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Jaime Goodrich, Wayne State University
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Anne Wheathill and the Intertwining of Public Worship and Private Prayer

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The forty-nine prayers in Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull of Holesome (though homelie) Hearbs* (1584) offer a case study in the intertwining of public worship and private prayer. Printed by Henry Denham, who had also printed Thomas Bentley's *The Monument of Matrones* two years earlier, the prayers were published within months of John Whitgift's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury, an ecclesiastical appointment that effectively halted any faltering rapprochement between the Puritan and Episcopal parties. While Bentley was careful to position his devotional compendium as adjunct to, rather than in competition with, public worship, Wheathill potentially intervenes in debates over the nature of, and access to, common worship. Not only do her prayers engage a sermonic mode of discourse attuned to the intricacies of commentary, allusion, and exposition, but they also venture into contested territory. Her emphasis on the sacrament of baptism as the only requirement for entry into the economy of the covenant community, taken in tandem with her complete silence on the Eucharist, suggests a resistance to coercive efforts by either ecclesiastical faction to limit participation in the table, whether by confirmation or tokens of true conversion. Furthermore, by pointing to the "common benefit" that her book offers and specifying her readership as all those, men and women, who are "religious" and love "true religion," she both validates common prayer and worship outside the liturgical services of the church, which Whitgift had sought to ban, and avoids locating her prayers only within the domestic sphere of household devotions.

**From Benedict to Butler:
 Performativity in the Early Modern Benedictine Convent**

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This essay analyzes the liturgy as a performative act within the context of six English Benedictine convents founded on the Continent during the 17th century (at Brussels, Cambrai, Dunkirk, Ghent, Paris, and Pontoise). There is something innately theatrical about communal worship, which takes place in a special setting (a church), requires props (an altar, the implements used in Mass), entails specific gestures (kneeling, standing), and involves public recitation and singing. It is consequently a scholarly commonplace that the post-Reformation stage replaced the Mass as a place of public theatrical display. Critics have yet, however, to analyze the dramatic nature of communal prayer within the cloister despite robust scholarly interest in convent theater, particularly within Italy. Unlike their counterparts in Catholic Europe and the New World, English nuns left scant evidence of their theatrical activities. Both the Mary Ward sisters and the Augustinian canonesses of Paris used drama as a pedagogical tool in their schools. Yet nothing suggests that the nuns in these houses performed plays, and no records of dramatic performance whatsoever remain for many English convents. Nevertheless, it is still possible to consider the role of performance within these institutions if we turn to the drama of

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the liturgy, which was enacted on a daily basis by the nuns and their confessors. By reading a variety of 17th-century Benedictine texts through a Butlerian and Foucauldian lens, I hope to demonstrate that liturgical practice was based on a performative piety in which souls were made visible through bodily discipline.

**‘To Suffer Satans Buffets’:
 Temptation and Public Worship in the Diary of Margaret Hoby**

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This essay considers the relationship between Satanic temptation and representations of public, Puritan spirituality in Margaret Hoby’s well-known diary (1599-1605). I argue that Hoby’s cyclical narratives of temptation show a textually-marked struggle against the devil that interacts in essential ways with her publicly-performed faith. I explore Hoby’s language of temptation and her rhetorical methods of spiritual combat alongside theological literature important to her religious practice, including the writings of William Perkins, Richard Greenham, and John Udall. I am particularly interested in the ways in which Hoby’s repeated accounts of “buffets” and combat against “mine enemy” both interrupt and intersect with descriptions of public prayer, communal reading of devout texts, and participation in sacraments. These accounts are also important to hybrid public/private nature of Hoby’s text, written in implicit discourse with her chaplain, Richard Rhodes. Drawing on scholarship considering Hoby’s intertextuality and political agency, including work by Julie Crawford, Edith Snook, and Mary Ellen Lamb, I examine the interaction between Hoby’s accounts of temptation and of her public performance of godly, Puritan wifehood as a member of the gentry. These interactions between Satan’s “buffets” and her public self are particularly important in the context of Hoby’s North Yorkshire estate, and the significant Catholic sentiment in this area. Through Hoby’s use of temptation rhetorics, we can see a public-facing Puritan theology that figures the devil as an integral part of life for the devout (elect) individual, one who must be combatted but (perhaps beneficially) will never be entirely vanquished.

