Attending to Early Modern Women 2018: Action and Agency

I. Title

Activity, Collectivity, and Identity in Early Modern Female Catholic Communities: Reevaluating the Use of Primary Sources

II. Participants

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Elizabeth Lehfeldt, Cleveland State University, History
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III. Workshop Description

The idea that early modern society was fundamentally structured by group identities is reflected in the countless scholarly studies that place the term “community” in their titles. Yet as Merry Wiesner Hanks pointed out in Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe, group membership was far less accessible to women, in particular because they were barred or had limited access to the professional guilds. While women could join some non-profession based confraternities, religious communities like convents, beguinages, and third order congregations often offered them the best access to the sense of belonging and group identity. Taking one of those paths, however, often meant that a woman’s identity was further separated from the broader society, as taking the veil was to various degrees defined as a separation from worldly concerns and human relationships.

For many decades the scholarship on these early modern women’s communities in Catholic countries focused largely on the question of their status vis-à-vis the male ecclesiastical hierarchy, with particular attention to the reforms imposed on nuns after the Council of Trent. In Protestant areas, the story was usually one of dissolution or resistance. While much work has been done on the imposition of both Protestant and Tridentine reforms, which either “liberated” the women or pushed them more firmly behind convent walls, more recent scholarship has shown there was far less uniformity than was once believed. We are finding that the experiences of nuns and semi-religious women and their relationships to Church and State authorities were far more varied across time, space, and type of institution than we had realized. A number of scholars are moreover turning away from reform as a primary framing device to explore new avenues of inquiry and recover activities of women religious and the diversity of their identities in early modern society. Rather than frame their expression of identity only in reactive terms as a response to efforts to reform them, we need to be attentive to the others ways in which they asserted themselves.

The archives of women’s religious institutions are fundamental sources in this continuing diversification of our understanding of these communities, but they often offer only an oblique
view onto the historical realities one seeks to uncover. In this workshop we plan to explore the ways in which refiguring our approaches to archival sources can push the recent developments in the scholarship on women religious further. We intend to address the following questions:

1. How do institutional account books shed light not just on economic questions, but also on the relationships within and between communities, and on the actual activities of their making – the administrative, physical, and intellectual labor of their authors?
2. What do biographies of women religious reveal about their individual and collective identities and the place of women religious in early modern society?
3. How do convent chronicles work as collective biographies and how do they describe and create female community, especially in times of confrontation and crisis?
4. In what ways do particular archival sources evidence women’s ability to make choices, and how could this further complement our understanding of their position within the Church hierarchy?
5. What other networks and relationships do these archival sources reveal and what can these in turn tell us about the ways in which religious women defined their collective identity in relation to individuals and institutions beyond the Church?

To make the most efficient and effective use of our time, we do not plan to make introductory comments; rather, we will begin with a basic discussion of the meaning of ‘collectivity’ and ‘activity’ to each of the participants’ work and follow with discussions of the aforementioned questions.

IV. Readings

Readings


Excerpt of the accounts of the Diest Beguinage (with translation)

Excerpt from the biography of suor Maria Maddalena Sangiorgi, founder of the third order Carmelite community S. Maria delle Grazie in Bologna (with translation)


Suggested Readings

Susan Broomhall and Stephanie Tarbin, eds., Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe (Ashgate, 2008).
4

FEMALE CULTURE

Did women have a culture of their own? Few scholars of early modern culture have thought the subject worth investigating. Initially, historians defined a broad division between two cultures, élite and popular. Recent scholarship has offered a critique of this simple dichotomy, positing a ‘cultural pluralism’ in which regional variation as well as a tripartite class structure played a role in producing diverse subcultures. Yet despite the growing focus on a multiplicity of subgroups within the larger society, relatively little attention has been paid to fundamental differences between the cultures produced by women and by men.

Part of the problem stems from the models which have been employed to interpret popular culture. Male popular culture has been defined as the norm, with female culture consciously or unconsciously measured against it and found wanting. Although historians have increasingly acknowledged that women’s role in popular culture is problematic, few scholars have tried to tease out gender differences, or to examine the question of women’s relationship to popular culture. Nor have historians sought to construct a model that delineates an autonomous culture common to women which was not shared by men. One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate that such an independent female culture did in fact exist in early modern England.

By the term ‘culture’ we understand a system of shared meanings within which people lived their lives. Female culture can be analysed in both a vertical and horizontal sense. There were common elements to women’s activities which cut across social barriers and helped to define the entire female sex in binary opposition to the male sex. And at a particular social level, women shared models of thought and behaviour which set them apart as a group from men of the same social class. For example, needlework has both a vertical and a horizontal meaning. All women were involved with sewing, but men were not, unless they had an occupational designation such as tailor or embroiderer. Needlework was just called ‘work’, it was something all women did. But ordinary women worked at bone-lacemaking, knitting, and plain sewing, while wealthier women and girls embroidered. Each of these cultural traditions was transmitted within its own social grouping, either from mother to daughter, teacher to pupil, or friends helping friends.

To reconstruct the common culture of ordinary women, as distinct from that of the élite, is no easy task. Whereas élite women have left a rich variety of writings, little has remained of the mental or material culture of ordinary women. For the most part, we must glean what we can from indirect evidence which was produced or mediated by men. The difficulties are increased by the fact that social distinction played less part in female culture than in early modern culture generally. While élite men exerted a dominance in the culture of their society, the hegemonic power of élite women among their own sex was limited. Gentlemen engaged in a separate literate culture to a much lesser extent than their male counterparts. Within the female population, knowledge came from experience and observation as much as from books. Central to the female world was the woman with knowledge, the midwife who was her self a mother. The majority of women, from the poorest to the most aristocratic, shared direct experience of maternity. Even a woman of high social status who had not borne a child could find herself on the periphery of a key aspect of female culture.

We see women’s culture both as a phenomenon in and of itself and in its relation to the dominant culture or cultures. Women were not an isolated group; they always had diverse kinds of social relationships to men. Women who were educated shared in many aspects of élite culture, which was focused on literature. Elite women also had access to popular culture, while for the most part ordinary women had access to popular culture alone. The common culture was misogynistic, and popular sayings reflected widespread hostility to women. ‘To love a woman’s soul whilst there are men, is as bad as bestiality whilst there are women’; ‘None but fools were fit to bear children.’ Even praise carried a sting: ‘I like a thing that’s excellent, though...
in an ill kind, as I like a good woman." This particular set of saws actually comes from the commonplace book of a woman, Dame Sarah Cowper, showing us that women participated in perpetuating this misogynistic oral culture. Women as well as men told jokes of female imbecility, cunning, and frailty: Sir Nicholas Le Strange's mother told stories such as that of an illiterate servant girl who, when asked to produce a testimonial, "up she runs, and for her Testimonial, brings down a very faire and formal warrant, signifying that she had lately had a Bastard." The Lady Spring was Le Strange's source for another story, about a wife who could not speak. Her husband took the advice of a physician, which proved so efficacious that he was troubled with her perpetual clamour before which the physician was helpless: "God help the[e] now for I cannot; A woman that hath lost her speech, thou see'st may be recovered; but if once her Tongue sets a running, all the Divell in hell cannot make it lyse still."

