

# THE ENIGMATIC, THREATENING MARGERY KEMPE<sup>1</sup>

by  
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PERHAPS no person has aroused more interest and suspicion than Margery Kempe, alive to us in her autobiography *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Many writers in the area of spiritual studies were excited by the discovery of her book in 1934. Until that time, only brief excerpts of her writing were known: short passages had been printed in manuscripts of devotional literature, and as a result of this, her reputation had come down to us in the twentieth century as a mystic and recluse, much like Julian of Norwich, her contemporary. Because of her 'worldliness', however, many were disappointed by what they found within the book, and criticisms were soon levelled against her. She has been accused, both by her contemporaries and by critics today, of being no more than a hysterical hypocrite.

For example, Hope Emily Allen, the earliest of her editors, claims Margery's work reveals her as 'petty, neurotic, vain, illiterate, physically and nervously over-strained' (*The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. lxiv). In addition, she believes Margery's hysteria 'became a mirror of the [religious] influences to which she had been subject' but she was unable to make her own these 'highly spiritualized ideals of piety current in her world' (pp. lxxv-lxxvi). Furthermore, David Knowles disappointedly claims, 'the *Book of Margery Kempe* has little of deep spiritual wisdom, and nothing of true mystical experience . . .' (p. 148). Similarly, R. W. Chambers states that the discovery of the *Book* was actually 'painful' because the contents did not reach the level of profundity of works by contemporary authors, such as Walter Hilton and Julian of Norwich (p. xviii). Moreover, Anthony Goodman, berating her works for not 'flowering' into the 'arresting allegories of St Bridget's revelations', charges Margery with 'mental banality' (p. 350). Margery's personality is also criticized for other apparent weaknesses. Goodman contends that, because of not meeting the expectations of male-authority figures in her life and 'as a substitute for failed kinship relations, she developed filial **ones** with confessors' (p. 353). In a similar complaint, Louise Collis claims that because of Margery's insecurity and her centring her life on filling her own needs, she failed to develop wider religious and **political** concerns that give a depth of spirituality to her contemporaries, St Bridget of Sweden and St Catherine of Siena (p- 140).

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As a result of such critical views, her work today is generally valued for other than spiritual reasons: R. W. Chambers claims that the *Book* makes an important contribution to English history and literary studies, and as the first autobiography written in English, it contains significant vignettes of two historically important ecclesiastics of the time, Bishop Repington of Lincoln and Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury (p. xx). For Eric Colledge, the historical contribution that Margery's *Book* makes is in providing 'incomparable evidence of the literary and devotional sources of mysticism' and likewise in portraying the firm foundation of faith at this time, the *Book* allows us to 'observe how well the Church fulfilled its pastoral obligations to the humblest and simplest of its flock' (p. 88).

With these views in mind, two questions arise: has Margery's life been misinterpreted, both historically and spiritually, and can we, or should we, find in her work something deeper that reveals to us more clearly the reasons why she was treated, and frequently mistreated, the way she was? I think the answer to both questions is a resounding 'Yes'.

In spite of the criticisms against her, Margery has had her defenders. John R. O'Connell claims that although no 'fresh spiritual inspiration' is found in Margery's writing,

The value of the book lies in the evidence of Margery Kempe's sincere and humble devotion, of her simplicity and earnestness and of her own deep desire to attain the aim and end of all religion, viz., to establish and maintain the union of her soul with God (p. 182).

A similar but more thorough view is expressed by E. I. Watkin. Watkin believes that Margery's abundant weeping was the result of a 'morbid suggestibility' (p. 247) and that there exists 'an undeniable monotony and a disappointing limitation of scope in her account of her spiritual experience\*' (p. 251). The depth of her spiritual development, however, according to Watkin, cannot be judged merely by her ability, or inability, to express profoundly her religious experiences. As he states, 'But intellectual capacity and holiness bear no relation to each other' (p. 251). He characterizes her as

a woman whose intelligence was mediocre but whose strong will was surrendered in loving devotion to her Divine Lord, a woman whose charity was as wide as suffering humanity, who forgave her enemies from her heart, and who sought by her words and example to spread the Kingdom of Christ. . . .

But she took no credit to herself. She recognized that she was an unworthy sinner to whom God had shown unmerited love (p. 261).