The Lady Anne Clifford’s Role in the 1660 Restoration of the Church of England

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Anne Clifford’s theoretical and practical theology was complex, moving far beyond the moderate Calvinism with which she is generally associated. In her early adulthood she experienced the more ceremonial worship style to be found in the Chapels Royal of James and Charles I. She heard the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes, and supported chaplains from the growingly disparate positions of the moderate Calvinists and Armenian or avant-garde conformity of those more attracted to Laudian innovations in worship within the Church of England. Anne Clifford had close relationships with John Donne and George Herbert, as well as a number of bishops including Henry King and Brian Duppa, both who once served in her

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household during her marriage to Richard Sackville. This eclectic engagement in the religious conversations and trends of the early seventeenth century became politically charged in the 1640s when, after the success of the Parliamentary army and the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, Church of England ecclesiastical structures were disbanded and the prohibition of worship based on the Book of Common Prayer banned. Anne Clifford's response to this was robust. While she continued wide ranging theological study, her financial and political support fell firmly behind the Church of England ecclesiastical structures and worship. She supported a number of bishops enabling them to continue underground activities that maintained a Church of England presence and structure within England. She rebuilt several churches in Westmorland and northwest Yorkshire, structurally designed to facilitate Book of Common Prayer worship. She supported a number of clergy—both those ousted from their positions and those placed in parishes by interregnum government policy. She continued *Book of Common Prayer* worship in her household chapels despite government pressure to conform to the *Directory for the Public Worship of God* authorized by Parliament in 1645, which at the same time banned use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Through her strategic use of her religious strategies, financial resources and political capital she ensured that Presbyterian structures and later post 1662 non-conformist religious practices did not take root in the barony (or bottom) of Westmorland and more broadly was influential in ensuring that the Church of England as it emerged from its officially banned state in 1660 was healthy enough to become re-established in the years that followed.

Magdalen Herbert and the Herbert Tomb in Montgomery Church

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To honor her first husband after his death in 1596, Magdalen Herbert (d. 1627) had an elaborate tomb built in 1600 in Saint Nicholas Church in Montgomery, Wales. Previous studies of this tomb have emphasized Herbert's ability to link together the spiritual and the worldly, or her coordination of Catholic and Protestant elements. I will argue that the tomb juxtaposed honor and family with the memento mori of the skull. The two skulls at the top of the tomb hover over the heraldry, which celebrates primarily Magdalen's family, the Newports of Shropshire. The effigies of Sir Richard in full armor and his wife in beautiful dress are laid out as in burial, and surrounded by the praying figures of seven of their children. Beneath the figures of the parents, and visible to the viewer, a cadaver lies in its winding sheet. On the monument, the painting of a voluptuous female nude is paired with the figure of Time to remind the viewer of the fleeting nature of worldly pleasures. Therefore the imagery of the skull beneath the skin of the beautiful woman, which appears in George Herbert's sonnets to his mother, Donne's "The Autumnal," and Edward Herbert's "To His Mistress For Her True Picture," were not necessarily psychologically complex attempts to control the power of a beautiful woman, but rather efforts to utilize the iconography of the tomb that Magdalen Herbert had devised.

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The King's Psalms — or the Pope's? Katherine Parr's *Psalms or Prayers* and English Catholic Devotion

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This paper reflects on a fact that Eamon Duffy has called astonishing, something that no Parr scholar has yet discussed — namely, that three of Katherine Parr's translations of John Fisher's *Psalms seu preces*, translations published in her *Psalms or Prayers* (first ed. 1544), circulated in multiple editions of one of the most important late sixteenth-century works of English Catholic devotion. That work is George Flinton's *Manual of Prayers* (first ed. 1583). This instance of cross-confessional recycling affords an opportunity to study how Parr's work was thought capable of shaping quite different religious and national bodies. Parr's translations are credited with an important role in shaping Protestant piety by popularizing collage psalms, and rightly so. But they were also easily assimilated to sixteenth-century English Catholic devotion, in part because the practice of collage psalms crossed confessional lines, in part because of the flexibility of the psalmic form -- its ability to be voiced widely or narrowly, with a Davidic or a personal or a liturgical /I/ -- and in part because of Flinton's general respect for her skillful translations.

How One Early Modern Catholic Woman Read the Book of Common Prayer

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This essay extends the meaning of “public worship” to include circumstances faced by English Catholics during the penal years, when they practiced their religion in private or not at all—or, as discussed here, in polite social conversation encompassing cross-confessional debate. An anecdote in the biography of Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundel (1557-1630) opens a fifty-year long window into her memories of successive revisions of a passage in the Book of Common Prayer. In about 1628, according to her Jesuit biographer, “going casually with other company into a Country Church to see a monument, she fell into discourse with a minister there present, and ... told him a very pregnant place in scripture in proof of prayer for the dead, which she affirm'd to have heard before she was Catholick ... out of one of the lessons read in their Churches upon May day.” The apostolic undertones in her words were to become more apparent when, having noted that “yet remaining in that church” was “an old service book us'd in the time of Queen Elizabeth,” she politely but firmly pressed the minister to acknowledge that the two parallel passages were indeed “very different both in sound and sense.” Having established the minister's concession, the countess's biographer then instances a series of examples in which her knowledge of scripture, informed by her sensitivity to the perspectives of the established church, would result in conversions and reconciliations.