Given that women ideally belonged to the household, and men claimed public space as their own, both élite and popular cultures recognized that women as women had concerns of their own. If the household was the proper place for women, then the household could sometimes become a female space. In this chapter we explore women's relationship to the spaces of early modern society, the places where they associated together, and where only women were likely to be found. Furthermore, we show how society encouraged women to spend time with each other. Yet although, since women were perceived as sexually unstable, men regarded them as being at risk in mixed company, men were also suspicious of women in all-female company, fearful their opportunities for gossip.

Perhaps too, we should speak of women's cultures rather than of culture in the singular. Social distinction, age, and geographical location all played a part in shaping women's bonds. Nevertheless, across these divisions there were aspects of a common culture which women shared. Their cultures and values connected them to fundamental concerns: giving birth, childrearing, and sustaining life. From women's own perspective, they preserved a culture with important life-enhancing values. In comparison, men appeared to be preoccupied with politics, authority, and their masculine vanity and virility. Within their own culture, women shaped and enhanced the lives of both sexes, across all ages. Women shared a female consciousness.  

**SPACE**

Separate cultures for women and men were closely associated with the gendering of space. In some contexts, segregation was imposed on the female sex by patriarchal edict, for women were barred from certain locations and institutions reserved for men. But women's role in the gendering of space was not merely negative. They created their own culture, in part, by demarcating and controlling their own space. When special female concerns were at stake, groups of women constructed private spaces from which they excluded men. Women might also exercise spatial and cultural dominance in spheres which were under men's nominal authority, such as the household or market. An investigation of the domains in which women lived and worked can help us to understand female culture as a multifaceted but organically linked whole.

From their own viewpoint, women enacted a mapping of space that was different from the normative strictures decreed by men. The sole context in which women deliberately cloistered themselves within the household was for the rites of childbirth, when they cordoned off an interior space to keep men and girls out, not to shut themselves in. But even in daily life, the household was a female-dominated milieu, offering women a secure yet flexible base of operations for their forays into the outside world. Unlike élite advice books, popular culture affirmed women's right to control household space, applying the derogatory term 'cotwican' to men who meddled with domestic concerns. Ballads like The Woman to the Flow and The Man to the Hen-Roost (1629) vividly portray the catastrophes that ensued when the husband usurped his wife's charge of household affairs.

Another popular anecdote mocks a husband who tried to 'get the mastery' by testing his wife's compliance to his orders, ending with his command that she place some boiling stew in the hen-roost. Responding to his comment, 'now standeth the pot there as I would have it', his wife poured the stew over his head, saying, 'And now ben the pottage there-as I would

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9 Ibid. 120.
Fig. 25. Women buying and selling at the market. Women kept market stalls. They were also buyers of foodstuffs and other commodities. Note female purchasers strolling with baskets, and stallholders proclaiming their wares or haggling with customers

have them'. Such ballads and tales implied that the household was women's proper realm of authority by virtue of knowledge and skill. In everyday life, women exercised de facto control of domestic space and its objects through their work. When they embarked on major enterprises such as laundry day, men might even shift their own agendas. Nehemiah Wallington failed to attend a fast day because 'it was a drying day and my wife would be forth a drying'.

During the daytime, women treated their dwellings as fluid and open expanses, from which they surveyed the passing scene and emerged at will. They also freely resorted to each other's houses, making use of neighbours' dwellings much like a series of linked female spaces. Friends casually entered to eat and drink and chat, borrow domestic implements, give or receive charity, exchange information, visit the sick and dying, or share work and child-care. Incidental references reveal that women's habit of treating each other's dwellings and possessions as common property was so widespread as to be taken for granted. Sometimes we learn of these communal female mores when they led to abuse or discord. Edith Eyles, accused of stealing some rings from a neighbour's house, explained her presence at the scene of the crime by saying she 'came to borrow thread, and finding no one at home, she went away'. Suspicions of infanticide directed against Elizabeth Lowes, a

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13 BL, Add. MS 40883, 'Nehemiah Wallington his Booke', fo. 6'.
maidservant, first arose because Wilmott Winterhay came to borrow a bowl and heard Elizabeth groaning. In other incidents, women claimed they had been inside a neighbour's house borrowing a basin or coals for their fire. 14

Both the flexibility and liminal ambiguity of feminized household boundaries were embodied in women's habit of posting themselves at their doorsteps. Although the women who appear in church court records can be found in most locales, they frequently report themselves standing or sitting in doorways, either alone or in sociable groups of two or three. 15 Occasionally the 'doorway' stance was linked to women's work, since outdoor light was preferable for needlework or lacemaking. But most female witnesses spoke as if they assumed that the doorway was their rightful place as housewives and villagers.

The liminal stance of the doorway connected women in their economic role as overseers of the household to their social role as participants in village life. At her doorstep, a woman was technically within the bounds of her home without being enclosed within its walls. From this vantage point, she could observe the panorama of street life, and take part or remain aloof from her neighbours' affairs. In towns and urbanized areas like London, women also watched the spectacle of street life from open shop windows or house windows on upper floors. Living literally on top of each other, female neighbours carried on conversations and disputes, or observed others do so, while remaining inside their own houses and shops. 16

The print and doggerel poem 'Title-Tattle; Or, the Several Branches of Gossiping' is ostensibly a satirical attack on women's propensity for idle and contentious chatter. But what the print incidentally depicts is women's custom of forming their own spatial groupings related to life-cycle events, work, and leisure, sociable gatherings, and religious observance. These categories were mixed rather than distinct, for women's work and the feminine rites of passage were treated as social and ceremonial as well as instrumental occasions.

