

ATTENDING TO EARLY MODERN WOMEN

Conflict and Concord

EDITED BY KAREN NELSON

Attending to Early Modern Women

Conflict and Conciliation
藏書章
Edited by Karen Nelson

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Introduction

Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord

Amy M. Froide

The *Attending to Early Modern Women* symposia series has had a profound influence on me as a scholar of early modern women. Ever since the first conference in 1990, I have made it a point to return to the University of Maryland, College Park, every three years to take part in the exciting, rigorous scholarship and the collegial atmosphere that marks the series. More recently, I had the opportunity to join the planning committee for the 2009 symposium. I can attest that the diligence, sweat, humor, and intelligence that go into producing these events are something to behold. Thirteen women from Art History, History, and Literature met two to three times a year to develop the program for *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord*.¹ Together we pounded out the theme, chose the plenary topics and proposed possible speakers, approved and tweaked workshops, and selected cover art and images for the program and the website. These meetings were some of the more intellectually and socially engaging moments in which I have participated in academia.

Attending to Early Modern Women is unique because of its consistent interdisciplinary nature and its plenary and workshop format. While this structure has not changed over the years, the symposia have, in order to respond to various changes in scholarship and teaching. The first *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, held in 1990, was an early effort on the part of scholars in Literature, History, and Art History to share their efforts in recovering the written records associated with women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² The second *Attending* symposium, held in 1994, broadened its focus from England to early modern Europe.³ The third symposium, *Crossing Boundaries*, in 1997, included a plenary on "The Body and the Self" and workshops focusing on the varied conditions and experiences of women's bodies in the early modern era.⁴ By *Gender, Culture, and Change* in 2000, the planning committee, prompted by the millennium, was interested in taking stock and thinking about the future of early modern women's studies.⁵ And many of the plenaries focused on the cultural production of women, both literary and material.

The fifth, *Structures and Subjectivities*, held in 2003, examined institutional and physical structures and the ways in which material culture has shaped women's places in society. This year also saw continued emphasis on online and digital resources in the Pedagogy sessions.⁶ The sixth symposium in 2006 made a statement by being the first *Attending to Early Modern Women—and Men*, a nod to the growing trend in gender and masculinity studies.⁷

Tellingly, not all participants were ready to cede a conference dedicated to women just yet, and in 2009, *Conflict, Concord*, the seventh in the series, reverted titularly back to women only (although individual presentations certainly included discussions of gender and masculinity). This shift back to women reflects an ongoing debate in the field about whether the focus should be maintained on women or whether studies of early modern women should be incorporated into the broader discussions of gender. Another facet of this most recent symposium was to continue to broaden the geographic focus beyond Europe and to attend to women globally. This endeavor began as early as 1997 with a plenary by Judith Zeitlin on Chinese literature and has continued with at least one plenary talk on women outside Europe since then. What was different in 2009 was a focus on global contacts, with plenary talks on women in the Americas and the Atlantic world, especially, but also in other zones of contact such as Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean.

In response to suggestions from past participants and observations about trends in the study of early modern women, the planning committee selected *Conflict, Concord* to emphasize the inherent tensions and polarities in both the lives of women in the past and in the present-day study of such women. The committee thought such a theme would illuminate women's involvement in contestation, debate, and violence on a personal, domestic, even interior level, as well as at the macro-level of politics, economies, and societies. But, of course, not all of women's past has been characterized by conflict. Sometimes the obverse was true. In fact, women have historically been associated with moments and enactments of concord between various parties, perhaps most characterized by women as symbolic peace offerings through marital alliances. While this construes women as passive makers of concord, the committee asked scholars to consider other more active moments.

