

offered them the independence to engage the questions which seemed to them most interesting, the tasks they thought most promising, the life they choose to lead.

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1 Throughout I refer to my biography, *Hope Emily Allen: Medieval Scholarship and Feminism* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1988), and to the *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940). The unique manuscript which contains the *Book*, formerly owned by Colonel William E.J. Butler-Bowdon, was sold after Butler-Bowdon's death at Sotheby's, on 24 June 1980, as lot 58, and is now a Select manuscript in the British Library, BL MS Additional 61823. On Hope Allen's deeply conflicted relationship with Meech see Hope Emily Allen, pp. 99–130. The title the *Book of Margery Kempe* was assigned by Hope Allen; Meech sought at one point to rename it the "Journal of Margery Kempe" (the name is still preserved at the bottom of the frontispiece of the EETS edition), but was dissuaded from doing so by members of the EETS Committee.

2 For a discussion of the colonial identity of the EETS founders see Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 92–96. It is true that the early EETS Reports, often written by Furnivall explicitly to raise money, sounded, sometimes crudely, themes and attitudes which he hoped would appeal to a mass audience, but Furnivall's values and perspectives were not those of later editors and Council members, and as Derek Pearsall among others has pointed out, Furnivall's own social and personal attitudes were as progressive as any. See Derek Pearsall, "Frederick James Furnivall (1825–1910)," in *Medieval Scholarship. Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, ed. Helen Damico, et al., Volume 2: *Literature and Philology* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), pp. 125–138. On like problems, both ideological and other, with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, see John Willinsky, *Empire of Words: The Reign of the OED* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

3 The verbatim republication of two already published and not greatly distinguished articles by the editor is another curious aspect of an altogether curious edition. Most publishers would have indicated that such studies simply be cited and quoted as needed, which was and is the usual practice. But Arnould acknowledges that "the Board of Trinity College, Dublin . . . readily and graciously agreed to contribute a substantial sum towards the printing of this edition" (p. xi), and it was no doubt that subvention which gave him a free hand to republish the articles, and perhaps also to formulate his singularly unremitting attack on Hope Allen without editorial intervention.

## **"THE EVER-GROWING ARMY OF SERIOUS GIRL STUDENTS": THE LEGACY OF HOPE EMILY ALLEN**

In 1928 Father Herbert Thurston reviewed Hope Emily Allen's *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle* in terms which appreciated both Allen's long-term contribution to women's scholarship, and the drawbacks of her particular methodology. Thurston highlights the thoroughness of Allen's work, but also suggests that even then Allen's approach set standards which not everyone could, or perhaps should, follow:

the ever-growing army of serious girl students who are keen about success in the research work which was formerly the monopoly of their male rivals, will not be wanting in appreciation of what Miss Allen has achieved. We are tempted to think that she has perhaps been even too

meticulous, too conscientious, in her hunting down of every recorded text and every reference which could afford a clue to the elucidation of the rather obscure problems of Richard Rolle's literary activities. The standard she sets would seem to demand too large a proportion of man's limited working days to be practicable for any but a very few (Thurston 1928, 370).

In spite of Thurston's sense of the importance of Allen's contributions, and his belief that she set "a heroic example" (Thurston 1928, 370), sixty years later, when John C. Hirsh consolidated his work on Allen in his important biography, *Hope Emily Allen: Medieval Scholarship and Feminism*, he wrote that even in 1988 Allen's "achievements have gone largely unobserved" (Hirsh 1988, xi). Indeed, in 1991, Norman F. Cantor's *Inventing The Middle Ages*, a book which is otherwise very aware of gender issues, boldly asserted that "Eileen Power is the only woman medievalist who belongs in the array of the founders and shapers of our vision of the Middle Ages during the first seventy years of this century" (Cantor 1991, 382). Histories of medieval and women's scholarship have not included Allen, partly because she was an independent scholar, not attached to an university, and was only recognized by professional associations later in her life.<sup>1</sup>

