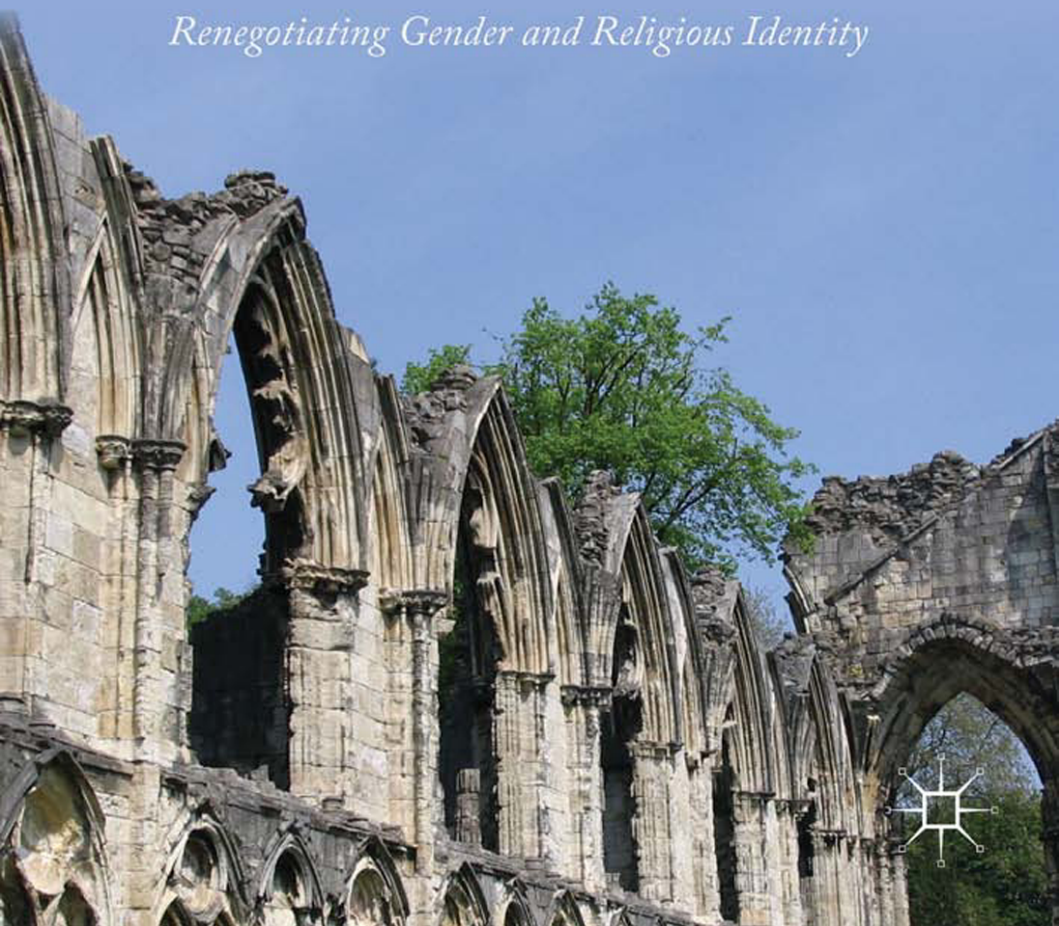
Edited by

Julie A. Chappell & Kaley A. Kramer

WOMEN DURING THE ENGLISH REFORMATIONS

Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity



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For Evelyn Marie, Saxon Eldred, and Cameron Elizabeth, with love

—JAC

For my parents and for Nasser, for everything

—KAK

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Acknowledgments

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INTRODUCTION

Julie A. Chappell

> The seismic cultural shift of the Reformation cannot be fully explained without reference to women.[1]