The 2009 symposium resulted in plenary papers that drew on a number of key themes. The first theme was the role of women within zones of global contact, particularly on women in the Americas and the Atlantic world, but also in areas such as the Mediterranean and Southeast Asia. Such an emphasis reflects the historiographical focus of recent years, with an emphasis on contact between different cultures, nations, and religions. Expansion, conquest, colonization, missionization, trade, and travel have all become important strands in early modern studies. This scholarship has been heavily androcentric, since soldiers, sailors, mer-

chants, pirates, and priests were most often male. But as the symposium and this volume assert, women were much more involved and visible in European colonization, expansion, military, and missionary activities than scholars have recognized. The role of nuns in the conversion of Native Americans has been a fruitful area of scholarship, but this volume includes some of the novel ways that female religious and female religious figures symbolically participated in European conversion of others (Evangelisti and Andaya). Women were also symbolic figures of conquest in another colonial zone, the Mediterranean (Hurlburt). The "frontier" nature of this region and the contact between multiple cultures, religions, and shifting empires also provided opportunities for real women to rule and control land on the islands there. In addition to female missionaries and women imperialists, there were also women sailors in the early modern world. The ships that traversed the early modern Atlantic were not just full of men, although the majority of the women on them would have been of African descent and would not have chosen to voyage so far from home. Despite their migration being a forced one, these women played a more active role in the spirituality that sustained them. These papers show us that women were active participants in global contact in the early modern era.

Another theme that emerges in the plenary papers is the role of female authority in religion. Some papers highlight the role of the female religious authority figure *par excellence*, the Virgin Mary, and the cultural role the Virgin played in the military conquest of New Spain as well as missionary efforts in Indonesia. Others show us real women in the early modern period willing to argue theology and salvation with their male kin (Harline) or negotiate for better living conditions and privileges in a convent (Reardon). The women these authors present are articulate, confident, and knowledgeable about their religion (whether Catholic or Protestant), and in all cases presented here the women negotiate tensions, trying to come to some kind of concord whether with an individual or their own church. Intriguingly, the majority of plenary papers examining women and religion focus on Catholicism. This is reflective of recent trends in the historiography to move away from an emphasis on Protestant England and from an assumption of Protestant normativity. It is also due to a revived interest in women in convents and a desire to look at the religious other, which includes non-Christians but also early modern Catholics, who seem equally distant from Christian practice today.

The theme of knowledgeable, articulate, strong women is echoed in the secular sphere in a selection of other plenary papers. We see that women could be articulate crafters and writers of history and philosophy (Matchinske and Rabil) as well as writers of non-fiction. And we see that in Islamic cultures, early modern women had knowledge of the law and guarded the rights they enjoyed over their own bodies, reproduction, and the nursing of their infants (Shatzmiller). Here we see early modern

women wielding “masculine” disciplines in ways that have largely been obscured. These papers evoke trends in scholarship that illuminate how early modern women were more savvy and knowledgeable about the law, finance, medicine, and science than once was thought.

Attending to Early Modern Women symposia traditionally feature four plenary topics, with each plenary including three presenters. Nine of those plenary papers are reproduced here, as well as the keynote address. The first plenary, “Negotiations,” allowed for a focus on, in the words of the planning committee, “women as negotiators: in war and peace, in regional and territorial disputes, in colonial encounters, in domestic affairs, financial matters, and mercantile arrangements, in religious conflicts, and cultural debates.” Associated questions under consideration were, “How were women represented as negotiators in art, history, literature, and music? Was women’s exercise of power gendered? How did women negotiate the tensions between their individual agency and their legal subordination to king, father, or husband? How are the representations of powerful women inflected by class?” This plenary emerged within the context of debates and discussions about the agency of women of the early modern period. On the one hand, scholars now take as given that women who lived in early modern Europe (or really the early modern world) faced patriarchal obstacles and gender discrimination in a variety of realms—legal, economic, social, political, religious, and cultural among them. Nevertheless, scholars often choose to focus less on these obstacles and rather on how women manipulated, circumvented, or mitigated them. I would posit this tendency is partly due to our own desire to find women challenging their patriarchal societies, but I am also continually struck by the evidence that is easily found in early modern sources of women pushing back against patriarchal ideas and institutions. Early modern women had to be negotiators just to survive and thrive, and they used their negotiating skills in the service of their gender and other facets of their identity, such as class, ethnicity, and religion. The plenary papers explicate and illustrate some of the roles women played as negotiators in religious, political, familial, and economic realms.⁸