In addition, two recent studies, both fuller examinations of work begun by Hope Emily Allen but never completed, present strong cases

in favour of the validity of her spirituality. Clarissa W. Atkinson contends that Margery Kempe is in the mainstream of the western female spiritual tradition, following examples set by such women as Blessed Angela of Foligno, St Bridget of Sweden, and Blessed Dorothy of Montau, all married women but all of whom led spiritually active lives in the world (pp. 164, 179). A similar study by Susan Dickman argues that Margery's spirituality has been maligned by recent critics. According to Dickman, Margery's spirituality is closely related to what we see developing in Germany, Prussia, and the Low Countries in the thirteenth century, a devotional piety that focuses on the humanity of Christ and contains concrete images from the major moments in Christ's life, in which women envision themselves playing an active role. Characterized as a highly affective piety and graced with the gift of tears, this mysticism flourished in Beguine communities and convents, frequently under the guidance of Dominican friars. Although Ute Stargardt sees this as a progressively decaying mysticism of increasing superficiality and falsification of mystical ideas' (p. 300), she nevertheless believes that this spirituality was known to Margery, because of the town of Lynn's mercantile trade with the Low Countries and the towns in the Hanseatic League, and because of the spread of this type of mysticism to laypeople in the second half of the fourteenth century, brought about by Dominican preachers, both on the Continent and in England (p. 301).

But even though strong evidence such as the above can be cited to support the contention that Margery's spirituality falls into the mainstream of Continental female piety, Margery was still not accepted by many of her peers, particularly the townspeople. It is this question, 'Why did Margery seem to meet with such disapproval?', that needs to be answered. O'Connell believes that Margery may 'be regarded as a type of her age and a representation of her class, both in conduct and in religion' (p. 177). Both Hope Emily Allen and Ute Stargardt, however, maintain that 'Margery's expressions of piety were not the norm in her native England' (Stargardt, p. 305) which was influenced by the more spiritual, less affective piety such as is found in Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. Nonetheless, if her type of piety was known to the people of her region, spread by the Dominicans, it would seem strange to conclude that only Margery was affected by this movement and it makes accounting for the hostility she received more difficult. A close examination of those who reacted to her, and the way they did, reveals a significant possibility for the abuse she endured: Margery, herself a member of the upper bourgeoisie but one who, after her conversion at the age of forty, chose to live *in* the world but not *of* it, questioned the material values of her contemporaries. Thus,

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what we see in Margery is truly an example of a Christian struggling on life's journey: by putting her Christian beliefs into practice, acting as an individual willing to chastize sinners and serve the needy in a variety of ways, but most profoundly through her intercessory prayers, Margery threatened the lives of those whose individualism was expressing itself in the materialism and structured social norms of an age on the brink of the modern world.

Studying her work closely necessitates two cautions: although it would be easy to account for her ill-treatment as the result of her boisterous cryings, certainly an irritation to anyone and an action which she readily admits was a major source of the abuse she received, we cannot conclude that what appears to be a simple answer is the only one. Furthermore, since what we know of her and her contemporaries comes to us through her eyes and her experience, we have to be aware of the bias present. She is brutally honest in describing the scorn she receives, and although coloured by her own experience, it is nonetheless possible to use the information she gives us to arrive at the conclusion that her beliefs put into action threatened the economic and social lifestyle of the time.

From whom did Margery receive approval for her actions? Most obviously her strongest and most vocal supporters were the clergy, both regular and secular. This may seem surprising given the strong clerical anti-feminist tradition of the time, but, as Eileen Power points out, the Church paradoxically defamed and praised the virtue of women simultaneously, 'so that women found themselves perpetually oscillating between a pit and a pedestal' (p. 401). Moreover, as Caroline Walker Bynum illustrates, the efficacy of women's prayers was widely realized in the Middle Ages, as represented by the petition of the 'suffering soul' of a friar requesting Mechthild of Magdeburg to 'have women and priests pray for me' (p. 242). That Margery sought support from the clergy is not surprising, given the fear of Lollardy in England at the time and the belief that weak women were more prone to heresy; that she received such support is not surprising either because, on being questioned by the Archbishop of York and the Abbot of Leicester, for example, her religious views are seen as entirely orthodox Catholic teaching. Throughout the course of her work, she encounters approximately eighty-three male religious; only about one-quarter of these chide her or rebuke her for her actions, the most notable of whom are the Grey Friar at Lynn, identified in a gloss in the manuscript as a William Melton, who refused to allow her to listen to his sermons because of her loud weeping (pp. 136ff.), **and** the clerks of the Archbishop of York who call her a heretic (p. 111).<sup>2</sup> For the most **part**, the clergy, secular and regular, believed her to be a holy