While she was initially known and primarily respected for her work on Rolle, then for her participation in the Early English Text Society's 1940 edition of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, undoubtedly her reputation would have been enhanced had her projected second volume on the *Book* for EETS, tantalizingly flagged in the notes to the EETS edition, ever actually appeared.<sup>2</sup> Hirsh's account of the production of the *Book* is a moving experience. His description of the anguish and hurt Hope Emily Allen felt is an important contribution to a history of scholarship that includes the emotional as well as the intellectual, and acknowledges the domestic and personal aspects that are part of any writing, no matter how objective that scholarship might be. It is distressing to see the excitement and enthusiasm of discovery end up in recrimination, to see Allen's confidence eroded, her energy evaporate. It is disappointing not to see the long dreamed-of second volume. Some aspects of the story of Allen's involvement in the production of the *Book* are depressingly familiar in feminist history. We read of aspirations thwarted, of struggles in climates and cultures, which, while dedicated to understanding history, to humanism, also made it very difficult for women to succeed and develop. It is all too familiar.

In what follows I want to pick up on some aspects of Allen's legacy, and to add a sketch of how, while Allen was an independent scholar outside the academy, no more than Eileen Power was she "alone as a woman in her field" (Berg 1996, 2). This side of her story reveals the enormously positive interaction between Allen and her friends and collaborators, the genuine love and affection that existed between them, and the tremendous benefits these communities conferred on the scholarship of those involved. Allen was not alone in her endeavors, not isolated in her work, in spite of the fact that she did not enjoy the benefits that many current writers and critics do as a result of working in tertiary institutions, with other

colleagues, teaching and interacting with students. Alongside an analysis of the difficulties faced by women scholars early in the twentieth century, there are also stories of collaboration between women as intellectual workers to be celebrated. How did Allen's position as an independent scholar influence what she left behind her? How does an understanding of her work and the principles on which it was based reveal some of the differences between scholarship within and outside academic institutions, between the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries?

One of Allen's great contributions was to the development of an historical secular criticism which extended not only the range of material to be considered, but also the kind of questions to be asked of it. While Allen's education at Bryn Mawr College from 1902 to 1905 included philological and linguistic analysis, and she contributed to the *Middle English Dictionary* at Michigan University, she also firmly believed in what become known as history from the bottom up as opposed to history from the top down. In notes for her work on *Ancrene Riwele*, Allen wrote of the need for a "history of culture," and for an interdisciplinary approach which has since developed into cultural and historical studies, and histories of everyday life, in Raymond Williams' terms.<sup>3</sup> As Allen conceived of it:

my work would combine literary and historical research and concentrate on what would interpret religion as it was brought home to the individual, rather than as it touched ecclesiastical institutions or theological doctrines.<sup>4</sup>

Part of her interest in medieval studies was in the pictures it offered of medieval life, which was undoubtedly one of the reasons why she found *The Book of Margery Kempe* such an engaging subject. In her notes towards the projected "BMK II," she wrote of producing a "synthesis of Margery the mystic and the woman," suggesting an integration of the religious aspects of the *Book* with its broader context. In 1949 she wrote to Mabel Day, secretary of EETS, of her "wide ranging desire to make it my magnum opus—in which all the absorptions of my various incarnations coalesce."<sup>5</sup> Back in 1937, when working on the first EETS volume, she combined research on continental women mystics, which she felt sure would help explain the context in which Kempe operated, with trying to get at the feeling of the time and place in which Kempe lived. After having visited King's Lynn for two one-day trips, Allen returned for a five-day stay, and "when libraries were closed I walked all day in Lynn, poking into all the corners both of streets and churches. I am a great believer in the living picture as a stimulus to study."<sup>6</sup> Allen's methodology was not of the kind parodied by Paul Zumthor, where "withdrawn into the bookish tranquillity of the study, one restored oneself in a slow, meticulous labor of establishing and classifying index cards whose effect was to remove the drama from life, death and the destiny of men" (Zumthor 1986, 49). Her approach was of a more holistic or organic kind, anticipating the development of new medievalism in expanding the range of issues that were relevant to an understanding of a text.<sup>7</sup> While producing her part of *The Book of Margery Kempe* did involve careful study of language, the use of idiom and proverbs, it also involved the other dimensions of the text.