In seventeenth-century society, the social dimensions of childbirth assumed almost as much prominence as its biological purpose. Women's

15 For some examples, see OA, MS Archd. papers Oxon. c. 118, fo. 67; OA, MS Oxfr. Dioc. papers c. 26, 1629-34, fos. 18, 74-5, 138; Devon RO, Charter 878, Consistory Court Depositions 1679-81, fos. 7, 25-33, 44; see also L. Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult', HFW, 31 (1993), 18.
16 See, for example, Devon RO, Charter 878, Consistory Court Depositions 1679-81, fo. 7; GLRO, D/LC/215, Consistory Court Depositions 1622-4, fo. 17; GLRO, D/LC/315, Consistory Court Depositions 1637-40, fo. 20, 27; Guildhall, MS 9179/3, fos. 27, 56; OA, MS Oxfr. Dioc. papers c. 26, 1629-34, fos. 6-7, 41.

creation of a ritual space on this occasion was an opportunity for defining relationships of female intimacy, for recognizing those relatives and neighbours held in friendship and esteem. Childbed was a site where different generations affirmed their bonds, particularly the mother-daughter bond. The ceremony also united women of different social classes. Gentlewomen might visit their plebeian neighbours to help with the birth, to bring gifts of childbed necessities or medicines and cordials, which were used as anaesthetics. 17 For those above the poorest classes, the lying-in period thus took on the aspect of a protracted party, with expectations of lavish hospitality, including abundant food and drink for the guests. 18 Christenings, too, were arranged much like a 'mini-childbed' where women assembled among their own sex for hospitality and sociability. 19

Outside the household, some female tasks and occasions had developed into feminized milieux in their own right. The town conduit or public well, the bakehouse, and the riverbank where clothes were washed were patronized mainly by women, and treated by them almost as an extension of their dwellings. 20 Outdoor chores also led to sociable female gatherings,
such as women's custom of milking their cows in common.\textsuperscript{22} Certain centers of economic activity, although technically under male jurisdiction, were apt to be colonized by female groups, including female vendors' informal control of market space. Although the allocation of stalls was supposedly dictated by male officials, women tried to establish their own territorial groupings within the shared domain of the market.\textsuperscript{22}

Religious and neighbourly or charitable occasions also offered women opportunities to construct feminine spheres of social dominance. Visits to the sick and dying were women's special concern because of their nursing expertise. As records of testamentary disputes confirm, the deathbed was a 'feminized' locale. Church was another setting where women demarcated their own spatial and sociable terrain. Women's quarrels about 'place' were generally confined to their own sector of the church; only rarely did they publicly question their segregation from men. Yet while worshipping in the established church, they did not passively accept the places appointed for them by the clergy and churchwardens. Ecclesiastical court records document quarrels between female parishioners over seating and behaviour.\textsuperscript{22} Among the Quakers, women's separate meetings extended their control of a female sacred space to the point where some men felt threatened.\textsuperscript{24}

During daylight hours, the male ideal of encloistered femininity was irrelevant to most women's behaviour. Church court records show women interacting with each other and with men in the street, the church, the fields, markets and fairs, and sometimes in predominantly masculine domains such as the alehouse. In part this was a corollary of the gendered division of domestic labour. The need for wives and children to contribute to the family economy meant that many women in their daily work routine were obliged to overlap with men in male-dominated space.

Women's incursions into male territory varied with socio-economic status. Roughly speaking, the higher a woman's social position, the less likely she was to share or invade male physical or psychological space. At the top of the social ladder, access was restricted by both class and gender: the Privy Council and Houses of Parliament were off limits not only to elite women, but to plebeian classes of both sexes.\textsuperscript{24} The lower the social level, the more common it was for women to control their own cultural, physical, and ritual space, and to share, dispute, or invade space which was under the nominal control of men. The ceremony of childbirth remained an all-female preserve among labouring women, but saw the encroachment of men-midwives among the aristocracy towards the end of the seventeenth century. Mary of Modena gave birth in 1688 before male 'witnesses'.\textsuperscript{25}

Ordinary women's need to share male space had its negative aspect. Female labourers who gleaned in the fields or worked there alone with men were too poor to subsist on domestic labour alone. The lowliest maidservant was chosen to help with outdoor farming chores or go on errands, to haul water from the conduit, or to fetch her master from the tavern. Similarly, daughters of poor families were more likely to be found in male space, like the 12-year-old girl found working in the kitchen of her father's alehouse after midnight.\textsuperscript{27} Such tasks were relegated to those who were powerless to refuse them, because male space was physically as well as morally dangerous to women.

For many women, indoor and outdoor space were equally hazardous environments. Women suffered numerous covertly sanctioned forms of violence within the household: wives, daughters, and maidservants were assaulted, robbed, or raped in their own homes.\textsuperscript{28} And, even in peaceful households, the contradiction between female and male concepts of space was never resolved; conflict might surface among the happiest married couples. Moreover, women's custody of domestic space was always precarious. Since the husband was sole owner of his house and 'appurtenances' according to common law, some men utilized their property rights as a weapon during domestic disputes. It was several church court cases, witnesses reported that the husband had locked his wife out of the house in her nightclothes in mid-winter.\textsuperscript{29}

Their susceptibility to male violence helps explain why women often went about in pairs or groups during the daytime, for they were vulnerable to opportunistic forms of bodily harm when they ventured into outdoor or male-dominated space. Court records reveal that women were attacked

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\textsuperscript{22} OA, MS Archd. papers Oxon, c. 118, fols. 20-6, 40-53.

\textsuperscript{22} The Petition of the Oppressed Market People [1697].

\textsuperscript{23} K. Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance of Church Seating Arrangements and Pew Disputes, 1700-1740', D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford (1990), 139-43.

\textsuperscript{24} For gendered political spaces in the Quaker Wilkinson-Story controversy see P. Mack, Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophesy in Seventeenth-Century England (Berkeley, 1993), 293-301.

\textsuperscript{25} For example, Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council included only one woman, the queen herself.


\textsuperscript{27} OA, MS Oxv. Dioc. papers c. 20, 1629-34, fols. 340-7.

\textsuperscript{28} For example, see J. M. Guidling (ed.), Reading Records, 4 vols. (1893), ii. 340-1, for a husband's alleged rapes of girls aged 9, 11, and 14 who were in the care of his wife in their home; see also Ashley, Coramdes, 17, 31, 49, 60, 65, 75, 79, 83, etc. Even in female space, maidservants were vulnerable to fatal beatings from masters or mistresses.

\textsuperscript{29} For example, GLRO, DL/C/241, Consistory Court Depositions 1684-7, fols. 31-33; see also A. Wentworth, A Vindication (1679) and The Revelation of Jean Clos' (1679).
while walking to market, working in the open fields, serving in alehouses or inns. At night, outdoor space was even more dangerous to women, for it was defined by society as both male and taboo, officially off limits to the female sex regardless of social status. Most women did not venture out alone at night; they rarely went out in female groups, because of the danger to life and reputation. Women who evaded the ban were taken to be 'nightwalkers', or prostitutes. Merely to walk unescorted at night rendered a woman liable to be arrested for immorality and sent to the local Bridewell. Women, but not men, were subject to a de facto curfew after dark.

