1555/1843: 459). The rhetorician George Puttenham also mentions the ship-of-state allegory in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), "calling 'the Commonwealth a shippe, the Prince a Pilot, the Councellours Mariners, the stormes warres, the calme and haven peace'" (Evans 1953: 267). In Hart's three works, he fashions himself not only as a navigator, but also a person who has "the grace to be hable to invent souch a faction of ship or galey, by the fiveth, forth or more swifter, then ever any was before used" (1551: 173).

Firstly, the new alphabet is a ship that can transform "a darke kinde of" orthography (Hart 1569: fol.2[r]) to "the most perfite way of writing" (1569: fol.10[r]); it is a ship that can bring "all temporal goodness" and "welfare" (Hart 1551: 28), and it is also a ship which can take the Christian men from their "trauaile past in this earthly vale" to "the heauenly blisse" (Hart 1570: sig.A.iiij[v]). As I discussed in **Chapter 2**, in Hart's mind the benefits of having a standardized

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[118] The pages of the first translated version of *Utopia* published in 1551 are not numbered. This sentence is quoted from the section "The fyrste boke of the communycacion of Raphaell hythlodaye concernynge the best state of a commen wealthe".

spelling system rest on all three levels of the God-king-commonwealth hierarchy. First, by providing a new orthography with "certaintie, order, and reason" (1570: sig.A.ij^v), Hart aspires to remove the obstacle to the acquisition of literacy, catering to the protestants' burning anxiety "to read the Bible for themselves in their quest for salvation" (*DNB*, Salmon 2004b: online) during and after the movement of religious reform. Second, the benefits of orthographic reform are also expected to reach down to the earthly *head* of the realm and his *body* the commonwealth. A standardized orthography was seen as an essential part of a coherent national community, serving to incorporate the Irish and Welsh as well as parts of England that speak different dialects. It is part of an effort to build a linguistically unified national state, which could enhance the King's absolute power and his status as the supreme head of the Church of England. In short, this ship of true orthography takes the sovereign lord and his subjects to a promising destination—Christian commonwealth.

Secondly, it is an orthographic ship of a hierarchical structure in itself. Hooper divides the people on the ship of the commonwealth into different sorts according to their social degrees (1555/1843: 459–462). Hart transfers this strand of meaning to his explication of the "order" underlying a perfect writing. As I discussed in **Chapter 3**, Sound has the supreme power. "He" is the monarch of the realm of England, acting as the "captain" on the ship of orthography. Letters, like the magistrates, work at the command of sound, serving as inferior but real governors of the province of writing. They are subdivided into vowel letters and consonantal letters, respectively corresponding to the greater nobility and less nobility in the Tudor society. Diacritics, as "the accidents of letters", are signs for no voice, and in this sense their status is similar to the class of laborers and artificers who stand at the bottom of the social ladder. In brief, the constituent elements of orthography are personified and likened to the "members" of the commonwealth, and a sense of hierarchy is maintained with respect to the internal structure of orthography. All letters should be used in their "singular virtue" to keep the writing well-ordered and reasonable. This is more or less a general practice in Tudor conceptualizations of letters and spelling. Hart's case well illustrates how social facts and beliefs exerted a substantial influence on scholars' perception and rationalization of language in the sixteenth century.

In addition, orthographic problems are discussed in terms of "the trouble" and "the destruction" (Hooper 1555/1843: 461) of "his majesty's ship, this realm of England" (Hooper 1555/1843: 462). In **Chapter 3** I also discussed how Hart politicized the four forms of orthographic "corruption"—diminution, superfluity, usurpation, and misplacing. For instance, superfluous letters are likened to the men of noble class who "make unprofitable expenses" and "live idle" (Hooper 1555/1843: 460; also see Hart 1551: 33; 1569: fol.11^v, fol.12^r). In the society, the idleness of the nobles brought about "oppression of the poor" (Hooper 1555/1843: 460) and in orthography the use of superfluous letters led to "confusion and disorder" (Hart 1569: fol.2^r). In

his writing entitled "An Oversight and Deliberation upon the Holy Prophet Jonas" Hooper makes a biblical allusion to "Jonas" in his comments on social problems caused by the negligence of duty of the four degrees of men, which goes as follows:

> Christ appeased with his presence the troublous waves of the sea, John VI. Upon whom then will the lot of unquietness and trouble fall? Upon Jonas; that is to say, upon every man that neglecteth his vocation, and doeth not as he is bid: as when he that should steer the rudder in a ship leaveth her to waves, he that should strike the sails, stretcheth them to more wind; and so, to conclude, none taketh heed of that he should. My gracious lord and king, and ye, my lords of his most honourable council, how many Jonases should there be found in England? Doubtless, too many in every condition and sort of people within this realm, among the nobles, lawyers, bishops, priests, and the common people. (1555/1843: 459–460)