The reformations in religion in England during the sixteenth century and beyond required individual and collective renegotiation of both gender and religious identities for women. The shifts in political and religious rhetoric, as well as in structure, demanded of women more complex maneuvers for reasserting their identity in both realms. As Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries began, along with male religious, the women were dismissed from their religious houses and, at first, able to opt out of the religious life altogether or to allow themselves to be moved to other larger houses. In the end, all religious houses would be dissolved and the religious left to their own devices with small pensions for compensation. As Patricia Crawford has pointed out, "women fared worse than men," with the records for the Lincoln diocese revealing that "those who received pensions of £2 or less lived in penury. Only 6 per cent of men were on this stipend or less, but 60 per cent of the women were."[2] Women's options were shrinking. They could no longer be Brides of Christ, serving God as they had for centuries as women religious in diverse orders throughout England.[3] Nor in the first decade of reform could they be brides of man. Only after 1549 was marriage legalized for former religious.[4] Crawford asserts that "19 percent of the Lincoln ex-nuns married. A few joined together to keep house."[5] Male clerics in independent livings may have fared better overall. Eamon Duffy claims that "the conformity of the overwhelming majority of clergy, despite their conservative opinions" allowed many male clergy to maintain their livings by adapting, adopting, or sometimes even avoiding, for a while, the reforms in religion.[6] The mysticism and affective piety practiced by a number of late medieval women, both religious and lay, enclosed or not, which had provided paths to the divine and relief from traditional social roles for women, were

dissolved along with religious houses in England. After the Henrician Reformation, these means for women to inscribe their religious and gender identities were no more. How, then, were women to understand and, consequently, redefine themselves in the face of collapsing religious and social spaces? The new boundaries imposed by the reformations of the next three centuries on women's gender and religious identities would force each woman to renegotiate these for herself.

Catholic or Protestant, recusant or godly rebel, early modern women of singular conscience, powerful or powerless in the main, reinvented or reasserted their spiritual and gendered spaces.[7] Arthur Marotti has contended that the "recusant woman was, like Catholicism itself . . . the target of Protestant misogyny: a masculinized, reform Christianity, which attacked not only the cult of the Virgin, but also devotion to female (as well as male) saints, associat[ing] women's 'carnality' with some of the alleged corruption of Catholicism. . . . Women and Catholics were both feared as intrinsically idolatrous, superstitious and carnal, if not also physically disgusting."[8] After all, the reactions of English Protestants to Mary, Queen of Scots, as a "wicked Popish woman" demonstrates the equivalency of these last two concepts in the reformist mind.[9] This egregious misogyny may have been instrumental in pushing some women to blatant or more surreptitious resistance as reform and counter reform in religion clashed with political power. English Catholic families would marry their sons and daughters to those of other Catholic families to keep the faith secure and in the family. In similar ways, English Protestants formed their own alliances drawn along lines of faith.[10] Women of whatever religious persuasion would sometimes pay dearly to maintain their convictions and alliances.

Henry VIII's reformation bloodied the landscape without consideration for rank or gender. According to Sharon L. Jansen, "many reports of women's words," during the decade when Henry was instituting his religious and marital changes, indicate that "women expressed their opinions . . . about the king's marriage and his political and religious reforms" and "were as much a source of concern to the government as men's views were."[11] Early in 1534, Henry VIII's regime silenced its first woman by hanging her when she would be silenced no other way. Elizabeth Barton, a young nun of low birth, refused to stop prophesying the demise of Henry's kingship if he persisted in the annulment of his marriage from Katherine of Aragon and his efforts to marry Anne Boleyn.[12] Between the more infamous executions of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard, two of Henry VIII's wives, the executions of women of varying rank and prestige were carried out as women's bodies became the contested space for religious change.

Margaret Cheyne, a woman of uncertain parentage but possibly an illegitimate daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was executed

