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GENDER, MEMORY, AND VIOLENCE IN THE EARLY MODERN BRITISH ISLES

Figure reproduced from the title page of Henry Goodcole's 'Natures Cruell Step-Dames' (London, 1637)

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INTRODUCTION

MEMORY IS A MEANINGFUL WAY OF engaging with the personal past and history. For early modern people, memory was both about understanding and knowing the past and about actively forgetting events. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were an age of rebellion, revolution, genocide, and the creation of the "world war," making much of the personal past traumatic. In the remembering and processing of violence, the voices of women slowly fell out of the scope of historical memory. This paper is most concerned with memories in which narratives of women are dominant and takes a particular interest in memories of trauma and violence. As such, this study focuses on the 17th century British Isles, which were marked by significant political and social upheaval. The hope of this paper is to unarchive the experiences of women and their memories from this time period.[1]

MEMORY

Memory is one form of engaging with the past, from the most recent events to the mythologizing of antiquity. Memory is a much-debated facet of study, bordering psychological and historical enquiry. To the historian, an investigation into memory holds a significant debate about what "a history" is. Memory studies thus operates as a field of history, much like social or cultural history, in that it moves between time and place. Uniting ideas of the history of emotion, social history and political thought history, memory studies developed out of 1920s sociological thought, with the works of Maurice Halbach's on cultural remembering and collective memory. This work was revitalized in the 1970s with the rise of microhistory, but it was not until the 1990s where trauma and memory intersect in academic discourse.[2]

This study is less concerned with how early modern individuals invented and understood the far past, but rather the porous border between their recent pasts and the present. When did the present become the past; how recently can one "remember" and not presently experience? How did experiences of violence affect the perceived passing of time and memory? This is accomplished in the first chapter through two inquiries: 1) the nature of memory and 2) the motivations for remembering.

NARRATIVE

Narrative was fundamentally a form of storytelling. In memory, narrative conveyed the meaning of a past moment bound up with experience. These narratives were important for understanding the future after the experience of violence. Early modern individuals seeking meaning first looked to religion. Religion was at the heart of society, providing justifications for law and politics and inspiration for philosophy, music, literature, and violence.. In the wake of violence, memory narratives enabled community recovery as individuals

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1 Judith Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 19; see R.F Hamilton, H. Hedwig, The Origins of World War I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) in which they use "World War" to mean a war involving five superpowers across two continents; see Satu Lidman, "Violence or Justice? Gender-Specific structures and strategies in early modern Europe," The History of Family 18 (2013): 238-260; and Michael Roper, "Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History," History Workshop Journal 59 (2005): 57-72.

2 See Geoffrey Cubbitt, History and Memory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Margreta De Grazia, "Anachronism," in Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History, eds. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and Paul Ricoeur, Memory, History, Forgetting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Maurice Halbwach, Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925); Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms: the cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller (JHU Press, 2013); Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," New German Critique, no. 65 (1995): 123-133; Jay Winter, Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

considered the future and processed the past.

The second chapter tests how religion was used at deeply traumatic moments using three written memory genres: crime news pamphlets, the 1641 depositions, and atrocity literature. The 1641 deposition was a record collecting drive, hosted in two stages in response to an Irish rebellion in 1641. These depositions were first conducted from Ulster, a county to the noth of Ireland, but by the late 1640s was a mobile effort by English clergymen. This chapter is principally concerned with the type of narrative and extent of religious allusion contained in memories of violence. These genres provide three key audiences: the local (1641 depositions), the national (crime news), and the international (atrocity literature or narratives of atrocity).

GENDER, MEMORY, AND VIOLENCE

Women's memories often slip out of view, but they offer an interesting case study for thinking about memories of violence. The actions of women as perpetrators dominated the subject of crime news literature. Meanwhile, the actions of women, specifically as the victims of violence characterized atrocity literature. The third chapter explores what memories of violence reveal about early modern gender. This chapter seeks to investigate the memories of sexual violence that are common in atrocity literature but appear rarely elsewhere in print. The final chapter aims to understand the agency of victims, the process of remembering and the extent of community forgetting in the wake of sexual violence.[3]

Studies on traumatic memories of sexual harm are few in the English and Irish context. Therefore, this study turns to analogous theatres of memory: the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648) and the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). These studies are triangulated against historiographies from modern memory science and event-specific historical investigations. This produces a wealth of secondary literature to explore the moments where sexual harm is remembered in the British Isles from 1500-1700. These moments are dispersed across the two centuries of murder pamphlets, elsewhere referred to as crime news and atrocity literature, versus the moment of the 1641 Irish Rebellion.[4]

PAPER OVERVIEW

The first chapter interrogates the nature of memories of violence. It seeks to understand how memories of violence are formed and what aspects of violence they focus upon. It explores what these memories were used for and how they helped a community to process, recover, or simply acknowledge trauma and violence. The second chapter uses these findings to explore the wider mechanisms of the cultural memory of violence. It interrogates the genres in which memories circulated, asking how the expression of memories of violence changed between crime news pamphlets, the 1641 depositions, and atrocity literature. This chapter seeks to understand the conventions for writing memories of violence in different genres. The final chapter turns to examine how this affected women specifically, as the most common victims of sexual violence. Finally, the third chapter explores the memories of rape that were captured in the 1641 depositions and atrocity literature. It seeks to explore what role women played in the remembering of rape and what rape memories represented in the larger context of communities in a patriarchal society recovering from trauma.

Ultimately, this study finds that remembering and forgetting in the early modern British Isles were fundamentally collaborative processes. In memories of sexual violence, the narratives of women's trauma were

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3 See Lidman, "Violence or Justice?"; and Roper, "Slipping Out of View;" Sandra Clark, "Early Modern Literature of Crime and Criminals," in Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 2; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800, 175.

4 Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," French History 27 (2013): 1-20; Mark Greengrass "Language and conflict in the French Wars of Religion," in Ireland 1641, eds. S. Micheál and J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Lidman, "Violence or Justice"; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800; and Penny Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars", Past & Present, Vol. 214 (2012): 75-99.

limited to an emphasis on overarching narratives of godly innocence. Women's experiences as victims were often forgotten in communities that were harmed by social conceptualizations of the violence of rape, and in cases where their narratives did not reveal a broader meaning or message behind acts of violence.

CHAPTER ONE

Memory

THIS CHAPTER EXPLORES selective memories of trauma and violence in the early modern British Isles. Some episodes, such as the Dutch Revolt, or periods like that of the Civil Wars (1642-1651) were too disastrous or too traumatic to be remembered. This chapter questions what drove people to remember and forget experiences of violence in the early modern period. First, the nature of memory and the conditions for its formation are considered. Then, the nature of written memory is explored to understand the motivations of individuals to remember trauma.

THE NATURE OF MEMORY

Memories are formed from fragments of the past, which do not contain a narrative or a connection to the fragments of others. Roger Kennedy explains that assigning meaning to traumatic memory is established through the "rearrangement of memory traces." Remembering is the process that binds fragments together, connecting them through narrative. Susan Broomhall's research reveals that memory-making in the early modern world functioned similarly. She argues that the desire to find meaning in violence was at the heart of writing about traumatic experiences in the French Wars of Religion. Individuals did not have a clear and resounding narrative of what happened. Communities generated narratives established in emotional turmoil when remembering to understand trauma. [5]

Early modern crime news literature often portrayed violent acts as requiring resolution, to construct a social meaning to the memory. Pamphlets from across the seventeenth century often employed the vocabulary of completeness in their titles. For example, the 1608 pamphlet The Apprehension, Arraignment, and Execution of Elizabeth Abbott followed the crime pamphlet convention by describing the cause, crime, and justice proceedings for murder. The anonymous author thus conveyed a sense of closure in the full knowledge of the crime and Abbott's execution. Furthermore, the 1673 work A Full and True Relation As Well of The Blovving up of The Ann Frigat followed the same crime news pamphlet pattern. Its lexicon of "full and true relation" summarized the consideration of cause, crime, and the execution of John Adams to provide closure. Murther Will Out (1675) exemplified the importance of writing memories to provide closure from violence. This pamphlet remembered a mother murdering her child thirty years before and offered a final resolution to the perpetrators of the crime. Murther Will Out described a mother gripped with grief and approaching death who finally revealed her crimes. The title centered the necessity of closure, as it read "The truth of this you may be satisfied with at Newgate." The revived interest and confirmation that justice had been rightfully executed resolved the need for closure in the aftermath of local violence. At the heart of remembering was a desire for closure to violence that facilitated community recovery. [6]

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5 Roger Kennedy, "Memory and the Unconscious," in Memory: History, Theories and Debates, eds. Suzannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 180; Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," French History 27 (2013), 20.

6 Anonymous, The Apprehension, Arraignment, and Execution of E. abbot as Also the Arraignement, Conuiction, and Execution of George Iaruis Priest After the Order of Saint benedicts, Both Which Suffered Death on Munday the Eleuenth of Aprill, 1608 (London, 1608); anonymous, A Full and True Relation as Well of the Blovving up of the Ann Frigat as Also of the Examination, Tryal, and Condemnation of John Adams, the Gunner Thereunto Belonging as the Occasion of That Accident by His Default. For Which He Was on the 24th. Of This Instant

Community recovery played a crucial role in shaping how violence was remembered, as personal recollections were woven together into a shared narrative through communal practices like storytelling or mourning rituals. Early modern memory formation meant that much of what an individual remembered was assimilated into one unifying memory. Mark Freeman makes the case that "what we remember of the personal past is suffused with others' memories – which are themselves suffused with other others' memories." Individual memories thus were shared or existed within larger cultural memories. Pollmann argues that local memories were also layered, creating a web of memories and narratives united under a national consciousness. Fragments of the past and knowledge of the present were accumulated via various sources and re-understood to produce a singular narrative or memory.[7]

WRITING MEMORIES

The depth of an individual's connection to their community raises questions about the purpose of writing about traumatic memories. This chapter explores three proposed factors contributing to this phenomenon in the early modern period: writing to control, authenticate, and archive. From the scholarship on early modern trauma, we learn that writing is – and has long been – a result of trauma processing.

These three types of writings are explored through literature produced by the Quakers. Quaker literature is but one example of emotional turmoil recorded in writing in the aftermath of violence. The Cry of Innocent Blood (1670) made this clear in its title, in which the authors intended the "innocent" cries to "sound to the ear of each member in parliament." It spoke of the 'barbarous cruelties inflicted lately' on Quakers. Here, the author suggests that the assaults on Quakers and how Quaker assemblies were dispersed in Surrey were recent; this was not a distant memory but rather a live issue. The turmoil of violence was reinforced in the superlative language of "barbarous cruelties" and the described "cruel and outrageous manner of abuses" against men and women.[8]

WRITING TO CONTROL

Firstly, one motivation for writing memories was to control the past. Writings set out a clear meaning of violence and provided a narrative to protect the perceived meaning of violence encoded in memory. For example, in Behold a Cry (1662), where the author frames the murder of a child not simply as a crime, but as a divine warning against moral decay. The anonymous author intended to display the "inhumane and violent outrages" against Quakers in England. The author moved the narrative away from the tensions

December, Sentenced by a Councel of War To be Hang'd (London, 1673); anonymous, Murther Will Out; or a True and Faithful Relation of a Horrible Murther Commited Thirty Three Years Ago, by an Unnatural Mother, Upon the Body of Her Own Child About a Year Old, and Was Never Discovered till This 24th Of November 1675. By Her Own Self, Upon the Fears of an Approaching Death: For Which Crime She Was Taken from Her Bed, and Carried in a Coach to Prison, Where She Remains Very Penitent. With an Account from Her Own Mouth How She Was Tempted to Commit This Murder by the Devil: as Also How She Finished It. The Truth of This You May Be Satisfied with at Newgate (London, 1675); ibid, title page.

7 Mark Freeman, "Telling Stories: Memory and Narrative," in Memory: History, Theories and Debates, eds. Suzannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 263. See also, Erika Apfelbaum, "Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory," in Memory: History, Theories and Debates, eds. Suzannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010); Paul Connerton, How Societies Remember (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Adam Fox, Remembering the Past in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Judith Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 116.