woman, deemed her visions valid, and besought her advice and prayers. Similarly, she was treated well by female religious: Julian of Norwich listened to her and advised her about her visions in her brief visit to her (pp. 33-34), and she was well received by the nuns of Venice on her travels there (p. 55). The Abbess of the convent at Denny, near Cambridge, calls her to speak to the sisters enclioistered there (p. 185). Only an unnamed anchoress in York refuses to see her because she believes the evil rumours told about her (p. 106).

What was the reaction of the lay people toward Margery? Interestingly, the reaction can be divided three ways: by geography, gender and economic status. In her travels abroad, Margery is overwhelmingly greeted warmly by the people she meets; while her own fellow-countrymen in England vilely abuse her, making her appear as a fool in a shortened gown and white apron on her pilgrimage to the Holy Land (p. 51), the people of Zierikzee and Rome welcome her into their homes and treat her graciously. Regardless of gender or economic status, the people of Rome for the most part view her as saintly: she is invited into the houses of rich and poor women alike (pp. 80-81), and a young man, Marcelle, and his wife revere her enough to ask her to be the godmother of their child (p. 80). Even the Saracens, she claims, are kinder to her than her countrymen (p. 64). Similarly, on her return from Danzig later in life, the people of Wilsnak, especially the women, and of Calais, treat her with dignity and respect, feeding and sheltering her (pp. 214, 221).

It is at home, in England, that Margery receives mixed reaction, much of it violent. Margery usually speaks of the townspeople's attitudes in general terms, not making gender or class distinctions. For example, on two separate visits to London, the people are generous and warm, except for a few on her second visit who chide her for abstaining from meat (pp. 29, 129ff.). At Bristol, she is cursed at first, then is treated kindly before she embarks for Compostella (pp. 94, 97). Although the religious authorities at York call her a heretic, the majority of the people side with her and escort her to the archbishop (pp. 106-07). The people of Lincoln, however, are said to scorn her (p. 123) and the people of Canterbury call for her death as a heretic, shouting 'Take and burn her' (p. 21).

When Margery does make gender and class distinctions, an interesting pattern emerges: overall, it seems to be men who treat her with the most compassion; we hear, for example, of the man of Norwich who suits her in white garments (p. 91), of Thomas Marchale of Newcastle who befriends her and accompanies her to Compostella (p. 95), of the jailer at Leicester who takes her home and **makes** her 'right good cheer' at his table (p. 99), and of the Burgess of Lynn who speaks on her behalf to the Grey Friar, Thorns Melton (p. 38). Although the Mayor and Steward of Leicester accuse her of

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heresy (p. 97) and a rich man of Bristol will not let her sail to Compostella because he believes she is evil (p. 95), these seem to be rare exceptions.

Similarly, wealthy women, ladies of nobility, generally treat Margery with respect. Dame Margaret Florentyne allows her to travel with her company to Rome (p. 68), and in Rome she is asked by a 'gentlewoman' to be the godmother of her child (p. 81). A 'good lady' of Norwich befriends her and admires her piety, and on two separate occasions, two 'worshipful ladies' of Lynn request her presence and praise her devotion (pp. 158-9). Margery, distinguishing between 'ladies' and 'women', tells us that the 'great women' of Hull are said to despise her (p. 116) and the wealthy London widow abandons her in Aachen (p. 217); in contrast, the noblewomen whom Margery mentions are gracious and kind to her. Since so few references are made to non-noblewomen, except for the women of Beverley who weep for her when she is imprisoned (p. 118), a close female friend in Lynn who gives her seven marks to travel to Spain (p. 93), and a burgess's wife in Lynn who seeks her help for her ailing husband (p. 186), we might assume from this that the townswomen, especially, are among those who most vociferously rebuke her.

