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'a kind of agonie in my thoughts': Writing Puritan and Nonconformist Women's Pain in Seventeenth-Century England

ABSTRACT

The relationship between pain as a physical and emotional experience and the concept of suffering as an essential aspect of sanctification for faithful believers was a paradoxical and pressing theological and phenomenological issue for puritan and nonconformist communities in seventeenth-century England. Pain allows the paradox of nonconformists' valorisation and suppression of corporeality to be explored due to its simultaneous impact upon the mind and body and its tendency to leak across boundaries separating an individual believer from other members of their family or faith community. The material world and the human body were celebrated as theatres for the display of God's glory through the doctrines of creation and providence despite the fall. Pain as a concept and experience captures this tension as it was represented and communicated in a range of literary genres written by and about puritan and nonconformist women including manuscript letters, spiritual journals, biographies and commonplace books. For such women, targeted by state authorities for transgressing gender norms and the religion established by law, making sense of the pain they experienced was both a personal devotional duty and a political act. Three case studies comprise a microhistory of seventeenth-century English puritan and nonconformist women's lived experience, interpretation and representation of pain, inscribed in a series of manuscripts designed to nurture the spiritual and political activism of their communities. This microhistory contributes to a better understanding of pain in early modern England through its excavation of the connections such writers drew between the imperative to be visibly godly, their marginalised subject position as a proscribed religious minority, and their interpretation of the pain they experienced as a result.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between pain as a physical and emotional experience and the concept of suffering as an essential aspect of sanctification for faithful believers was a paradoxical and pressing theological and phenomenological issue for the 'hotter sort of Protestant' in seventeenth-century England.[1] Pain allows the paradox of nonconformists' valorisation and suppression of corporeality to be explored due to its simultaneous impact upon the mind and body and its tendency to leak across boundaries separating an individual believer from other members of their family or faith community. The material world and the human body were celebrated as theatres for the display of God's glory through the doctrines of creation and providence. Radical nonconformists valorised 'the human body as a particularly potent location of the sacred' redirecting the worshipper's gaze 'towards the visible, material substances thought to be untainted by human artifice'.[2] Pain as a concept and experience captures this tension as it was represented and communicated in a range of literary genres written by and about puritan and nonconformist women including manuscript letters, spiritual journals, biographies and commonplace books. For such women, targeted by state authorities for transgressing gender norms and the religion established by law, making sense of the pain they experienced was both a personal devotional duty and a political act.

This essay contributes to the history of pain and its intersections with religious belief in early modern England by examining the ways in which puritan and nonconformist women wrote about pain and writings by fellow believers about their pain. It argues that the relationship between such lived experiences of pain and the theologies of suffering held by godly communities had serious political implications at times when these groups were being persecuted by the state. The theological premises embraced by these women produced pain, but this was not necessarily negative: the expectations these premises established could provide resources enabling both individuals and their communities to respond to pain constructively. Starting from the lived experience of pain, as recorded in ego-documents, has implications for early modern historiography on this subject.[3] Three case studies have been selected to allow the discussion to focus specifically on the role of puritan and nonconformist women writing pain – or how their experience of pain is described by community members – in manuscript documents; the ways in which the literary genres utilised by these women and their communities shape how the lived experience of pain is represented and interpreted; and how such concerns evidence themselves diachronically within puritan and nonconformist communities during the seventeenth century in England.[4]

Recent scholarship supports this diachronic approach demonstrating important continuities in puritan and nonconformist experience and the crucial role played by both body and spirit within radical Protestant spirituality.[5] This recognition of the spiritual dimensions of the embodied self is critical to understanding how women in such communities exercised agency and influence. 'Puritan' and 'nonconformist' are used interchangeably to denote a trajectory within seventeenth-century English Protestantism that embraced godly practices and forms of spirituality that could lead to a refusal to conform to the prevailing norms proscribed by the state for worship. Prior to the Civil War this tradition included individuals, like Briget Cooke (died 163-?).[6] Following the Restoration, the term nonconformist emerges as a clearer legal category, denoting any Protestant, like Mary Franklin (died 1713) or Elianor Stockton (1627/8-1712), who refused to conform to

the re-established state church. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was central to the faith and experience of such women and this forms a continuous tradition that links nonconformist communities to the pioneers of the Protestant reformation in England.[7]

Pneumatology, the study of spiritual beings and phenomena – especially the role of the Holy Spirit – shaped both puritan and nonconformist spirituality and ecclesiastical practice. Radical puritanism existed on a spectrum that tended towards the immaterial, with Quakers representing the extreme end.[8] Though Catholicism is not considered here, its emphasis on the relationship between materiality and suffering positions it at the opposite end of the theological spectrum.[9] The absence of a minister, or an inability to constitute a congregation appropriately could lead to the disappearance of the sacraments from regular worship altogether. One unintended consequence of these conscientious and pragmatic concerns was depreciation in the significance attributed to the material aspects of worship. The three case studies analysed demonstrate how the phenomenological reality of embodied faith, and a personal sense of the presence of God's Spirit shaped writings about the experience of pain – somatic, psychosomatic and spiritual.[10]

Writing the experience of pain enabled puritan and nonconformist communities to negotiate and represent their paradoxical theological beliefs about relationships between the material and immaterial and the individual and communal. Pain as a concept and experience unsettles traditional categories: it is social as well as somatic and allows the amelioration of abstract concepts to be mapped as they intersect with an individual's lived experience. The communication of pain acts as a mechanism for forging connections: it invites the exercise of compassion. Pain is thus both an affective and exegetical form of piety. John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, for example, 'renders the suffering Christian body as an experiential location of the sacred'. Focusing 'too much on Protestant inwardness' can cause us to 'miss the ways in which these more material and participatory dimensions of early Protestant belief systems influenced the history of the body [and] the subject'.[11] It is necessary to acknowledge the puritan and nonconformist tradition's holistic approach to embodiment: such individuals were open to transcendental experience; the work of the Spirit was understood to intersect in intimate ways with the material world, and the suffering body could itself become a divine sign, as in the prophetic writings of the Baptist, Anne Wentworth. Wentworth's writings raise the issue of inspiration but this is not limited to the genre of prophecy.[12] Elianor Stockton's spiritual journal also demonstrates careful reflection about the Spirit's role in relation to interpreting experiences of pain, divine power and grace.

Calvinist nonconformists in post-Restoration England have sometimes been seen as passive sufferers withdrawing from politics to embrace a focus on individual conscience in contrast to more radical puritan activism during the Interregnum:[13] 'Unlike versions of Christianity which see suffering as something to be resisted or triumphed over, Calvinism tends to view both suffering and grace as arbitrary, mysterious, and predestined….[R]eligious faith [is] less as a spur to action and more…a beautiful individual reckoning with inevitable loss and anguish'.[14] Calvinist theology is interpreted as limiting human agency, producing a religious faith that encourages stoicism and personal growth when confronted with anguish. Intersections between passivity, suffering and political action are crucial when thinking about how nonconformist Calvinists represented their lived experience of pain. For example, although the Presbyterian

minister, Robert Franklin, and his wife, Mary, actively sought to accept the physical and spiritual pain they experienced as part of the providential dispensation of God this did not eliminate their awareness of their role as human actors and, in the context of a persecutory state, of their political agency.

These women knew that they had to embrace physical suffering actively, even though their attitude can be construed as passive. It was their responsibility as visible saints. Consequently, even when credit for such performances is attributed to the agency of the Spirit, they still follow a script for what embodied experience should look like.[15] Indeed, Aphra Behn's critique of spiritual enthusiasm as fanaticism in her plays exposes the political dimension of such seeming passivity; Tory opponents did not see it as a spiritual retreat from political action.[16] Experiences that could be constructed as passive suffering in the face of persecution were metamorphosed by the spiritual and political imperatives that puritans and nonconformists faced visibly to perform their godly identity. Pain requires an audience, but it involves more than the sufferers: it is 'something in which their interlocutors also participate'. The ways in which these women write about their sufferings demonstrate that it is impossible to separate pain from its description. Such expressions of pain compel others, but there are numerous ways in which the transaction between sufferer(s) and interlocutor(s) 'can be conceived or inhabited'.[17] Indeed, I suggest that the emotional dis-ease and suffering that these women experience can be understood as types of both personal and corporate pain, because they conceive and inhabit their experiences as aspects of state persecution augmented or enforced by unbelieving or unsympathetic neighbours. They inscribe this interpretation into the manuscript accounts of their experience: the responsibility visibly to embrace godliness and to communicate this to their faith community involves a particular understanding of pain's social status and its spiritual significance.