8 C.H., The Cry of Innocent Blood, Sounding to the Ear of Each Member in Parliament Being a Short Relation of the Barbarous Cruelties Inflicted Lately Upon the Peaceable People of God Called Quakers, at Their Meeting in Horsly-Down, in the County of Surrey (London, 1670), 1; Ibid., 1.

between orthodoxy and religious nonconformity in seventeenth-century England and instead spoke to the broader, more long-standing rights of the English to be protected from violence. The author stresses that the "free-born people of England" were protected under the Magna Carta and should live free from violence. Another contemporary Quaker text, Behold a Cry, however, stressed the innocence and pacifism of the sect and the absence of provocation and instead discussed the nature and meaning of violence. Behold a Cry thus controlled the narrative to inform readers that violence against the English would see the divine justice as "Wicked, Filthy, and Ungodly Proceedings" against "these Wicked men." The promise of retribution followed the convention seen in atrocity literature and controlled the meaning of violence. Violence within England was thus removed from a righteous Protestant action against religious conformity, so that violence was declared barbaric and ignorant of the fundamental rights of the English.[9]

Such memory writing was further evident in the city of Leiden during the Dutch Revolt. The people of Leiden deliberately changed the context of their memory of resistance against the Habsburgs. The Dutch Revolt (1568-1648) was a struggle between the Netherlands against Spanish Hasburg rule, heightened by religious difference and colonialism. Thera Wijsenbeek's research shows that the high death toll of the siege of Leiden was remembered as a result of famine, not the true cause: plague. The selective memory of the Revolt avoided the associations between divine punishment and plague with civilian deaths in war. While famine was a real fear during the siege, manipulating the narrative revealed the ability of authors to control memory in writing production. For example, a 1577 inscription on Leiden's town hall commemorated the 1574 violence of the Dutch Revolt in the following terms: "After black famine left almost six thousand dead, God took pity and gave us bread, as much as we could wish for." The selectivity of memory and narratives in the writing of memory represented the ability of early modern people to control parts of their pasts.[10]

WRITING TO AUTHENTICATE

The second use of writing was to authenticate memories. David Lowenthal argues that shared memories gained validity through being widely known. The act of writing, therefore, opened up a theoretically limitless reproduction and learning of memory, which enabled memory culture to reach beyond the locality of a particular event. This was particularly evident in atrocity literature. English-language atrocity literature transmitted memories from colonial encounters. For example, a cache of atrocity literature communicated memories from Ireland to mass English audiences, including The Rebels Turkish Tyranny (1642), which preserved for posterity some of the violence of the 1641 rebellion. Writing these memories enabled authors to authenticate the shreds of a violent past that were transmitted back to Britain. Other international memories that were remembered in writing included Sad and Lamentable News (1663) that transmitted the memory of floods in the Netherlands in that year. England's Calamity (1680) also transmitted memories of violence from central Europe, specifically the confessional conflict in Germany. Thus, writing enabled authors to authenticate and disseminate traumatic memories outside their immediate communities.[11]

Memory was also used to authenticate narratives

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9 Anonymous, Behold a Cry! or, A True Relation of the Inhumane and Violent Outrages of Divers Souldiers, Constables, and Others, Practised Upon Many of the Lord's People, Commonly (Though Falsly) Called Anabaptists, at Their Several Meetings in and About London. : Together With the Violence Offered Some of Them in Newgate (Where They Are Now Prisoners) By the Fellons in the Same Place (London, 1662); ibid., title page; ibid., 3; anon., Behold a Cry, 9.

10 Ibid., 110; ibid, Figure 4.2, 105; see also Sarah Covington, "The Odious Demon from Across the Sea: Oliver Cromwell, Memory, and the Dislocations of Ireland," in Memory in Early Modern Europe eds. E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

11 Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country, 311; see also Andy Wood, Memory of the People (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Peter Sherlock, "The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe," in Memory: History, Theories and Debates, eds. Suzannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 30; Anonymous, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, in

of particular people, who were often excluded from popular storytelling or memory. Atrocity literature, in its earlier forms, frequently borrowed from the narratives and experiences of indigenous people in South America. The authors used the narratives to validate and transform narratives of colonial suffering to display a European struggle. In the Dutch Revolt, the experience of indigenous peoples was equated to that of the Dutch as two groups suffering under Spanish conquest. The Quakers also used atrocity literature to authenticate the experience of violence. For example, The Cruelty of Some Fighting Priests Published articulated that the purpose of writing was to ensure that readers would "no longer be deceived." Here, the author implied that Quakers who experienced violence felt unheard or forgotten due to an overwhelming trust in priests and communities. The Cruelty of Fighting Priests Published provided summarized moments of violence that functioned like depositions of individual acts of religious violence. For example, the pamphlet included a memory from Richard Bridges of the physical assault experienced by "the wife of John Ridges," as well as the violence perpetrated against Joane Hibbs. Thus, writing enabled groups to disseminate memories of trauma that conventionally fell outside the scope of public interest and served to authenticate the experience of the affected community.[12]

WRITING TO ARCHIVE

Writing to archive memory was the third and final factor that drove early modern people to write about their experiences of violence. This is the clearest expression of the anti-mimetic psychological response to trauma, which as defined by Ellison, is underpinned by the feeling of shame. The processing of remembering is performed consciously and results in dissociation from events, imitation, such as continued violence or writing about what occurred. The anti-mimetic process includes

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Their March Decem. 24. 1641. as It Was Taken Out of a Letter Sent From Mr. Witcome a Merchant in Kingsale To a Brother of His Here. Shewing How Cruelly They Put Them To the Sword, Ravished Religious Women, and Put Their Children Upon Red Hot Spits Before Their Parents Eyes; Throw Them in the Fire, and Burn Them To Ashes, Cut Off Their Eares, and Nose, Put Out Their Eyes; Cut Off Their Armes, and Legges, Broyle Them at the Fire, Cut Out Their Tongues, and Thrust Hot Irons Down Their Throats, Drown Them, Dash Out Their Brains, and Such Like Other Cruelty Not Heard of Amongst Christians. With a Great and Bloody Skirmish Fought Between Captain Hull, and the Rebels: and the Names of the Chief Rebels of That Regiment. And the Firing of a Town Within a Mile of Dublin (London, 1641). See also Anonymous and England and Wales. Sovereign (1625-1649 : Charles I), The Kings Maiesties Speech on the 2. Day of December, 1641. To the Honourable House of Parliament. Likewise a True Relation of All Those Cruel Rapes and Murders Which Have Lately Beene Committed by the Papists in Ireland. With the Names of Severall Marchants That Were Taken Transporting Ammunition To Ireland, for the Rise of the Rebels (London 1641); anonymous, An Abstract of Some Few of Those Barbarous, Cruell Massacres and Murthers of the Protestants and English in Some Parts of Ireland, Committed Since The 23 of Octob., 1641 Together With The Rise of the Rebellion : Collected Out of the Examinations Taken Upon Oath by Persons of Trust, in the Beginning of the Rebellion : Which Particulars Are Singled Out of a Multitude of Others of Like Nature : With The Persons That Acted Those Murthers, and Massacres, With Time, Place, and Other Circumstances, Are Contained in the Said Examinations, Yet Extant (London, 1662); anonymous, Sad and Lamentable Newes from Holland Being a True Relation of the Great and Wonderful Inundation of Waters, That Brake in At the Town of Gorkham, in the Night-Time, Near the City of Amsterdam, Where Many Stately Houses Became Bnried [Sic] in the Violent Waves; Both Men, Vvomen and Children Perishing in the Raging Billows. Also, the Manner How the Waters Brake in Again With Great Violence, on Munday Last About Noon, At The Two Strong Slices of Bonmel and Thieler, Where About Thirty Villages Were Drowned and Not Any Thing To Be Seen, but the Tops of Some Few Steeples and Chimneys, Many Perishing in the Vvaters; Some Escaping In Boats, And The Poor Infants Floating Upon the Raging Vvaves in Their Swadling-Bands and Cradles Together With the Sad and Wofull Cries and Groans of the Poor Distressed Inhabitants; and the Ringing of the Bells Backward, to Prevent the Perishing of Others (London, 1663); anonymous, England's Calamity, Foreshewn in Germanie's Misery. Being the Dire Consequent of the Growth of Popery. Represented as a Shadow of Those Popish, Worse Than Heathenish, Persecutions Which Befel Germany, From 1630 To 1635. And Nothing but Speedy Repentance Can Prevent the Like Befalling Us. Vvith an Account of the Prodigies That Preceeded Those Dreadful Times. Together With the Bible-Persecutions, From Cain in the Old Testament, To Herod the Great, in the New (London, 1680).

12 Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 180; anon, The Cruelty of Some Fighting Priests Published, 1, 4, 9.

identification with the aggressor but maintains a separation of victim and perpetrator. In contrast, the mimetic process describes the process by which a victim of violence unconsciously relives what they remember.[13]

The anti-mimetic process is a useful frame for achieving memory as it provides a sense of what memories individuals feared would be lost. Alexandra Walsham finds examples of this throughout the English Reformation. She notes that there was a growth in writers setting out to record the "remnants of a religious world that they feared would be soon lost." The archive thus operated as a mechanism for validating experience and a portal for ensuring the continuation of knowledge. Pollmann makes the case that recording memories of legal and cultural importance became increasingly important throughout the period. Pollmann suggests that memory in the early modern period transformed record-keeping so that records acted as the primary storage of knowledge, unlike the ancient model, in which records housed additional information. This is to say that the ability to access information was culturally normalized so that individuals did not simply have to store all knowledge in personal memory.[14]

Other forms of archiving can be found in the early modern crime play, a genre that staged commonly known violent crimes for the masses. These plays perpetuated the survival of memories of violence. A Yorkshire Tragedy (1608) was one example of the many crime plays produced in the period and was prefaced with the subtitle "not so new as lamentable and true." The print credited Shakespeare as the author; however, recent work argues the author was more likely Thomas Middleton. The play, which was popular in London, depicted the memory of a man murdering one of his children and isolating his wife and surviving child. The subtitle indicated that the episode was already widely known before it was staged, and indeed, the movement from Yorkshire to London indicated broader interest beyond the immediately affected community. Some memories that held poignant narratives persisted in early modern English print.[15]

CONCLUSION

Traumatic memories were narrative-bound fragments relating to recent violence with significance in a community. These narratives were written down for three purposes. Writing enabled a community to control the past by selectively forgetting or reorienting memory to provide new meanings to violence. Writing also served to authenticate distant memories or introduce the traumatic memory of a group often excluded from popular discourse. Finally, written memories acted as an archive, capturing a moment before it slipped into oblivion. Written memory also archived popular memories that remained poignant to early modern readers and audiences. Each act of writing of memory continued to stress and protect a narrative of violence that was instrumental to the trauma recovery process faced by individuals within communities who transformed their personal experiences to partake in a larger narrative formation.

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13 Sherlock, "The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe," 30; Katherine Ellison, "Early Modern Ciphering and the Expression of Trauma," in Early Modern Trauma, eds. E. Peters and C. Richards (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 109.

14 Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," The Historical Journal 55, no. 4 (2012), 918; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 93.

15 Accredited to William Shakespeare, A Yorkshire Tragedy Not So New as Lamentable and True. Acted by His Maiesties Players at the Globe (London, 1608); see also John Taylor, The Vnnaturall Father, or, The Cruell Murther Committed By [One] Iohn Rowse of the Towne of Ewell, Ten M[lles] From London, in the County of Surry, Vpon Two of His Owne Children With His Prayer and Repentance in Prison, His Arrai[Gn]Ment and Iudgement at the Sessions, and His Execution For the Said Fact at Croydon, on Munday the Second Of Iuly, 1621 (London, 1621); Literature beginning with David Lake, The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975); Shakespeare, A Yorkshire Tragedy, 1; on cultural and legal memories see Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe.