The “Negotiations” plenary featured a paper, not included here, by Juliana Barr.⁹ In “*La Dama Azul* (The Lady in Blue): Spanish Saint or Indian Demon of the Southwest?” Barr linked the experiences of women in early modern Europe to the figures of women in the colonial Americas. Her paper told the story of a young Franciscan nun, María de Jesús de Ágreda, who in Madrid in the 1620s began to experience trances and visions. During these trances she said she was transported to America on the wings of angels where she appeared to the Indians and urged them to convert to Christianity. Evidence confirming Ágreda’s bilocation came in the reports from missionaries in New Mexico who met Native Americans who told of seeing a “woman in blue.” Barr then explored the differing

interpretations given by European missionaries and Native Americans of this “woman in blue.” Europeans viewed the appearance of such a woman within a religious context and believed it confirmed the Christianization of the Americas. Native Americans, however, interpreted the woman in blue as a powerful icon of the Spanish conquest—a political or militaristic symbol rather than a spiritual or supernatural one. As Barr notes, this figure may have been a saint to the Europeans, but for natives she was a demon. In fact, natives adopted Christian symbols as a way to negotiate with or identify themselves as friends with the Spanish, rather than as converts. In this way, the woman in blue became an emblem of negotiation between cultures, peoples, states, and religions.

Craig Harline’s essay “Big Sister as Intermediary: How Maria Rolandus Tried to Win Back Her Wayward Brother” weaves for us a story of a young Dutch woman, Maria Rolandus, trying to bring her brother back to the family’s Protestant faith. Maria and her younger brother Jacob were the children of a Dutch Reformed preacher. When their father transfers to the newly conquered and Catholic territory of Brabant, Jacob learns about this alternative Christian faith, secretly converts, and flees the family home. Stepping in when her parents fail to win their son back, we see the important role played by Jacob’s sister in negotiating about faith. Harline argues that Maria’s negotiating style was argumentative, based on the assumption she was right, and played on her brother’s guilt for being disloyal to family and faith. In addition, despite her brother’s superior and formal education, Maria displayed some equally impressive learning when debating theology with him. She argued with her brother, even though, as Harline points out, she only had time to pen her letters late at night by candlelight when her work was done.

Perhaps because of the cloak of authority religion brought her, or perhaps because of her status as elder sister, Maria debated her brother as an equal. This is telling. Harline’s work adds to a recent interest in the history of siblings.¹⁰ While scholars of women have focused extensively on the familial roles of daughter, wife, and mother, there is still much work to be done on the important role of women as sisters and the influence they could wield over their brothers. The sibling relationship was most definitely one of both conflict and concord.

Colleen Reardon’s essay “Getting Past No or Getting to Yes: Nuns, Divas, and Negotiation Tactics in Early Modern Italy” examines another case of negotiation by women in early modern Europe. Reardon applies recent sociological work on negotiating tactics (such as *Getting to Yes*, co-written by members of the Harvard Negotiation Project) to the strategies and tactics of female negotiators in early modern Italy. As Reardon points out, in a patriarchal society female negotiators were at a disadvantage and so they had to resort to tactics that modern-day scholars refer to as “dirty tricks,” including threats, delays, and obfuscations. In particular, Reardon examines the interesting bargaining that went on between

young women, their families, and nuns over their entrance into convents. Reardon illuminates how girls with musical skills were armed with a valuable bargaining chip in the high stakes world of early modern Italian convent choirs. Prodigies could negotiate types of enclosure, required duties and tasks, and the level of dowries their families had to pay on entrance to the convent.

The three plenary speakers looked at three different forms of negotiation that involved women—political, personal, and economic—but in all three religion provides the larger context. Silvia Evangelisti's keynote address "Attending to Women and Religion in the Early Modern World" continued the theme of women and religion as sites of tension and negotiation. Evangelisti begins by surveying the wealth of convent studies produced by scholars in history, literature, and art history over the last decade or so. Research in this field has revealed not only the spiritual contributions of early modern nuns, but also their significance to the social, cultural, political, (and I would add economic) spheres of early modern Europe. Nuns educated the young and cared for the sick in their communities; they produced literature, art, music, and theater; and they wielded their spiritual and economic power in local and more regional political contests. Despite widespread enclosure, the permeability of convent walls meant that nuns had more opportunities to negotiate, instruct, and clash with their larger communities than we once recognized. Evangelisti next shows how "to enhance our understanding [of] the public and political meaning of convents, as well as the agency of nuns, we need to look at the research on the participation of religious women in the missionary enterprise, and their attempts to associate themselves with missionary activities in faraway lands" (147). Here she surveys female involvement in the Catholic missions to the Americas and women's agency in these "sites of confessional and cultural conflict" between Europeans and indigenous peoples (148). One of the ways women participated as missionaries was through their supernatural roles as mystics. Evangelisti turns to a case study of the Spanish mystic María de Jesús de Ágreda (the same woman focused on by Juliana Barr above). Evangelisti examines in particular the role of the Franciscan Fray Alonso de Benavides's 1630 report in explaining and creating Ágreda's contribution to conversion. She argues that the text proposed a gendered division of labor that implicitly recognized and legitimized the importance of female agency in the missionary field. It also posited a complementarity of male and female missionaries, with nuns supposedly converting natives through peaceful means, while friars resorted more to force.