for her connection to the northern rebels in 1537.[13] Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, was attainted and suffered a bungled beheading in 1541 for her alleged connection to the northern risings and her clear support of Katherine of Aragon and Princess Mary. Neither her brilliant defense of herself, nor her connections to "the ladies-in-waiting of Katherine Parr," could save Anne Askew from being burned at the stake for her too reformist views in July 1546.[14] Margaret Giggs Clement, foster daughter of former chancellor and recent martyr, Sir Thomas More, bribed a jailer so that she could give aid to the ten Carthusians from the London charterhouse incarcerated in horrific conditions in Newgate from late May 1537. Although Clement was soon denied access by the jailer for fear of reprisal by Henry's agents, she escaped execution for her efforts.[15] After Edward VI's death in 1553, Lady Jane Grey, once part of Katherine Parr's household, was soon imprisoned and executed as a threat by faith and by blood to Mary I's regime. The Duchess of Suffolk, Katherine Willoughby's "friendship with Katherine Parr [and] her appointment to Parr's household . . . placed her for the first time in the inner reform circle at court." As Willoughby's support of the reform cause grew through Edward VI's reign, she would also become immediately suspect under Mary I. Less than two years into Queen Mary's reign, holding firm to her faith, Katherine Willoughby chose exile.[16] Perhaps her proximity to the tragic ends of both Askew and Lady Jane allowed Willoughby to see her way clear to a different strategy.[17] Margaret Clitherow, a butcher's wife from York, would be pressed to death as the first woman to die for refusing to conform under the Elizabethan anti-recusancy laws in March 1586. The well-known fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, under her cousin, Elizabeth I, is another example of the absence of regard by the Tudors for familial connections, when Mary's long imprisonment ended with her execution in 1587. Under the Tudors' Catholic-Protestant struggle for dominance, gender served as a flash point. As Corthell, et al. have asserted:

> Anti-Catholic discourses relied on gendered invective as an adaptable, resonant vocabulary for describing and condemning Catholicism as both the traitors within and the exotic, foreign seductress. [In contrast, the Catholics'] association of Catholicism with the feminine might also work positively, positioning the "old faith" as a mother, a nurse, or an object of desire.[18]

Erasmus' notion of inward and outward, spirit and flesh was not man's alone but woman's as well when it came to mapping the strategy for the theology of the post-medieval world.

The revisionist tack that Christopher Haigh once termed the "English Reformations" has adjusted over time and scholarly debate.[19] But this collection

stems from Haigh's original notion of England's reform in religion as not "an inexorable process" of conversion but more "as the accidents of everyday politics and the consequences of power struggles."[20] "Everyday politics" and "power struggles" were engendered by human agency among the powerless as well as the powerful. Women as well as men participated. This collection intends to enhance our understanding of women's responses to and participation in the originary trauma of reforms in religion occurring in England out of the sixteenth-century edicts of Henry VIII and his successors. Although much groundbreaking work by scholars, such as A. G. Dickens, Christopher Haigh, Eamon Duffy, Diarmaid MacCulloch, Patrick Collinson, and Alexandra Walsham, among others, has examined the extent of the conservative resistance and/or evangelical progress during this long period of English reformations, the arguments have been largely focused on the writings of early modern men of varying cultural significance.[21] While these and other scholars have also been studying the critical roles that women played in the centuries of reform in England, the availability of documentary and other material evidence on women of rank—Anne Boleyn, Katherine of Aragon, Katherine Willoughby, Mary I, Elizabeth I—has made these women the focus of much of this scholarship. The lack of availability of material evidence for women of lesser rank has, naturally enough, produced fewer studies of such women, though we know of some of the more notorious ones, such as Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, and Margaret Clitherow, the butcher's wife.

This collection intends to contribute to the continually growing discourse on women's renegotiation of their religious and gender identities during the English reforming movements of the sixteenth century and the political and popular responses in the centuries that followed. The essays collected here explore the ways in which some Englishwomen of various backgrounds and notoriety, openly or covertly, engaged the struggle to erase, rewrite, or reimagine their religious and gender identity during a time of much erasure and rewriting of self on paper and parchment, stone, and wood. As Margaret Aston has observed, "In the sixteenth century England acquired a whole suite of ruins. . . . The agonizing sight of wholesale destruction spurred people into activity—even those whose Protestant convictions made them wholly endorse the process at large."[22] The devastation wrought by the sixteenth-century reforms in religion begun by Henry VIII included not only stone ruins, whitewashed church walls, broken altar tables, burned and torn manuscript pages, and other acts of material destruction but also the equivalent in human terms, as we have seen above. Some of these destructive acts were illustrated in woodcut images in books and broadsheets of the period.[23] The devastation in human and material terms testifies to the iconoclasm of religious fervor, conservative and evangelical, occurring in varying degrees of

destruction from at least 1534. The late medieval spiritual writing we know as *The Book of Margery Kempe*, survived such destruction when one Carthusian monk spirited the manuscript away to his staunchly Catholic family who then kept the faith over the next centuries of reform.[24] The written word was a powerful transmitter of religious identity, and women, one way or another, participated in the creation and dissemination of writings of various sorts from the beginning.