It is in Lynn that Margery receives the most contradictory reactions, although generally it is her own townspeople who scorn her more than the others. The fear of her being a heretic seems less strong here than in Leicester and York, most probably because she had the support of her Dominican anchorite/confessor and of Alan of Lynn, a well known Carmelite and Doctor of Divinity. Lepers and sick townspeople receive her comfort and she is sought out for her prayers and ability to aid those near death (p. 162). The most striking example of this is her compassion for a young woman who, nearly dying in childbirth, is temporarily crazed (p. 162ff.), a condition not unlike Margery's own at the birth of her first child. Margery herself remarks that the same people who treat her badly, calling her a hypocrite because of her tears, come to her for prayers in time of need, for example, when the Lynn Guild Hall nearly burns but is saved by her intercessions (p. 148), or when her detractors themselves are near death (p. 158). But the negative responses to her in Lynn far outweigh the kindness she receives; we are told repeatedly that the people scorn her, spit at her, curse her, and ban her from their homes for a variety of reasons: for crying, for returning from Rome wearing the white mantle, a sign of chastity, and for what they see as her ill-treatment of her husband John, blaming her for his fall down the stairs (p. 164). They also think her son becomes sick because they claim she has called down God's punishment on him for living a dissolute life (p. 202).

But the most frequent epithet applied to Margery by the people of Lynn is that of 'hypocrite'. Unable to accept her conversion from worldliness as genuine and threatened by her own denial of what they hold dear, they instead choose to reject her and her spiritual values: their wealthy living cannot withstand her rebukes of their worldliness nor can they accept her patience as a response to their scorn. If Margery's actions troubled her contemporaries and perplex us, if she cannot easily be pigeon-holed to fit the stereotype of the 'true mystic' or the 'devout Christian', perhaps the fault lies not in Margery but in society itself, both in her time and in ours. It is her social milieu that needs to be examined in order to help clarify why she received the abusive treatment she did.

Goodman claims that 'Margery's rejection of bourgeois norms of familial, parochial and commercial life' caused her to be an 'anti-social virus in the body politic' (p. 356). He states that her religious supporters were 'clerical radicals' who 'backed what were to turn out to be losing modes of piety, too individual and unsocial to appeal widely within, and to regenerate spiritually, a tense, fissured urban society, looking for modes of religious expression which affirmed rather than threatened its secular values' (p. 357). Certainly there is some validity in this statement, but it is ironic that her denial of the materialism of the times, causing her own rejection by her townspeople, was the only way in which Margery was able to find herself and find Christ in her life. Lester K. Little argues that the friars, by providing an 'ethical justification for urban society' (p. 173) and by working within the towns themselves, served the townspeople and survived on the townspeople's donations, while at the same time paradoxically preaching poverty (p. 216). Little contends that it was possible for the wealthy merchant in the town to work and acquire wealth, at the same time remaining apart from it, establishing hospices and almshouses. Owning possessions while retaining an attitude of detachment and spiritual poverty could go hand-in-hand. It seems, however, that for Margery the two were not compatible. And it is this lack of detachment from worldly ways that Margery finds most disturbing. Although Susan Dickman claims that poverty actually plays a minor role in Margery's *Book*, being 'confined . . . as much as possible to her pilgrimages' and 'carefully insulated from life in Lynn\*' (p. 163), we do see that after her conversion Margery herself shuns and rebukes in others the desire for those rich foods, stylish clothes, and lecherous living that are indications of one's attachments to worldly vanities.

One critic believes that the answer to why Margery is so abused lies in the economic system of the time. Sheila Delaney claims that there was virtually no escape from the oppression of women caused by economic practices. Although both the *Wife of Bath* and

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Margery enjoy an upper position in society and can operate their own businesses, they themselves are still considered property in a male-dominated society. Alison rebels by beating her husbands at their own game, triumphing over her husbands by outliving them and acquiring their wealth. Margery, she claims, internalizes the oppression and responds by 'self-inflicted punishment' (p. 113). Delaney views Margery's actions as unfortunate and unhealthy attempts to overcome this oppression 'using the system against the system' (p, 114). She sees Margery's spirituality not as a valid means of support for a struggling Christian but rather as a psychological comfort and escape from the harsh abuse of her world. But her denial of worldliness must be seen as her sincere attempt as a Christian to reject the economic and social system of her time. Margery tells us that she 'hate[s] the joys of the world' (p. 7) and is abused in Lynn because 'she would not hear nor speak of worldly things as they did, and as she did beforetime' (p. 6). Her literal interpretation of the Gospels perhaps irritated others who complacently led Christian lives according to more relaxed standards.