Allen was part of developments in the areas of women's history, women's studies, interdisciplinary studies, and medieval studies. Her work on Kempe formed the basis for Kempe studies today. Much of the first wave of work on Kempe concerned her claims to have direct experience from God, and whether or not this was true. Critics lined up on either side of the "is she/isn't she genuine" divide. Early work on Kempe came predominantly from men from religious backgrounds, with specific religious interests.<sup>8</sup> Allen, who curiously described herself as a "Christian agnostic,"<sup>9</sup> focused on aspects of Kempe's book in a broader sense—looking for the contexts of her religious experience and possible connections with other female mystics—and on the text as both literary artifact and historical document. She was one of the first to argue that the book should not be read simply as historical fact, but that Kempe's purposes should also be considered. It was part of her view that the artistic and rhetorical dimensions of the text mattered in an overall interpretation, or to put it in Barbara Newman's terms, that we should see this text within "the parameters of literary expression" (Newman 1995, 15). "It must never be forgotten," Allen argued, that Kempe's book "was a work of active propaganda." In a letter of February 1938 she wrote of how this would be demonstrated in "BMK II."

my line-by-line study of the work this winter has convinced me that Margery expected to be a Saint, and that in all likelihood the book was prepared for prospective hagiography...Considerable annotation has to be added to bring this out.<sup>10</sup>

Allen was at the beginning of a line which saw Kempe's work as significant in its own right, as connected with saints' lives and other religious texts, but as having an independent importance. Today the main interests in Kempe studies are Kempe's gender, the literary and historical aspects of the text, and the sense of the self that the text displays. These were all issues that Allen picked up on, and these have all remained abiding concerns of Kempe criticism.<sup>11</sup>

It is unfortunate, then, that Allen did not leave to history a second volume on Kempe, nor a clear enough outline for someone else to finish.<sup>12</sup> Her legacy, to Kempe studies in particular, is incomplete. It seems partly, as Thurston suggested, that Allen's desire to have the fullest picture that she could of the text she was working on brought its own problems. In relation to this, Allen received encouraging, and admonitory reminders. Mabel Day, in 1949, had passed on an inquiry from EETS' C. T. Onions:

what he really wants badly to know clearly [is] when you will be able to get down to Vol. II in bitter earnest. He is afraid the time will never come. So many of our publications are unfinished because the editors never get beyond the text! Some of them have been handed on to a later generation to finish.<sup>13</sup>

In 1953, thirteen years after the first EETS volume, and nearly twenty years after Allen was called in by the Victoria and Albert Museum to identify Colonel

Butler-Bowdon's manuscript, A. C. Baugh wrote to Allen about "BMK II," advising "After all there must be an end to revision sometime."<sup>14</sup>

There are many reasons why Allen did not in fact complete the proposed second volume for EETS, and gave up on it a few years before her death in 1960. John C. Hirsh suggests that the psychological and personal difficulties of producing the first volume, as well as ill-health, were contributing factors. There is also the issue of Allen's inclusive methodology. Her excitement, energy and enthusiasm were all important characteristics of her work, but as she so charmingly acknowledged herself, they were also part of her weakness. Again, in a letter to Mabel Day, she summarized some of the problems of being interested in the many aspects that the Kempe text suggested to her. "I sent you yesterday a fearful budget—to demonstrate my difficulties in composition through my mind sprouting like a potato brot from the cellar, when anything comes up that interests me."<sup>15</sup> Her highly developed sense of self-awareness told her of her shortcomings, expressed in a different metaphor: "I realize that if I were dealing with money instead of research, I would be a defaulter who didn't balance my books, I am so much behind." And again, "I am as irresponsible as a child at times in giving way to enthusiasms which only time will dispel."<sup>16</sup>