CHAPTER TWO

Religious Narrative

IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD, the narratives that bound together memory were profoundly colored by religion. This chapter explores how people characterized themselves as the victims of violence and how the perpetrators of violence were portrayed, paying particular attention to religiously inflected rhetoric. The religious contents of written memory are examined in crime news pamphlets, the 1641 depositions, and atrocity literature. These genres are constructed from the dominant English-language written material that considers women and violence. These genres also provide three key audiences: the local (1641 depositions), the national (crime news), and the international (atrocity literature). This chapter compares these genres to understand how narratives of violence changed between different genres of writing and which components of the archetypical traumatic memory narrative were preserved. At the heart of these narratives were the tropes of innocence and cruelty, whether established through explicit categorization or implied in religious allusions.[16]

CRIME NEWS LITERATURE

Crime news literature frequently commented on petty treason, witchcraft, and child murder. These crimes were mainly connected to female perpetrators. Dolan argues that crime literature intended for the poorer sorts was fascinated with female criminals and tended to write in graphic detail about the violence committed. Such narratives differed from the male-centric narratives that entertained the middling sorts. Crime literature also heavily featured accounts of murder and other shocking local crimes. Most crime literature authors preferred anonymity or veiled anonymity by using initials. These pieces of literature were also available in many forms. Some existed as broadside ballads, but few survived due to their inexpensive production. Most of the crime literature survived in pamphlet form. Longer retellings and quickly produced announcement pamphlets were accompanied by an engraving depicting the crime or execution. Moreover, crime literature discussed localized violent memories. These local memories were shared by those witnessing the trial or those who had a close connection to the perpetrator.[17]

Crime literature was particularly preoccupied

16 See Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 96; see also Adam Morton, "Remembering the Past at the End of Time," in Remembering the Reformation, eds. A. Walsham, B. Wallace, C. Law, & B. Cummings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020); Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," The Historical Journal 55, no.4 (2012): 899-938.

17 Survey of crime literature histories: Blessim Adams, Great and Horrible News (Glasgow: Willaim Collis, 2023); Sandra Clark, "Early Modern Literature of Crime and Criminals," in Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Frances Dolan, Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1500-1700 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Malcolm Gaskill, Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Randall Martin, "Henry Goodcole, Visitor of Newgate: Crime, Conversion and Patronage," The Seventeenth Century, 20 (2005): 153-184; James Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1700 (London: Taylor & Francis, 2014); Garthine Walker, Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Dolan, Dangerous Familiars, 4; Clark, "Early Modern Literature of Crime and Criminals;" Dolan, Dangerous Familiars, 126; anonymous pamphlets include: Anonymous, Sundrye Strange and Inhumaine Murthers, Lately Committed the First of a Father That Hired a Man To Kill Three of His Children Neere To Ashford in Kent, the Second of Master Page of Plymouth, Murthered by the Consent of His Owne Wife: With the Strange Discouerie of Sundrie Other Murthers, Wherein Is Described the Odiousnesse Of Murther, With The Vengeance Which God Inflicteth on Murtherers (London, 1591); anonymous, A Briefe Discourse of Two Most Cruell and Bloudie Murthers, Committed Both in Worcestershire, and Both e Happening Vnhappily in the Yeare 1583 the First Declaring, How One Unnaturally Murdered His Neighbour, and Afterward Buried Him in His Seller. The Other Sheweth, How A Woman Unlawfully Following the Deuillish Lusts of the Flesh With Her Seruant, Caused Him Very Cruelly To Kill Her Owne Husband

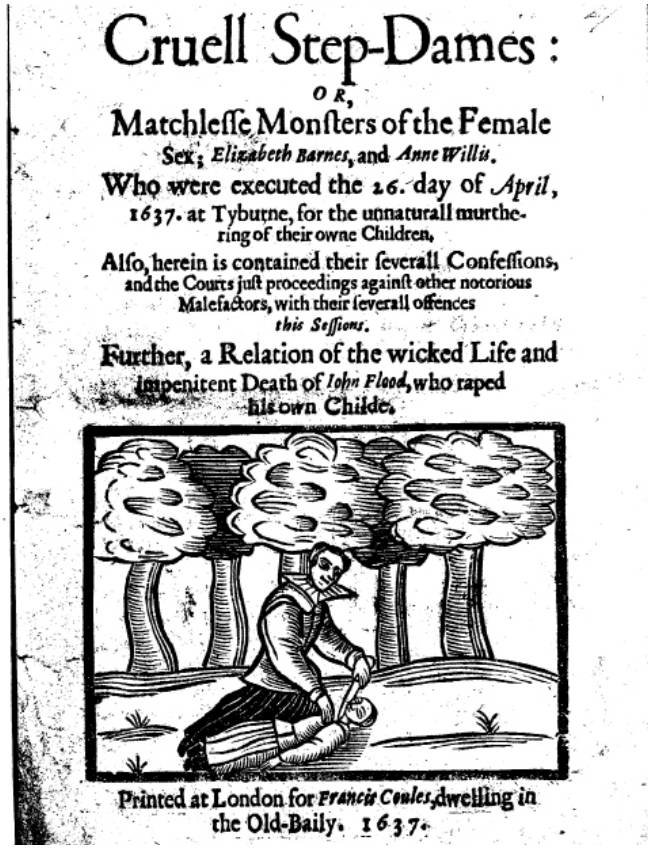
Cruell Step-Dames :
OR,
Matchleſſe Monſters of the Female
Sex; Elizabeth Barnes, and Anne Willis.
Who were executed the 26. day of April,
1637. at Tyburne, for the unnaturall murthe-
ring of their owne Children.
Alſo, herein is contained their ſeverall Confeſſions,
and the Courts juſt proceedings againſt other notorious
Malefactors, with their ſeverall offences
this Seſſions.
Further, a Relation of the wicked Life and
Impenitent Death of John Flood, who raped
his own Childe.
Printed at London for Francis Coules, dwelling in
the Old-Baily. 1637.

Figure 1 reproduced from the title page of Henry Goodcole's 'Natures Cruell Step-Dames' (London, 1637)

with ideas of salvation. Its authors juxtaposed the Devil's involvement with the possibility of Heaven. For example, Natures Cruell Step Dames, written by Henry Goodcole in 1637, explicitly references these themes. Goodcole's pamphlet discussed several child-related crimes: two accounts of child murder committed by Elizabeth Barnes and Ann Willis and one instance of child rape perpetrated by John Flood. In the case of Elizabeth Barnes, Goodcole described the impetus behind the violence as the Devil's seduction. He described the moment that "her heart was here set on fire by hell, musing to perpetrate mischiefe." He lamented that if only Elizabeth Barnes had turned to the church, she would have been saved, and her child, Susan Barnes, would have lived. He continued, "her soul is sicke, and draws nigh downard to hell." Here, Goodcole equated the capacity to commit violence with Devilishness or a weakening of faith. His description reiterates that Elizabeth's knowledge of God and the Church teachings were "seized" by "the Viper" and sent immediately "into the fire." The image of a complete loss of faith is what allowed for "this venemous Viper" to "lodgeth" murder "in her heart." In doing so, Goodcole presented a vision of violent local memory characterized as an erosion of faith.[18]

Images of hell and the language of the Devil's seduction were common in this genre. The Bloody Mother, written in 1609 by an author using the initials T. B., focused on child murder committed by Jane Hattersley. T. B. stated that a "hell-hardened hart" was what enabled child murder. The author made the appearance of the Devil representative of a more significant societal problem. He commented that people saw the "lamentable ends of thousands of hell-charmd malefactors, yet they will not learne good from their ill." As Goodcole wrote, T. B. presented a memory in which localized acts of violence arose from Devilishness. For T. B., this had wider consequences for the communities who, apparently, did not seek to reinforce their security and spiritual health. The language of devilishness was principally concerned with the salvation of one individual, but also the wider spiritual well-being of their specific community. T. B. provided a stern reminder of the importance of faith and fear to early modern people. Thus, once more, localized violence was reframed with a broader

(London, 1583). Pamphlets using veiled anonymity through initials included: D.M. A Warning for Bad Wives : Or the Manner of the Burning of Sarah Elston Who Was Burnt To Death a Stake on Kennington. Common Neer Southwark, on Wednesday the 24th Of April 1678. For Murdering Her Husband Thomas Elston, The 25th of September Last. And Likewise the Execution and Confession of John Masters, and Gabriel Dean His Man; Who Were Executed For Robbing on the Highway. Together With Their Behaviour, Last Vvords, And Confession at the Place of Execution. (London, 1678); see also Clark, "Early Modern Literature of Crime and Criminals," 3.

18 Henry Goodcole, Natures Cruell Step-Dames: or, Matchlesse Monsters of the Female Sex; Elizabeth Barnes, and Anne Willis Who Were Executed the 26. Day Of April, 1637. at Tyburne, for the Unnaturall Murthering of Their Owne Children. Also, Herein Is Contained Their Severall Confessions, and the Courts Just Proceedings Against Other Notorious Malefactors, With Their Severall Offences This Sessions. Further, a Relation of The Wicked Life and Impenitent Death of Iohn Flood, Who Raped His Owne Childe. (London: 1637), title page, 6, 9.

concern for salvation.[19]

The Devil as the cause of crime further appears in A true discourse of the practises of Elizabeth Caldwell, written by Gilbert Dugdale in 1604. Dugdale purported to share the events of the murder of Thomas Cadlwell, perpetrated by Elizabeth Caldwell in a group containing Jeffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall, and George Fernely. The pamphlet contained not only an account of Elizabeth's execution and that of Jeffrey Bownd but also a letter that Elizabeth supposedly wrote for her husband, begging him to reconsider his sins. Dugdale, writing as a "witness," claimed that Elizabeth Caldwell, in her time of imprisonment, came to realise that it was "the illutions of the Devill, and those hellish instruments which he set on worke" that moved her to murder. Again, the Devil appeared the common contributor to violence. Dugdale describes that the Devil "by many and often assaults and incouragements" ensured that his "perswasions did work." Dugdale suggested a process in which a person could decline from a godly life over a significant period. The transformation from a good Christian to an unknowing violent puppet of the Devil was slow and took on each small sin or act of immorality. The rhetorical device of the Devil puppeteer suggested a purpose of some crime literature to compel people into greater piety or recognition of their shortcomings. The rhetorical device also opened a study of the criminal's innocence compared to the Devil's workings. Crime literature evoked some sympathy for those perpetrating crime, underlining that they were not making these decisions or doing this evil but instead had been tempted away from reason and goodness. Such authors created a hope that perpetrators might return to such godliness, as Dugdale describes, via instruction. Naturally, this did no immediate good to the prisoner bound for the gallows, but the potential of salvation in contemporary terms was significant. Narratives in the aftermath of local violence thus sought salvation to provide meaning and recovery for the individual and community.[20]

Henry Goodcole connects these concepts in his 1621 pamphlet The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer a witch. Goodcole reported the trial of Elizabeth Sawyer and an investigation of her interactions with the Devil. The wonderfull discoverie diverged from the traditional narrative format of crime literature and opted for a question-and-answer form instead. The appearance of the Devil was common in narratives of witchcraft: most commonly, it was alleged that women engaged in sexual relationships with the Devil in return for diabolical powers. Goodcole introduced a new concept regarding when the Devil first preyed upon someone. When asked when she first met and knew it was the Devil, Sawyer answered, "when I was cursing, swearing and blashpehming." Goodcole used this as a warning "to those whose tongues are too frequent in these abhominable sins" and hoped that her "terrible example may deter them." Goodcole provided explicit detail on how the Devil slowly corrupts a person's goodwill and actions. Local memories of violence in this regard balanced a consideration of a person's innocence. Goodcole employed the type of salvation narrative that we have seen in other crime literature, but here, a person's innocence was also judged by the influence of the Devil. The individual's sin, in this case, Elizabeth Sawyer's,

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19 On the Devil and infanticide, see Clark, "Early Modern Literature of Crime and Criminals", 7; T.B, The Bloudy Mother, or the Most Inhumane Murthers, Committed by Iane Hattersley Vpon Diuers Infants, the Issue of Her Owne Bodie & the Priuate Burying of Them in an Orchard with Her Araignment and Execution. as Also, the Most Loathsome and Lamentable End of Adam Adamson Her Master, the Vnlawfull Begetter of Those Vnfortunate Babes Being Eaten and Consumed Aliue with Wormes and Lice. At East Grinsted in Sussex Neere London, in Iuly Last. 1609. (London, 1610), image 4.