However, for seventeenth-century puritans and nonconformists the vertical relationship with God was often more important than horizontal relationships with other humans, and a sense of separation from God caused acute pain. Viewed positively such pain could mark the first step towards repentance and act as a catalyst for conversion. In these terms, pain was beneficial: it provided access to a mystical experience and initiated a spiritual adventure. To ignore, or worse, to attempt to develop indifference to such pain, was to harden oneself against providential opportunities for repentance and sanctification and thus to open oneself up to the prospect of eternal spiritual pain. Pain is thus a divine mercy, shepherding one away from hell, and evidence of God's fatherly love.[18] Puritans and nonconformists often describe such experiences of pain in a language of personal interiority as they engage with God, but pain was also a deeply social experience and, in phenomenological terms, it can be understood to exist only when acknowledged by another: 'people with a direct knowledge of pain do not necessarily want to *give* their pain to others; what they want is for the other to *know that* there is pain, and possibly to act on this knowledge'.[19] Many puritan and nonconformist communities embraced and practised an affective theology which foregrounded pain as a way of knitting torn flesh together; the wholeness of each human individual is based on the brokenness of Christ. Within this theological framework, pain is conceived as a mode of inter-subjective experience that connects fellow-sufferers to one another, but it also has a transcendental dimension incorporating the second person of the Trinity. The suffering Christian community is a network, but it is also the body of Christ. This clarifies the intimate connection between representations of pain and the

social and communal dimensions of persecution that are integral to the first-person documents written by Mary Franklin and Elianor Stockton.[20]

For the women considered here, nonconformity was a type of embodied political resistance that incorporated real elements of pain inflicted by a persecuting state determined to control the worshipping bodies of its subjects. The threat of such persecution created a 'painful or troubled feeling caused by the impression of an imminent evil that causes destruction or pain'.[21] The manuscript documents produced by, or about, Franklin, Cooke and Stockton that evidence this sense of apprehensive pain can be approached through a 'standpoint epistemology' that valorises experience as a source of knowledge, recognising that 'marginalized positionalities' such as those of middling puritan and nonconformist women in the Stuart state offer a unique vantage point 'from which to expose systems of oppression'.[22] Though autobiography is a problematic label for early modern English women's spiritual writing,[23] such documents nonetheless provide 'more complex understandings of pain' if a reading is 'balanced with the cultural work of situating those experiences within social and political contexts'.[24] Ego-documents are sites 'where cultural, medical, and political discourses meet' offering insights into the 'embodied experience of chronic pain'.[25] This essay presents three case studies of writings by, or about, women's pain in seventeenth-century England's puritan and nonconformist tradition in order to provide several comparative sites for reflecting on how the literary representation of their experiences in a range of genres deepens our understanding of the history of pain and its intersections with religious belief.

Briget Cooke, Mary Franklin and Elianor Stockton's sense of corporate identity was rooted in the biblical doctrine of the church as the body of Christ.[26] Their ecclesiology correlates in certain ways with theoretical reflections on networks, foregrounding a central aspect of what it meant to be a member of a puritan conventicle or nonconformist congregation in seventeenth-century England.[27] Networks such as the "'one body" of the faithful…were simultaneously spiritual and material' and even crossed the divide 'between humans and God' as a result of the incarnation and resurrection of Christ: such 'supernatural connections among various kinds of individual and collective bodies had significant worldly consequences'.[28] The incarnation inflects how English puritans and nonconformists understood the church as the body of Christ: a network operating within the world to effect social change and engender new communal identities. This enables a more nuanced reading of the complex intersections between state religion, personal conversion and the formation of conventicles in seventeenth-century England. It is particularly pertinent following the Restoration when legislative changes reconfigured the relationships between state persecution, community trauma and pain, including how pain was experienced and represented.[29] Writings by, and about, these women demonstrate that the experience of living with pain 'leaks onto' others in a way that cannot be contained by the bounds of individual bodies or experience: 'discourses of pain ubiquitously frame it as an individual, isolated bodily experience'. However, ego-documents produced within puritan and nonconformist communities remind us that pain begins 'to dissolve' discourses that create a 'fixed distinction between pained and non-pained bodies' reframing it 'as shareable and as shared'.[30] Formulating the experience of pain as a leakiness that troubles the boundary between individual and corporate figurations of identity enables us to grasp better the group dimension of the marginal and contingent positions from which these women wrote or were written about.[31]

The following analysis consists of three case studies, which are arranged by source rather than theme, offering a microhistory exploring how women within the puritan and nonconformist tradition wrote pain. The small sample size renders the material considered an insufficient basis from which to deduce broad empirical conclusions about how such communities experienced pain in seventeenth-century England, but that is not my purpose. I focus on what three rich sets of manuscript documents reveal about how personal and corporate experiences of pain were represented by women within these communities. This involves considering the circumstances of each document's production and circulation, its literary genre and projected audience, and the various discourses (theological, emotional, medical) deployed to describe each woman's experience of pain or their interpretation of the pain of others. Each case study focuses on a woman situated within her family and religious community, partly to facilitate cross-comparison on the basis of gender – in terms of potentially painful experiences such as pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding, for example – though this is only one amongst several factors shaping how these letters, journals and biographies were written. But also in order to trace diachronically across several communities in the puritan and nonconformist tradition how a dual marginalisation – on the grounds of gender and religion – from the public sphere influences how individual women wrote about their experiences of pain, or how others within their communities represented it, and the political implications of producing and circulating such documents.[32] Together these three case studies comprise a microhistory of seventeenth-century English puritan and nonconformist women's lived experience, interpretation and representation of pain, inscribed in a series of manuscripts designed to nurture the spiritual and political activism of their communities. This microhistory thus deepens our understanding of pain in early modern England through its excavation of the connections such writers draw between the imperative to be visibly godly, their marginalised subject position as a proscribed religious minority, and their interpretation of the pain they experienced as a result.

MARY FRANKLIN

Laura Gowing suggests that 'conventional narratives of first-person writing leave very little room for reflections on the body; the spiritual reflections which were the basis of early diaries, by their very nature, enabled women to leave the body behind'.[33] This is not the case in Mary Franklin's writing, rather than occluding the body her nonconformist convictions intimately shape her painful experiences of childbirth, breastfeeding, weaning, persecution at the hands of informers, depression and illness. In her journal, Mary inscribes the delicate balance between the spiritual, corporeal and emotional that characterised her embodied life of faith and pain; her 'mental activities spread or smear across the boundaries of skull and skin to include parts of the social and material world'.[34] Alongside Mary's manuscript journal – an account of her early life, conversion, marriage, motherhood and persecution during the Restoration – there are a series of letters exchanged between Mary and her husband while the latter was imprisoned in Aylesbury gaol in 1670, Mary's commonplace book, and her published funeral sermon, preached by Benjamin Grosvenor in 1713.[35] These documents allow us to extricate how it felt to embody and practise one's faith as a political and religious alien in the country of one's birth.

Robert Franklin (1630-1703) was a Presbyterian minister ejected from his living at Westhall, Suffolk in 1662. He continued to preach in London as a nonconformist during the 1660s. Mary

Smith records in her journal that following the outbreak of the Great Fire she was by God's 'good providence cast upon m[r] francklins ministry' in Blue Anchor Alley, Old Street. Mary married Robert in 1669.[36] Robert's first surviving letter to Mary was written from Aylesbury gaol, where he had been imprisoned for his nonconformist convictions and practices; it evidences the pain which his emotional and social isolation caused. It also demonstrates the importance of his marriage, the letters his wife sent, and the crucial role that wider nonconformist networks of family and friends played in organising material and spiritual support to counteract the emotional pain induced by his political incarceration. However, Robert's imprisonment also exacerbated the pain that Mary experienced during her first pregnancy and she wrote to him on 6 July 1670:

> I have now and then some pains upon me, that I must not while I am in this condition expect to without, I wish I could say that my soul prospered and were in health as my body is, I desire to bless \ye Lord/ that hath heard praiers for me and hath blest counsell to me that my mind is much more calmed and quieted with his will and wise dispose of things then it was.[37]

However, her journal reveals that 'after very sore and hard labour I was delivered of a larg man child, but it was still-born'. According to judgement 'by most' the stillbirth was caused by Mary's grief 'that I had upon me by reason of my husbands being so far from me, in my condition, it being new work for me to be exercised in the school of affliction, it was more difficult for me to bear'.[38] Though responsibility for the causal connection between her grief and her husband's imprisonment is displaced onto others, Mary poignantly notes how the juxtaposition of physical and emotional pain, religious persecution and spiritual anxiety create 'new work' for her as a bereaved young mother grieving for her child. Though the letter to her husband speaks of resignation to divine providence, the journal records how 'difficult' it was for her to bear affliction. These painful experiences are a sharp contrast to the ecstatic joy that characterised Mary's early days as a young, unmarried Christian convert.[39]

Mary's journal situates her personal suffering and growth in grace within a broader narrative of the corporate experience of faithful believers over time. She sees both the 'inward presence' of the Spirit and the 'outward presence of his ordinances' as privileges that can be enjoyed only in brief moments of peace due to a cosmic battle between the people of God and the devil's instruments.[40] Mary observes that during the period of her husband's imprisonment: 'our house was guarded by souldiers for a considerable time, every lords day they came by .7. a clock in the morning and continued till ;7. at night, and though it twas all the time of my lieing in yet the lord was pleased to support me that I got noe harm or fright'.[41] During the portion of her life covered by the journal, Mary and her family were repeatedly subjected to harassment for their nonconformist beliefs. Grosvenor concludes in her funeral sermon: 'These were teazing and vexatious things, enough to wear away the Spirits, and break the strongest Constitution; she was most of this while breeding, and in these last Troubles she went with her tenth Child 'twas so much the more grievous still, as her lying in generally gave some Advantage to a distemper'd Melancholy, that prevail'd much upon those Occasions'.[42]