Women had many practical reasons for demarcating separate spaces in a society in which work and life-stages were both strongly differentiated by sex, and the gender order was enforced by the threat of violence. But women also gathered together among their own kind for social or 'cultural' reasons. Within their own milieu, female collectivities sustained a rich heritance of oral and material traditions.

**SPEECH**

Arise earlie
Serve God devoutly
Then to thy work bustlie
To thy meat joyfully
To thy bed merrily
And though thou fare poorely
And thy lodging homelie
Yet think God highly.

This little poem with its philosophy of life and work was a 'saying' of Katharine Dowse, a dairy-wife who kept seven score cows at Sibton Abbey, Suffolk. We know of it only because Katharine's son Bartholomew quoted it in his *Dairtie Booke for Good Huswifes*, 1588, a manual which drew its information from his mother's extensive experience. Although women's oral traditions were one of the most fertile creations of seventeenth-century culture, they are an aspect of female life of which we can have very little direct knowledge.

Women's speech is hidden from us not only because it was liable to be negatively constructed by men, but because it was highly contextualized by women themselves. Female discourse was often linked to places where women worked or gathered, such as childbed and church, dairy and bakehouse, town conduit and market. Moreover, the utility and sheer spontaneity of women's rhetorical styles encouraged them to maintain these traditions within the privacy of a self-contained feminine world. The more vigorously women's oral culture flourished, the less need anyone felt to write it down or to display its treasures to an outside audience. In early modern Wales, where many women composed poetry and shared it with friends, the feminine bardic tradition was so robust that even those female poets who were able to write did not transcribe their poetry, but used literate skills for utilitarian purposes.

Responses recorded in court depositions exhibit other connections between female speech and its locale. Women generally chose their topics, vocabulary, and rhetorical modes according to two axes of variation, the 'gender context' of the setting in which they found themselves, and the social status of speaker and audience. Both popular anecdotes and court records depict ordinary women as more direct, uninhibited, and 'vulgar' (by élite standards) than their aristocratic counterparts.

Likewise, as far as the records can take us, all-female groups were relatively candid and free in conversation, whereas women in mixed or male-dominated milieux such as the law courts adapted their language to collective notions of feminine modesty. Interrogated at the quarter sessions about her mistress Rebecca Purcas, Mary Clarke mentioned that Rebecca had used 'such speeches ... which she will not confess or utter to men but to women'. A maid servant testifying in Sir Edward Moseley's trial for rape refused to repeat Moseley's obscenities, but instead reported he had said 'he would make me kiss his eat cetera'. The plaintiff Mrs Swinnerton likewise modestly stated that Moseley had told her maid 'she should kiss something that was about him'. Finally, Mr Swinnerton quoted Moseley's actual words: 'he said he would make her kiss his arse.'

Picarresque literature spawned some highly coloured accounts of what women talked about within their own private spaces. Such depictions, which

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84 See, for example, Le Strange, 'Merry Pranks and Jests', 46, 57, 106.
85 Esco RO, Session Papers 124/39, 60 [1692].
86 The Arrangement and Acquittal of Sir Edward Moseley, Baronet [1648], 42. While the judge criticized the maid for being 'so nice', the trial reporter called her 'most modest', surely the image she aimed to project.
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22 Essex RO, Session Papers 124/49, 60 [1593].
23 The Arraignement and Acquittal of Sir Edward Moseley, Baronet (1648), 45. While the judge criticized the maid for being ‘so nice’, the trial reporter called her ‘modest’, surely the image she tried to project.
ACCOUNT BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF THE VINYARD BEGUINAGE, BRUGES, 1635-1639

f. 1r

Accounting and attestation of the management and administration done by Madam Marie Anchement, Great Mistress [superior] of the Vinyard [Beguinage] in Bruges, of the diverse properties/assets held in the rental and sale of diverse pieces of real estate held by the Vinyard, to the profit of the church of that same Vinyard and also with the payments to and from the same in pounds, schillings, and grot, as follow:

Here follow the receipts:

First the administrator adds to the receipts the sum of two pounds four schillings and ten grot the sum that she received from canceled debts and guild money from the guild of St. Elizabeth from the beginning of October 1635 until May of 1639

Receipts of drink money for the church
In the pachts held by Madam van Widemerser

Revooren receipts

Rekenynge ende Bewyse van handelyn ende administratie gegadt by Jo. Marie Anchement Grootyffer van Wyngaerde in Brugge van diverse wyngiaeden besproken int verpachten ende vercoopen van diversche landen vande Wyngaerde voorst tot prouffyete der selver kerke vande Wyngaerde ende anders met de betaelynghen daer tegens gedaen in ponden schellynghen grooten soo hier naer volgeb[e]n

Alvooren soo brynght de Pendante in ontfanghen de somme van twee ponden vier schellynghen thien grotte over ghelykke somme by haer ontfaen van doodt schulden ende ghilde ghelden vande ghilde van St. Elizabeth in specificatie beginschienen 8bre 1635 tot meye 1639

Ontfaen van dringgheldt voor de k[erk]e Int s pachten van Jo. van Wiedemerser
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<td>__________ vi s -g</td>
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</table>
| Ontsaen van drinckghelt voor de k[er]kje int v[er]pachten van bleeckerien  
  in 9bre 1636                                                      | Received in drink money for the church from the *pacht* called Bleeckerien  
  in November 1636                                                  |
| __________ xxv s -g                                                | __________ xxv s -g                                                |
| Ontvaen van mijn heere Saldangie                                    | Received van Mr. Saldangie                                          |
| __________ xxx s -g                                                | __________ xxx s -g                                                |
| Ontsaen van drinckghelt int v[er]pachten van eenige partien landt den  
  23e mars 1637                                                     | Received in drink money from the *pachts* of some parcels of land  
  the 23rd of March 1637                                             |
| __________ vii s -g                                                | __________ vii s -g                                                |
| Den 6e April 1637. ter canse alvooren                               | The 6th of April 1637. same as above                               |
| __________ v s -g                                                 | __________ v s -g                                                 |
| den 8e juni van Mathys Schepens int coopen van een optien lants     | The 8th of June from Mathys Schepens from selling an option on land  |
| __________ xx s -g                                                | __________ xx s -g                                                |
| f. 2r                                                              | f. 2r                                                              |
| ditto van Jan de Weert ter Canse alvooren                          | ditto from Jan de Weert as above                                    |
| __________ iii £ s -g                                              | __________ iii £ s -g                                              |
ditto van d'eer Anth[oni]o d Hoyhe als[voren] xxx s -g

ditto van Mr. Pieter Spronchoeff as[voren] x s -g

den 15e dito ontfaen int v[er]coopen _xvi grt

Ontfaen int v[er]coopen van een partieken an Danaes Patyn v s -g

Van Jo'r Jachnes Anchemant als[voren] xx s -g

Den 3e augst 1636. van Sr. Haspeaer voor een godts pennijnck viii s -g

Den 13e dito van Aernt Schockaert int coopen eenigh e buffetens besproken ii E -s -g