In her detailed study of an early sixteenth-century devotional manuscript, "a book that belonged to a woman (possibly two women, mother and daughter) . . . with connections to two groups of women religious" and that had been produced at the cusp of "disturbing events, which were to culminate in the destruction of the religious life in England and of the devotional traditions that it represented," Alexandra Barratt revivifies both the woman, "a member of the gentry rather than the aristocracy," whose name appears on the flyleaf, Dame (or Lady) Anne Bulkeley, and her book.[25] Such studies lead us further toward understanding how women positioned themselves in relation to religion and gender during this turbulent period of reformations in religion. In an examination of the lives of four late medieval and early modern women, David Wallace demonstrates how the creation of Somerset House itself in 1549 materially illustrated what Alexandra Walsham has asserted about the Reformation landscape: "It is widely compared with a parchment and palimpsest, a porous surface upon which each generation inscribes its own values and preoccupations without ever being able to erase entirely those of the preceding one."[26]

The Duke of Somerset "had torn down a parish church and the inns of bishops to make room for the building that bears his name." Wallace further noted that more materials for the creation of this initially Protestant project "were freed up by demolishing a chapel in the north cloister of St. Paul's." By 1632, Queen Henrietta Maria had constructed a "Roman Catholic chapel at Somerset House" that caused "a national sensation" in this officially Protestant nation.[27] The material evidence reveals the palimpsestic nature of the power struggle negotiated by men and women during the long period of reformation. Arthur Marotti's study of religious discourse between 1580 and 1688 posits that "real as well as fabricated historical 'evidence' and events were translated [in the polemical literature] into a developing set of rhetorical codes and ideological fantasies."[28] But conversion and palimpsest building occurred internally in the individual as well as externally on both sides of the religious divide. Women were particularly challenged as they had to make a sometimes life-altering choice to follow (as custom and law dictated) or stand in opposition to the men who ruled them at home and at court.

Whether women held firmly to the conservative position, embraced reforms in religion, or converted one way or the other in opposition to their husbands, they often struggled and suffered for their expressions of their faith and their identities as individuals. Ironically, the charges of heresy and treason against conservative or evangelical women stemmed perhaps as much from political expediency as religious intolerance. Elizabeth Barton and Margaret Clement refused the prescribed female passivity and silence. Margaret Cheyne's possible connection to Edward Stafford and liaison with Sir John Bulmer, also charged and executed during the northern risings, made her expendable. Anne Askew had been attempting the unthinkable for a woman, a public estrangement from a husband she had been forced to marry,—one who didn't share her religious views. Lady Jane Grey's so-called crimes were her faith and her bloodlines. The former she would not alter, and the latter she could not. Like Lady Jane, Mary Stuart could not change her bloodlines nor control the intrigue around her, even if she had wanted to do so. Margaret Clitherow would neither reform her views nor obey her monarch's injunctions. Conservative or reformed, women were deemed suspect by the (mis) use of the qualities, the "humours," associated with women, an association that would be firmly entrenched during subsequent centuries of the aggressive masculinity of nation and empire building. Englishwomen would not see even a modicum of equality until they became fully fledged participants in the English legal system in the twentieth century.

The essays in this book reveal that although "Catholic[s were] collecting, preserving, translating, and transcribing . . . medieval spiritual texts [as] a way of safeguarding a religious heritage that the passage of time and the iconoclastic phases of the reformation[s] threatened to erase" and Protestant polemicists reformed texts, rituals, and practices to establish a new religious heritage, Catholic and Protestant women alike were reinscribing their gender and their faith through diverse forms of textual production—letters, spiritual treatises, dramatic texts, novels, translations, memoirs, and more.[29] These women's writings and their lives exploded myths of gender in their own time while altering the course of the construction of gender and faith in the centuries to come.