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Women and the Sacrament: Purpose, Preparation, and Prayer

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The Sacrament of the Eucharist historically marks a key moment of intersection between public and private worship: public, in that it is part of the liturgy; private, in that worshippers were encouraged to make it a time of intense personal prayer and contemplation. In the late medieval period, this contemplation focused around the elevation of the Host, and texts such as the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* and John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* provided prayers for the occasion. The discontinuation of the elevation of the Host in 1549 eliminated that focal point, but the Sacrament as a time of personal devotion continued unabated, and new works, such as the *Book of Homilies* and William Bradshaw's *Directions for the Weaker Sort of Christians ... Receiving of the Sacrament*, replaced the earlier ones. Moreover, both before and after these liturgical changes, women found particular meaning in the Sacrament. Carolyn Walker Bynum explores the intense engagement of medieval women (particularly nuns and visionaries) with the Eucharist in *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, while Paula McQuade examines the role of mothers as religious teachers in *Catechisms and Women's Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*, noting Lady Ann Montague's loose-leaf "Preparation for the Sacrament." This paper seeks to trace the continuities and discontinuities in women's experiences with the Sacrament in pre- and post-Reformation England, including the ways in which they conceptualized this act of worship, prepared for it, and wrote about it.

**Thanksgiving Versus Purification:
 Women's Agency and Authority in the Debate Over the Churching of Women**

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University of Lynchburg

This paper will consider the beliefs and anxieties that circulated throughout the Reformation period surrounding the ceremony of the Churching of Women, focusing on a variety of documents, including the unattributed 1601 dialogue, *Certain Questions by way of Conference betwixt a Chancellor and a Kinswoman of his concerning the Churching of Women*. Within the dialogue, a Puritan woman, and a man representing the official position of the Church of England, debate the meaning and necessity of the ceremony. As the woman scolds her kinsman for seeking to "seduce...and... draw us to their false and idolatrous worship and service in Popery" (A6), she claims "this manner of thanksgiving that you would have me to observe is in truth no thanksgiving at all, but a mere Jewish or Popish Purifying" (A4). Thus, intriguingly, the unknown author positions the woman in a place of spiritual dominance over the man, which simultaneously ascribes to her a measure of authority over her body. This paper seeks to tease out the tension between the view of the ceremony as either a service of thanksgiving or one of purification, and in doing so, examines women's roles, voices, and attitudes within this wider debate.

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Clausura and the Long Life of Perpetual Virginity in the English Reformation

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In Marvell's 1651 country-house poem "Upon Appleton House," composed on the site of a former convent, the poet unfolds a narrative of the cultural transformations of place by invoking monastic claustration's material signifier: the convent wall. Marvell collapses the historical moment of the Dissolution into an act of architectural penetration, comparing the passage "through the wall" of the estate's progenitor to the ending of an "enchantment," the "waisted cloister" dissolving like a charmed "castle vanishes or rends" (33-34). The metaphor of penetration intertwines the convent's fate with that of its unprofessed inhabitant Isabella Thwaite, who is transformed from novitiate to wife by the entrance of the poem's intrepid hero. While the convent wall proves a convenient figure for the poem's ideological ends, conflating the Dissolution with the vanishing of consecrated virginity and the religious habitus it embodies, Marvell's rhetorical sleight also indexes an absence reproduced by existing scholarship on English convents. Studies of England's religious houses have examined English convents in both their pre-Dissolution forms and their subsequent reorganization on the continent. These histories have yet to address the Tudor nuns who, ejected from the architectural space of the convent, continued to live communally in the years following the Dissolution. Analyzing the wooden dole-gate brought by the last abbess of Denney, Elizabeth Throckmorton, to her family manor, where she continued to live a conventual life with two other nuns, this essay argues that claustration, in both its architectural and corporeal forms, holds open a space for feminine dissidence in Reformation England.