Some of these problems suggest a lack of discipline, or an inability to meet deadlines, which may be linked to Allen's status as an independent scholar. She was not for any length of time employed by a tertiary institution and does not seem to have harbored any kind of personal or career ambitions. Allen's financial existence depended on various grants, from such bodies as the American Council of Learned Societies, and from a private income derived from the Oneida Corporation.<sup>17</sup> The rewards for Allen and those like her were not those of a salary, institutional status, and a career path. Rather they were close collaborative relations with other scholars across the world, and England in particular, finding answers to all kinds of questions, and contributing to an expanding field of knowledge. Part of the pleasure for Allen was the ability to follow ideas wherever they took her, to free-float. If an institutional affiliation might have provided structures and mechanisms to help her research, those structures might also have circumscribed her work. This is the double edge of life within the Academy. If deadlines, and anxieties about tenure and promotion are the current bane of many academic lives, then they also no doubt focus the mind on producing and finishing pieces of work. For Allen and her correspondents it was a different matter, of chasing the hares of the scholarly imagination wherever they went, of a desire to "Follow Truth and if it leads you to the Gates of Hell, *Knock*."<sup>18</sup>

Allen contributed to medieval studies specifically through her publications, and more generally to the intellectual climate of her times through the dissemination of medieval material in ways that refused disciplinary boundaries. She actively encouraged others, and shared the material to which she had access. She invited Sanford Brown Meech to work on the Kempe manuscript, to prepare it for EETS, and rather than produce a modernized version herself, thought it appropriate that the manuscript's owner, Colonel Butler-Bowdon, be asked to do it. Allen's

disinterestedness, her desire to make material available to other scholars and a general audience is particularly striking from today's perspective when scholarly status is so dependent on publications. Had Allen been working within an academic institution she might well have been more self-protective. These are some of the costs and benefits.

There is also a third way in which Allen contributed to medieval scholarship, which cuts against the notion of personal ambition or career, and is an aspect of her work outside the Academy. In this sense Allen's contributions go beyond the record of her own ideas and arguments about medieval texts, as evident in publications to which her name was attached. She had a wider influence, and her notes reveal a sense of how she worked, what her aims were, and her relationships with other scholars. From copies and scraps of letters we can see the kind of network she was part of and how letter-writing formed part of her practice as a scholar, particularly during World War II when she was back in the USA, physically separated from the friends and contacts she had made in England. These letters suggest the strong sense of responsibility she felt to her material. To Helen Gardner she wrote that it is "wonderfully stimulating" to know "that there are watchdogs on the field still collaborating on subjects [such] as the edition of Julian [of Norwich]." <sup>19</sup> Allen saw herself as having a responsibility to promulgate, share and protect the medieval material to which she had access. Often consulted as to who was working on what, she advised as to what needed doing, and occasionally who should or should not be doing it. She clearly saw herself as patrolling the boundaries of her areas of scholarship, and this was important to her. Whether her work resulted in publications of her own was not the central issue for her.

Allen wrote long letters in reply to new and established scholars, to help both them and herself. "I have adopted the policy," she explained "of going a little far afield for my correspondent, in order to sum up the subject for myself in a statement of what I now thinks [sic] which I can later use." <sup>20</sup> Writing to other people working in similar fields enabled Allen to summarize her own position, so that she was connected to the academic and intellectual communities, yet independent of them, protecting her own integrity. Both of these things were important to her.

I am not in the least gregarious, tho devoted to many friends. But to me scholarship has always been something very individual—as religion would be (wherein I would not relish the old OC [Oneida Community]). The analogy of the OC shows what can be done by corporate action, and I realize I would gain many advantages by being more gregarious. But then for research I would lose independence. . . many years now of having all sorts of persons to ask my help—or I ask theirs—or to some degree collaborate (at a distance generally) with others in my field—makes me feel one has to know the other long and well before the full contingencies can come to light—hence I am wary

about human judgments now—until the time element has had a good chance to test. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Here Allen directly canvasses her sense of why it would not have suited her to be part of an academic institution and what that cost her. Above all, Allen valued her intellectual independence. The reference back to her understanding of the Oneida Community and its socialistic attitudes is telling. Allen never seemed to back away from some of the principles of the community, yet she argued that it worked because of its commitments to both license and discipline, and that it still demonstrated the “complications involved in any form of social organisation: it bred as many problems and injustices as it solved.”<sup>22</sup> While the gregariousness of working in an academic institution might well have furnished her with a different kind of status, and an income, Allen felt it might have compromised her, both in terms of time and her particular interests. Letters from other women scholars who were employed for their intellectual labors may well have contributed to Allen’s desire to stay outside these academic communities. For example, Helen Gardner wrote to Allen in 1947 that her teaching commitments kept her focussed on the seventeenth century rather than on Walter Hilton. “I think I am by nature far more of a teacher than a scholar,” wrote Gardner, in a manner strikingly modest given Gardner’s own scholarly output.<sup>23</sup>

