# Chapter 2
# Time and space
**Katharine Hodgkin**

Autobiography, as retrospective first-person narrative, occupies a distinctive place in the exploration of memory. Recent scholarship has opened up the field of early modern life-writing in rich and exciting ways, locating autobiography and memoir in relation to a range of other texts and genres, including family memory books, almanacs and account books, diaries and letters, spiritual meditations and recipe books (Dragstra, Ottway, and Wilcox 2000; Bedford, Davis, and Kelly 2007; Smyth 2010). Many of these genres are memory texts of one sort or another. Diaries and letters recall thoughts and events; family books perpetuate memories collectively within the family group across generations, animating a sense of contact with ancestors and descendants. But it is in autobiography that writers engage actively with their own memories across an extended period of time. The memories recorded are selective and subject to forgetfulness; they are constrained by generic conventions, propriety, the narrative's purpose and its intended audience, among other things. But if, as Paul Ricoeur (2004: 84) suggests, 'it is through the narrative function that memory is incorporated into the formation of identity', then in retrospective narrative especially, we see the work of memory in action.

Ricoeur's assertion that the key term uniting memory and identity is narrative – the sequential story of a life – may be juxtaposed with Georges Gusdorf's (1980: 30) point, from a very different moment in the history of autobiography and the self: 'The man who takes the trouble to tell of himself knows that the present differs from the past and that it will not be repeated in the future.' Gusdorf's paradigmatic autobiographical self – masculine, western, individualist – is very much at odds with the variety of autobiographical voices uncovered in recent years, but it is worth recalling for his emphasis on time as change, and how this is embedded in the act of telling. Research on self-writing has, as the term suggests, focused on the concept of the self (and often put it into question). But self-writing emerges in relation not only to a changing sense of self but to a changing sense of the past; time itself is historical, lived in and understood differently at different moments, and the early modern is a period of developing awareness of historical difference (Woolf 2003; Baggerman, Dekker, and Mascuch 2011). Early modern memory narratives inhabit different temporalities to ours – cyclical and providential as well as linear and chronological; internal as well as external – and structure the remembered life in unfamiliar ways. Nonetheless, the remembered self of retrospective

narrative is located in time, and to some degree understood in relation to temporal and historical change.

Memory is anchored not only in time, but space; and space, like time, is imagined and experienced historically and socially. Michel Foucault, in a characteristically suggestive aside, describes medieval space as the space of 'emplacement', stable, hierarchically organized and divided into opposing pairs (sacred/profane, protected/open, urban/rural), and identifies the seventeenth century as a moment of transformation in which (following Galileo) space becomes unbounded and 'infinitely open': 'a thing's place was no longer anything but a point in its movement, just as the stability of a thing was only its movement indefinitely slowed down' (1984: 1–2). This contrast is perhaps less convincing as a historical transition than as a way of imagining different inhabitations of space. Early modern autobiographies offer many variations on these themes: places of security or enclosure, sacred places, places of mobility. The relation between the site of memory as at once an actual and an imagined place is shifting and unstable, and complicated in early modern narratives by the symbolic meanings attributed to places of spiritual significance. But the attribution of specific qualities of memorability to defined locations also recalls the most well-known Renaissance configuration of memory, the memory palace or theatre, whose symbolic locations underline the importance of spatial remembering. Early modern culture, indeed, could be seen as bracketed between two modes of memory that are significant cruxes for memory studies today: the Renaissance *ars memoriae*, and the concept of nostalgia, emerging at the end of the seventeenth century. Both these modes construct memory in relation to spatiality as well as temporality, focusing remembrance on an inner space that is materially absent; and for both also memory is sustained by affect, with the dramatic or emotional charge of images and places constituting their memorability.

**Memory texts**

The last few decades have revealed a great range and quantity of retrospective narrative autobiography in early modern Europe, and have generated a correspondingly great volume of critical commentary. A genre once studied through a small canon of famous and exceptional exemplars, almost all male, is now seen as offering access to the mental worlds of marginal people who left few other historical traces. Narratives written by prominent public figures are joined by those written by the obscure and unknown; not only aristocrats and gentry, but merchants and artisans, preachers and travellers, women and men, left accounts of their lives (Graham, Hinds, and Hobby 1989; Amelang 1998). Those caught up in political and religious conflict recorded their experiences, and people from all confessional groups wrote spiritual

autobiographies, focusing on inward experience and the relationship with God. In England, the upheavals of the mid-seventeenth-century revolutionary period generated a particularly substantial outpouring of religious narrative, sustained by small sectarian churches, much of which found its way into print; while among Catholics spiritual autobiographies were required by confessors as devotional exercise. This proliferation of material – print and manuscript, spiritual and secular, appearing unevenly and intermittently across Europe – is impossible to capture in a brief discussion. In this exploration of retrospective narratives as memory texts I focus on spiritual autobiography, especially the wealth of English puritan and sectarian writings of the seventeenth century, though I include comparative material from other times and places and more secular perspectives. But important differences within the genre are inevitably flattened out, along with regional and national variations, and changes over the two centuries or so covered. These texts are written for diverse audiences and purposes, in different times and places, and much more could be said about their differences than can be addressed here.