Den 7e 7bre van Jan Bordens als[voren] xx s -g

Den 9e 9bre int v[er]pachten van een cleen partieken ende v[er]coopen van een huus ii s viii g

Den 7e 10bre van dehers Cortkinne int v[er]coopen van een optie lants viii s -g

ditto from Mr. Anthonio d'Hoyhe as above xxx s -g

ditto van Mr. Pieter Spronchoeff as above x s -g

ditto the 15th [of June] the received from the sale of timber by Susanna Voldt _xvi grt

Received from the sale of a piece of land to Danaes Patyn v s -g

From Madam Jachnes Anchemant as above xx s -g

On the 3rd of August 1636 from Mr. Haspeaer as a pious donation viii s -g

Ditto on the 13th from Aernt Schockaert from the selling of some buffets yielding ii E -s -g

The 7th of September from Jan Bordens as above xx s -g

The 9th of November from the pacht of a small parcel of land and the sale of a house ii s viii g

The 7th of December from Mr.'s Cortkinne from the sale of an option on land viii s -g

f. 2v

Den i[erst]en february 1636. van Matyn Gheylle als[voren] xxvii s -g

Dito van Dheer Franchois vande Voorde als[voren] xx s -g

The 1st of February 1636, from Matyn Gheylle as above xxvii s -g

ditto from Mr. Franchois vande Voorde as above xx s -g
Dito int v[er]pachten van eenighen landten ___________iii s -g

Den 1[er]sten maerte 1636, van Mnr Jan van Belle int v[er]coopen van eenighen landt: ___________x s -g

Van d[ee]r Loys de Meyere als[voren] ___________xxvii s -g

Dito int v[er]pachten van diversche Landen ___________xxx s -g

Den 5e ditto over den coop van een[ihe] sitsels van kercke ___________x s -g

Den 16e ditto int v[er]pachten van t’ boloke ___________iii s -g

Den 12e April int v[er]pachten van eenigh optieckens ___________iii s -g

Den 16e ditto int v[er]coopen van een optie landt an Alexander vander almeye ___________ii £ -s -g

Dito int v[er]pachten van een optie in Zant ___________vii s -g

f. 3r

Den 10e Meye int v[er]pachten van 2 partieckens ___________xxii s -g

Den 7e juni ter canse als[voren] ___________viii s -g

Ditto from the pachts of some [parcels of] land ___________iii s -g

The 1st of March 1636, from Mr. Jan van Belle for the sale of some land ___________x s -g

From Mr. Loys de Meyere as above ___________xxvii s -g
ditto from the pachts of various [parcels of] land ___________xxx s -g

The 5th [of March], ditto from the sale of some seats from the church ___________x s -g

The 16th [of March], ditto from the pacht the Boloke ___________iii s -g

The 12th of April from the pachts of some options ___________iii s -g

The 16th [of April], ditto in the sale of an option on land to Alexander vander Almeye ___________ii £ -s -g

Dito from the pacht of an option in Zant ___________vii s -g

f. 3r

The 10th of May from the pachts of two small parcels of land ___________xxii s -g

The 7th of June, the same as above ___________viii s -g
Den 5e juli ter canse alsv[oren] viii s -g

Den 2en augst ontaen van Cornelis de Paer int v[er]coopen van een partie landts xxx s -g

Dito van Franchoys Maertins ter rente alsv[oren] xx s -g

Dito van Sr. Gatome ter canse als[voren] xx s -g

Den 6e 7bre int v[er]pachten van 2 opties iii s vi g

Den 10en ditto van Wed[w]e Schapeluick int v[er]coopen van 2 optiekens in corckelaere xx s -g

Den 8e 9bre int v[er]coopen van ii lyn landts x s -g

Den 3. January 1639 int v[er]coopen van vyf lynen an Jan Gempen ontaen iii £ -s -g

Ditto int v[er]coopen drye optien busch in Gilleghem xx s -g

Dito int v[er]pachten van busch van vi s[?]lem in Gilleghem iii s -g

f. 3v

Den 7e february int v[er]pachten van een partie landts xxii s -g

The 5th of July, same as above viii s -g

The 2nd of August, receipt from Cornelis de Paer from the sale of a parcel of land xxx s -g

Ditto, from Franchoys Maertins in a rente, as above xx s -g

Ditto, from Sr. Gatome, same as above xx s -g

The 6th of September, two options on pachts iii s vi g

Ditto on the 10th [of September] from the widow Schapeluick from the sale of two options in Corkelaere xx s -g

On the 8th of November from the sale of 2 lyns x s -g of land

The 3rd of January, 1639, from the sale of 5 lyns to Jan Gempen received iii £ -s -g

Ditto from the sale of 3 options busch in Gilleghem xx s -g

Ditto in the transfer of pachts of busch from 6 [??] in Gilleghem iii s -g

f. 3v

The 7th of February from the pachts on some land xxii s -g
Den 7e mars int v[er]pachten van
2. optiekens

The 7th of March, from
2 pacht options

Den 4en april int v[er]pachten van
een optien en v[er]coopen van
thuys van yffer fueille

The 4th of April from a pacht
option and the sale of [a]
house owned by Madam Fuelle

Den 7en meye van myn heere
Laport int v[er]coopen van
eenich lant

On the 7th of May, received from Mr.
Laport from the sale of
some land

Dito van mr. Achilles vander
Weestyne ter canse alsv[oren]

Ditto from Mr. Achilles van der
Weestyne, the same as above

Den i[eerste]n ougst ontfae

Received the 1st of August

Den 5en 7bre ontfæn

Received the 5th of September

Ontfaen vuuyt de k[erck]e op Ste
Elizabetten dach

Received in the church on St.
Elisabeth's feast day

Ghevonden inde blocken

Found in the offering boxes

Ontfaen van een quaet beeldcker
vuuyt de kerck met vili s van
gilde ghelden

Received [in the honor] of a plain image
in the church, with also 8 shillings in
guild money