Mary notes the physical impact of informer activity on her family life. They endeavoured frequently to enter the house which created so much disturbance that she was 'forced to wean

the child' hanging on her breast, her 'milk being disturbed, it did both me and the child hurt, this being new work to me.[43] This demonstrates the ways in which state persecution of nonconformist beliefs caused pain compromising Mary's ability to provide nourishment for her baby. Between 1682 and 1686 'probably the most audacious and organized team of informers in English history' were organised in London by two brothers, John and George Hilton.[44] Mark Goldie notes religious persecution under Charles II 'is less a history of statutes than of contingent decisions about enforcement'. The Hiltons' audacity in the service of a Tory zealot was necessary to close the 'gap between enactment and enforcement' as they attempted 'to purge the metropolis of Dissenters'. This type of activity caused much misery, as Mary's journal eloquently testifies, but the Tory campaign was flawed due to the 'murky pasts and grubby motives' of the informers, the law's capacity to act as an arena for contestation as well as coercion by the elite, and 'the tension that existed between vexatious zeal and communal solidarity'.[45]

Mary's theological convictions also produced 'a kind of agonie' in her thoughts when she witnessed the physical pain of her children. She recounts in excruciating detail the death of her oldest daughter at four years of age. As the maid removed a skillet of milk with bread in it from the fire, she accidentally doused the child, who died several days later in great pain. Mary writes:

> the bread stuck upon her face and brest, we imeadiatly stript of her cloths and sent for a sergeon, our uncle smith, who when he saw it, dispared of a cure because he perceived the flesh was mortified, and scald as deep as her windpipe…but that which supportid us this great affliction was the, wonderfull patience God gave her under her great pains to the admiration of all…she never cried out but squeazed her fingers and bite in her pain, and would call to all about her to pray for her, and would ask her friends if they would love her.[46]

Witnessing a child's pain evoked far more than pity and empathy from onlookers; the 'spectacle of suffering…caused acute emotional pain'.[47] Such pain could be further exacerbated for conscientious puritan parents by the fear that their sin might have caused the child's death. [48]

> the death of this child went very near to me, not only for the loss of so dear a child, but also fearing that it was for some great sin that I had commited it falling out one the lords day, whether I had keept the Sabbath as I ought, but after some time the lord was pleased to spake peace to my soul, which was a comfort and suport unto me under this great stroak, one time I remember when I was in bed with this child, meaditating on eternity I was in a kind of agonie in my thoughts, how I could bear…this child should miscarry to eternity, but the lord I trust hath taken her up to inherit everlasting glory, and the rest of them being .4. more, that died in their infancy.[49]

Mary's account demonstrates that suffering believers could interpret their pain as punitive, rather than purgative or even redemptive and, within a Calvinist theological framework, this sometimes led individuals to process pain negatively, as evidence of their non-elect status.[50] Part of the purpose of Mary's journal is to provide a larger narrative framework, demonstrating how she

moves beyond this hermeneutic impasse through the assistance of divine grace. Mary's concern with the importance of keeping the Sabbath had shaped her emotional response to the Great Fire of London many years before and it is possible that her child's painful death on a Sunday reminded her of this this earlier traumatic experience and augmented the complex mixture of guilt and grief that she records.[51] As for so many of her contemporaries, Mary's pain was also compounded by the death of multiple infant children, indicated in the way she frames her narration of this event.

Following this, Mary contracted a violent fever that almost killed her. Her response demonstrates her conviction that this pain was ultimately beneficial: 'I bless the lord I hope I can say, it was good for me that I was afflicted, for I found Gods word and ordinances, much sweeter and pleasanter than before, the lord brought me to be willing to be at his disspose, either for life or death'.[52] Though Mary believed firmly in the doctrine of God's sovereignty and a beneficent providence, this did not negate the physical pain and fears that resulted from her own illness, nor the acute emotional pain and grief caused by her child's death. In some ways her belief in the reality of eternal punishment as well as bliss, and her deep consciousness of personal sin, turned the 'great stroak' of her daughter's death into 'a kind of agonie'. There was no divine guarantee that children would inherit eternal life, and her uncertainty about her own children's ultimate fate filled her with fear. But this needs to be set alongside her sense of peace following God's personal intervention. Pain had beneficial effects in furthering her sanctification: his word and ordinances were sweet and pleasant, leading her to accept his will.[53]

The Franklins' nonconformist religious convictions led to repeated persecution at the hands of informers who were encouraged and supported in their activities by the Restoration establishment. At one point the family's possessions were removed and Mary was expelled from her home. This entailed further enforced weaning and constant uncertainty. Mary notes 'when the troabls were about the Duke of mumuth' she was able to give safe birth to her tenth child, 'but in the time of my lieing in by reason of some privat, trouble I had, and \it/meeting with a malincholy humor which I used to be troubled with in my lieings in, my spirits were extreamly burdened, which did very much disordered my body, and hindred my rest for several nights I endeavored to seek help by makeing my complaint to a relation where I hop't to have had some releife, but all to no purpose, my trouble was rather aggravated'. It was not until she 'resolved to go to the lord' and cast her burden on him that she found ease from this pain.[54] Though her physical reaction to the political unrest that followed the government's crackdown on nonconformists after Monmouth's rebellion was more seasoned than what she describes as her unschooled response to the stillbirth of her firstborn son during Robert's imprisonment in 1670, personal pain remained inextricably associated with state persecution: her body was 'very much disordered' by 'a malincholy humor'.

For Mary, sharing this melancholic pain with a relative led to its aggravation. Often, though, support from one's spouse or congregation was essential if nonconformists were to survive imprisonment – the most acute form of internal exile a state could inflict on its subjects. The epistle to Hebrews admonished: 'Remember those who are in prison, as though in prison with them, and those who are mistreated, since you also are in the body' (13:3). Letters were a panacea for the pain that Robert experienced while separated from his wife and congregation: 'if

thou didst but know the content I take to see thy handwriting now I cannot see thy deare face thou wouldest not let me goe a weeke long w[th]out a letter'. But letters were also necessary if he was to remain up-to-date about his wife and congregation's health: 'My Deare I pray let their be care taken the first coach after thy delivery that I may heare of thee'.[55] Letters allowed suffering nonconformists to share experiences of pain and its cessation. Those Robert and Mary exchanged provide us with a glimpse of the intimate relationship between prayer and pain in nonconformist experience. When Mary was about to give birth to their first child, Robert writes: 'not further to tyre thee but my most endeared affections to thee earnestly praying for thee that I may yet heare further of thy safety & p[ro]sperity in soule & body'.[56] Prayer positioned the believer in a liminal space engaging with pain at the juxtaposition between soul and body; as a spiritual discipline it assumed an intimate and direct connection between the natural and supernatural.

As the surviving correspondence indicates, the Franklins were dependent on both personal bearers and a regular coach service running between Aylesbury and London for the delivery of their letters, allowing them to remain in contact during Robert's imprisonment.[57] Pain was shared across the body corporate – Robert laments the condition of poor sister Vincent, even from prison. His own isolation also caused much pain – 'I earnestly entreat a weeke may be longest my ffather forbears writeing I cannot well beare any longer delay thou wouldest wonder what lookeings & longings I have for letters'.[58] This was alleviated partially by the solicitude of family and friends: 'My Reverend & Worthy Brother Wells w[th] his good wife & sonne were in towne last night sent for me to their Inn did condole at my suffering And did wt[h]all congratulate my health & welfare & further expressed their kindness' by providing sufficient to cover almost a week's charge for his imprisonment.[59] Prisons could act as clerical lodging houses enabling Catholic priests to provide pastoral care and spread propaganda.[60] Similar effects were produced by the enforced isolation and concentration of imprisoned nonconformists post-Restoration: 'the very structures that sought to enforce the centralisation of discursive space – exile, imprisonment, and execution – forced multiple new spheres of literary resistance and dissent into existence'.[61] Prisons thus operated as counter-public spheres, 'an arena for hearing proscribed voices, expressing proscribed ideas, and entertaining an alternative reality to the existing order'.[62]

The human body emerges from the journal and letters as an instrument of suffering, stewardship and service. The voice in Mary's journal is somatic, firmly situated in specific domestic spaces and familial and congregational networks that were radically disrupted by her nonconformist convictions; persecution produced pain. There is an intimate connection between the personal and the public. Milk is a powerful recurring image: it is essential for the nourishment of her children, but remains erratic and unreliable, as Mary's body responds to the unpredictable exigencies of persecution. The heating and spilling of milk also results in the agony, disfiguration and death of her beloved daughter. This is a poignant example of how thinking about 'the leakiness of pain' allows us 'to conceptualize bodies, desires, and experiences…within a system of connectivity' and thus give due weight to the public dimensions of the trope of disturbed nurture, which was crucial to how Mary experienced and represented her own pain and that of her family.[63]