Jonas is "the name of the Hebrew prophet *Jonah*, the subject of the Book of Jonah" (*OED* "Jonas", n.). He was asked by God to go to Nineveh and admonish the local people for their immoral acts that offend against the divine law. But he did not do as was told. Instead, he got onto a ship that went to Tarshish. As a punishment, he was trapped in a strong storm and was swallowed by a gigantic fish. Only when he agreed to travel to the required destination was he vomited out by the fish on the shore of Nineveh. By this allusion, Hooper intends to explain that some of those "four sorts" of people were "guilty of the tempest" (Hooper 1555/1843: 462) because they "neglect their vocation, and doe not as they are bid" (Hooper 1555/1843: 460). If these problems are amended, "the ship of this commonwealth shall rest in peace and quietness"; otherwise, "the ship of the commonwealth shall at last be burst in pieces"[119] (Hooper 1555/1843: 462). In Hart's texts, the image of ship is used together with a couple of vocabularies such as "sea", "stormes" (1551: 229), and "variable blastes of contrary windes" (1569: fol.10ʳ). In addition, Hart also criticises the abuse of letters in terms of "ill members" existing in the four degrees of people. All these tend to evoke the same biblical allusion in Hart's linguistic writings. That is, each letter, just like Jonas and the members of commonwealth, has its unique "office" and "mission" prescribed by orthographers and the law of true writing; if one does not perform its own duty or usurps the power of others, it will bring "storm" and "contrary wind" to the ship of orthography that is voyaging on the sea.

The third point of contact between Hart's work and the ship-state analogy lies in the *governmental* aspect of orthography and commonwealth. In *The Republic*, Plato depicts the quarrel between the sailors over the helm "about how to navigate the ship" (Book 6, lines 487d–488e, translated by Lee, 1955/2003). They fight with each other to be the governor of the ship and take control of its direction, which is originally the task of the captain. This part of the ship-

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[119] In this quotation, I change the *third person singular* form of the pronouns ("his" and "he") and verbs ("neglecteth", "doeth", and "is") in the original text into *third person plural* ("their", "they", "neglect", "doe", and "are").

state allegory is invoked in the spelling reformers' debate on the "governor(s)" of an ideal orthography. As I discussed in **Chapter 5**, Hart developed a dialogue with his opponents regarding the role of Sound in shaping a perfect alphabet. For Hart, Sound is the one and only "man" who is fit for captaining the ship of orthography, just like a king ruling the country with absolute and supreme power. In contrast, Mulcaster proposes that a joint government of Sound, Reason, and Custom is more suitable for the commonwealth of writing. This reveals that their opinions diverge on the issue of appointing "governors" for the ship of orthography. It is interesting to note that Hart, the phonetic spelling advocate, appeals to a relatively *conservative* political belief (i.e. absolute monarchy) to frame his rather *radical* scheme of linguistic reform, while Mulcaster resorts to a *radical* political thought (i.e. limited monarchy) to model his *conservative* view on orthography. For Hart, Custom is the "variable blastes of contrary windes" (1969: 10a) blowing against the ship of true orthography, and under his attack, his rivalry's naval vessel is "so shaken" and "readi to sinke" (1551: 61).

Fourthly, the ship metaphor illustrates well how Hart borrowed and adapted ready rhetorical tools from political discourse, and used them in his linguistic texts. At this point, I would like to re-emphasize that the metaphor of ship and the metaphor of disease were oft-cited in Tudor political tracts of commonwealth, but, in Hart's texts, the metaphor of disease has a wider range of use and plays a more important role in conceptualizing his ideas. That is why I singled out the organic analogy and the metaphor of disease, and dedicated the whole **Chapter 4** to the study of their rhetorical effect in Hart's persuasive writings. By using Aristotle's three modes of persuasion, I not only explained the internal links between Tudor concepts of medicine and Hart's ideas about language, but also demonstrated how Hart fashioned himself as a physician aspiring to cure orthographic diseases. In addition, I also attempted to explore how Hart sought to provoke his reader's supportive emotion by invoking the image of illness and the sufferings of the patient. By doing so, I intended to show that in Hart's case the explanation and promotion of a new orthography was not purely an *intellectual* activity; it also had something to do with finding an appropriate way to affect the reader's *feelings* about his undertaking. It should be noted that this transferring of rhetoric not only offers a ready model for Hart but also reveals the close relationship between spelling reform and Tudor politics—orthography and commonwealth were approached with the same set of terms and concepts.

In summary, orthographic standardization and codification had a central place in linguistic scholarship of the Tudor period. Taking Hart's three orthographic treatises as the principal site of investigation, this thesis developed a study simultaneously combining the technical, ideological, and rhetorical dimensions of his work. Text analysis presented in the preceding chapters has demonstrated that Hart's religio-political conceptualizations of orthographic reform are (at least) threefold: (i) the program was politically motivated, (ii) the technical

aspects of orthography—the constituent elements and internal structure—were modeled on social facts and political theories, and (iii) the ideology of reform was wrapped up with political rhetoric borrowed from Tudor tracts of commonwealth. The point is that Hart's linguistic writings are much richer than purely technical. This project foregrounds their religio-political dimensions and serves to demonstrate how they can be explored and interpreted. To conclude the thesis, Hart's scholarly cause can be tersely summarized as constructing a linguistic commonwealth of orthography in Tudor England, which was modeled on the ideology and rhetoric of constructing a religio-political commonwealth.

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