Den 2en mars ontfae van som ghet
half vasten 1636

The 2nd of March, receipt of a sum of money
midway through lent 1636

f. 4r

Den 14enJuny ontfæen van v[er]coopyn
van diversche quad ornamenten

The 14th of June, receipt from the sale
of various plain ornaments
Den 3en 8bre 1636 ontfaen van 16 quad sernecten

Den 31e ditto van een deel kerke dynghen

Den 3e 9bre van godtspennigen

Den 29e ditto van ghilde ghelden ende anders vuylt de kercke

Den 23e mars 1637. ontfaen van seinghelt half vasten ende een metaelen candelaeere t som

Ontfaen van was

Den 19e 9bre 1637. ontfaen van seinghelt ende ghilden van St. Elizabethe

Den ij[eerst]en 10bre ontfaen van ghilide ghelt & een godts penninck

Den 15e mars ontfaen van seinghelt: half vasten 1636

f. 4v

Den 5en April 1639. ontfaen vande v[er]coopynghe moreide gordynen vanden hooghen aultaer

Noch van een deel coraelen ende perelkins

The 3rd of October receipt 16 plain ornaments

Ditto on the 31st, for some church things

The 3rd of November, from collections

Ditto on the 29th, from guild money and other funds from the church

The 23rd of March 1637. Receipt from taxes (ciijns) at midway through lent, and one metal candlestick

Receipt from wax

The 19th of November 1637. Receipt of taxes (ciijns) and [from] the guild of St. Elizabeth

The 1st of December, receipt of guild money and collections

The 15th of March, receipt of taxes (ciijns) at midway through lent 1636

f. 4v

The 5th of April 1639. Receipt from the sale of moriide [?] curtains from the high altar

Some coral [beads] and pearls
Den 12 meye 1639, ghevonden inde block, die voor de k[erck]e placs te staene

Den 27en oogst, ontfanen van twee sticken van een thuin die ghebeert zyn vuyt de kercke de somme van iii £ die gheheven zyn an yffer Grispeel in minderynge van t Stadt van haer rekenyn

Vercocht ende vendetie van yffer Colynken de wiede eenighe ornamenten van cappelle van St. Catharine, bedraghen ter somme van

Some totaal vande ontfanck bedraght ter some van

Lxvii £ xii s vili g

f. 5r

BLANK

f. 5v

Betaelyn ghedaen jeghene den voorschreven ontfanck

Alvooren den 20. 8bre 1637 betaelt voor 5½ ellen zyde lint

The 12th of May 1639, found in the offering box that is in front of the church square [?]

The 27th of August, receipt of two sticken of a garden that were carried out of the church, the sum of iii £ that was given to Madam Grispeel towards the reduction of her account

Sold to Madam Colynken de Wiede some ornaments from the chapel of St. Catharine, totaling the sum of

In total the receipts constitute the sum of

Lxvii £ xii s vili g

f. 5r

BLANK

f. 5v

Payments made against the aforementioned receipts

On the 20th of October 1637 paid for 5½ ells of silk lace
om onder de fanden te stellen met zyde vi s -g

Den 7en 10bre voor t maecken van rock van ste. Cathelyne ende lang hinghen iii s -g

Gherembour seert an yffer Marie Zeghers, de somme van vichien ponden thien schellyghen groo[te]n, over ghelycke somme by haer betaelt an david de schodt coopan tot Antwerpen, over den coop van neghen ellen en half van root gheblomt fluweel, tot maecken van twee diaken rocken I quyctan xv £ x s -g

Ande zelve de somme van vyf ponden zes schellyghen acht grooten over ghelycke somme by haer betaelt an voorsch. De schodt over den coop van vyf ellen ¼ wit gheblomt satyn is quyctan v £ vi s viii g

Betaelt Thomaes Lyns de some van

f. 6r

vyfnentzestich ponden acht schellyn ix groo[te]n over de coop gieveryn van drye vergulde kilcken daer of ghetrocken xxxvi £ xi s -g van oude kilcken an hem in betaelyn gheheven ins comeht hier te reste is quyctan xxviii £ xvii s -g

to install under the fanden with silk vi s -g

The 7th of December for making the skirt of St. Catherine and hanging the lang iii s -g

Reimbursement to Madam Marie Zeghers, the sum of fifteen pounds ten schillings [no] groots, for the same sum that she paid to David de Schodt, Antwerp merchant, for the purchase of nine and ½ ells of red, flowered velvet, for making two deacons' skirts, one quittance xv £ x s -g

To the same the sum of five pounds six schillings eight groots for the same sum paid by her to the aforementioned De Schodt for the purchase of five ¾ ells of white flowered satin, [in] quittance v £ vi s viii g

Paid to Thomaes Lyns the sum of

f. 6r

sixty-five pounds eight schillings nine groots for the purchase and delivery of three gilded chalices minus thirty-six pounds eleven schellingen zero groots [the worth of the] old chalices given to him in payment, thus the remainder, [in] quittance xxviii £ xvii s -g
Betaelt Jan Frystram de somme
van vier ponden drye schellynghen
erie groote over t'vermaecken
derde verguldien vande remonstantie
l. quyctan
   _________ iii £ iii s iii g

An Phls van Blootankere de somme
van vier ponden vier schellyn vii g
over den coop en leverynghe van
diversche kerck habyetis twee
specificatie aen een quyctan
   _________ iii £ xv s v g

Betaelt Jan Wales merchenier
degem somme van achtien ponden twaelf
schellynghen [0] groo[te]n over de leverynghe
van Wynckel waere i. specificae
en quyctan
   _________xviii £ xii s -g

Vanden zelven ter canse alv[oren] l.
specificae en quyctan
   _________ v £ xii s v g

f. 6v

Anden zelven de somme van
ii £ iii s ii g ter canse alv[oren]
midtsge[ders] xi s viii g over de leveryn
van een elle ende een faillie
goude fanden gehaelt in een
ander wynkel i quyctan
   _________ii £ xlili s x g

Ande wed[uwe] [van] Joos de moor syde
lake suydeghen, de somme van
ii £ xviii s vi g over den coop ende
leverynghe van wynckel waer
l. quyctantie
   _________ii £ xviii s vi g

Paid to Jan Frystram: the sum
of four pounds three shillings
four groats for the making
and gilding of a monstrance
one quittance
   _________iii £ iii s iii g

To Philips van Blootankere: the sum
of four pounds seven shillings
two
for the purchase and delivery of
various ecclesiastical garments, two
signed receipts[?] as a quittance
   _________iii £ xv s v g

Paid to Jan Wales, textile merchant:
the sum of eighteen pounds twelve
shillings for the delivery
of shop things. A signed receipt[?]
and quittance
   _________xviii £ xii s -g