Yet while Allen clearly asserted her desire for independence, and her concern that an academic structure might compromise that independence, it is also clear that there were nevertheless many demands on her as an independent scholar. It is not surprising that she felt ambivalent about the amount of work required of her by others. It inhibited her own production, as she wrote: “The pressure of unprinted work—about which people tend to write me—is trying.”<sup>24</sup> Perhaps academic structures would to some extent have protected her from the inundation of free-lance inquiries, and provided her with a protective space in which to work, but this was not her assessment. Yet her sense of contributing to the production of others was also a comfort to her. Though her own publication rate had slowed, she felt “I have at least done a lot of I think helpful collaboration by correspondence.”<sup>25</sup>

She had, of course, done that and more. Hirsh’s list of her works from 1910 to 1942 indicates the varied and scholarly nature of Allen’s work. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that her identification of the Kempe manuscript was one of the most significant finds of medieval manuscripts in the twentieth century. Certainly the newspaper coverage in the late 1930s saw it as “a remarkable discovery” (*Church Times* 9 October 1938), “the first autobiography in the English tongue” (*Sphere* 17 October 1938) and “a literary event” (*Eastern Evening News*, Norwich, 6 October 1936). In comparison with the Winchester Malory’s *Morte d’Arthur* identified in the same year, 1934, the Kempe find was perceived to be “more unexpected and more important,” according to *The Times* 30 September 1936. These same reports also indicate that Allen did not always get the credit she deserved. The *Michigan Daily* of January 6 1937, for example, acknowledges Sanford Brown Meech in its headline: “Meech to Publish Manuscript of Pioneer

English Biography,"<sup>26</sup> and adds in smaller print, "Hope Emily Allen is contributing an introduction and notes on mysticism." A copy of this article in Allen's own collection carries her comment, and perhaps hope, that this foregrounding of Meech was not his work, but a journalist's. Her annotations also suggest the slight she felt at being marginalized. She had identified the manuscript, announced it in *The Times*, and been charged with producing an edition. The fact that she then shared this work did not mean that she did not still feel very proprietorial about it. We can see, from this newspaper coverage, the difference that gender and academic status might make. Meech had a Ph.D. and an academic position. Allen had neither at this stage.

Yet Allen's work was later recognized by academic institutions. In 1946 she was awarded an honorary doctorate in humane letters from Smith College, was inducted into the Medieval Academy of America in 1948,<sup>27</sup> and in 1960 was "designated one of the seventy-six most distinguished graduates of Bryn Mawr College" (Hirsh 1988, 140). We do not know exactly how Allen felt about these honors, but we do have a delightful account of how one of her closest friends felt about her own recognition. Joan Wake met and corresponded with Allen from the 1920s to Allen's death in 1960. Wake, unlike Allen, did not have a university education at all, but dedicated a substantial proportion of her life to collecting and preserving local historical records, and founded the Northamptonshire Record Office. In 1953 Wake was awarded an honorary MA from Oxford University, and wrote to Allen, in terms that she knew Allen would understand, that this recognition was an "apotheosis."

Oh! my dear—having been and felt *such* an outsider all my life—to be inside the fold! it is wonderful—. . . have, tried to do the work for its own sake, but felt that if there was to be any recognition there was only one kind which I would appreciate as really worth having—i. e. from the academic world, and now it has come and in such a perfect way and I do feel so grateful.