Grosvenor preached Mary's funeral sermon in 1713 from 2 Corinthians 5:1: '*For we know, that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle be dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens*'.[64] Alongside his attention to the text's eschatological trajectory, he focused on the importance of stewarding the body, and refusing to inflict pain due to an unbiblical asceticism:[65] 'We are to *maintain and uphold* by Diligence in our Callings, to procure their fit Supply…by Prayer to fetch down daily Bread, and things convenient for us; by Carefulness not to expose them without call, nor abuse them by any unwarrantable Severities'.[66] Grosvenor was alert to the theatrical dimensions of his biblical metaphor, glossing '*the House of this Tabernacle*' as a '*moveable Scene*':

> This Metaphor is apply'd to the Body of Many by all manner of Writers. Whether it be taken from the Stage, where the Scene is used, and frequently, easily and suddenly shifted; where Mankind is represented acting their Several Parts, and when they have done, the Scene is removed and changed, and he is no longer a Captain, a Prince or a Beggar, who for a little represented either of them.[67]

Death is radically egalitarian, reducing all humans to the same point, just as actors at the end of a performance relinquish their defining roles. Grosvenor's juxtaposition of shifting theatrical technologies of representation with an eschatologically-driven anti-hierarchism demonstrates how 'early modern Protestant investments in the human body' and 'the deep structures of the Protestant sacred' could be turned 'towards meditations on the phenomenology of live theatre'.[68] Franklin's journal, in contrast, shows how a focus on the 'somatic components' of the 'Protestant sacred' illuminates aspects of the phenomenology of pain and contributes to a deeper understanding of the relationships between religious belief, state persecution, and the individual and corporate experience of pain recorded by nonconformists in Restoration England.

BRIGET COOKE

Though Briget Cooke died prior to the Civil War and thus operated in a political context quite different to the Franklins, her life also demonstrates how a committed adherence to the practical divinity so central to the English puritan and nonconformist tradition created pain, the ways in which it was experienced and its representation. Cooke's contemporary, known only as R. P., describes her life in a short manuscript a decade or two after her death.[69] Consequently it represents a different kind of source to the ego-documents that provide such a vivid account of Mary Franklin's physical, emotional and spiritual pain.[70] However, R. P. is clearly a sympathetic and deferential member of the godly group with whom Cooke associated and, as such, the biographical account s/he provides offers important insights into the personal and corporate religious experiences of the local conventicle that centred on Cooke. This section will analyse R. P.'s account of Cooke's physical pain, the familial conflict that emerged as a direct result of her fervent Christian practice, her close fellowship and communion with a select group of godly neighbours and the role of prayer.

Experience is central to how accounts such as *Some spirituall passages of Mrs Briget Cooke or a brief record of her Heavenly Life and conversation* are constructed. It offers a mechanism for conceptualising and narrating how grace and faith operated in the embodied life of a believer and thus their experiences of pain; it also captures the evidentiary and experimental aspects that were so

important to the accounts written by or about these godly individuals.[71] The Baptist minister, Vavasor Powell, foregrounds this when introducing a collection of such testimonies: '*Experience* is a Copy written by the Spirit of God upon the hearts of beleevers It is one of *Faiths* handmaids and attendants, and *Hopes* usher'.[72] The multivalent denotations of *experience* in the seventeenth century is what makes it so helpful when thinking about how pain was identified, felt and represented. Its etymology demonstrates that sharp distinctions between scientific processes, establishing facts and the quotidian aspects of human existence had not yet been drawn. Experience was synonymous in four ways with experiment: by putting something to the test (to make experience of); as an operation performed in order to ascertain or illustrate some truth; practical demonstration (to put in experience); and as a piece of experimental knowledge.[73] The narration of pain thus allows the paradox of puritan and nonconformists' simultaneous valorisation and suppression of corporeality to be analysed as an element of their testimony to the grace of God at work in an individual's life. It is thus important to attend also to the material and literary aspects of each source, as the ways in which pain is communicated are crucial to the connections that these writers establish between their own experience, their initial interlocutors, and imagined future audiences.

R. P.'s narrative is generated by a desire to testify to, and provide evidence of, such grace in the life of Briget Cooke. Conversion was central, but R. P. links it to the doctrines of sanctification and providence that, as we have seen in Mary Franklin's journal, are critical to the way puritans and nonconformists interpreted and came to terms with pain. The narrative form of R. P.'s account highlights the significance of process as an element of the representation of pain. Valerie Traub has argued that modernist conceptions of identity formation as fixed elide the process of conversion. For early modern people, the key issue was how you knew a conversion had actually happened raising questions about evidence, legibility and consensus. Can an unstable body, including its experiences of pain, ever compensate for the intangibility of faith? Focusing on epistemology rather than ontology when thinking about conversion, foregrounds the cultural and hermeneutic work that constructs a particular conversion and the way it is traced in an individual's life narrative. This highlights the role habit plays enabling an interrogation of the tension between knowledge and pain in an individual's experience. Importantly for the corporate aspects of this essay's discussion of pain, it also emphasises the social dimensions of conversion and sanctification: what is involved in the process of becoming? Is it the convert's performance, or the audience's expectations of the convert that are most significant? In order for it to be recognised as authentic, conversion had to be ratified by a form of community consensus, such as marriage, baptism, or a testimony of faith before a gathered congregation and admission into church membership.[74] Representing conversion as a process of becoming is consonant with how puritan and nonconformist writers deployed experience as a category, as R. P. does, in the narration of Cooke's life. It also draws attention to aspects of an embodied life of faith, including the experience of pain, which habituated the women considered here into particular modes of religiosity, enabling them to form small counter-publics through the quotidian enactment of their faith.

Pain is central to the way in which R. P. structures the narrative of Cooke's experience. Her conversion was initiated by physical pain confronting her with death. This conversion, in turn, released her from spiritual pain: she was no longer held in bondage under the law and her

liberation by God's Spirit brought her much joy.[75] R. P. notes 'y^{t} like a vessell brimme full she could hardly containe y^{e} same but would cry out oh my ioy oh my ioy'.[76] The inversion of this charismatic experience of joy was pain caused when members of her community indicated their disinterest in her version of religious experience.

> She was mervilusly filled wth y^{e} Spirit so that sometimes like a vessell full of new wine she could not containe wthout venting her selfe in y^{e} companie of such as she iudged to be faithfull & if att a time she weare shut out wth much worldly talke of others she was much discontented & out of plight…in minde & body & felt her selfe so oppressed as if a steeple did lye upon her.[77]

Worldly talk corroding opportunities for godly fellowship caused a visceral pain that put her mind and body out of plight and oppressed her as much as if she were buried under a steeple. The idiomatic turn of phrase suggests that R. P. might be drawing directly on Cooke's own verbal formulation here. R. P.'s description of the way she exhorted herself when experiencing physical or spiritual pain indicates that she had internalised a discipline advocated by puritan practical divinity, which encouraged 'silent internal dialogue' as 'an aid to endurance'. 'In this technique, a pained, complaining or fearful inner voice is contradicted – that is, made to contradict itself – by one of spiritual calm'.[78] R. P. notes that Cooke would address herself in such circumstances thus: 'w^{t} ailest y^{u} now here is god y^{e} father & god y^{e} holy Spiritt & is not this good company'.[79]

Cooke's unshakeable sense of spiritual assurance, consolidated through charismatic prayer, distinguishes her experience from that of many puritan and nonconformist women.[80] However, though it led her to be 'as sure of [her salvation] as if she weare in heaven already',[81] it did not entail an end to physical and spiritual pain. In fact, R. P.'s account indicates that Cooke suffered from some form of physical illness most of her life. She compared her relationship to the physical pains caused by her afflictions to the affection of a mother for each of her children despite the travail the birth process involved because of their role in her sanctification. R. P. writes she was like 'a woman y^{t} wth hard labor had brought forth many children & yet tooke such delight in euery one of them y^{t} she knew not which of them she could spare nor would willingly parte wth any of them'.[82] As this demonstrates, Cooke thoroughly embraced the concept of physical pain as spiritually beneficial: in another image afflictions were 'a whipping post to her corruptions'.[83] It was during moments of pain that she found 'her hart most inflamed wth burning loue unto God'.[84] Cooke's convictions about the sanctifying effects of pain were shared by Franklin and rooted in Scripture.[85] They also encouraged her to persevere to the end, as R. P. states, Cooke 'tooke exceeding great paines to uphold her faith & keepe her standing in grace'.[86]

The fact that Cooke's husband did not share her godly convictions was a continual and more vexing source of pain,[87] which she sought to ameliorate in part through close fellowship with an older woman 'whom for her Age long standing in christianity & eminency in grace she called her mother. wth whom she was linked (as she said) in y^{e} bond of y^{e} Spirit where by they were intimately acquainted wth y^{e} spirituall estate & condition one of another'.[88] Despite the Bible's image of husband and wife as 'one flesh',[89] Cooke had a stronger bond with this woman than she did with her husband. Her marriage involved balancing her expected roles as a wife, mother and

householder, with her commitment to a godly walk of life. 'She was exceeding carefull of her carriage towards her husband & desirous to please him & giue him all y^{e} content she could wth a good conscience, & would doe nothing as nere as she could y^{t} might iustly offend him who though he were not of her Spirit, & one y^{t} did not favor or like her strict course of life in walkeing wth God nor afforded incoragement to her therin'.[90] The spiritual habits adopted by Cooke and her companions disrupted accepted patterns of sociability in rural life, unsettled traditional hierarchies in the relationship between husband and wife, drew a woman away from domestic service to more authoritative roles in a semi-public communal context and challenged socio-economic expectations. Cooke's family was based 'in the Suffolk cloth manufacturing village of Kersey…probably possessed of middling means',[91] but her only child earnestly desired to be a minister, though her husband was unwilling to 'be at y^{e} charge for it'.[92] Through a combination of earnest prayer, ingenuously co-opting the local schoolmaster, and perhaps a sense of guilt on the part of Cooke's husband following her death, her son was able to go to Cambridge and train for the ministry.