From the same [Wales], same as above. One
signed receipt[?] and quittance
   _________v £ xii s v g

f. 6v

To the same [Wales] the sum of
ii £ iii s ii g as above
and also xi s viii g for the delivery
of one elle and a veil of
gold *faden* obtained from a
different shop one quittance
   _________ii £ xlili s x g

To the widow of Joos de Moor, silk
inging[?], for broadcloth, the sum
ii £ xviii s vi g for the purchase and
delivery of shop things
one quittance
   _________ii £ xviii s v g
An Joachim Christiaens zyde laken suyder ten care alsv[oren] l quyctan ter somme van

Betaelt voor de leverynge ende maecken van een wit gheblomd satyn aultaer clett met de vier bancxkens l specificae

Voor ses ellen lynwaet om een oversleep te maecken ende een deel doucxkns ter somme van

To Joachin Christiaens silk broadcloth edging[?] as above one quittance in the sum of

Paid for the delivery and making of a white flowered satin altar cloth with the four benches one [signed receipt?] one

For six ells of linen to make a cover, and some doeken (i.e. pieces of white linen, very roughly 1m x 1m) totalling

f. 7r

Voor ses ellen en half groen saey

Voor vi ellen ghemynghlde frynghen

Voor ix ellen cleene frynghen

Voor vijf ellen zyde frynghen

Voor fanden cloth ende ander minuteyteten

Voor t naeien van diversche ornamenten voor de kercke

Voor twee lappen gheblompt fluweel

f. 7r

For six and a half ells of green silk

For six ells of diverse passementerie

For nine ells of small passementerie

For five ells of silk passementerie

For cloth for banners and other small things

For the sewing of various ornaments for the church

For two pieces of flowered velvet
Voor 6 quaert goude frynghen

For six quarter measures of gold

Voor t maecken van diaken rocken

For making deacons' robes

Voor t maecken van 2. overstoppen

For making two overstoppen

Voor een stook goudt leer de some van iii Exs - g daer teghen t ontaen een aelnoessse van ii Exs - g compt I reste

For a piece of gilded leather, the sum of iii Exs - g against the receipt of a donation of ii Exs - g, i.e., the remainder

f. 7v

Voor 2 ellen een half quart en een faille satyn

For two and an eighth ells and a veil of satin

Voor 4 ellen camercx en een elle lynwaet, midtsgaeders eenighe santeke oom sackens vande klcken met het maecken der zelver

For 4 ells of cloth of Cambrai and one ell of linen, along with some small cloths to make bags for the chalices, and also for making the same

Voor tsanderen van een silveren candelaeare

For sanding a silver candlestick

voor twee backkins om inde kercke omnne te gaan

For two boxes for the processions in the church

Voor cantylle zyde oom blommekens te maecken om de kerssen

For lacemaking silk to make flowers for the candles

Voor t maecken en t leveren van een witte armosyne casufel met diversche leverynghge daer toe ghedaen ter somme van

For making and delivering a white armosine chasuble and for various other related deliveries, the sum of
Voor 6 quaert lynwaet om 2 corporaen ende landekens
en drye dwaelkens

\[
\text{xix s x g}
\]

f. 8r

Voor 2 ellen saey damast
een elle toll om een casufel
tea mecken met t mecken
der zelver

\[
\text{xix s vii g}
\]

Voor 9 quart ghelomt satyn
4 pipen en half goet om frynghen
om 4 benden ande Ryne van
St. Elizabeth met eenighe
tevernyeghe van zyde ende
t fatsoen

\[
\text{vi E v s iii g}
\]

Voor een nieuwe quispel

\[
\text{xx s -g}
\]

Voor t verwen van witte gordynen

\[
\text{xxiii s iii g}
\]

Voor t wisselen van [... thin

\[
\text{vi s vi g}
\]

Aan Joaichin Christiaens voor
t mecken van eenighe ornamenten
en de leveringhe de somme van

\[
\text{iii l iii s vii g}
\]

Voor 4 ellen en half damast om
dwaelkens an hooghen aultaer

\[
\text{xi s iii g}
\]

f. 8v

Voor t stellen van dese rekenyn

For six quarters of linen to make
two corporals and small banners
and three dwaelkens

\[
\text{xix s x g}
\]

f. 8v

For two ells of silk damast
[and] one ell tulle, for a chasuble
and also for the making
of the same

\[
\text{xix s vii g}
\]

For nine quarters flowered satin
4 ½ 'pipes' of gold for the passementerie
on four 'benden' on the 'Ryne' of [che]
St. Elizabeth [statue] with some [payments]
for deliveries of silk,
and for fashioning them

\[
\text{vi E v s iii g}
\]

For a new tassel

\[
\text{xx s -g}
\]

For painting white curtains

\[
\text{xxiiii s iii g}
\]

For changing [...] [made of pewter?]

\[
\text{vi s vi g}
\]

To Joaichin Christiaens for
making some ornaments
and delivering them, the sum of

\[
\text{iii l iii s vii g}
\]

For 4 ½ ells of damast for
dwaelkens on the high altar

\[
\text{xi s iii g}
\]

f. 8v

For drawing up these accounts
met de double
Ande wed[uw]e blommaert der somme
van drie ponden zeventien schell[ing]en
een groote over de lever[y]g[hen] van
lywaet een quyctan

_________xi s iii g

in duplicate
To the widow Blommaert the sum
of three pounds seventeen schillings
one groot for the delivery of
linen, one quittance

_________xi s iii g

_______iii £ xvii s i g

totalinge betalen bedraghen
xxxxi £ x s x g
ende den onfanck hier voors[chreven]
Lxvii £ xii s viii g

Aldus ghesoert gheadmiteert ende gheproeft
van mynheer den pastoors deses parochie

N. Van Houtte

---

The total of the payments amounts to
xxxxi £ x s x g
And of the receipts listed above
Lxvii £ xii s viii g

Thus seen[?], accepted and checked
by the priest of this parish

N. Van Houtte

---

Bruges Beguine church, built c.1600
La nueva piedra de China sirvió a los mortales con mayor espiritualidad y devoción.

...
Qual protesta, o Saggio Vincenzo, si troneggiar l’altro giorno, leggi e dichiara ad essi, non più fedele e nemici della Chiesa! Scritti e spediti, sempre ai tuoi confessori, che non si ridurranno mai a tentare di preservare la tua vita e la tua onorata famiglia. E poi, a questo patto di morte, la tua famiglia non si dimetterà mai, e si sposerà con la tua famiglia più che mai, quando benedetta, o avventura, in eterno, quando benedetta in eterno.
Avem la Madre Sangiorgi alcuni Anni prima di detta infermità costituito un contratto amicizia con una monsignor favorevole, di nome Sassetto, con gran poca, e Cagliari, poi per un po' di poche, ma efficaci parole rispettive, sicché profitto di tutti consorti, e tranquillo, chi altro non desidera, anzi che al solo del bene, (come avenne anche ad altre persone) ne risultava contanto ben grande.