This distinction between Margery and most of her contemporaries is summarized succinctly by Watkin:

In Margery's religious world we recognize roughly speaking three classes. There were the devout, those definitely leading a life of prayer, men and women who read spiritual books and cherished a devotional and often a mystical type of religion. . . . There was the great mass of Catholics practising their religion obediently, eager for the help of Christ, his Mother, and his Saints and for Masses and prayers after their death but otherwise worldly, hard, practical, and eager to make money or retain their social rights. . . . And there were the pioneers of future Protestantism, the Lollards . . . (pp. 259-60).

Watkin further states that Margery's condemnation as a Lollard came not from the religious but that rather 'it was the laity whose religion was of the ignorant and conventional type' (p. 260) who accused her of heresy.

Watkin's distinguishing these three classes is important because it lies at the crux of Margery's rejection by many of the townspeople. Their accusations against her of being a religious hypocrite and a Lollard, in spite of her contentions that her beliefs were orthodox, serve as an easy way of concretizing their perhaps unrecognized fears that she is challenging the hypocrisy and the values of society which need to be challenged.

Maureen Fries tries to see Margery in the context of her society. She states that in understanding Margery, 'her femaleness was a crucial circumstance' (p. 229). Because she was married with children, Margery's visions could not be accepted as valid; as a married woman, she would be ranked below virgins and widows in a spiritual

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hierarchy. Thus, according to Fries, 'her state of life precluded the claims she made to direct revelation from God\* (p. 229). But, as we have seen it was often the laity, not the religious, for the most part, who held this view of her. The popular notions of what constituted holiness in women were being questioned by Margery's life.

As Fries also contends, Margery's 'femaleness was crucial' for other reasons as well. Fries states:

Margery's behaviour violated not only religious standards, but also social ones. Margery's having chosen marriage, borne fourteen children, and then rejected its obligations must have profoundly shocked her contemporaries. Her wish to separate from her husband in order to live chaste, her actual physical absence from him until his illness called her back to her vows, her very frequent absences from home once the children (apparently) were grown, all betokened as much of a revolt in the social sphere as her mystical mode did in the religious (p. 231).

Exceptions can be made to Fries's statement on two grounds. First, Margery is not unlike other female mystics who married, bore children, then decide to live chastely. St Bridget of Sweden and Dorothy of Montau did likewise, and the former enjoyed a popularity of devotion in England in Margery's time. Secondly, we cannot claim for certainty that Margery 'rejected [marriage's] obligations'. Records do not tell us if all of Margery's children survived to adulthood. We do not know the ages of her children at the time of her pilgrimages; on that we can only conjecture, nor do we know how many, if any, children she 'absenced' herself from, 'once the children (apparently) were grown'. We do not know from her *Book* what type of mother she was not; we do know what type of mother she was, and that she troubled herself over her son's spiritual well-being, desiring his conversion from a dissolute life and praying to God for his forgiveness and health after he had repented of his sins (pp. 202-03). We see her concerned about her daughter-in-law's safe return trip to Danzig, accompanying her on the way; we see her diligent care of her husband in his fatal sickness, in spite of the fact that his condition was abhorrent to her as his health failed. If we are to assume, however, as Fries does, that Margery's actions 'betokened . . . a revolt in the social sphere', we need to understand more clearly why this was so. Margery's seemingly aberrant social behaviour, running counter to societal norms, was not immoral or sinful in and of itself. If viewed askance by her contemporaries, it was because she acted on her firm convictions, on her solid belief that God had called her to this singular vocation. Christ tells her 'I have told thee beforetime that thou art a singular lover, and therefore thou shalt have a singular love in Heaven, a singular reward, and a singular worship' (p. 42).<sup>3</sup> Regardless of what society dictated to her, she chose to follow what God directed her to do. In this she

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placed God above the townspeople, and in this her Christian beliefs threatened those who lived by society's dictates, concerned more about the opinion of others and what was right for the sake of appearance only. If her actions 'violated religious and social standards' as Fries contends, perhaps it is because they needed violating.