Valerie Schutte examines the ways in which Tudor queens exploited and were exploited by book dedications for political advantage and personal aggrandizement. Schutte examines dedications made to a number of Tudor queens, confirming the significance of this positioning in textual space, since these "book dedications were the first words in an early modern printed book." These book dedications indicate "the importance of women to the first generations of printed texts in England [as these] illuminate the patronage system, political and religious positions, and demonstrate the power of

Tudor queens at court." This positive aspect of women's roles in the early years of reform contrasts markedly with Janice Liedl's revelation of the tragic consequences of the coupling of women and power close to the Tudor court for another noble woman, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury.

Janice Liedl asserts that the Countess's "gender was no protection against accusations of her involvement in the Exeter Conspiracy or on behalf of conservative religion in the early Reformation." Liedl contends that loyalty to the Crown during the first waves of reform under Henry VIII were the undoing of a woman with too "close ties to Katherine of Aragon and Princess Mary." Adding to the case against her was her son Reginald Pole's appointment as a cardinal and the Countess's own "active role in her home parish of Warblington." For loyalty to Mary and to the religion that had fueled spiritual fires for nearly a thousand years, the Countess of Salisbury would be attainted for treason in May 1539 and executed two years later. Liedl demonstrates how documents of the trial, as well as letters and state papers reveal that Margaret Pole's independence and vast wealth undoubtedly added most to her vulnerability in a time when men in power sought to stifle violently others' power, especially that of women, in the acquisition of more power for themselves.

Letters provide textual evidence for Rebecca A. Giselbrecht's study of the influence of Heinrich Bullinger on the reformed beliefs of Englishwomen during the years of Edward VI's reign and of the Marian Exile. Though she acknowledges the seeming paucity of this correspondence, Giselbrecht demonstrates that Bullinger's extant epistolary exchange with these women indicates that Bullinger supported women's intellectual endeavors in the reform in religion. In opposition to other male reformers, he even supported Elizabeth I's position, not only as a ruling monarch but also as the supreme governor of the Church of England. Ultimately, Giselbrecht offers the first close look at Bullinger's correspondence with women who were not queens or aristocrats but of lesser rank, grappling with the intellectual and psychological changes of reform. Giselbrecht reveals this correspondence's significance not only to the women being influenced by humanist writers but also in influencing those writers in their turn.

In contrast to these Protestant women, Lisa McClain challenges historians and literary critics circumscription of Elizabeth Cary's publicized conversion to Catholicism and her dislocation of the chaste, silent, and obedient yoke of early modern woman in marriage. McClain asserts that Cary stands as "an alternative model of Catholic womanhood that sought to negotiate a new balance between religion and gender." In a careful study of Cary's writings, including her literary output and her correspondence, McClain depicts an early modern woman who stood her ground but suffered her own "conflicts between the demands of gender and faith." Ultimately, McClain sees

Elizabeth Cary's life and writings as "contribut[ing] to larger European-wide re-negotiations of the rules of masculine and feminine behavior in the seventeenth century."

Amanda L. Capern contends that Eleanor Davies' "prophetic ideas" expressed in her writings can "throw light on why [recent] historiographies of reformation and civil war have so elided." Capern asserts that Davies' first treatise, *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625), simultaneously addressed the current crisis of religion in the mid-1620s and the role of the state in acting in both the nation's and Protestantism's best interests. Over nearly thirty years, Davies would express her prophetic ideas and apocalyptic visions in diverse writings. Capern argues that these writings reveal a woman "who literally reconceptualized the English and British reformations, [and] was a theologian" in her own right.