The second plenary, "Economies," continues the tradition of having one plenary devoted to material matters at *Attending to Women* symposia. In the planning committee's words, "This plenary emphasizes the conflicts and resolutions that accompanied the gendering of early modern economic relations." They set these goals for participants: "consider

women as economic agents and as objects of commerce in cottages, in villages, in urban centers, across regions, borders, and the seas; consider women's roles in supporting or opposing national and international wars materially; and examine women's experiences in negotiations involving family money, finances, lands, and estates." Questions the committee posed included "How were gender and class implicated in economic change? What economic powers did religion offer women? Which professions were typically female? How did women's bodies figure in commerce? What conflicts centered on familial and household economies? What financial support did women offer in wartime? How did women function as agents in the patronage system? How were women involved as daughters, heiresses, litigants, wives, and widows in conflicts over family inheritance, family lands, and estates?"

The material history of women seems to be back in vogue, fueled not just by economic histories of women, but also by the work of literary critics, cultural historians, and art historians who have ably revealed the role of women as producers of material and cultural artifacts (and capital). Women, especially elite and prosperous ones, wielded political, economic, and cultural power through their ability to control property, bequeath property, and establish patrimonial lines. The irony here of course is that women spent much of their time, influence, and capital in the service of their husbands' families. This was a conflict all married women faced. But women also found ways to honor their matrilineal lines and their female kin. In this way they created new bonds beyond the patrilineal.¹¹

The role of women in their families as holders of property and power, whether cultural, political, or biological, is explored from various interdisciplinary perspectives by the "Economies" plenary papers. Megan Matchinske's paper "History's 'Silent Whispers': Representing the Past through Feeling and Form" examines Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of her husband Colonel Hutchinson. Matchinske highlights how Hutchinson crafted her narrative, noting that it is replete with such telling detail that "we are left not simply knowing what happened during the English Civil War so much as having a feel for its effects" (87). Matchinske argues that Hutchinson's narrative differed from "formal," traditional histories in that it employed emotion and anecdote to enliven and describe. Matchinske also notes the maneuvers Hutchinson had to make as both a deferential woman and wife, and as a competent and factual historian. Her essay then turns from Hutchinson's historical methodology to that of modern-day historians and how they "locate, position, and deploy evidence" (91). Matchinske draws distinctions between factual, sober, statistical history, on the one hand, and anecdotal, impressionistic, emotional history. Intriguingly, Matchinske's essay on historical methods reveals that historians and literary critics have grown closer in their methodological approaches to the sources than perhaps we realize. Interdisciplinary

dialogues at conferences such as *Attending to Early Modern Women* are in part responsible for this shift.

Holly Hurlburt's essay "Columbus's Sister: Imagining Female Agency and Women's Bodies in Early Modern Mediterranean and Atlantic Imperial Discourse" cleverly takes Virginia Woolf's notion of Judith Shakespeare and extends it to the sister of Christopher Columbus. She asks where the women were in the era of European expansion. Noting the burgeoning scholarship on the role of women in the making of Spanish America, Hurlburt turns the lens to another imperial ocean zone, the late medieval Mediterranean, and examines the place of women and gender within colonial encounters there. While imperialism and expansion have been gendered masculine, Hurlburt argues that Mediterranean empires "employed women's bodies as allegorical expressions of power and dominion" and that a small number of actual women "achieved unusual access to influence and political authority precisely because of the unstable nature of early modern frontier societies" (106). Christian Venice and the Muslim Ottoman Empire fought for control of the Mediterranean, which sea, one poet quipped, was the doge's bride, but the Sultan's mistress. But more than mere symbols, women also participated in and benefited from the economic opportunities available when men were at sea, due to migration throughout the region, and from the control of familial lands and territory such as Cyprus and the Canary Islands.