1566: Mary Stuart, Catholicism and forms of public worship

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This paper considers Mary Queen of Scots' promotion and management of Catholicism through forms of public worship during 1566. Events of this year included the largest public display of Catholicism in Scotland since the Reformation with the attendance of 9000 Catholics at mass in Holyrood, the baptism of James VI according to Catholic rites, and the Stirling "triumph" which followed, celebrating the renewal of the Stuart monarch in lavish public entertainments. Mary's reign has been characterised by Jenny Wormald as "a study in failure," rife with poor political decisions contributing to the queen's mismanagement of her public image, her religious program and the powerful political factions within the Scottish court. Examining Mary's engagement with public forms of Catholic worship in 1566 suggests a different narrative might be constructed about her political competence and the skill with which she managed Catholic populist sentiment early in her reign in Protestant Scotland. This paper will examine popular accounts of her Catholic activism in ballads and pamphlets as well as material evidence connected with the staging of these events in order to understand how the rituals of public worship were used in service of the queen's religious and political programs in 1566, with ramifications for both our

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perceptions of her sovereignty and the role of public worship in the construction of female sovereignty more broadly.

Practical Piety: Anne, Lady Halkett's Sacramental Meditations

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Although still best known for her *True Account of My Life*, Anne, Lady Halkett produced over twenty-one volumes of *Meditations* over the course of her life. Fourteen of those volumes, written c. 1653-1699, remain extant in the National Library of Scotland. As recent research has demonstrated, they offer a rich resource for exploring Halkett's life beyond the abrupt ending of the *TA* in 1656. Collectively, these volumes testify to one woman's commitment to living the liturgy. Her first extant volume explores the meaning and practice of prayer and how it relates to the art of meditation, and over seventy-five pages of her final volume present her own understanding of "The Apostles' Creed." In between, she records her daily and cyclical devotional practices, which follow the *BCP* Calendar. In 1663, she writes her own version of the "Festivals of the Church," with the apparent intent of assisting the contemporary debate about the organization of the Church after the Restoration. Halkett had a particular interest in this debate: although committed to the Church of England, she was living in Scotland, the land of the Covenanters and Presbyterianism. As such Halkett's commitment to the liturgy is a political act; for example, her habit of kneeling receive the Sacrament creates discord within her local community. This paper will explore how Halkett's numerous meditations on the Sacrament helped her to combine her personal piety with public practices.

Katherine Parr's "House" and Liturgical Experimentation

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Henry VIII died in January 1547, but Katherine Parr was a religious activist until her death in September 1548. During this period she organized the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* and published her *Lamentation of a Sinner* (Whitchurch 5 Nov. 1547). This paper opens a new area of inquiry by arguing that Parr's household was one of several places where liturgical experimentation was tolerated between the Edwardian Injunctions (July 1547) and the Act of Uniformity (January 1549). Specifically, I argue that Parr was the patron and perhaps the author or co-author of some "collects" used in a worship "service" in her "house." More broadly, this paper asks us to think more closely about the elusive category of corporate / household worship and about the liturgical power that a woman could wield if she were the head of a household with a chapel. I begin by discussing *Devout Prayers and Collects* (Whitchurch 5 Nov, 1547), a reformist prayer book for private or corporate worship. We know that Parr used the Collects because the 1552 *BCP* printed them as "Prayers, taken out of the *service daily used* in the Queen's house." This new data demonstrates that Parr's house engaged in the kind of liturgical experimentation that also took place in the Chapel Royal and some Cathedrals. I also suggest that

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Parr might have been the author or co-author of these Collects: the *Devout Prayers* and *Lamentation* were printed at the same time, and the 1547 Collects resonate closely with passages from the *Lamentation*.

Re-gendering Funerals in Mary Wroth's *Love's Victory*

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The final scene of *Love's Victory* begins with the funeral of the lovers, Musella and Phillises, who are mourned by their fellow shepherds and shepherdesses. Of course, Wroth's play is a pastoral tragi-comedy so that Musella and Philisses, rise from the tomb and the play concludes with love restored, marriages arranged and the promise of renewal. In this paper, however, I'd like to focus upon death and the rituals of memorialisation and funerals, because, as we've come to expect with Wroth, the rites are structured so as to challenge gendered conventions. To begin, therefore, the paper briefly sets out the ways in which early modern women were remembered before and during their funerals drawing upon the work of Philippe Ariès, Patricia Philippi and Peter Sherlock. Throughout, I am also indebted to the critical writing on Wroth of Barbara Lewalski, Carolyn Ruth Swift, Jo Roberts and Ilona Bell. At the same time, with reference to the theoretical work of Judith Butler and Elizabeth Bronfen, I wish to explore how it becomes possible to understand the ways in which those conventions may be revealed by the play as constructs devised to reassert the power of the dominant patriarchy. The paper then focusses upon the last act of *Love's Victory* from the point when the lovers decide to commit suicide, through the responses of the other shepherds and shepherdesses to the supposed death of their companions at Musella's and Philisses' 'funeral,' to the final *unheimlich*-like comments of Rustick.