Sharon L. Arnoult demonstrates how religion and gender interconnected in the formation of early modern woman's identity in the case of Lady Elizabeth Delaval, who was born in late 1648 and subsequently abandoned as an infant by Royalist parents who went into exile in 1649. Arnoult examines Delaval's autobiographical meditations, a "diary for spiritual purposes," written in her teens and early twenties between 1662 and 1672. Arnoult asserts that Delaval's narrative suggests an identity struggling and divided, a "post-Restoration Anglican woman," who had absorbed the "religio-gender standards of her day." Delaval's autobiographical narrative might be "flavored with fictional romance," but Arnoult illustrates a genuine identity conflict for a young woman brought up by an emotionally distanced aunt amid the overtly sensual court of Charles II in the 1660s.[30] Ultimately, in Delaval's "failures and frustrations, and her eventual actions," Arnoult sees the emergence of a woman who managed to "remix and reformulate religious and gender identities."

Kaley A. Kramer contends that Sophia Lee's Gothic novel, *The Recess*, "articulates the fascination that Protestant Britain had with Catholicism late into the eighteenth century" as it also reveals strategies of rewriting British history with particular attention to the representation of Catholicism as a site of, what David Punter has described as, "vanished cultural territory."[31] Kramer asserts that Lee's adaptation of British religious history is apparent in some respects and subtle in others. As Kramer demonstrates, Catholicism is explicitly condemned but not expelled from the novel; it enables particular discourses associated with those of haunting and spectrality that the so-called Age of Reason sought to distance. Kramer argues that *The Recess* returns to the site of Protestant Britain's mythological origin and reproduces possible strategies for traversing different modes of narrating history, negotiating the secular and the sacred.

William B. Robison explores at length the popular afterlife of many of the most notable early Tudor women, demonstrating how filmic representations of these women eschew their lived context during sixteenth-century reform by using religion "merely as a subplot." Robison focuses on filmic depictions of Tudor royal women in such productions as *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1922), *The Shadow of the Tower* (1972), and *The Tudors* (2007), among others. His study reveals that filmmakers persist in portraying Tudor royal women as "secondary, transitory, and 'traditionally female,'" even though historically the same women were "church benefactors" and "intelligent influential Christian humanists." Ultimately, Robison exposes the ahistoricity of such portrayals as not only seriously undermining women's cultural contributions in matters of faith but also negatively influencing modern "popular belief" about the period more broadly. Yet Robison also contends that this ahistoricity allows "Tudor historians to expose their errors while exploiting their appeal" to more general audiences.

This collection of essays examines the effects of reforms in religion on the gender and religious identity of women during the English reformations from Henry VIII's earliest iterations in the 1530s to filmic representations of reforming women in the last two centuries. As a whole, the authors offer a cross section of contributions, influences, and activities by women in matters of faith in early modern England, focusing on women's creative undoings and reimaginings during a long period of reform in religion and the ramifications of these activities well beyond their own time. The essays explore the inspirations for and expressions of women's actions, whether those actions were ultimately intended to serve the conservative or evangelical cause, and they provide a sample of the consequences and contradictions inherent in women's reimagining of religious and gender boundaries, as these manifested internally in the individual woman to effect a renegotiation of her own gender and religious identity.

Notes

1. Amanda Capern, *The Historical Study of Women: England 1500–1700* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 4.
2. Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500–1720* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 30.
3. Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922). Power estimated "some 138 nunneries" in England "excluding double houses of the Gilbertine order" in the late medieval period, representing at least ten different religious orders. She further notes more than 110 still remained in 1535 when information began to be gathered for the dissolution (1–2).