The causal role attributed to personal prayer in R. P.'s manuscript biography foregrounds several methodological issues that require negotiation in order to deal justly and critically with accounts written by or about early modern women's experiences of pain; 'if we do not at least permit the possibility that those experiences were authentic, we run the risk of belittling the experiences themselves'.[93] Within R. P.'s narrative the boundary between the natural and supernatural does not operate on a distinction between the material and spiritual, but rather on an eschatological division between the spirit of bondage and the spirit of adoption, as expressed in the description of Cooke's conversion. This shapes the perception of all aspects of experience and intersects with a doctrine of providence that saw the world not simply as a utilitarian source to be exploited for human needs, but also as a theatre where God intervened in the lives of believers who looked to him to provide a rationale for the pain that they endured. R. P.'s narrative demonstrates the importance of a nuanced understanding of the relationship between soul and body, the ways in which the spiritual intersects with and metamorphoses the material, and the capacity of pain to leak across and even dissolve such boundaries if we are to grasp the paradoxical dimensions of this biographical representation of Cooke's experiences of pain.[94]

ELIANOR STOCKTON

The final case study focuses on a contemporary of Mary Franklin, Elianor Rant (1627/8-1712). Rant married the nonconformist minister, Owen Stockton, who received Presbyterian orders in London in 1655.[95] The Stockton family produced several manuscripts that emerged from a rich culture of Bible reading.[96] Zealous nonconformists were instructed to read Scripture passionately, as God's word addressed directly to them: 'insight gained in reading was to be reinforced in praxis'.[97] Elianor's practices of Bible reading, as reflected in her writing, fit firmly within this tradition: 'present-centred' they structured her 'disposition toward God and those around' her. Her reading was simultaneously 'a practice of in-depth enquiry and a discipline of conformity….Elianor's self-admonition highlights the emotional nature of reading the Bible in this way, disclosing the deep and complex strains under which readers might labour to apply God's promises'.[98]

Bodily sickness confronted Christians who believed in the doctrine of providence and the power

of prayer with very painful questions. This was a phenomenological and spiritual dilemma that crossed confessional boundaries, but it was rendered particularly acute for nonconformists who embraced a Calvinist theology and believed that the Holy Spirit personally revealed God's will to them through Scripture and providence. Elianor Stockton was faced with this conundrum when her daughter Elizabeth contracted a painful illness that eventually proved fatal. Her journal includes a discrete entry entitled: 'Som passages betwene God \&/ my Soule which concerne the sicknes & death of my deare and first borne child which God was pleased to take a way a bout the .19. yeare of her age'.[99] While Elianor's account of the pain she experienced watching her daughter's sickness and death suggests a solitary reading of the Bible, her husband, Owen, separately records the incident in his diary, noting the biblical verses that brought solace to himself and Elizabeth. These were different to the passages that Elianor references. This demonstrates that biblical panacea for pain 'in the bedchamber at death could be both individual and communal' even within a familial context.[100] If pain could not 'be solitary and private', nor could it 'be morally neutral to the godly': in nonconformist communities, pain demanded recognition. 'Pain was rhetorical; it required and involved an audience. Godly guides to affliction helped the sick and their companions to read, transpose and respond to the signs manifested in their bodies'.[101]

Elianor's entry demonstrates how she attempted to negotiate her daughter's physical suffering, and the emotional and spiritual pain it created for her as a spectator and mother, through a careful balance of scriptural reading, prayer and consultation with friends. She writes:

> when the lord was pleased to com so neere to [Elizabeth] that I feared her life I found a great lothnes to part with such a deare and desire able child….I ded with great ernestnes apply my selfe to the throne of grace and did also ingage many of my christion freinds whoe were choyce seruants of the Lord to doe the same.[102]

It is possible to trace in Elianor's manuscript account the ways in which she writes, and rewrites, her pain, adjusting her interpretation of events and providence as they unfolded in order to ensure it correlated with her theological convictions.

> but she haueing beene long ill and vsed much meanes yet her distempers increased and her strength decayed which begat new and great feares of heart in me conserning her and haveing \then/ but little or no hopes of her life being greatly purplexed in my Spirit I cried to the Lord for som support and he was pleased to bring that place of Scripture to mind the 46.10 \Psa/ be still & know that I am God by which…Scripture I was much reuiued at the present ….she was then so low that I think none did hope for her life but my selfe.[103]

Elianor's pain at the prospect of parting with Elizabeth was exacerbated by the fact that she had already lost four children and her only other remaining child was sickly. Her daughter's pain, and her own pain in what it signified, drove her to God's word and prayer. The comfort she found in Scripture, and her confidence – 'as I thought' – from the Spirit's assurance, led her – despite Elizabeth's weakness, increasingly serious condition, and the assessment of all others

that she was past hope, to believe that God would heal her.[104]

> which hope continewed in me til death a proched uery neere and when she was a departing the suggestions of Satan preuailed so farr upon my euel heart as to cause me to question the faithfullness of God whose prouidenc as I then thought seemed to contredict his word which I was verily purswaded \then/ was suggested to me by his holy Spirit.[105]

This reading against the bodily evidence created great pain for Elianor when her daughter died. Pain at the loss of her daughter, pain because she subsequently doubted God's faithfulness, pain as she attempted to reshape and literally rewrite her emotional and theological response so it conformed to her Calvinist theological convictions.[106] It is unusual to have 'the original notebook of the journal' and Elianor's entry 'shows the editing of an "eminent life" in progress. Her description of the death of her favourite daughter ends with what looks like an indictment of God, but it is not allowed to stand: many years later in a shaky hand she added the "approved" interpretation of this terrible event that it was allowed to happen because of her own sin'.[107] Elizabeth Clarke notes that 'these documents were for public consumption rather than private reading' and this at least partially explains why Elianor carefully rewrote her experience of pain.[108]

Elianor narrated how she embodied and performed her faith in the goodness and sovereignty of God while suffering extreme emotional pain. This journal entry demonstrates the material, exegetical and hermeneutic work necessary to integrate one's theological convictions with one's experience of pain, one's sense of what the Spirit is saying and a distrust of one's own heart. Though the narrative has a temporal linear trajectory, it is also recursive, as Elianor continually reassessed her feelings and evidential inferences in the light of circumstances as they unfolded and in order to affirm her fundamental conviction that God is good, righteous and true. Elianor's scriptural hermeneutic is an example of the 'reading for action' that was employed by many different communities in early modern Europe.[109] Her manuscript bears traces of her conscientious attempts to revise her interpretations of Scripture and providence in order to meet the expectations of a select public who would digest her writings on pain.[110] Elianor's autobiographical text offers an embodied simulation that seeks 'to evoke the experience of pain'. However, the participatory desire to engage in such reading practices 'also rests on the active presence of a shared belief system, in which mere spectatorship…was barely possible, bounded as it was…by a framework of religious faith and consolation'. This necessarily introduces 'the larger cultural or social networks which foster the possibility of imaginative participation and which would appear to be historically and socially contingent'.[111]

CONCLUSION

Whether writing pain – as Elianor Stockton and Mary Franklin did – or being written about, as Briget Cooke was (or Franklin in her funeral sermon), the texts in various genres considered here demonstrate how representing pain allowed women's physical bodies, or those of family members, and the mundane details of daily life, to become vehicles for an encounter with God, an opportunity to testify to his grace, a mechanism for sanctification, or a politicised protest against the ungodly encroachments of the state or an unsympathetic husband. However, these texts also reveal the demands which Calvinist theology placed upon these women when the

cognitive beliefs they held about God, themselves and the world, came into conflict with the pain caused by a child's disfigurement or death, the trauma of a fire destroying their city and home, the agony of thinking that their own actions might have damned their children for eternity, or the domestic disruption precipitated by opportunistic informers ripping out their windows, stealing their food and furniture, rendering them homeless, or stopping up their breast milk. Pain – as a concept and embodied simulation – is able to deal with paradox. This makes it uniquely suitable as both an experiential and conceptual category for Calvinists in the puritan and nonconformist tradition in seventeenth-century England. In turn, these manuscript texts reveal aspects of the phenomenology of pain that have only recently been articulated within contemporary academic discourse: pain's leakiness; the intimate interdependence between the cognitive and corporeal; pain's capacity to generate knowledge, or to be conceived as potentially beneficial. For the tradition of seventeenth-century English puritanism and nonconformity explored through this microhistory, the experience of pain and its embodied simulation in textual representations, is a powerful reminder of the doctrine of the incarnation and its implication for faithful believers foregrounding: 'the skein of relations which link particular, unique, enfleshed people to each other'.[112]

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[1] Collinson P. The Elizabethan Puritan Movement. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1967: 27.