A few years before this illness Mother Sangiorgi developed a mutual friendship with one very pious, and devout, man, by the name of Sassetto, who came to her convent to consult with her about her many anguishes which also seemed to increase every day, with great patience, and charity. She visited her until she took leave having been consulted and comforted, as if she had put together a well-developed argument inviting her to remain serene and peaceful that she wanted of nothing more; instead she received great comfort just from the sight of her (as happened also to many other people).
and called for the mother address and the voices to speak to them and respond. They came
and gathered for the mother address and the voices to speak to them and respond.

The mother pointed immediately and this person was announced to the sisters
next Sunday. The mother pointed immediately and this person was announced to the sisters
and called. She comes to tell the ladies that they work all right and to attend the dispersion of
the sisters. She points to tell the ladies that they work all right and to attend the dispersion of
the sisters were gathered in the reception for a sermon. The sisters were gathered in the reception for a sermon.

The following is what happened at the previously announced dispersion. When the door was
opened, one of the nuns, a citizen of Germany named Claude, emerged, washed his hands in the holy
water and surprised everyone. When they were outside and people asked him how the ladies were and what
they were, he explained.

One of the sisters, all of a sudden, took refuge in the church, prayers, their heads bowed down to the
altar.

The poor sisters, at all of a sudden, took refuge in the church, praying, their heads bowed down to the
altar.

The poor sisters, all of a sudden, took refuge in the church, praying, their heads bowed down to the
altar.

I was not able to explain because he never touched any nun in there and no one did them any
wrong.

Without causing any more trouble.

The doors, and he came as a warning to the police with a company of the sect.

From Issac, Lewine de. The Short Chronicle: A Poor Clare's Account of the Reformation of

the Poor Sisters. London: T. Tawell, 1722.
By popheus, as you say, but puritans.

Spirit, and not by force, do we present, and pray for the world, and not to be idle, and we are not

Messiahs," said the ladles, "the reasons, or we were all brought here by the grace of the Holy

be there.

Infinite messiahs have already come to this dispensation, and they want all to

reach your real self. By your real self, your real self, you would immediately introduce to the

you, Lads, Ye are not all of your opinion, there are some nurses in the field whom you

You good evening.

because they are all committed to divine service. Furthermore, it is time for you to realize, so we ask

Mother Vickers said, "You cannot come in light now to speak with those for whom you ask.

city, and will recognize us right away! For we are honorable people, givers and contributors of the

you will see who we are. You have been six years talking in these who have lived in the city

The stances said, "Lads, Ye areess, do not make fun of us. Open your doors, we will come in, and

but bless the servants of God."

your service, do you not? But you are wicked guards who do nothing

"Mother Vickers repeated, "Messiahs, we beg you not to obstruct divine service. Hearing your

The stances repeated, "Anything does you no good, and you will come with your good families."

be the first, and he would be no honor to you to try to force us.

the Holy Scripture and no woman has ever been called to witness in a dispensation, so we will not

heresies, etc., according to the decrees of the holy church, are forbidden to make claims about

"What," said the mother address and the vicar's, "If is not women's place to dispute, because

be shown and proven to them because we must reach a unity of religion.

orders. All honorable people are summoned to this dispensation, so the word of God can

command because we have taken a vow of perpetual holy seclusion, and we wish to deserve it.

You mother address and the vicar's address them kindly. They told them their messiahs had

abundance of the wine of anguish, and they recited complete blasphemy in tears.

[182]
God and mother I do not my companions will deny the holy tribulation. Our Lord warns people to
make you feel that, you are most anxious. But if you make us angry, we will

"Lady Wences," said the squire, "you are most anxious. But if you make us angry, we will

Mother Wences replied, "These acts are all wicked and contrary to divine commandments. If

The bulk of the Gospel will now:

They were all astonished to hear such a cry, and they said to each other, "Listen, Messeris, what

a chamber those women are making in here, and where a racket.

She doas and went to die and live in our holy vocation.

So the whole procession, the bridegroom, the two cooks, the nurse, and several of the aged mothers who

Mother Wences said, "I will be glad to sit here, and do all your will."

The squire said, "Lady Wences, be quiet and let others who are not of your opinion speak."

The squire said, "You are not the devil. You who pretend to be so holy, I am following your

of us."

What I said mother Wences, you are all contrary women."

The squire replied, "You are only very much deceived, because God did not make as many

Nature, you are all contrary women. But believe that you are deceivers, which is not possible in

of the devil. You have not [and 155] expected us to believe that you are deceivers, which is not possible in

The squire replied, "You are only very much deceived, because God did not make as many

"Lady Wences," said the squire, "you are most anxious. But if you make us angry, we will
it was more than many people sought to do them wickedly and seduce them all and turn
wolves and there was no way to escape unless God worked a visible miracle. They knew well
of they would lose them, and not without cause, because they were in the reach of those
everyone. They saw so much anguish all day long that the sisters did not dare look at each other
One of the good fathers and two lay brothers fell. The rector counseled them all to leave in the
departure to leave the city.

morning [May 25] at four o’clock they gave the good fathers and lay brothers permission to
Those poor sisters spent their night in vigil, discipline, prayer, and prayerful meditation. On Saturday
command the sisters to God.

that commandment. For they had all received it. [I85] There was nothing to do but go back and
and some respectable Catholic burgesses. They were all very upset; there was no human remedy to
back down the window and ask for the good advice and counsel of that same confraternity who were
vowed to God and for advice from the blessed Holy Spirit about how to leave and escape
command from God and for advice from the blessed Holy Spirit about how to leave and escape
women, they said our father Francis; if we should go back a second time, he would not and would
vow again to put ourselves into the hands of the Church in the habit of the Order of Friars Minor. They
and the possessions were given to the Church with the others. Then they hid the curtain on the gable to
And when they had gone, the reverend mother addressed the women, and the
the distribution next Sunday, and to be on time. Do not make us come get you."

When the sisters realized that they were washing their breath and no one was paying much

place, I tell you my name, which is Sister Petrona de Monza. Oh, de Chastelain;"

consecrate Him in front of men, and I say anything that displeases you, I wish [I87] to suffer

they had all received it. [I85] There was nothing to do but go back and