Maya Shatzmiller's essay "The Female Body in Islamic Law and Medicine: Obstetrics, Gynecology, and Pediatrics" extends the examination of women and economies under Islam. Shatzmiller elucidates the authority free Muslim women enjoyed over their bodies and reproductive functions under Muslim family law. While we usually think of women's property rights in terms of land and wealth, Shatzmiller broadens the definition to include women's rights over their own bodies and reproduction. Shatzmiller's reading of Muslim legal treaties shows how the act of sexual intercourse which brought the end to a young bride's virginity also ended "her father's guardianship and his control over her property and entitled [the new wife] to financial support and maintenance" from her husband (124). Women also enjoyed property rights in their bodies when it came to their right to decide whether or not their husbands could practice contraception in the form of *coitus interruptus*. In fact, some legal schools ruled that wives whose husbands practiced contraception should receive monetary compensation, presumably for forgoing their reproductive opportunities. This is certainly the obverse of scholarship on Western women in the early modern era, which has privileged women's right to birth control rather than pregnancy. Finally, Shatzmiller uncovers Muslim legal opinions on breastfeeding as "a service rendered by the female body" and worthy of monetary remuneration (128). Women's historians usually refer to women's reproductive and domestic work as unpaid, but

here again we see that women's experiences in the Christian West were neither normative nor universal.

The third plenary, "Faiths and Spiritualities," was intended to emphasize some of the growing work on non-Christian women in the early modern period as well as contacts between religions. The committee also stated its intention that "This plenary considers the extent to which gender was a factor in migration and proselytizing, and in the wars, persecution, and religious colonizing and conversion that marked the early modern period around the world." Questions the committee posed ranged from "How do gender and religion map onto voyages of trade, exploration, or imperialism? How were women, as individuals and as members of political or family networks, instrumental in transmitting, promoting, and supporting—or in thwarting—different religions during times of religious crises?" to "How were those accorded spiritual status (mystics, healers, heretics, witches, shamans, and others) gendered? What part did gender play in forms of devotional expressions found both within and outside religious institutional structures? How did such rituals and practices play out across world religions? How did these concerns engage early modern literary, musical, and visual cultures?"

Early modern studies now reaches out beyond Europe, and some of the most exciting work on women has embraced the framework of early modern contact and expansion. Scholars are showing that the colonial period was not only the era of enterprising men, but that women and female figures were integral as well—whether as nuns, missionaries, colonists, or travelers. Hispanicists have perhaps led the way with their forays into Latin American and Atlantic history, but those who study the Anglo Atlantic and other European nations and cultures are now catching up. For some time gender has been recognized as one of the primary ways Europeans made sense of other cultures and religions, but the introduction of actual women into the colonial and imperial storylines will introduce more complexity to scholarship.¹²

The plenary speakers for "Faiths and Spiritualities" introduced just such complexity. Two of those plenaries are not included in this volume, but will be summarized here. The first, Jon Sensbach's "Women's Spiritual Narratives from the Black Atlantic" reconsidered the middle passage of African slaves across the Atlantic to the European colonies in the Americas from an African woman's perspective.¹³ Sensbach suggested the slave ship was a communal and spiritual space for African women who sought out ways to comfort and sustain themselves and their children. Noting the difficulty of finding sources for early modern women, much less written sources by African women, Sensbach was in fact able to weave spiritual narratives of Black women in the Atlantic world from fragments gleaned from shipping records, slave auctions, and owners' records. He told stories of syncretic religion and culture, part African and

part Christian, exemplified by the African healer who credited her powers to "Doctor Jesus" telling her what to do.