[2] Waldron J. Reformations of the Body: Idolatry, Sacrifice, and Early Modern Theatre. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013: 2, 8.

[3] There is an extensive literature on the phenomenology of pain particularly as it relates to issues of gender and embodied experience. By starting from the lived experience of pain as recorded in ego-documents by seventeenth-century English women I seek to acknowledge, as Lisa Silverman highlights, 'that it is difficult to make generalizations about the way in which pain was experienced and expressed'. Silverman L. Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France. Chicago: Chicago University Press 2001:140. Doing justice to the particularities of experiencing pain is part of the reason I have adopted a case study approach in this essay. In her reading of seventeenth-century Yorkshire woman, Alice Thornton's memoirs, Sharon Howard has argued 'that a fuller understanding of this remarkable source for seventeenth-century childbirth' demands a 'careful examination' of its 'narrative structures and consideration of their wider cultural context' – precisely what I suggest is needed for an understanding of how writings by and about Briget Cooke, Mary Franklin and Elianor Stockton contribute to our understanding of seventeenth-century English women's experiences of pain. Howard S. Imagining the Pain and Peril of Seventeenth-Century Childbirth: Travail and Deliverance in the Making of an Early Modern World. *Social History of Medicine* 2003;16.3: 368. The language of lived experience is also part of contemporary nursing discourse and patient care, which in some respects provides a complementary and illuminating parallel to the process of interpreting historical representations of human pain. Finch L. P. Understanding Patients' Lived Experiences: The Interrelationship of Rhetoric and Hermeneutics. *Nurs Philos*. 2004;5.3: 251-7. Though the focus in this essay is primarily on women's experiences of pain, aspects of embodiment are crucial, and thus my analysis of pain narratives can be seen as a partial response to Lisa Wynne Smith's call 'to analyze the "lived" body'. My reading of these manuscript sources evidences a willingness 'to engage with subjectivities', 'to examine bodily experience', and so contribute to a 'more extensive body history'. Wynne Smith L. 'An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper': The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2008;41.4: 460-1.

[4] Margaret DeLacy explores how this longer history maps out in relation to contagion and developments in medical treatment in early modern England. DeLacy M. The Germ of an Idea: Contagionism, Religion, and Society in Britain, 1660-1730. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2016.

[5] Nuttall G. F. The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience. Chicago: Chicago University Press 1992; Como D. Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in pre-Civil-War England. Stanford: Stanford University Press 2004; Ryrie A. Being Protestant in Reformation England. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013; Bremer F. Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2015.

[6] Michael Winship notes that Cooke 'sharply minimalized the importance of official institutions and their representatives in channeling grace'. He suggests that she had 'no interest in nonconformity, or the issues that surrounded it' despite being 'a vigorous participant in conventicle culture' and 'pursuing a rich voluntaristic devotional life'. However, 'the appeal of conventicle culture for women' and its roots in English puritanism allowed

for 'the dramatic upsurge in women's public religious activity' during the Commonwealth period. Winship M. P. Briget Cooke and the Art of Godly Female Self-Advancement. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2002;33.4: 1056, 1055, 1047. I argue that while such voluntarism and radicalism did not necessarily imply nonconformity in Cooke's lifetime, it was a cultural and spiritual trajectory that – given the right conditions – led to nonconformity. As Winship concludes: 'Given that she embodied virtually all the different directions in which the godly would explode in the 1640s, it was clearly a hornet's nest in Suffolk, rather than placid waters' that Archbishop Laud stirred when tampering with the positioning of the altars. Winship M. P. Briget Cooke and the Art of Godly Female Self-Advancement. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2002;33.4: 1059.

[7] See especially Nuttall G. F. The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience. Chicago: Chicago University Press 1992. This argument has been developed further by Ryrie A. Being Protestant in Reformation England. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013; Bremer F. Lay Empowerment and the Development of Puritanism. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2015. With Andrew Cambers and Hannah Newton I am postulating that '"continuities might be both as interesting and as important as changes" in history'. Newton H. The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012: 8.

[8] Nuttall G. F. The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience. Chicago: Chicago University Press 1992: 90-101.

[9] Olivia Weisser notes: 'Christ's pain offered an important model for Catholics above all. Catholics believed that by imitating Christ, they actually participated in his suffering and developed a closer relationship to God. Bodily pain was a means of experiencing God's immanence, an act of penance that, like good works, was essential to salvation'. Weisser O. Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England. Yale: Yale University Press 2015: 142.

[10] 'Although she was a vigorous participant in conventicle culture, for [Cooke] the purpose of that culture was simply edification and spiritual growth. With no interest in nonconformity, or the issues that surrounded it, she could be simply seen, and probably saw herself, as a zealous Christian pursuing a rich voluntaristic devotional life using the means provided by the Jacobean church'. Winship M. P. Briget Cooke and the Art of Godly Female Self-Advancement. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2002;33.4: 1055.

[11] Waldron J. Reformations of the Body: Idolatry, Sacrifice, and Early Modern Theatre. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013: 9.

[12] The apostle Paul provides a biblical model for the intersection between pain and prophecy that helps to illumine this paradox. Pain is the enabling condition for spiritual vision, as it fosters humility, and can even propel one into active ministry: 'he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter….And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure (2 Corinthians 12:1-10, esp. 4 and 7).

[13] See for instance N. H. Keeble's brilliant study, The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England. Athens: University of Georgia Press 1987. Nonconformist resignation to political defeat and persecution is seen to lead to a quiescence that was a necessary precondition for their extraordinary and important contribution to Restoration literature. However, this does not sufficiently account for the millenarianism that remained an important part of Restoration nonconformity, and the continuing militancy of the more radical fringes of the group.

[14] This forms part of Briallen Hopper's review and critique of Marilynne Robinson's Gilead trilogy, including Robinson's failure properly to engage with and represent the civil rights movement. Hopper B. Marilynne Robinson in Montgomery. *Religion and Politics* Online 22 December 2014. http://religionandpolitics.org/2014/12/22/marilynne-robinson-in-montgomery/ (accessed 10 November 2017). For an alternative reading of Robinson's trilogy, which argues for the acute and revolutionary potential of her Calvinist worldview see Lear J. Not at Home in Gilead. In: Lear J. Wisdom Won from Illness. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2017: 269-85.

[15] I am indebted to Dr Kate Narveson for this observation.

[16] Melinda Zook notes that the suffering of Protestant nonconformists following the Restoration often attracts sympathy from scholars and she acknowledges that: 'Intolerance is never pretty'. She suggests, however, that 'it is illuminating to see the persecuted as they were seen by so many of their contemporaries and to understand why sectarians garnered so much hostility'. Fanaticism can be 'hideous' as well as 'august and touching'; religious fervor can be 'a matter of the purest conscience as well as an impetus to destruction'. Zook concludes that for Behn, who 'had seen the remnants of the Good Old Cause in America and Europe', Whigs and dissenters in Exclusion-era London were 'no less tawdry, grotesque, [or] frightening'. Zook M. S. Protestantism, Politics, and Women in Britain, 1660-1714. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2013: 123.

[17] I am drawing here on Rachel Ablow's elaboration of Veena Das's model of pain as a transaction. Ablow R. Victorian Pain. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2017: 21.

[18] Hebrews 12:6-11

[19] Toker L, Cohen E. Introduction: In Despite. In: Cohen E, Toker L, Consonni M. et al, eds. Knowledge and Pain. Amsterdam: Brill 2012: vii. Cohen thus offers a corrective to Elaine Scarry's influential thesis on the difficulties of

expressing physical pain in language. Scarry E. The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1985. Janel M. Mueller links Scarry's thesis to religious persecution in early modern England by suggesting that John Foxe inverts it 'in his accounts of death by burning – surely pain in a lethal degree….In place of unmade selves, voices, or worlds, Foxe's narratives record triumphant makings on the part of the condemned heretics'. Mueller J. M. Pain, Persecution, and the Constructions of Selfhood in Foxe's Acts and Monuments. In: McEachern C, Shuger D. eds. Religion and Culture in Renaissance England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997: 161-2.

[20] Recent theoretical work on pain intersects in productive ways with this recognition of the social dimensions of pain and its potentially beneficial effects. Margaret Price. The Bodymind Problem and the Possibilities of Pain. *Hypatia* 2015;30.1: 268-84. Margaret Price has defined the '"bodymind": [as] a sociopolitically constituted and material entity that emerges through both structural (power- and violence-laden) contexts and also individual (specific) experience'. Price M. The Bodymind Problem and the Possibilities of Pain. *Hypatia* 2015;30.1: 271. This captures the complex nexus between state persecution, spiritual imperatives, and physical, mental and emotional pain that characterises the experience and writing of women like Franklin and Stockton. See also Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8.: 203-18. The conference convened by Dr Alicia Spencer-Hall, '"Why is my pain perpetual?" (Jer 15:18): Chronic Pain in the Middle Ages', at the Institute of Advanced Studies on 29 September 2017 was very helpful in assisting me to think through the methodological aspects of this essay.

[21] Bale A. Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages. London: Reaktion Books 2010: 12.