20 Gilbert Dugdale, A True Discourse of the Practises Of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall Widdow, and George Fernely, on the Parson of Ma: Thomas Caldwell, in the County of Chester, To Haue Murdered and Poysoned Him, With Diuers Others Together With Her Manner of Godly Life During Her Imprisonment, Her Arrainement and Execution, With Isabell Hall Widdow; as Also a Briefe Relation Of Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, Who Was the Assise Before Prest to Death. Lastly, a Most Excellent Exhortorie Letter, Written By Her Own Selfe Out of the Prison To Her Husband, To Cause Him To Fall Into Consideration Of His Sinnes, &C. Seruing Like Wise For the Vse of Euery Good Christian. Beeing Executed the 18. Of Iune. 1603. Vvritten by One Then Present as Witnes, Their Owne Country-Man, Gilbert Dugdale. (London, 1604), image 12, image 4.

acted as an invitation to diabolical influence before the crime occurred.[21]

The narratives of salvation and innocence that were employed in crime news pamphlets thus gave meaning to violence as a necessary reminder of fear and godliness within a small community. They also explained the cause of violence in a way that moderated the responsibility for violent acts committed by individuals who had been tempted by the Devil. By way of a final example, in A Warning for Bad Wives (1678), the author considers innocence in a wider salvation arc. A Warning for Bad Wives depicted the crimes and execution of Sarah Elston for husband-murder, as well as John Masters and Gabriel Dean for highway robbery. The author concluded that "had not one foot slipt into the mouth of Hell, she [Sarah Elston] had never been in this forwardness for Heaven." Here, the act of violence is given new meaning: the individual is guided back into the Christian community to face secular punishment and to find a chance at salvation. Allusions to salvation and diabolical temptation provided a clear and universally understood meaning when commemorating violence in print.[22]

THE 1641 DEPOSITIONS

The 1641 depositions were produced in a very different context from crime literature. The 1641 rebellion began in Ulster, a county in the north of Ireland that was increasingly colonized by English settlers, leading to the mass dispossession of native lands for the establishment of plantations. The depositions were a two-part project to understand the rebellion. The first depositions were primarily collected in the 1640s from English Protestants who had only recently settled in Ulster. Most records, however, were collected during the second wave of investigation in the 1650s. The perpetrators differed significantly from those in crime news literature. In Ireland, there was a division of communities: the recently settled Protestant English and the Catholic Irish—made up of two converging Catholic groups, the Old English and Gaelic Irish. The term Old English generally refers to the descendants of the first wave of English settlers, mainly gathered in the pale. The name Gaelic Irish thus refers to the Irish, Galliege-speaking population. The largest group providing depositions was thus English Protestants, mainly by the male heads of household for compensation. The 1641 depositions contain narratives of an overtly different kind from that of crime news literature: the importance of fear and religious allusions still shaped the memories that were being recalled.

This interpretation of violence was particularly visible in the depositions that contained signs and wonders. Of the entire deposition project, forty-five contained depictions of signs and wonders. The chapter focuses in particular upon the appearance of ghosts. The memory of apparitions revealed the anxiety about salvation that arose in the denial of last rites in a religiously divisive conflict. Furthermore, the anxiety around salvation introduced a desire on the part of deponents to reinforce victims' innocence and trust that they ought to have ascended to heaven. The promotion of the victim's innocence was further confirmed by a language of criminality or cruelty that deponents used to characterize the perpetrators. As a result, the 1641 depositions reveal that national memories of violence were impacted by religion as much as the local memories of crime news literature. Unlike murder pamphlets, however, deponents after the 1641 Rebellion stressed a new relationship between innocence and cruelty in their memories of trauma, which gives further insight into memories of violence.[23]

Ghosts are a key theme in the 1641 depositions as a depiction of signs and wonders (a dominant theme

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21 Henry Goodcole, The Wonderfull Discouerie of Elizabeth Savvyer a Witch Late of Edmonton, Her Conuiction and Condemnation and Death. Together With the Relation of the Diuels Accesse to Her, and Their Conference Together. Written By Henry Goodcole Minister of the Word of God, and Her Continuall Visiter in the Gaole of Newgate. Published by Authority. (London 1621); Dolan, Dangerous Familiars, 189; Goodcole, The Wonderfull Discouerie of Elizabeth Savvyer, image 4, image 9.

22 On the importance of fear, see Andreas Bähr, "Remembering Fear," in Memory before Modernity, eds. E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 272; D.M., A Warning for Bad Wives, 4.

23 The 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin.

in the record) and as a site of violent memory. Peter Marshall explores the contemporary understanding of ghosts and the shifting perception of ghosts in the English Reformation. Ghosts were another field in which confessional distinctions played out, with ghost stories often depicted as a popish invention. However, as Marshall argues, Protestant stories of apparitions began to favor an understanding of ghosts as being the Devil in disguise and as wandering spirits unconnected to the soul of the deceased. For example, Marshall argues that the 1637 Minehead case of the apparition of "Old Mother Leakey" suggested that the common belief in ghosts retained a sense of the individual. In this case, Elizabeth Leakey believed that her mother-in-law, Sarah Leakey, was haunting her following an altercation that took place before Sarah's death. The records suggest that despite disbelieving judges, the people involved genuinely thought that the forces and events occurring around Elizabeth Leakey were caused by the dead person of Sarah Leakey and not a disinterested evil spirit. As we shall see, the 1641 depositions also suggest that Protestants believed that the souls of the dead were not disembodied spirits but the actual person of the deceased.[24]

In the 1641 depositions, ghosts appeared only in cases where burial rites were denied, perhaps saving the deponents from accusations of popery. The absence of the finality conferred by burial prevented the confirmation of the passing of the dead. In this regard, the memory of apparitions revealed the deponent's anxiety about salvation resulting from the denial of last rites. This was the case in instances of mass drowning. Nearly two hundred of the depositions remembered an instance of drowning, of which twenty-six remembered a related form of signs and wonders. These signs and wonders included depictions of apparitions, the absence of fish when before there had been an abundance, or bodies remained in the place of their drowning. The drowning of the victim led to another act of violence beyond the physical pain of death. The bodies of the victims neither remained in one place nor were consecrated. Thus, the souls of the dead were believed to be caught in an ever-moving and inconstant limbo as they remained with their bodies. The overlap between depictions of drowning and the proportion of the depositions that remembered signs and wonders suggested an anxiety about the individual's fate after such a death. The memory of drowned ghosts was thus representative of a profound anxiety about violence against the soul as well as the body, and about the prospect of salvation.[25]

These depositions that depicted signs and wonders stressed the innocence of the ghostly victims.

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24 Peter Marshall, Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); on ghosts see also Sasha Handley, Visions of an Unseen Word (London: Routledge, 2015), 234, 241, 259, 260.

25 Deposition of John Anderson, 11/7/1642, MS 833, 98v-99r; Deposition of Henry Baxter, 21/6/1643, MS 833, fol.217v; Deposition of Ambrose Bedell, 26/10/1642, MS 833, fol.105v; xamination of Walter Aspoll, 14/2/1654, MS 816, fol. 333r; Deposition of Audrey Carington, 27/10/1645, MS 833, fols 282r-282v; Deposition of Joane Constable, 6/6/1643, MS 836, fol. 88r, 89r; Deposition of Katherin Cooke, 24/2/1644, MS 836, fol.92r, 93r; Deposition of Elizabeth Crooker, 15/3/1643, MS 837, fol. 4r; Deposition of Arthur Culme, 9/5/1642, MS 833, fol. 129v; Deposition of William Gore, 1/7/1643, MS 837, fol. 25v; Deposition of Thomas Greene and Elizabeth Greene, 10/11/1643, MS 836, fols 94r-94v; Deposition of Alice Gregg, 21/7/1643, MS 836, fols fols 95v-96r; Deposition of John Hickman, 6/2/1643, MS 833, fols 156r-156v; Deposition of William Holland, 13/9/1642, MS 834, fols 159v-160r; Deposition of William Jamesone, 8/7/1642, MS 833, fol. 161r; Deposition of John Kerdiff, 28/2/1642, MS 839, fol. 13v, 14v; Deposition of Francis Leiland, 19/7/1643, MS 836, fol. 98v; Deposition of Richard Newberrie, 27/6/1642, MS 836, fol. 61r; Deposition of William North, 30/6/1642, MS 833, 179v; Deposition of Katherin O'Kerrie, 19/7/1643, MS 836, fol.97; Deposition of Richard Parsons, 24/2/1642, MS 833, fol.277v, 278v; Deposition of Elizabeth Price, 26/6/1643, MS 836, fols 101v-102v, 103v-104v; Deposition of James Shawe, 14/8/1643, MS 836, fols 112r-112v; Deposition of Ann Sherring, 10/2/1644, MS 821, fol. 181r; Deposition of Anthony Stephens, 25/6/1646, MS 830, fol. 43v; and Deposition of William Timmes, 5/3/1646, MS 821, fol. 195r; for fishless rivers see: Ambrose Bedell fol.105v; John Hickman fol.156r; Thomas Smith and Joane Killin, fol. 266r; for bloody, but body-less waters see Deposition of Katherin O'Kerrie, 19/7/1643, MS 836, fol.97; for signs involving the discovery of bodies with dogs, see Water Examination of Walter Aspoll, 14/2/1654, MS 816, fol. 333r; for bodies not decomposing, see again John Hickman, fol. 156r; on the importance of soul location see Marshall, Belief and the Dead, 255.

For example, Henry Baxter reported that after a mass drowning, "divers voics heard as it were singing of Psalmes." Baxter suggests that even caught in everlasting limbo, with the bodies of the dead presumably lost to the currents of the river, victims continued to lead a godly existence. Robert Maxwell also remembered that it was "common table talk amongst the Rebells" that two ghosts were heard walking the river "singing of psalmes." In particular, he remembered talk of the story that the ghosts of William Ffuleerton and Timothy Josphes "and the most of those who were throwne over Portadowne bridg" were heard singing the Psalms daily. The deponents described a godly, deathless experience of victims and implied that this was merely an extension of a godly life. In the absence of salvation, ghosts continued to practice Protestantism. The continued practice of the Protestant faith was particularly powerful given the deep religious divisions in Ireland during the 1640s and 1650s.[26]

Whilst confirming the innocence of victims, deponents also remembered apparitions who served to moralize acts of violence and exclaim a need for justice. These apparitions were remembered to project criminality, or indeed, cruelty, onto the perpetrators of violence. For example, William Gore commented in his depositions that the victims of drowning did "appeare above the water there & cryed for vengeance against those that drowned him." The absence of a resolution, on both the local and national scale, was central to this memory of violence. The victim was not offered any form of burial, and the violence continued across Ireland. The memory of the drowned victims' ghosts thus moralised the act of violence. In the manner of the crime news pamphlets, questions of innocence and criminality were considered. However, whereas crime news pamphlets centered this discussion on the perpetrator's person, the deposition of James Shawe recorded the "cryes & noise" of the ghosts of Portadowne for "Revenge." Elizabeth Price also remembered the apparition of an unnamed woman "often repeated the word Revenge Revenge Revenge." Alice Gregg recalled she had heard credibly from her uncle Nicholas Gregg of apparitions 'iterating the word revenge" in a "soe lowd & high; it could heard halfe a mile of the place." Each of these memories of apparitions emphasized the innocence of victims and communicated the untimeliness of their deaths. The connection of soul and body meant that the physicality of death was both seen and heard after death and thus reminded individuals of the physical suffering of drowning. Moreover, the injustice of the victims' deaths presented in ghosts' demands for revenge indicated the victims' innocence as opposed to cruel violence.[27]

Overall, the 1641 depositions reinforced the importance of religion in contemporary attempts to understand and manage traumatic episodes. The violence of the mass drownings that characterized the killing of Protestants in the course of the rebellion was remembered. The depositions recalled memories of violent death and religious violence through collective rememberings of ghosts, and lost souls. Indeed, importance of religion was most visible in the concern so frequently expressed for victims' souls. Moreover, unlike crime news literature, the 1641 depositions were mainly concerned with the absence of salvation and the horror experienced by innocent victims. Some deponents made the language of cruelty explicit. For example, John Glasse remembered the "villanie […] of one John Harding." Glasse also described that Protestants were "most cruelly butchered & murthered." Richard Newbrie used similar language that "other Protestants" were "cruelly putt to death." Nonetheless, most of the depositions consisted of memories of godly Protestant innocence. Narratives of injustice, the cry for revenge, and ghosts singing the Psalms were in greater number to accounts naming the violence as cruel or wicked. The memory of the murders of 1641 was thus principally underpinned by religious concerns for the soul. Anxiety surrounding salvation was epitomized in the memory of ghosts and narratives

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26 Deposition of Henry Baxter, 21/6/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 833, fol. 217v; Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22/8/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 809, fol. 10v.