The second plenary speaker, Penny Howell Jolly, examined the spiritual agency of "good" widows in "The Intervening Widow: Performing Spousal Salvation through Rogier van der Weyden's Braque Triptych."¹⁴ The young widow Catherine de Brabant commissioned the triptych after the death in 1452 of her husband Jean Braque, who she had married only two years earlier. The piece displayed Christ in the center with four saints, John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary (on the viewer's left) and John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalen (on the viewer's right). When closed the triptych presented the coats of arms of Braque the deceased and Brabant the commissioner. While others posit that the triptych served as a devotional aid for Catherine, Jolly argues that Catherine did not make use of this art form for her own salvation, rather she did so to achieve the release of her husband's soul from purgatory. Jolly reads the saints' images and the verses included on the triptych as illustrations of the contemporary Christian model of a "good death." Catherine also included images of charity and the (first extant) image of a new type of Christ, the *Salvator Mundi*—both being ways to shorten purgatory (in the latter case by praying to the image). All of Catherine's cultural and spiritual work is given more weight when Jolly posits through a reading of the Magdalene image that Braque may have died unshriven. Even more reason for a good widow to get to work and save her husband's soul.

Barbara Watson Andaya's essay also examines religious iconography and looks at the global reach of perhaps the best-traveled Western woman—the Virgin Mary. Her essay "Christianity, Religion, and Identity in a Muslim Environment: Mother Maria, Queen of Larantuka, Indonesia" examines the reach of Christian missionaries as far as Southeast Asia. Andaya argues for the necessity of recognizing that "the spread of Marian devotion always occurred in specific cultural contexts" (163). In the case of Larantuka, a small town on an eastern Indonesian island, worship of the Virgin Mary was a central facet of Catholic identity since the majority of inhabitants were Muslim and those who were Christian were primarily Protestant. Indigenous Catholics viewed the Virgin Mary as a protector against both hostile Muslims and Protestants. The Portuguese Dominicans had brought Catholicism to the Spice Islands of Indonesia in the sixteenth century, although this was challenged in the following century when the Protestant Dutch wrested control of the lucrative spice-growing region. Larantuka was the site of much intermarriage between Portuguese men and converted Indonesian women, and the descendants of these "Black Portuguese" probably account for the survival of Catholic Christianity there. Even though Catholic apostolic activity languished after the Dutch took over, when Dutch Jesuits returned to the island in the nineteenth century, they were surprised to find a thriving Catholic culture centered on the cult of the Virgin Mary, all accomplished without

priestly assistance. As Andaya points out, it was precisely the laity's control of the cult of the Virgin (through lay confraternities) that allowed it to thrive and survive. At least two images of Mary were worshipped in Larantuka, including a large statue of the *Mater Dolorosa* (or Mother of Sorrows), which the people still use in public religious processions today. While the cult of the Virgin marked Catholics out as distinct and different, Andaya also posits that some of the appeal of Marianism was due to similarities across religions (such as Muslim teachings on the female role model of Maryam and the similarity of the rosary to Muslim and animist prayer beads). It is easier to teach a new religion by focusing on similarities to an older tradition.

Teaching is the traditional topic of the symposium's fourth plenary, "Pedagogies." It is perhaps telling that the planning committee intended this plenary to explore: "the conflicts prompted by teaching about early modern women," without any mention of concord and teaching. Concord did return in questions posed by the committee (although conflict was still the emphasis), such as "Where are the points of conflict and concord in the classroom and in the scholarly world? How do we defend the teaching of early modern women's lives and works? Is there a feminist pedagogy for the teaching of early modern women? When we teach about early modern homosocial and homoerotic relationships, pornography, and broader issues of gender and sexuality, how do we understand and respond to the discomfort these subjects sometimes raise in our students? How do we negotiate institutional conflicts with skeptical students, departments, administrators, and publishers? How do we deal with strategies to devalue women's production, such as debates about female authorship? What do we do when an early modern female writer may not be, in fact, the true author?"

The speakers for the "Pedagogies" plenary presented a variety of approaches to these questions. Susan Dinan's "The Gender Differential in Honors Programs and Colleges" provides an overview of the debates on gender differences in academic performance and a primer on best practices to assist students of both genders in finding academic success. Dinan first presents a succinct review of some of the research on gender and education. Women outnumber men as matriculating college students, as graduates with BAs, and as honors college enrollees. Those of us who study women historically know how unique and special these numbers are, but no sooner did women take an edge (in numbers at least) than studies came out bemoaning a "crisis" for males in both K-12 and higher education, and both attention and research has refocused on boys. Dinan also points out that most research on gender differences has been done on K-12 students, but very little on college students. The few studies out there have found that despite higher grades and better performance, college women have lower self-confidence and rank their intelligence and abilities lower than their male classmates. Women also are more likely