[22] 'Rather than making an a priori claim to "authentic" or "true" knowledge, a cripistemology of pain produces knowledge from experience while *simultaneously* claiming a specific positionality to mark the limits of the knowledge claims produced'. Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8.: 205.

[23] Though see Smyth A. Introduction. In Smyth A, ed. A History of English Autobiography. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016: 2-3 for a justification of such uses of the term.

[24] Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8: 206, n. 4. Patsavas's discussion raises some important questions in relation to genre and experience that cannot be dealt with in detail here: Was the experience of pain by nonconformist women as captured in these documents too close to the moment of writing to allow them to weld it to an elegant literary form? Narrative is the ideal form for those attempting to recover historical experiences of pain, as it allows us to view the suffering subject over time, but does it matter who writes pain, as for example, R. P.'s role as Cooke's biographer? An important contribution that models the potential for productive interchanges between early modern schemata and contemporary scholarly discussion that I am suggesting here is Bearden E. B. Before Normal, There was Natural: John Bulwer, Disability, and Natural Signing in Early Modern England and Beyond. *PMLA* 2017;132: 33-50.

[25] Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8: 206.

[26] Romans 12:5; 1 Corinthians 12; Ephesians 4-5.

[27] Network is used here in "a loose sense' to highlight 'forms of affiliation and association that are less defined than a 'structure' but more than a collection of individuals engaging in transactions'. These networks are organisations with voluntary and reciprocal patterns of exchange…nurturing and reflecting a sense of shared commitment and purpose'. Frederick Cooper cited by Marriott B. Transnational Networks and Cross-Religious Exchange in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds. Farnham: Ashgate 2015: 9. Puritan conventicles and nonconformist congregations were subjected to a range of internal and external factors that rendered their very existence and coherence as provisional as that of acting companies in seventeenth-century England.

[28] Waldron J. Reformations of the Body: Idolatry, Sacrifice, and Early Modern Theatre. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013: 2, 8.

[29] The role of materiality within nonconformist networks also extended beyond people. Believers thought with 'a set of objects, artifacts, and social surrounds' – letters sent to and from prison and ego-documents that acted as embodied simulations of pain for a select audience are just two examples – material props which were part of an 'extended system' or cognitive ecology 'distributed across the believer/practitioner and an array of material and social practices'. Tribble E. B, Keene N, eds. Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2011: 16. Charles Taylor notes that the 'enfleshment of God extends outward…into a network which we call the Church…a skein of relations which link particular, unique, enfleshed people to each other, rather than a grouping of people together on the grounds of their sharing some important property. Cayley D. Introduction. In: Cayley, D, ed. The Rivers North of the Future: The Testament of Ivan Illich as told to David Cayley. Toronto: Anansi 2005: xi-xii.

[30] Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8: 214-15. Lisa Silverman argues that French surgeons also 'understood

pain to be at once an individual and a social experience, a complex phenomenon that began in one body but that spread inexorably to others'. Silverman L. Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France. Chicago: Chicago University Press 2001: 134.

[31] The individual is incomplete alone, 'being deeply sculpted and continually formed by plugging into wider socio-technical networks….remembering, attending, intending, and acting are distributed, co-constructed system-level activities'. Tribble E, Sutton J. Cognitive Ecology as a Framework for Shakespearean Studies. *Shakespeare Studies* 2011;39: 96.

[32] As Olivia Weisser notes: 'gendered and religious ideals could complicate one another. Excruciating, redemptive pain that was so significant to believers could undermine displays of feminine patience and masculine endurance. Women in anguish could not remain silent and meek but instead cried out'. Weisser O. Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England. Yale: Yale University Press 2015: 133.

[33] Gowing L. Common Bodies. Yale: Yale University Press 2003: 11.

[34] Tribble E, Sutton J. Cognitive Ecology as a Framework for Shakespearean Studies. *Shakespeare Studies* 2011;39: 94.

[35] 'Emotional consciousness is constitutively dependent on our subjectively lived, egocentrically structured, spatio-temporally orientated bodies. And our cognitive and perceptual abilities, in turn, are dependent on our capacity for emotion and our desiderative bodily feelings'. Maiese M. Embodiment, Emotion, and Cognition. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2011: 15.

[36] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 3. I am grateful to the Trustees of Dr Williams's Library for permission to quote from the manuscripts in their possession.

[37] Congregational Library MS I.i.25.

[38] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 7.

[39] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 2-4.

[40] '…it hath been the usuall lot of the church, and people of God, to enjoy but short uninterupted visits from God, either with respect to \ye/ inward presence of his Spirit, or his outward presence of his ordinances, for while theire is a divell and wicked men his instruments, these being such an enmity in their natures one…against an other the people of God must expect trouble.' Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 8.

[41] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 8.

[42] Gravenor B. The Dissolution of the Earthly House of this Tabernacle. London 1713: E2r.

[43] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 8-9. On another occasion, Mary opened the window to speak to a friend, but an 'informer being, behind, flew up to the window, and snacht it' from her hand 'and got up into it presently (he was a Glasser by trade which made him soe expert at the work) but my husband being in the room thrust him back again…at this time I gave suck to my 4 fourth Child Joanna, but these frights did so disturb my milk that I was forced to wean her'. Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 12.

[44] Goldie M. The Hilton Gang and the Purge of London in the 1680s. In: Nenner H, ed. Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain. Rochester: University of Rochester Press 1997: 43.

[45] Goldie M. The Hilton Gang and the Purge of London in the 1680s. In: Nenner H, ed. Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain. Rochester: University of Rochester Press 1997: 67-8.

[46] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 9-10.

[47] Newton H. The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012: 124-5.

[48] Protestant parents often feared that their child's illness resulted from their own sin. Newton H. The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012: 130-4.

[49] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 10-11.

[50] Alec Ryrie unpacks the theological, emotional and pastoral complexities that punitive pain, despair and the longing for assurance created for early modern Protestants. Ryrie A. Being Protestant in Reformation Britain. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013: 32-48

[51] 'after that dreadfull Judgment, of the great and dreadfull fire of london, of which I was an eye witness, dwelling so near, that we were forced to remove our good on the lords day, and as it twas in it self a very dreadfull Judgment, so it had a very deep impression upon my spirits'. Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 3.

[52] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 11.

[53] Hannah Newton notes the complexity of parents' emotional responses within this theological context. Newton H. The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012: 136-7. However, Mary Franklin's account slightly qualifies Newton's observation that: 'It did not seem to occur to parents that death might bring even greater suffering to their children' (152). It would be interesting, though beyond the scope of this essay, to see whether such conscientious fears are more characteristic of nonconformists than Protestants in general in Restoration England.

[54] Congregational Library MS I.h.33: 24-25. She references Psalm 55:2, Proverbs 16:3 and Psalm 50:15.

[55] Congregational Library MS I.i.25.

[56] Congregational Library MS I.i.25.

[57] There was a 'general increase in road traffic after 1660, evidenced by the establishment of a regular coach service to London and the appointment of a postmaster. The increasing tendency to concentrate the twice-yearly assize

courts and the quarterly meetings of the magistrates of the county in general session in Aylesbury also brought money into the town. These gatherings were big social occasions accompanied by a good deal of wining and dining and other forms of entertainment' (n. p.). Hanley H, Hunt J. Aylesbury: A Pictorial History. Guildford: Phillimore 1993. For an account of how the post operated and was disseminated in later seventeenth-century England, see Whyman S. E. The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660 to 1800. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009: 48-53.

[58] Congregational Library MS I.i.25. As James Daybell has noted: 'the letter form arguably structures and mirrors a range of early modern transactions. Thus, the ways in which we read and interpret letters necessarily influences and informs how we understand many other textual interactions and social relationships. At the very least, the study forces an understanding of the multi-agent nature of what seems to us 'personal' correspondence'. This is crucial in understanding the early modern social context and also the diffuse, shared experience of pain through relationships maintained by letter but based on the nonconformist fellowship rooted in scriptural models. Daybell J. The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2012: 13.

[59] Congregational Library MS I.i.25.

[60] Lake P, Questier M. Prisons, Priests and People. In: Tyacke N, ed. England's Long Reformation 1500-1800. London: Routledge 1998: 195-233.

[61] Ahnert R. The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013: 6.

[62] Ahnert R. The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013: 6.

[63] Patsavas A. Recovering a Cripistemology of Pain: Leaky Bodies, Connective Tissue, and Feeling Discourse. *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies* 2014;8: 214.

[64] Gravenor B. The Dissolution of the Earthly House of this Tabernacle. London 1713: A2r.

[65] As for example in the exchange between Bosola and the Duchess of Malfi in John Webster's play:
Bosola: Oh, fie! Despair? Remember
You are a Christian.
Duchess: The church enjoins fasting;
I'll starve myself to death.
Webster J. The Duchess of Malfi. Marcus, L. S. ed. London: Bloomsbury 2009: 4.1.72-3.