Letters between Allen and Wake characteristically describe not only the difficulties of scholarship outside the Academy, but also the possibilities that existed for collaboration and companionship beyond the walls of tertiary institutions. Hirsh's biography of Allen illuminates the problems Allen faced as a woman scholar outside academic structures, yet the letters between Allen and her friends also reveal how much fun they had, and how much they shared. Wake's description of the graduation at Oxford University, for her absent friend, charmingly demonstrates her ability to appreciate academic honors without missing the arcane quality of the rituals. "The whole thing," Wake wrote to Allen, "was so absurdly like a wedding without the music, cake and bridegroom," and later she wrote of the undergraduates "kneeling in rows before the Vice-Chancellor, and being banged on the head with a Bible, while he said 'In nomine' (bang) 'Dei Patris' (bang), 'et Filii' (bang) 'et Spiritus Sancti' (bang)—that must go back to the thirteenth century surely."<sup>29</sup>

While recognizing the difficulties faced by these independent women scholars, it is also important to acknowledge their friendships, their keen senses of themselves and each other, and how much these relationships contributed to their ability to produce work. Their enthusiasms about each other's work is matched with a corresponding self-modesty, as characterized in one particular exchange between Wake and Allen. Whether Wake had a university degree or not, Allen clearly regarded Wake as an historian, to which Wake replied "Don't call me a 'historian'—I am a cross between a missionary and a ferret that's all."<sup>30</sup>

Allen's legacy, then, has general and specific components. She was recognized in her own time for her work on medieval mysticism, on Richard Rolle and on *Ancrene Riwele*. She was part of the foundation of Kempe studies, an enthusiastic promoter of the *Book* in the broadest terms. Put simply, Allen recognized the Kempe manuscript, and established some of the reasons for its significance. Others followed. She also contributed to the knowledge and work of those around her. She shared the knowledge she had, and put medieval manuscripts in front of those people capable of explaining them and bringing them to a wider audience. Her generosity in these areas cost her time and energy that others might well have kept to themselves. Indeed, it is part of John C. Hirsh's argument that this generosity cost her too much personally. Her letters and notes contain insights into the decisions and dilemmas that are part and parcel of an intellectual life, and consistently demonstrate Allen's optimism and confidence in the growth and development of work on medieval texts. While Allen worked outside the Academy, she was not on her own and her letters testify to the strong and productive relationships she had with other scholars. She was far from being sentimental about scholarly collaboration, but its importance was certainly a central assumption. She was part of a move away from medieval scholarship based on philology, towards cultural history. She focussed specifically on issues relating to women and on seeing connections between women, both in the past and in her own time. She hoped that her own work would make a difference, and what she envisaged as a way forward has become a major strand of medieval studies.

If I am not able to present my facts so as to bring out their full interest, I have at least collected them, and someone who comes after me is likely to be able to use them for a stimulating study of the sort of literary history which is as much history as it is literature, and as much literature as it is history.

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1 For work on women scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and their involvement in universities and historical associations see, for example, Smith 1984; Goggin 1992; Berg 1996; Shiels 1996.

2 Hirsh's biography provides a fascinating account of the story behind the EETS edition, which he describes as involving "the single greatest misjudgment of her academic career" (Hirsh 1988, 113), as well as elucidating some of the reasons why the second volume by Allen never appeared. See in particular chapter 5, "Michigan and the *Book*."

3 Raymond Williams' work (1981) has more directly articulated political bases, rooted in Marxism and cultural materialism, but Allen's work is part of the move towards a secular, broadly based cultural history.

4 This is from material held by the Bryn Mawr College Archives. Aside from material and arguments provided in Hirsh's biography, this essay relies on unpublished material held by the Bodleian Library, and Bryn Mawr College Archives. Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters d.268 was not de-restricted and catalogued until 1995, after Hirsh's 1988 biography. The Northamptonshire Record Office's Joan Wake Collection also holds material not assessed in his book. Much of the material has not been catalogued, and throughout the following notes I give the fullest references available.

5 Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters c.212.

6 Hope Emily Allen Collection, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

7 See, for example, Brownlee, Brownlee and Nichols 1991, and Bloch and Nichols 1996.

8 "A Benedictine of Stanbrook" was one of the first people to discuss Kempe's manuscript in 1938. Following this, the *Book* was initially canvassed, sometimes dismissively, within the context of medieval mysticism, rather than in its own right, and the commentators often had explicit religious affiliations. For example, T. W. Coleman describes himself as "the first free Churchman to issue a book on this subject" (1938; 7); Herbert Thurston (1955) was an ordained Catholic priest; W. R. Inge (1959) was Dean of St Pauls; and Martin Thornton (1960) was a priest of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd.