27 Deposition of William Gore, 1/7/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 837, fol. 25v; Deposition of James Shawe, 14/8/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 836, fol. 112v; Deposition of Elizabeth Price, 26/6/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 836, fol. 103r; Deposition of Alice Gregg, 21/7/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 836 fol. 95v; Marhsall, Beliefs and the Dead, 241.

that strove to display the innocence of the victim.[28]

ATROCITY LITERATURE

Atrocity literature followed a similar theme to the 1641 depositions: it constructed an oppositional narrative of innocence and cruelty. Atrocity literature comprised printed collections of memories reframed to highlight a specific event or moment of violence. These memories were disconnected from their original communities, often transmitted from a colonial landscape to England. Consequently, memories of violence stressed both innocence and cruelty through detailed descriptions of the violence, whilst remaining vague on the names, dates, and places of the memory. This section explores the language employed to discuss innocence and cruelty in these texts. In particular, this section questions how this language was connected to the broader narrative meaning of violence.

In part, the atrocity writing genre fostered an emphasis on the innocence of victims. Atrocity literature stressed the horror of specific moments of violence. Episodes of violence were remembered for a politicized goal, particularly in literature on the colonies and religious conflict. Atrocity literature authors amplified the violence that they depicted by stressing a lack of just cause. The roots of this tendency lie in the literature on Spanish colonial cruelty as part of the "black legend" narratives from the early colonial period. These narratives stressed a Christianized perception of indigenous groups as innocent victims of persistent Spanish-perpetrated massacres. This narrative was then appropriated across Europe. Dutch and Spanish relations were also shaped by race. Some Dutch literature expected and essentialised brutality from the Spanish that served only to confirm the inherent innocence of the Dutch Protestant victim. These tropes were used extensively by the English against the Irish. As Canny notes, savagery was projected by the English onto the Irish from the twelfth century onwards. The language of barbarism acquired new significance under the new wave of colonization under the Tudors.[29]

Atrocity literature treats innocence and cruelty simultaneously, centering narratives on the oppositional relationship between innocence and cruelty. One example is The Kings Maiesties Speech on the 2. Day of December (1641), which focused on the 1641 rebellion and was published for an English audience. The author described, repeatedly, the violence committed as an Irish "crueltie," and born of a "trecherous heart." This depiction of the Irish was contrasted to "the innocent' English Protestant. The separation of the two was defined by the religious divides that continued to shape the relationship between England and Ireland. The pamphlet defined innocence as Protestant godliness. The importance of Protestants dying for the true religion appear elsewhere, such as in England's Calamity (1680). This text discussed the growth of Catholicism in Germany as a forewarning for England's future. Again, the relationship between innocence and cruelty as a matter of belief was made explicit in the narrative. For example, it described "Protestants burning for the true religion, and the Papists may have the fairer Pretence for their Cruelty" and denounced said Catholics as "Hereticks." It further described how the Protestants suffered 'Devilish torments." Once again, innocence and cruelty were dealt with in combination.[30]

Atrocity literature stressed the opposition

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28 Deposition of John Glasse, 8/4/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 815, fol. 197v; Deposition of Richard Newberrie, 27/6/1642, MS 836, fol. 61r.

29 Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 110; see also Kuijpers & Pollmann, "Why remember terror", 162; Dagmar Freist, "Lost in Time and Space?" in Memory before Modernity, eds. E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 211; see also Erika Kuijpers, "Between Storytelling and Patriotic Scripture," in Memory before Modernity, eds E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 189; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 173, 110; see also Kuijpers & Pollmann, "Why remember terror," 187; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 187; Nicholas Canny, "1641 in a colonial context," in Ireland 1641, eds. S. Micheál and J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 57; Sarah Covington, "The Odious Demon from Across the Sea Oliver Cromwell, Memory and the Dislocations of Ireland," in Memory before Modernity, eds. E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 189.

30 Anonymous and England and Wales. Sovereign (1625-1649 : Charles I) The Kings Maiesties Speech on the 2. Day of December,

between groups, particularly where these groups were already divided by denomination. Victims' innocence was also established through their piety in The Rebels Turkish Tyranny. For example, the first account of violence recounted the murder of the Dubnets, of whom Mr Dubnet was first described as "a religious and godly man." Religion thus framed violence so that innocence was a confirmation of godliness and the victim's salvation. In turn, this confirmed that God would punish cruelty. Atrocity literature shaped a future path in the aftermath of violence and reaffirmed belief in divine justice. The healing and processing of trauma was thus assured via the narratives constructed from memories of violence.[31]

Authors of atrocity literature exaggerated violence and reported it in superlative terms. The stereotype of the Irish was a stark contrast to the innocent portrayal of the predominantly English Protestant victim. The interlocking of innocence and cruelty meant that the English were increasingly celebrated for their civility and endurance of violence. Meanwhile, the colonial policy was hedged closer to the destruction of Irish autonomy and culture, as popularly believed to be fundamentally brutish. The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, for example, described the murder of Protestant children in Ireland by "barbarously" putting "the harmless babe […] upon a red hot spit." The importance of victims' innocence appears in the description of blamelessness and age. The harm to a child can also only be described as unjustified, and the image of the "spit" evokes a suggestion of cannibalism. Pollmann's research finds that similar depictions of child murder, alongside other brutal forms of violence, characterized atrocity literature in Europe. The emphasis on images of graphic violence, particularly around cannibalism, interacted with other narratives against specific communities to suggest inherent cruelty and barbarism. Atrocity literature expanded on the religious difference between the Irish Catholics and English Protestants to focus as well on a racialized national identity.[32]

Overall, atrocity literature intertwined the concepts of innocence and cruelty. The explicit discussion of innocence and cruelty in atrocity literature served to sensationalize violence and construct narratives in which traumatic memory was featured only to confirm expectations of cruelty. This expectation was inherently racialized and projected onto certain groups, particularly indigenous groups in North America and the Irish in English-language literature. This expectation of the cruelty of a foreign "other" appeared to confirm the innocence of the English. The self-appreciating tone of atrocity literature then lent itself to political goals, specifically galvanizing support for more violent and supposedly retaliatory colonial policies. Atrocity literature was also concerned

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1641. To the Honourable House of Parliament. Likewise a True Relation of All Those Cruel Rapes and Murders Which Have Lately Beene Committed by the Papists in Ireland. With the Names of Severall Marchants That Were Taken Transporting Ammunition To Ireland, for the Rise of the Rebels (London 1641), 2; anonymous, England's Calamity, Foreshewn in Germanie's Misery. Being Tte Dire Consequent of the Growth of Popery. Represented as a Shadow of Those Popish, Worse Than Heathenish, Persecutions Which Befel Germany, From 1630 To 1635. And Nothing but Speedy Repentance Can Prevent the Like Befalling Us. Vvith an Account of the Prodigies That Preceeded Those Dreadful Times. Together With the Bible-Persecutions, From Cain in the Old Testament, To Herod the Great, in the New (London, 1680), left image caption, right image caption.

31 Anonymous, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, in Their March Decem. 24. 1641. As It Was Taken Out of a Letter Sent From Mr. Witcome a Merchant in Kingsale To a Brother of His Here. Shewing How Cruelly They Put Them To the Sword, Ravished Religious Women, and Put Their Children Upon Red Hot Spits Before Their Parents Eyes; Throw Them in the Fire, and Burn Them To Ashes, Cut Off Their Eares, and Nose, Put Out Their Eyes; Cut Off Their Armes, and Legges, Broyle Them at the Fire, Cut Out Their Tongues, and Thrust Hot Irons Down Their Throats, Drown Them, Dash Out Their Brains, and Such Like Other Cruelty Not Heard of Amongst Christians. With a Great and Bloody Skirmish Fought Between Captain Hull, and The Rebels: and the Names Of the Chief Rebels of That Regiment. And the Firing of a Town Within a Mile of Dublin (London, 1641); Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities To Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," French History 27 (2013), 10; see also on religious constructions of narrative Felicity, Heal, "Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past", Huntington Library Quarterly 68 (2005): 109-132; Anon., The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, 1.

32 Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 171, 176.

with the future after violence, not as a trauma response but as a matter of politics. At its heart was a confirmation of the damnation of perpetrators and the interconnected salvation of settler and soldier victims.

CONCLUSION

Religion served as a means of understanding violence and connected the rememberer and the audience to share accounts of trauma. In crime literature, the immediate community was the first to commemorate and seek to understand acts of violence. Crime news literature remembered innocence by considering the Devil's intervention in violence. In the 1641 depositions, by comparison, individuals recalled memories in connection to a community with shared knowledge and narratives. Atrocity literature, on the other hand, was the least involved with the immediate community impacted by violence. The memory originated overseas and was communicated back to England as information of national concern. In this case, religion highlighted the concern for salvation and the future of the English nation. The 1641 depositions reveal anxiety about denying salvation via the absence of last rites. The appearance of ghosts and other signs and wonders was a sign that fears about everlasting and enduring violence persisted past death. Therefore, the narratives stressed godliness and perhaps a hope to bury victims and free their souls from limbo. The horror of the violence could imply the damnation of perpetrators. Crime news literature proffered the narrative of a return to a godly community through the proper execution of justice. The condemned faced their executions in faith that they had thrown off the vestiges of the Devil's influence and could be saved. Atrocity literature combined the concern of the victim's godliness with a guarantee of the victims' salvation and the perpetrator's damnation and overlaid the two concepts of innocence and cruelty. The more authors stressed the innocence of victims, the more authors confirmed the cruelty of perpetrator.

CHAPTER THREE

Gendered Violence

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WAS the cornerstone of trauma narratives. In the 1641 depositions, contemporaries centered violence against women in their recollections. Murder and abuse of women's bodies were the forms of violence against women that were remembered most frequently. The memory of violence against women was remembered mainly by men, who often placed greater emphasis on the actions of violence than the trauma endured. This chapter seeks to understand the patterns that appeared in memories of violence against women and sexual violence more specifically. These patterns also interacted with the existing tropes of different genres. Atrocity literature remembered vague accounts of sexual violence, with specific emphasis on the cruelty that made such violence possible. In the 1641 depositions, people also emphasized cruelty. In contrast, authors of atrocity literature remembered sexual violence so that the innocence of the victim was also assured. In this regard, sexual violence survived in cultural memory only where it ratified a pre-existing narrative conflict between innocence and cruelty.[33]

Memories of rape rarely survived in print or manuscript in the early modern period. Most memories of rape recorded in the 1641 depositions were told by male deponents, and memories of rape survived in atrocity literature in less detail. Atrocity literature frequently used rape as a horrifying theme, and rape trauma narratives were paired with the innocence versus cruelty trope prevalent in the genre. These trauma narratives of rape in atrocity literature, however, were often general descriptions of violence and provided little to no detail about its victims. The 1641 depositions, on the other hand, tended to forget sexual violence; only thirteen of the thousands of depositions recalled rape. In contrast

33 On terror memories, see Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, "Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt," in. Ireland: 1641: Contexts and Reactions, eds. Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press; 2015), 186.

to atrocity literature, the 1641 depositions spoke of specific victims of rape in the broader context of the violence of the Irish Rebellion. The principal trope employed across memories of rape in the 1641 depositions and also in atrocity literature was a desire to stress the innocence of the victim. The victim's age, status and resistance presented their innocence to contemporary readers. The second pattern found in memories of rape was that of the desire to forget or censor rape memories. This is, of course, hard to evidence. However, the very fact of the rarity of rape cases in the 1641 depositions hints at this process of forgetting. Those episodes that were remembered tended to be locally known instances or memories concerning murdered victims.[34]