Furthermore, Fries contends, Margery perplexed her contemporaries because of her 'mixture . . . of male- and female-linked sex characteristics' (p. 231). Fries states: 'Her "weak" womanly behaviour [abundant weeping] confirmed the ancient fears of men about the feminine, and her overstrong "masculine" actions [male dominance in marriage] increased them' (p. 232). Certainly, men might fear her for these reasons, and, feeling threatened, wish on her bodily harm. Fries skilfully shows how Margery's fear of sexual assault may be causally linked to her unconscious threat to male authority. Fries believes that 'Margery's unorthodoxy made her a prime candidate for [sexual] attack' (p. 231).

Margery, however, was not sexually assaulted; the abuse from men came in the form of verbal attacks against her. Interestingly, what we see is that she appears to be as equally, if not more so, subject to such attacks from women as well as men. What may appear surprising at first, that she found less compassion in women, is not so shocking when examined closely. If Margery posed a threat to societal norms, this would have an impact on the women as well as the men. For the townswomen of her time, their lot may have deprived them of economic and social freedoms, but it was the only lot in life they knew; if an unhappiness about their situation existed in their consciousness, it was nonetheless accepted as the way life was meant to be. Their condition, if unfortunate, was at least stable, and deferring to male authority may have given them a sense of security. One in a position of accepted inferiority would often rather retain the *status quo* for stability's sake than venture into uncertainty and instability. Presenting the townswomen with a variant lifestyle, outside of those acceptable at the time, i.e., traditional marriage or religious life, might cause them to question their own values, with the resultant fear that often accompanies such scrutiny.<sup>4</sup> Women are often more critical of other women than men are, and it has been acknowledged even in feminist literature that women lack the camaraderie that men share because they do not possess a strong enough sense of their own worth.<sup>5</sup> When one encounters the criticism Margery faces from her female peers who may have felt their position in life was being endangered, one is reminded of Maggie Tulliver in George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss*. Maggie is scorned by the women of the village of St Ogg's, not because she has sinned with Stephen Guest, engaged to her cousin Lucy Deane, but because the women want to believe she has. Eliot writes:

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The ladies of St Ogg's were not beguiled by any wide speculative conceptions; but they had their favourite abstraction, called Society, which served to make their consciences perfectly easy in doing what satisfied their own egoism — thinking and speaking the worst of Maggie Tulliver, and turning their backs upon her. . . .

Not that St Ogg's was empty of women with some tenderness of heart and conscience: probably it had as fair a proportion of human goodness in it as any other small trading town of that day. But until every good man is brave, we must expect to find many good women timid: too timid even to believe in the correctness of their own best promptings, when these would place them in a minority (p. 442; bk 7, ch. 4).

Thus has Margery been scorned, in her own day and even in ours. To say that the townspeople mistreated her because she was 'different' or 'eccentric' is too simplistic: it is in her method of showing that difference that she becomes a threat; by following her 'singular vocation', she may have been awakening suppressed realizations, especially among the towns women, that all is not right in such a society. Thus, Margery Kempe's life is the embodiment of the struggling Christian; she is confronted and rejected by her own people, whose abuse of her is occasioned by their own fears of her simplicity, poverty and firmly held convictions that following God's call takes precedence over the dictates of societal norms.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This essay is a revised version of the paper entitled 'The Threatening, Enigmatic Margery Kempe' delivered at the Seventh Medieval Forum, Plymouth State College, Plymouth, New Hampshire, 11th April 1986. At that time I had not yet read Maureen Fries's essay 'Margery Kempe' in *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe*, ed. Paul Szarmach (SUNY Press, Albany, 1984). Here Fries states '[Margery] must have been enigmatic to those who knew her' (p. 232).

<sup>2</sup> All quotations and references are taken from *The Book of Margery Kempe* ed. and trans. by W. Butler-Bowdon. (Devin-Adair Co., New York, 1944).

<sup>3</sup> Clarissa W. Atkinson examines the 'singularity' of Margery's call in *Mystic and Pilgrim: The 'Book' and the World of Margery Kempe* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Virginia Woolf explores the inability of women to break from social norms in *A Room of One's Own* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1929. Copyright 1957, Leonard Woolf).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (Bantam, New York, 1972), pp. 148-9.

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