4. For clerical marriage, see G. A. J. Hodgett, *The State of the Ex-Religious and Former Chantry Priests of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1547–1574* (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 53, 1959); John K. Yost, "The Reformation Defense of Clerical Marriage in the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI," *Church History*, 50.2 (June 1981): 152–65; Eric Josef Carlson, "Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies*, 31.1 (January 1992): 1–31; and Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent Policy and Practice* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000).
5. Crawford, *Women and Religion*, 30.
6. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation & Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 175.
7. Since this introduction is not intended to debate the nuances of the broader Catholic or Protestant rubrics, I will sometimes use these terms to encompass any and all conservative and evangelical/reformist positions in this period.
8. Arthur F. Marotti, "Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 4 [1–34].
9. Quoted in Marotti, "Alienating Catholics," 4.
10. For the Catholic side, see Julie A. Chappell, *Perilous Passages:* The Book of Margery Kempe, *1534–1934* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chapter 4; for the Protestant propensity for the same, see Elaine V. Beilin, ed., "Introduction," *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), xvii–xviii.
11. Sharon L. Jansen, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behavior: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 83.
12. Henry VIII never technically sought a divorce from Katherine of Aragon. Diarmaid MacCulloch, among others, has pointed out that Henry sought to have his twenty-year marriage to his brother's widow "declared null." (*The Reformation: A History*, [New York: Penguin Books, 2005], 198.) However, contemporary complainants about Henry's attempts to annul his marriage, like William Tyndale, did call this "deuorcement." In his 1530 treatise, *The Practise of Prelates*, Tyndale devotes an entire section of this work to the matter, entitling this section, "Of the deuorcement." (sig. H.vii.r) (Antwerp: Joannes Hoochstraten, 1530), STC 24465, Early English Books Online. Of course, Tyndale's target was actually Wolsey, who, he claimed, "sought all meanes to displease the emperoure [Charles V] and imagined this deuorcement betwene the kynge and the queen" (sig. H.vi.r). Tyndale's treatise begged Henry VIII to "serch the lawes of god / whether it be lawfull or not" to seek another wife (sig. H.vii.r). See also Amanda L. Capern, "Adultery and Impotence as Literary Spectacle in the Divorce Debates and Tracts of the Long Eighteenth Century" in *Spectacle, Sex, and Property in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, ed. Julie A. Chappell and Kamille Stone Stanton (New York: AMS Press, Inc., forthcoming 2014), 197–225; and Tim Stretton, "Marriage, Separation and the Common Law in England, 1540–1660 in *The*

Family in Early Modern England, ed. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 18–39.

13. See Jansen, chapter 1, "A Woman's Treason: The Case of Margaret Cheyne," 5–39.
14. Paul F. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (New York: W. B. Erdsman Publishing Co., 2001), 28; Zahl also points out that Askew "refused to give away the names of any of that group [of women like Willoughby and Parr accused of treason and heresy] . . . and thus stood fully firm in her confession" (28); see also Beilin for the first edition of Askew's *Examinations* with John Bales' *Elucidation* and John Foxe's version in his *Acts and Monuments*. In her introduction to this edition of these documents, Beilin claims that Askew "sought a divorce from her Catholic husband and went to London" (xv). Others have asserted that Askew "unsuccessfully petitioned for divorce": Theresa D. Kemp, "Translating (Anne) Askew: The Textual Remains of a Sixteenth-Century Heretic and Saint," *Renaissance Quarterly,* 52.4 (1999): 1021–22 n3 [1021–1045]; Patricia Pender, "Reading Bale Reading Anne Askew: Contested Collaboration in *The Examinations*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010): 507 [507–22]; and Tarez Samra Graban, "Feminine Irony and the Art of Linguistic Cooperation in Anne Askew's Sixteenth-Century *Examinacyons*," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric,* 25.4 (2007): 387 n8 [385–411]; among others. Whether Askew intended her estrangement from her husband to lead to divorce or legal separation, either would have made her more vulnerable to the authorities along with her "gospelling" activities.
15. See David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, *Vol. III The Tudor Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 235–36.
16. Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519–1580* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), 48.
17. Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, claims that "Parr included Willoughby among a select group who witnessed her wedding to Henry VIII and appointed her as one of her ladies-in-waiting" (48). Her proximity to court circles would have potentially necessitated some careful negotiation by Willoughby when Parr was under suspicion, as well as when others of that circle, Anne Askew and Lady Jane, were brought to trial and suffered.
18. Ronald Corthell F. Dolan, C. Highley, and A. F. Marotti. "Introduction," *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 5 [1–18].
19. See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Haigh, "Success and Failure in the English Reformation," *Past and Present*, 173 (2001): 28–49; Nicholas Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation, 1500–1800* (London: UCL Press, 1998); Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); among others.