MEMORIES OF RAPE

The most common method employed by deponents to promote the innocence of rape victims was a focus on the victim's age and virginity. Occar Butts implied the innocence of the victims in his deposition as he recounted the attempted sexual violence against his "children." Here, it can be inferred that the "children" were young through the invocation of paternal protection. The importance of Butts as a father and his protection conferred an innocence or lack of personal responsibility onto the threatened "children." In a different case, the deposition of Robert Maxwell similarly implied the youthfulness of the victims. Like Butts, Maxwell invoked the importance of paternal protection, naming Mr Starkie's daughters as the victims of sexual violence. Maxwell's depositions confirmed the presumed innocence of the victim further as he commented, recorded in parenthesis, that the victims were "virgins." The innocence of these two daughters was thus assured by their ignorance of sex and inability aptly to protect themselves from the "crueltie" of the offenders. Atrocity literature also used virginity as a means to confer innocence onto victims in colonial contexts. For example, England's Calamity gestured to the rape of "virgins" regularly, with the slightly different language of "ravish" to "deflower." Age thus removed culpability from women for the occurrence of rape and therefore promoted an inherently innocent form of female victimhood. Victims' innocence established through their age also validated the explicit discussion of perpetrators' cruelty.[35]

Male witnesses was another means to validate the innocence of rape victims. Most frequently in atrocity literature, women's innocence was implied through the witnessing of rape by their husbands. For example, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny recalled that unidentified

34 Kuikpers and Pollmann, "Why Remember Terror", 186; see also on the writing of rape Barbara Baines, Representing Rape in the English Early Modern Period (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003); Jocelyn Catty, Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011); Amy Greenstadt, Rape and the Rise of the Author: Gendering Intention in Early Modern England (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); and, Elizabeth Ann Robertson and, Christine M. Rose, Representing Rape in Medieval and Early modern Literature, (New York: Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001); Deposition of Andrew Adaire, 9/1/1643, MS 831, fols 174r-178v; Deposition of George Burne, 12/1/1644, MS 839, fols 007r-008r; Deposition of Occar Butts, 25/1/1642, MS 818, fols 055r-056v; Deposition of William Collis, 4/5/1643, MS 813, fols 285r-286v; Deposition of Christopher Cooe, 21/10/1645, MS 830, fols 172r-172v; Deposition of Willyam Dynes, 1/6/1642, MS 813, fols 360r-360v; Deposition of Gilbert Pemerton ex parte Thomas and Elizabeth Powell, 1/3/1642, MS 836, fols 008r-008v; Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22/8/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 809, fols 005r-012v; Examination of Samson Moore, 11/9/1652, MS 826, fols 239r-239v; Deposition of Christian Stanhawe and Owen Frankland, 23/7/1642, MS 836, fols 075r-076v; Deposition of Suzan Steele, 14/7/1645, 14/7/1645; and Deposition of John Stibbs, 21/11/1642, MS 817, fols 203r-206v; See also, on the small scale of document evidence of rape Mary O'Dowd, as cited in Penny Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars", Past & Present, Vol. 214 (2012), 93.

35 Deposition of Occar Butts, 25/1/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 818, fol. 55r; Ibid., fol. 55r; Ibid; Ibid; Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22/8/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 809, fol. 9r; Ibid., fol. 9r; Ibid; Anonymous, England's Calamity, Foreshewn in Germanie's Misery. Being the Dire Consequent of the Growth of Popery. Represented as a Shadow of Those Popish, Worse Than Heathenish, Persecutions Which Befel Germany, From 1630 To 1635. And Nothing but Speedy Repentance Can Prevent the Like Befalling Us. Vvith an Account of the Prodigies That Preceeded Those Dreadful Times. Together With the Bible-Persecutions, From Cain in the Old Testament, To Herod the Great, in the New. (London, T. Dawks, 1680), caption and section 1.

rebels captured and "ravished" Mrs. Dabnet in front of her husband. The Rebels Turkish Tyranny continued to describe in general terms that women were "defloured … before their husbands faces." The innocence projected onto these women was assured through the emphasis that rape and attempted rape were also acts of violence against the women's husbands or fathers. The equation of violence against men and women in rape cases reduced questions about the manipulation of rape narratives or the distrust of women's testimony. As Capp has argued, early modern justice systems distrusted women's testimony. Thus, accusations of rape made by women were often resolved with a direct male witness to corroborate their experiences. In this regard, the medieval legacy of rape as a property crime had some weight in the early modern conceptualization of sexual violence. The innocence of women in The Rebels Turkish Tyranny also evoked a similar point to that made in relation to child victims, namely that the responsibility of protection ought to have fallen on their husbands. The rape narratives were transformed from being about women's trauma to male failure; this promoted the innocence of the women and the horrors of the circumstance. The failure woven into this narrative also partially explained its limited survival in memory. Not only did women not want to relive rape, but according to Roberts, men chose to censor accounts of their failure to protect their wives in their own homes or villages. In the deposition of George Burne, the innocence of a rape victim was also validated by eyewitness male testimony. Burne recalled knowledge of the rape of Mrs. Allen whilst a group murdered her husband. The dual violence portrayed partially resolved the issue of the male failure to protect, as Mr. Allen was prevented from protecting his wife. The overriding emphasis on the innocence of the women victims was also retained, as in the manner of Mrs. Dubnet and the unnamed women of The Rebels Turkish Tyranny. Moreover, male witnesses to rape emphasized the innocence of female victims. Male memories of rape validated women's testimonies and raised the issue of their own duty and inability to project their household.[36]

Cases of women's resistance to sexual violence further validated their innocence in documented memories of sexual violence. Tales of resistance followed by male rescue were most common in the 1641 depositions. For example, the deposition of Raph Walmisley recalled the attempted rape of Mary Redferne, a servant who cried out and was aided by Mrs. Walmisley. This is an interesting episode of female intervention, however, most of the depositions remembered male intervention and prevention of rape, as in the deposition of Susan Steele. She recalled that Thomas Duffe saved Katherin Robinson from Edmud Duffeffarrell, "a notable rebel." The deposition of William Dynes provided another example of Elizabeth Bird, the wife of John Bird, who was saved from rape by the intervention of "the Earle of Antrym & the Earle of Castlehaven." The most notable example of resistance appeared in The king maiesties speech, which described how a "young maid, about the age of 18," violently resisted rape to such an extent that her attackers dismembered and murdered her. The king maiesties speech described in graphic detail that she was alone and fought against a group with a "knife neer at hand." She was successful in her announcement that she would die before being raped but hardly escaped violence. Women's resistance was thus important in memory of sexual violence but also

36 See also, Penny Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars", 91; Anonymous, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, In Their March Decem. 24. 1641. As It Was Taken Out Of A Letter Sent From Mr. Witcome A Merchant In Kingsale To A Brother Of His Here. Shewing How Cruelly They Put Them To The Sword, Ravished Religious Women, And Put Their Children Upon Red Hot Spits Before Their Parents Eyes; Throw Them In The Fire, And Burn Them To Ashes, Cut Off Their Eares, And Nose, Put Out Their Eyes; Cut Off Their Armes, And Legges, Broyle Them At The Fire, Cut Out Their Tongues, And Thrust Hot Irons Down Their Throats, Drown Them, Dash Out Their Brains, And Such Like Other Cruelty Not Heard Of Amongst Christians. With A Great And Bloody Skirmish Fought Between Captain Hull, And The Rebels: And The Names Of The Chief Rebels Of That Regiment. And The Firing Of A Town Within A Mile Of Dublin (London, 1641), 2; Anon, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, 5; Bernard Capp, When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2003), 5; Satu Lidman, "Violence or justice? Gender-specific structures and strategies in early modern Europe", The History of the Family, vol 18. No. 3 (2013), 251; On the isolation of unprotected townswomen, see Roberts, 'Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars', 94; Deposition of George Burne, 12/1/1644, MS 839, fol. 39v.

held a legal significance. For example, Sarah Paine, a servant who lived with William Woodbridge's mother, accused him of rape. In this case, Paine, was directly asked why she did not "cry out." She answered to the court that the threat of force prevented her from resisting. The accusation of poor reputation, limited resistance, and an accusation the trial was a design to exhort funds prompted Woodbridge's acquittal. Moreover, the resistance of women re-centered the physical violence of rape within the early modern conceptualization of harm caused by sexual violence. To remember rape was thus also to remember the cruelty of extensive physical violence, against which women fought and failed. The cruelty of crime and the attempt to escape interacted to promote the innocence of women in memories of rape.[37]

These examples are also indicative of a contemporary language of rape focused on the physicality of violence. The language of rape upon a living body appeared regularly from the mid-1680s in legal records. In the accounts of the trial of William Woodbridge in 1681, Woodbridge was ultimately indicted for a "rape committed on the body of Sarah Paine." This language became formulaic by the mid-1680s and continued into the eighteenth century. The later legal consistency of describing rape firstly as a bodily crime was perhaps a codification of a prevalent legal thought. Walker argues that the focus on violence, as opposed to the sexual nature of rape, was in part due to the difficulty of language and the cultural specificity of rape. The language of rape as principally a physical crime rather than a physical and psychological form of violence generated a consistency of treatment between the 1641 depositions, atrocity literature and English common law-court records. For example, in the deposition of John Stibbs, he too described rape as being perpetrated "upon the body" of a woman. The violence against women's bodies and sexual violence thus shared a similar language and treatment in early modern memory practices.[38]

Religious piety was the final mechanism employed in memories of rape to stress the innocence of victims. In particular, memories of rape stressed the strong Protestant faith of women victims. For example, in the deposition of William Collis, Elizabeth Woods' name was struck from the record and replaced with "an English protestant woman." We shall return to the issue of Elizabeth's anonymity; for now, this example underlines the significance of her piety. The deposition of George Burne, wherein Mr Allen bore witness to his wife's rape, also named the victim as "an English protestant." Female piety was significant considering the confessional conflict that contextualized the 1641 Rebellion. The harm brought to godly Protestant women thus revealed another meaning to violence, in which individuals suffered for the true religion. Atrocity literature also employed religious piety to affirm the innocence of victims. The full title of The Rebels Turkish Tyranny emphasized that particular point, in that a heavily racialized and exaggerated depiction of Irish rebels "put [the protestant English] to the sword, ravished religious women." The broader impetus behind the stress on female piety appeared elsewhere in The Rebels Turkish Tyranny when it stated that Christians endured "unheard of torments." Similarly, England's Calamity

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37 Deposition of Raph Walmisley, 11/3/1646, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 814, fol. 267r; Deposition of Suzan Steele, 14/7/1645, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 817, fol. 215r; Deposition of Willyam Dynes, 1/6/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 813, fol. 360r; Anonymous, Charles I, The Kings Maiesties Speech on the 2. Day Of December, 1641. To The Honourable House of Parliament. Likewise A True Relation of All Those Cruel Rapes and Murders Which Have Lately Beene Committed by The Papists in Ireland. With The Names of Severall Marchants That Were Taken Transporting Ammunition to Ireland, For the Rise of the Rebels (London; 1641), 3 under the heading 'a true relation'; Ibid., 3; Ibid., 3; Ibid; Old Bailey Proceedings Online, December 1681. Trial of William Woodbridge (t16811207-1); Ibid.

38 Old Bailey Proceedings Online, Trial of William Woodbridge (t16811207-1); See 1685 Old Bailey Proceedings Online January 1685. Trial of person (t16850116-40); 1690: Old Bailey Proceedings Online December 1690. Trial of George Hutton (t16901210-5); 1695: Old Bailey Proceedings Online, October 1695. Trial of Nicolas Oliver, Henry Sharpe (t16951014-22); 1702: Old Bailey Proceedings Online, January 1702. Trial of John Jefferson, alias Jefferies (t17020114-10); 1707: Old Bailey Proceedings Online, April 1707. Trial of Elenor Rodway (t17070423-34); Garthine Walker, as cited by Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars", 92; Deposition of John Stibbs, MS 817, fol. 203v.