[66] Gravenor B. The Dissolution of the Earthly House of this Tabernacle. London 1713: 25. This attention to stewardship of the body in religious exercises was an important aspect of pastoral care in nonconformist communities. A parallel case can be seen in Samuel Rutherford's letter to Marion McNaught adjuring her not to fast to the detriment of her health: 'Remember you are in the body, and it is the lodging-house; and you may not, without offending the Lord, suffer the old walls of that house to fall down through want of necessary food….But it is a fearful sin in us, by hurting the body by fasting, to loose one stone, or the least piece of timber in it, for the house is not your own.' Bonar A. ed. The Letters of Samuel Rutherford. Banner of Truth Trust: Edinburgh 1984: 40.

[67] Gravenor B. The Dissolution of the Earthly House of this Tabernacle. London 1713: 13.

[68] Waldron J. Reformations of the Body: Idolatry, Sacrifice, and Early Modern Theatre. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013: 116.

[69] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5). Ms Jane Giscombe notes that the MS is 156 x 100 mm created from one and a half sheets of uncut pot paper prepared as follows: folded in eight and sewn in running stitch (the original thread has been preserved) through the fold of the gathering by an amateur. Thus it was not purchased at a stationers nor prepared by someone who had been trained to make up booklets. This intersects in fascinating ways with how the biography itself is crafted, both as theology and narrative. Michael P. Winship notes 'until very recently early Stuart church history was organised around a binary opposition between "Puritanism" and "Anglicanism" – but R. P. saw nothing incongruous in it. As such, "Spiritual Passages" serves as a warning against confusing the lived experience of that church with the labels that we apply to make sense of it….Instead of a closet antinomian, Cooke represents something more interesting and more revealing of the tensions built into godly divinity….Ministers as diverse as Richard Sibbes and Robert Bolton acknowledged the superiority of a charismatic experience of the Spirit to self-scrutiny as a way of finding assurance….Cooke's particular style of piety was in all likelihood a self-fashioned response to the dominant affect of English godly culture, a homegrown and untheorized "antinomianism"'. Winship M. P. Briget Cooke and the Art of Godly Female Self-Advancement. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2002;33.4: 1047, 1053.

[70] This is part of the reason why, as a literary scholar, I have arranged this essay by source rather than theme: to help foreground the distinct and valuable contributions that manuscript of different genres make to the microhistory I outline.

[71] For further discussion see Rivett S. The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England. Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press 2011. As Tessa Whitehouse notes: 'The predominant term for narratives written in the first person and detailing one's spiritual experience in the context of life events was 'experience'. Whitehouse T.

Structures and processes of English spiritual autobiography from Bunyan to Cowper. In: Smyth A. ed. A History of English Autobiography. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016: 103. See also Dunan-Page A. L'Expérience Puritaine: Vies et récits de dissidents (xxvii^{e}-xviii^{e} siècle). Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2017.

[72] Powell V. Spirituall Experiences, of Sundry Beleevers. London 1653: A2ff.

[73] "experience, v." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2017, www.oed.com/view/Entry/66521. Accessed 12 January 2018.

[74] From Professor Valerie Traub's opening presentation at the Early Modern Conversions Team Meeting, University of Michigan, 25 May 2016.

[75] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 3r.

[76] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 4v.

[77] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 4v.

[78] Mayhew J. Godly Beds of Pain: Pain in English Protestant Manuals (ca. 1550-1650). In: vans Dijkhuizen J. F, Enenkel K. A. E, eds. The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture. Amsterdam: Brill 2009: 308.

[79] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 6v.

[80] Cooke, like many of the godly during the reign of James I and Charles I, was deeply concerned about the state of the Protestant church in England and abroad. Intense prayer for the plight of suffering Protestants in Bohemia, and anxiety about the possible outcome of Prince Charles's trip to Spain in search of a Spanish bride led Cooke to prophesy: 'being at one \time/ very earnest in prayer it was made known to her, for so she perceived in her spirit y^{t} y^{e} church in this land should be brought exceeding low euen almost to nothing & yet at last she did percieue som hope y^{t} it should be raised up againe & recouer y^{e} truth hearof in great measure'. Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 8v.

[81] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 4v.

[82] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 6r.

[83] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 6v.

[84] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 6r.

[85] For example, the apostle Paul notes: 'though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory'.2 Corinthians 4:16-17:

[86] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 7r.

[87] Emotional dis-ease might be a better term than pain for the complex set of feelings that R. P. states characterised Cooke's relationship with her husband – these were inflected by social and economic concerns, as well as religious ones. However, there is also a clear affinity between Cooke's feeling 'discontented & out of plight…in minde & body…so oppressed as if a steeple did lye upon her' amongst some of her neighbours and the discontent or abrasion she feels at times in the company of her husband. In each case emotional pain results from a sense of spiritual estrangement rooted in Cooke's earnest religious convictions.

[88] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 9r.

[89] See Genesis 2:24; Mark 10:8; Ephesians 5:31.

[90] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 9v.

[91] Winship M. P. Briget Cooke and the Art of Godly Female Self-Advancement. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2002;33.4: 1045.

[92] Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 10r.

[93] Ryrie A. Being Protestant in Reformation England. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013: 14.

[94] The intersection between providence and pain is complicated further if we read R. P.'s narrative against the grain and allow its assumptions to be disrupted by potential animal pain. R. P. records: 'her mother being a poore woman tooke care what to p[ro]vide for her entertainement haueing not where wth all in her house to make ready for her but behold y^{e} p[ro]vidence of God as they were walking to gether thay spy a fat rabbit in or neer y^{e} way wher they were & making towards it y^{e} rabbit walked though a fearfull creature by nature yet ran not a way but sat still so they tooke it vp & carried it wth them & it being fat & plumpe dressing it when they came in to y^{e} house thay made a good meale of it to y^{e} glory of God'. Dr Williams's Library MS 28.9(5): 9v.

[95] Blatchly J. M. Stockton, Owen (1630–1680). In: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/26547, accessed 30 Oct 2017]

[96] Schildt J. 'In my private reading of the scriptures': Protestant Bible-reading in England, circa 1580-1720. In: Martin J. Ryrie A, eds. Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate 2012: 190.

[97] Schildt J. 'In my private reading of the scriptures': Protestant Bible-reading in England, circa 1580-1720. In: Martin J. Ryrie A, eds. Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate 2012: 194-5.

[98] Schildt J. 'In my private reading of the scriptures': Protestant Bible-reading in England, circa 1580-1720. In: Martin J. Ryrie A, eds. Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate 2012: 209.

[99] Dr Williams's Library MS 24.8: 14. For Owen Stockton's diary see Dr Williams's Library MS 24.7.

[100] Cambers A. Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720. Cambridge University Press 2011: 71.
[101] Mayhew J. Godly Beds of Pain: Pain in English Protestant Manuals (ca. 1550-1650). In: vans Dijkhuizen J. F, Enenkel K. A. E, eds. The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture. Amsterdam: Brill 2009: 302-3.
[102] Dr Williams's Library MS 24.8: 14.
[103] Dr Williams's Library MS 24.8: 14-15.
[104] Elianor notes further: 'but vpon her growing worse and all that see her conclvding she was past hopes my feares began to returne a gaine for which I was seacritly rebvked and that Scripture brought to mind as I thought by the Spirit of God. Joh. 11. 40….I was a gaine much reuiued and tooke the first opportunity I could to read the same and when I tooke the bible in to my hand to looke it for I could not directly tel where it was but the first place I did open & fix\d/ my eye vpon was that uery .11. of Joh: the: 40. ver. at which I was astonished and at present verily confermed that it was the mind of God that I should take incoragemen to belieue that though he brought her very low yet he would spare her life….' Dr Williams's Library MS 24.8: 15-16.
[105] Dr Williams's Library MS 24.8: 16.
[106] Schildt notes that there is a two-line space between Elianor's final comment and the rest of the entry and that it is written with a different ink and nib. Schildt J. 'In my private reading of the scriptures': Protestant Bible-reading in England, circa 1580-1720. In: Martin J. Ryrie A, eds. Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate 2012: 208.
[107] Clarke E. Beyond Microhistory: the Use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena. In: Daybell J. ed. Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700. Aldershot: Ashgate 2004: 223.
[108] Clarke E. Beyond Microhistory: the Use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena. In: Daybell J. ed. Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700. Aldershot: Ashgate 2004: 223.
[109] Jardine L. Grafton A. Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy. *Past and Present* 1990;129: 30-78.
[110] Clarke E. Beyond Microhistory: the Use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena. In: Daybell J. ed. Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700. Aldershot: Ashgate 2004: 223.
[111] Sawday J. 'I feel your pain': some reflections on the (literary) perception of pain. In: Macsotay T. van der Haven C. Vanhaesebrouck K, eds. The Hurt(ful) Body: Performing and Beholding Pain, 1600-1800. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2017: 110. Jenny Mayhew foregrounds this issue by asking: 'Can literary tropes induce psychotropic transformation? Do godly metaphors for pain turn physical sensations, as well as concepts, from one domain of experience to another?' Mayhew J. Godly Beds of Pain: Pain in English Protestant Manuals (ca. 1550-1650). In: vans Dijkhuizen J. F, Enenkel K. A. E, eds. The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture. Amsterdam: Brill 2009: 312.
[112] Cayley D. Introduction. In: Cayley, D, ed. The Rivers North of the Future: The Testament of Ivan Illich as told to David Cayley. Toronto: Anansi 2005: xi-xii.