9 Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters, c.212.

10 Hope Emily Allen Collection, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

11 It is impossible to list all the recent work on Kempe that takes up these issues, but the following are just some examples of work which could be said to follow the interests of a secular, feminist criticism exploring issues of the materiality of the text and its cultural production as much as its inherent content, in ways which are suggested by Allen's own work: Beckwith 1986; Lochrie 1991; Holbrook 1992; Staley 1994.

12 Clarissa Atkinson was one of the first to pick up the trail of Allen's work on *The Book of Margery Kempe*, as her comments in *Mystic and Pilgrim* 1983 suggest.

13 Hope Emily Allen Collection, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

14 Ibid.

15 Letter to Mabel Day, March 17, 1949, Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters c.212.

16 Hope Emily Allen Collection, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

17 Allen's parents lived for a time in the Oneida Community, an experimental socialistic group based at Oneida, New York, which broke up in 1880. Some of its financial interests continued and still exist in the Oneida Silverware Company, and Allen spent much of her life living on property which was originally part of the community.

18 The Joan Wake Collection, Northamptonshire Record Office. Joan Wake was one of Allen's oldest and closest friends. Wake was the founder of the Northamptonshire Record Office, and shared Allen's love of history, and local history in particular.

19 Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters d.268.

20 Hope Emily Allen Collection, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

21 Bodleian Library, MS. Engl. Misc. c.484.

22 Drafts of letters in MS. Eng. Misc c.484. The first of these here seems to be addressed to George Bernard Shaw from Allen's reference to "your *Man and Superman*."

23 Letter from Helen Gardner to Allen, March 11 1947; MS. English Letters d.268.

24 Bodleian Library, MS. English Letters c.212.

25 Bodleian Library, MS. Engl. Misc. c.484.

26 This headline incidentally provides one example of the ambiguity over whether the *Book* were a biography or autobiography. This ambiguity was continued in R. W. Chambers' introduction to Butler-Bowdon's modernized edition which referred to it as both.

27 John C. Hirsh (1988, 139-40) quotes a letter from Allen which documents her awareness of the lack of recognition of women scholars, and attributes her own success to the 'fluke' of knowing Professor Nellie Nelson. For histories of the recognition of other women scholars, see Smith 1984 and Goggin 1992.

28 The Joan Wake Collection, Northamptonshire Record Office.

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## ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND

Eleanor Prescott Hammond is remembered now chiefly as the compiler of two scholarly volumes, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (1908) and *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (1927), both of them pioneering works in their day, and so thorough and accurate in their scholarship that they are still of use and to be valued.

Eleanor Prescott Hammond was born at Worcester, Mass., on April 26, 1866, the daughter of Andrew Hill Hammond and Rhoda Maria (Barber) Hammond. After her early education, she went to the University of Leipzig and thereafter to the University of Oxford (1892–94), where she graduated B.A. with First-Class Honors in 1894. Her mentor there, to whom she dedicated her second book (as "Scholar-Master-Friend"), was Arthur Sampson Napier (1853–1916), Merton Professor of English from 1885 (the second epigraph of the first book is, "And that sweet city with her dreaming spires"). Returning to the United States, Hammond went to the University of Chicago as a Graduate Fellow in English (1895–98) and took her Ph.D. in 1898, the year in which John Matthews Manly, an almost exact contemporary, arrived in Chicago to begin his long reign there. She was a docent at Chicago from 1898 to 1904, when she resigned her post. She continued to live in Chicago until the early 1920s, when she moved to Boston. She held no other academic post, and remained unmarried. She died on February 23, 1933.

Hammond's early career was extraordinarily ambitious and successful. Germany, with Oxford, was where the most rigorous philological and textual scholarship in the field of Middle English was being carried on, and Napier himself taught at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen before being appointed to the Merton chair. It was in the German journal *Anglia* that Hammond first began to publish the stream of articles on the Chaucer and Lydgate manuscripts and other aspects of Chaucer and Chaucerian writing that were to form the foundation of her two books. She