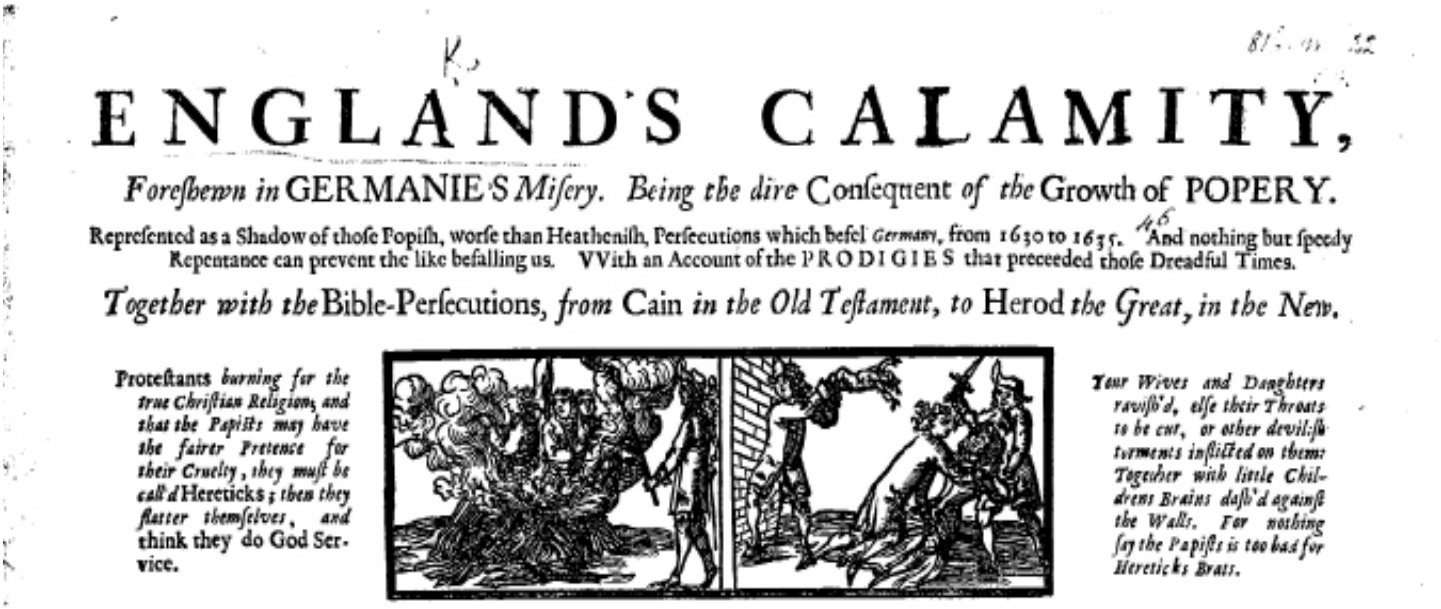
displayed a woodcut of "protestants burning for the true Christian religion' alongside the rape of men's 'wives and daughters." These written genres remembered violence in the context of a broader narrative of innocence versus cruelty, emphasized in this case through women's pious innocence. Religion again appeared as a larger mode of understanding and engaging with the world. The pious innocence of women thus represented a larger narrative of salvation and Christian suffering. The religious conflict and colonialism that contextualized these memories constituted a secondary meaning to narratives of rape in which Catholic perpetrators were damned.[39]

The desire to forget or modify periods of violence also characterized the memory of rape. The limited survival of traumatic memories of rape in recorded testimony and in print stemmed from the desire to forget and censor the rape memories that survived. Those that did enter into public memory, however, could show remarkable longevity. For example, John Stibbs deposed that "Oliver ffitzgarralds did Comitt a Rape" on Sarah Adgor. He noted that Oliver Ffitzgarralds [sic] was unpunished. The rape of Sarah Adgor appeared also in the deposition of Suzan Steele. She too named "Oliver ffitzgarrett" but believed the perpetrator to be his servant and tenant, "Hubert Ffarrell." She provided more details, principally that Sarah Adgor informed her mother and "that fowle offence was generally talked of" in the community. The depositions were gathered years apart; John Stibbs provided his deposition in 1642, and Suzan Steele did so in 1645. Suzan Steele and John Stibbs knew of Adgor's experience as part of the broader community experience of conflict in St Albans, County Longford. Steele and Stibbs chose to share the memory with an awareness that they were hardly offering something new. The error of detail of the accused perpetrator is representative of the fallacy of local memory. The error reflected that the primary concern was what had occurred and to whom it had happened, rather than much in the way of detail. The survival of Sarah's name and the fact that the perpetrator was unpunished was the core information, whilst the name of the perpetrator and the aftermath of the violence lost clarity. Moreover, it seemed that both the deponents, who were close to the violence, remembered specifics and gave such instances of violence a place in the broader narrative of trauma memories. In particular, individuals reconciled memories of rape to match the antithetical relationship of innocence and cruelty. For those removed from violence, the framework persisted, but the intricacies of the violence slowly morphed into tropes of the innocent women and the unknown, cruel perpetrator. Moreover, early modern individuals recorded abstract representations of sexual violence, predominantly through locally shared memory.[40]

Furthermore, the memory of rape was more likely to survive when the victim had died. For example, in the deposition of Robert Maxwell, the violence against Mr. Starkie's two daughters ended with their drowning. The violence against Mrs. Allen, as recalled in the deposition of George Burne, also ended in her death. Samson Moore deposed that the two daughters of Mr. Scott were raped and murdered, along with Mr. and Mrs. Scott. Gilbert Pemerton, recalled that his niece had been taken and raped, and was also, to his belief, dead. Only Elizabeth Woods, who appeared in the deposition of William Collis, and Sarah Adgor, who appeared in the depositions of John Stibbs and Suzan Steele, were not named dead. Suzan Steele described how Sarah Adgor informed her mother in the aftermath of rape but did not clarify if Sarah then survived the violence that followed in the course of 1641. Elizabeth Woods did not appear elsewhere in the depositions, and Collis moved to talk about the violence in Kildare immediately after. The move to strike out her name from the record might suggest that she did indeed live and that the anonymization of violence served to protect her from the reputational harm associated with rape. However, as the anonymity replaced her name with "an English protestant woman," this might have simply been an attempt to recenter the violence as part of the confessional conflict. Indeed, it might have been Collis who was uncertain that it was Elizabeth

39 Deposition of William Collis, 4/5/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 813, fol. 285v; Deposition of George Burne, MS 839, fol. 39v; Anon, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, title page; Ibid, 5; Anon, England's Calamity, right side caption.

40 Deposition of John Stibbs, 21/11/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 817, fol. 203v; Ibid, fol. 203v; Deposition of Suzan Steele, MS 817, fol. 214v; Ibid, fol. 214v; Ibid, fol. 214v.



ENGLAND'S CALAMITY,

Foreſhewn in GERMANIE'S *Miſery. Being the dire* Conſequent *of the* Growth of POPERY.

Repreſented as a Shadow of thoſe Popiſh, worſe than Heathenish, Perſecutions which befel *Germany*, from 1630 to 1635. And nothing but ſpeedy Repentance can prevent the like befalling us. With an Account of the PRODIGIES that preceeded thoſe Dreadful Times.

Together with the Bible-Perſecutions, *from* Cain *in the Old Teſtament, to* Herod *the Great, in the New.*

Proteſtants *burning for the true Chriſtian Religion, and that the Papiſts may have the fairer Pretence for their Cruelty, they muſt be call'd* Heretick*s; then they flatter themſelves, and* think they do God Ser-vice.

*Your Wives and Daughters raviſh'd, elſe their Throats to be cut, or other deviliſh torments inflicted on them: Together with little Childrens Brains daſh'd againſt the Walls. For nothing ſay the Papiſts is too bad for Heretick*s *Brats.*

Figure 2 Woodcut Reproduced From 'England's Calamity', (London, T. Dawks, 1680)

Woods and removed her name for accuracy. Beneath all of this, however, the uncertainty of Wood's survival was an exception to the pattern seen elsewhere in the depositions. For the most part, women either narrowly escaped rape or died afterwards. In this regard, rape became a precursor to murder rather than a separate form of violence. The stress of the depositions falls upon the violence of death and the insecurity of salvation. In memories of rape, individuals stressed the innocence of victims, but the primary emphasis was on the cruelty of the violence itself.[41]

Overall, the desire to forget rape stemmed from the horror of the violence itself. The desire to forget appears first as a general response to periods of violence. Kuijpers and Pollmann argue that the act of forgetting for contemporaries was integral to recovery. Victims and their families alike were hardly motivated to recall and thus relive the worst kinds of violence. Nor were said victims willing to share recollections that might subvert expectations of female innocence and male protection. Instead, the memory of rape in the historical record often emerged from locally known cases. In the case of 1641, the movement of the rebels and the fleeing of specific individuals from one town to the next propelled some of this transmission. Moreover, in the process of giving and recording depositions, these memories of violence were modified to center the innocence of the victim and highlighted a broader pattern of cruel violence. The survival of rape memories also often depended on the death of the victim. Roberts argues that rape brought reputational harm to the victim, as well as their families and communities. The survival of rape memories was therefore connected to the death of the victim and sometimes their family, so that those harmed by the tarnish of rape would not feel it. In sum, the memories of rape that appear in the 1641 depositions, as well as those circulated in print, were not only forged through individual processes of remembering and forgetting but the cultural norms associated with narratives of rape.[42]

The memory of sexual violence against women also appeared in accounts of corpse mutilation, which

41 Deposition of Robert Maxwell, MS 809, fol. 9r; Deposition of George Burne, MS 839, fol. 39v; Examination of Samson Moore, 11/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fol. 239r; Deposition of Gilbert Pemerton ex parte Thomas and Elizabeth Powell, 1/3/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 836, fol. 8r; Deposition of William Collis, MS 813, fol. 285v; Deposition of Suzan Steele, MS 817, fol. 214v; Deposition of Suzan Steele, MS 817, fol. 214v; Deposition of William Collis, MS 813, fol. 285v; Deposition of William Collis, MS 813, fol. 285v.

42 Kuijpers and Pollmann, "Why remember terror?", 186; Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities To Remember: Composing

were directly concerned with the arrangement of bodies to evoke sexualized displays or to hint at the character of women. In the 1641 depositions and in atrocity literature, the memory of rearranged corpses was limited. However, even its infrequent existence in the record is interesting for our understanding of how the experience of extreme violence was processed. Indeed, the memories of corpse arrangement clearly reflect the importance of narrative processing in trauma recovery, as well as the continued significance of religion. In the first instance, violence against corpses continued sexual violence into death. The continuation of sexual violence highlighted contemporary understandings of violence against a body. The arrangement of corpses also evoked a second form of violence—that against a soul.

The suggestive arrangement of bodies, in contrast to rape, was not limited to violence against women. In his deposition, Robert Browne recalled that the "rebels" arranged men's and women's bodies to formulate the image of sex. He described that "at length" bodies were cut "one Limbe from another" and arranged so "married men in most base & scornfull manner" were layed "betwxit the women's legges." The Rebels Turkish Tryanny also remembers the dismemberment of men's and children's bodies in Ireland. The violence was thus not singularly aimed at women. The overarching effect was an account that emphasized how the experience of violence continued into death. The everlasting sense of harm reflected the sentiments of unjustifiable violence and cruelty of perpetrators.[43]

Nonetheless, the nature of the violence did not indiscriminately affect all bodies. For example, in his deposition, Robert Maxwell remembered that the bodies of "any women" were turned "upon their backes." He remembered that such rearrangement of women's bodies was a consequence of rape. Greengrass's research on Huguenot women in the French Wars of Religion suggests that the arrangement of women's bodies was designed to suggest something about women's sexual character even after death. For example, in William

Reproduced From the Deposition of William Collis, MS 813, FOL.285V, Showing the Removal of Woods' Name From the Record on the Left Margin.

Timmes' deposition, he described that women's corpses were left "in a mode immodest & undecent posture." The implication of this comment was that "rebels" arranged women's bodies in an explicitly sexual manner. This echoes Greengrass's findings in the French context; he describes how some of the female French Protestants' bodies were stripped and arranged to expose their genitalia. This also appears to have been the case in Ireland in 1641. The arrangement of bodies, specifically those of women, served to continue acts of sexual violence against a body. The most explicit continuation of sexual violence after women's deaths and against a body

Personal Accounts of Religious Violence In Sixteenth-Century France", French History, Vol 27. no.1 (2013), 3; On the importance of community understanding, see Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, "Why remember terror?"; Roberts, 'Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars', 86.

43 Deposition of Henry Langford, Robert Browne, and James Browne, 18/7/1643, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 830, fol. 37r; Ibid, fol. 37r; Anon, The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, 2.

appeared in the rape of women's corpses. The rape of women's corpses appeared in the deposition of Robert Maxwell, who recalled that any women's bodies found were "abused" in "so many wayes" and "so filthyly as chaste eares would not endure the very name eing thereof." Despite the rarity of the crime, recollections of corpse arrangement and mutilation survived in the 1641 depositions and atrocity literature. In the 1641 depositions, the memory of this extreme violence was situated in the broader context of self-declared Protestant victimhood and godly suffering.[44]

MEMORIES OF CORPSE ARRANGEMENT & MUTILATION

The bodily aspect of violence against women contrasted with the secondary violence against their souls. The 1641 depositions arose from a landscape deeply affected by the confessional conflict and the English colonial and imperial practices conducted in Ireland. As we have seen, the importance of religion appeared elsewhere in the depositions, specifically through anxieties expressed about the soul after death. The signs and wonders discussed in the second chapter thus have a companion in the anxiety about salvation raised by the abused bodies of women. For example, John Parrie, in his deposition, explained his concern for the unburied dead. He explained that the souls of the dead were denied the opportunity to "ascend up into Heven" and thus faced the "paines" of limbo instead. The consequences of abandoned corpses were not simply the absence of burial but all last rites that would confirm the soul's readiness for salvation. William Timmes hinted at this conclusion in his memory of the abuse of women's corpses, as their treatment meant that women's bodies were "left unburied." Robert Browne understood the violence against the soul in this regard as a purposeful extension of violence not simply into death but into eternity. He described how the bodies of men and women he had seen were buried and shrouded by Robuck ô Crane, only for "the Rebells afterwards stript and robbed them." Here, Browne suggested that unearthing the bodies of Protestants was a purposeful act of violence. In this context, we might also see sexual violence against women's bodies as a kind of violence against the soul.[45]

CONCLUSION

Overall, memories of sexual violence were less likely to be recorded in writing than other kinds of violence. The horror of violence endured meant that, for the most part, women did not actively recall the memory in print. The demographic that remembered violence most was thus men. Recorded memories of rape were often locally infamous instances of rape, rather than unknown or private memories of violence shared by members of a family. We have discerned some patterns in the language of memories of rape using the case studies of the 1641 depositions and atrocity literature. There was a frequent assurance of the innocence of the women involved. Men also tended only to name victims of violence who had died. The deaths of the victim and, often, their families mitigated the social tarnish of rape, reinforcing Roberts' conclusions. The violence of rape was pervasive; it affected not only women in the instance of violence but continued in the experience of trauma and reputational harm for victims and their communities. Lidman also argues that early modern honor systems connected rape to women's reputations and extended this to affect a wider community. Community harm perhaps explained why individuals in the

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44 Deposition of Robert Maxwell, MS 809, fol. 10r; Mark Greengrass, "Language and Conflict in the French Wars of Religion" in Ireland: 1641 : Contexts and Reactions, eds. Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer. (Manchester: Manchester University Press; 2015), 200; Deposition of William Timmes, 5/3/1646, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 821, fol. 194v; Ibid, fol. 194v; Ibid, 200; see also Roberts, 'Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars'; Deposition of Robert Maxwell, MS 809, fol. 10r.

45 See Nicholas Canny, "1641 in a colonial context" in Ireland: 1641 : Contexts and Reactions, eds. Micheál Ó Siochrú , and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press; 2015); Deposition of John Parrie, 31/5/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 836, fol. 62v; Ibid., fol. 62v; Deposition of William Timmes, MS 821, fol. 194v; Deposition of Henry Langford, Robert Browne and James Browne, MS 830, fol. 37r; Ibid., fol. 37r; Ibid., fol. 37r.

1641 depositions remembered rape less frequently than the murder of women. Women who were raped and murdered were not elevated to martyrdom but quietly forgotten from the historical record. For rape victims whose family survived or whose life circumstances did not easily equate to innate innocence, the violence was unwritten in its entirety. The violence suffered by married women, for instance, was all but forgotten from the 1641 depositions unless their husbands witnessed it.[46]

Contemporaries remembered violence against women's bodies after death even less frequently and anonymized women consistently in the records. The larger numbers affected at once by this kind of violence perhaps prompted anonymity, similar to the limited names provided for victims of mass drownings. More likely, however, was a concern for the harm done not only to the reputation and body of women but also to their souls. The absence of burial and denial of last rites was a profoundly insecure position for any Christian. The later burial of these women, as suggested in some of the depositions, was not enough to confidently state their salvation. Even where victims received last rites and burials in the aftermath of the violence, the delay and harm to the soul were still concerning to a contemporary audience. Therefore, where memories of rape did survive in the record, they held a significant insight into narratives of innocence and cruelty.

Importantly, where memories of sexual violence do appear in the historical record, they were framed to emphasize cruelty. The cruelty of perpetrators was partially suggested in implicit opposition to the stated innocence of the victims. However, for the most part cruelty was made explicit across the genres of written memory. Violence against women was not a space for women to claim victimhood. Nor was memory an opportunity to achieve a lesser form of justice. Memory instead was focused on narrative and the meaning behind violence. To remember rape alone was to provide meaning and purpose to a form of violence that modern and early modern audiences considered too horrific, and whose harm was too pervasive. Individuals recalled rape as an act of violence singularly against a body or a form of violence that preceded murder. The same occurred in the treatment of women's corpses; accounts represented the murder of women and harm to their souls, as well as the act of sexual violence. Violence against women, specifically sexual violence, was thus remembered where it ratified community-agreed meanings of violence, specifically by reinforcing the perasive narrative of innocence and cruelty.[47]

CONCLUSION

MEMORIES ARE MORE THAN simple fragments of the past. In early modern England, individuals shared their own fragments of violent episodes, which often coalesced into a shared community narrative through oral transmission and textual media. Writing about memories of violence had three main motivations: to control the memory of the past, to share the memory across communities in the present, and to archive the memory and preserve it for future generations.[48]

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46 See Judith Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2017); Kuijpers and Pollmann, "Why remember terror?"; Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence during the Religious Wars", 86; Ibid, 86; Lidman, "Violence or justice?", 243.

47 See on the narrative meaning of memory: Erika Apfelbaum, "Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory," in Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates, eds. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (US: Forham University Press; 2010); Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities To Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France"; Paul Connerton, How Societies Remember, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2010); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory, (Oxford: Blackwells; 1992); Mark Freeman, "Telling Stories: Memory and Narrative" in Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates eds. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (US: Forham University Press; 2010); Kuijpers and Pollmann, "Why remember terror?"; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800.

48 Roger Kennedy, "Memory and the Unconscious," in Memory: History, Theories and Debates eds. Suzannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 180; See Erika Apfelbaum, "Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory,"

Narratives were fundamentally important to memory in trauma recovery. The narrative gave meaning to violence and a path forward for communities and created a unity between individuals who experienced violence and those who had not via known narrative structures or ideals. Godly Christian innocence was a trope that created bonds between communities over distance and helped to communicate traumatic memories. Moreover, the different genres examined in this paper sought to connect audiences to the victims of violence. Crime news pamphlets, which offer examples of memories of localized violence, emphasized the perpetrator's transformation from cruelty back into godly innocence via spiritual healing. The 1641 depositions, as representative of individuals' memories, tended to emphasize the victims' innocence—these were people that the deponents had known and to whom they were personally connected. Atrocity literature, by contrast, focused on the cruelty of perpetrators, using the memory of violence as a political platform. Contemporaries who sought a unifying element used, in varying forms, a narrative concerned with innocence surviving in the face of cruelty.[49]

These conventions of early modern writing about violence meant recorded memory of sexual violence was often marginal at most. Atrocity literature, for example, side-stepped a discussion of trauma in favor of using memories of sexual violence to stress the cruelty of the perpetrators. The 1641 depositions, on the other hand, clearly identify the women victimized. This was achieved, however, primarily through the men to whom the victims were related, either their husbands or fathers. The depositions, overall, rarely remembered sexual violence. Sexual violence appeared, mostly in the case of victims who died during the course of the rebellion for reasons related or otherwise to the sexual violence that they endured. The harm of rape is visible in these records in the specific senses of deep reputational harm, the physical violence endured, and spiritual death in the denial of last rites. It is the last of these types of violence, spiritual death, that connects the depictions of sexual violence back into the key narrative of innocence and cruelty at the heart of early modern memories of violence.[50]

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49 See Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France"; Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800; and Kuijpers & Pollmann, "Why remember terror?"; and Ethan Shagan, "Early Modern Violence from Memory to History," in Ireland 1641 eds. S. Micheál, J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Apfelbaum, "Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory"; Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", New German Critque, no. 65 (1995): 123-133; Connerton, How Societies Remember; Fentress and Wickham, Social Memory; Freeman, "Telling Stories: Memory and Narrative"; David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," Annual Review of Sociology, 24 (1998):105-140; and Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800.

50 Susan Broomhall, "Disturbing Memories," in Memory before Modernity, eds E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France"; Cary Catuth, Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1996); Eamon Darcy, "Stories of Trauma in Early Modern Ireland," in Early Modern Trauma, eds. E. Peters and C. Richards (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021); Satu Lidman "Violence or Justice? Gender-Specific structures and strategies in early modern Europe," The History of Family 18 (2013); Zackariah Long, "Historicising Rape Trauma," in Early Modern Trauma, eds. E. Peters

These findings complicate wider themes in early modern gender and socio-political history. First, this paper informs a larger study area of hearing women's voices within the silence of the historical record. In this regard, the extent to which, after 1641, women in Ireland "forgot" the experience of sexual violence is a thought-provoking case study. Furthermore, examination of the recorded memory of sexual violence can supplement increasing research into the spaces between law and culture. Indeed, it provides some insight into the reactions and trauma caused by violent crime both on an individual and collective basis.[51]

Moreover, the nature of memory in the early modern period often meant that the experiences of women were forgotten to provide a broader community meaning to violence. People ascribed meanings to violence to preserve community identity that was built on other religious and racialized ideas of Protestant

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and C. Richards (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021); Andreas Mueller, "For Those Who Did Not See It," in Early Modern Trauma, eds. E. Peters and C. Richards (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021); Pollmann, Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800; Penny Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence During the Religious Wars," Past & Present Supplement 7 (2012): 75-99; Sharon Wasco, "Conceptualising the Harm Done by Rape," Trauma, Violence & Abuse 4 (2003): 309-322; Amelia Zurcher, "The Trauma of Self," in Early Modern Trauma, eds. E. Peters and C. Richards (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021); See, Roberts, 'Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence During the Religious Wars'; Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France"; Mark Greengrass "Language and conflict in the French Wars of Religion," in Ireland 1641, eds. S. Micheál and J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Lidman "Violence or Justice? Gender-Specific structures and strategies in early modern Europe"; Zackariah Long, "Historicising Rape Trauma"; Mueller, "For Those Who Did Not See It"; Roberts, "Peace, Ritual, and Sexual Violence During the Religious Wars'; Sharon Wasco, 'Conceptualising the Harm Done by Rape".

51 See Nadine Akkerman, "Women's Letters and Cryptic Coteries," in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700, eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Bernard Capp, When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003); Jamie Goodrich, 'Networked Authorship in English Convents Abroad: the Writings of Lucy Knatchbull' in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700 eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Helen Smith, "Cultures of Correspondence" in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700, eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Richard Smith, "Authorship, Attribution, and Voice in Early Modern Women's Writing," in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700, eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Martine Van Elk, "Early Modern Dutch and English Women Across Borders," in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700, eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Susan Wiseman, "Non-Elite Women and the Network, 1600-1700," in The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English 1540-1700 eds. D. Clarke, S. Ross, and E. Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Andreas Bähr, 'Remembering Fear' in Memory before Modernity, eds E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Kristina Caton, "The Joint Stool on the Early Modern Stage: Witches, Wives and Murderers in Macbeth and Arden of Faversham," in Staging the Superstition of Early Modern Europe, eds Andrew Marcarthy (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013); Frances Dolan, Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1500-1700, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Malcom Gaskill, Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Megan Johnston, "Doing Neighbourhood," in The Experience of Neighbourhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, eds. Bonrach Kane and Simone Sandall (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2021); Michael Roper, "Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History," History Workshop Journal no.59 (2005): 75-72; James Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1700 (London: Taylor & Francis, 2014); Garthine Walker, Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); John Walter, "Performative Violence and the politics of violence in the 1641 depositions," in Ireland 1641, eds. S. Micheál and J. Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); and Andrew Wood, Memory of the People, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

innocence which was destabilized by rape. Thus, women's experiences were not captured in memory but rather the fears and concerns for a community's future. This study is important in recognizing this dynamic, in a wider framework of gender history, to study both how women's experience was transformed in the record, and what can be gleaned of their original experience.

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