Spiritual narrative poses particular challenges to memory. Characteristically inward-looking, it is a record that depends on the memory of the writer; the remembered movements of the soul cannot be verified with reference to external events. Moreover narratives published under the auspices of a church or written at the behest of spiritual authorities are often required to conform to a rigorously defined framework of spiritual growth, and subject to editing and censorship, widening the gap between remembering subject and recorded text. Indeed spiritual autobiographies have often been regarded as too constrained by the imperatives of the form to offer any insight into the remembering self behind the text; the presumed authority of God compromises any other claim to authorship (Mascuch 1997). But while attention to the historicity of early modern selfhood is a necessary corrective to the universalizing assumptions of writers such as Gusdorf, we should also be attentive to the many different modes of self. Definitions of genre and selfhood that exclude groups who have been traditionally refused autonomy and self-authorship are a problematic starting point for a debate on the nature of the self inscribed in these texts. The fundamental precondition for such writing is the remembering self: without a subject presumed to remember, there can be no autobiography.

Memory is perhaps especially significant in spiritual autobiography, too, because it is closely tied to devotional and spiritual practice. The idea of memory as a spiritual duty is repeatedly invoked in early modern culture. Forgetfulness is construed as not merely personal weakness but moral failing, connoting neglect and ingratitude; disobedience, to God, a parent, or anyone in between, is characterised as forgetting one's duty. Remembrance is placed at the

heart of the story of the spiritual self – 'a manual, a bosom book' as John Donne describes it (1967: 188) – from St Augustine onwards. The seventeenth-century autobiographer Elizabeth Isham, modelling her 'book of remembrance' on Augustine's *Confessions*, marvels at memory as an 'everlasting library', and addresses God directly to wish 'that I may neither ungratefully remember thy benefits nor ungraciously forget thy severe judgements' (Isham c1639: ff. 32r, 2v). Memory was central not only to educational practice in general, with schools teaching through rote learning and repetition, but specifically to spiritual and devotional training. Memorizing and repeating biblical passages was part of the routine of the godly Protestant household, as was training children to remember sermons – an activity recalled in the autobiographies of a number of writers – and the catechism; Catholic children learned the prayers and practices associated with the church rites and sacraments. Learning by heart was deployed to embed religious principles and knowledge from an early age.

Memory is thus central in autobiographical narrative, both as purpose and as problem. As writers note, it is often fallible, needing to be sustained by divine aid, or by written materials. It is structured by loss, whether it appears as pleasure, connecting the writer to a happier past, or as a reminder of still painful sorrows. Additionally, memory is engaged with and located in time and place. Writers place themselves within wider temporalities – historical, divine and personal; and they organize their narratives around the memories recorded and recalled. They orient their lives through remembered journeys, placing themselves and their stories in relational space; and they identify key memories by anchoring them in place. The discussion that follows explores these various deployments of time, space and memory.

**Providential time and the numbering of days**

Personal memory is at the heart of self-narrative; but personal memory is embedded in the longer structures of historical time, and individual lives intersect with extended pasts and futures. 'It is to memory that the sense of orientation in the passage of time is linked', writes Ricoeur, '… from the past to the future… following the arrow of the time of change, but also from the future toward the past … across the living present' (2004: 97). But memory is not only an arrow; alongside this forward drive sit other temporalities. The memories recorded by early autobiographers engage with different time frames: providential, historical, episodic, calendrical, cyclical. The sense that lives are situated in the great temporality of God's providential time, and the working out of divine intention, is characteristic of spiritual autobiography, but writers may also situate themselves in relation to historical events, or in the arrow of family time (as Natalie Zemon Davis [1977] describes it), or in its repetitive cycles;

they may structure their lives around the ages and phases of life, or around turning points and moments of transformation. Memories are situated in juxtaposed and overlapping temporalities, inner and outer.

The temporal structure of spiritual narrative is often radically unfamiliar. Its drama is largely internal: what is worth remembering is the story of the relation to God, not the 'outward Calling' (Thurgood [c1636] 2005). Conversion, often assumed to be the transforming moment of spiritual narrative, is less clear in practice than we might expect. The conversion narrative in its pure form, oriented around the transformation of self from unregenerate to reborn, is complicated by the many accounts which describe younger selves as living in a state of anxious uncertainty rather than sin, and conversion itself as a process rather than a moment, drawn out sometimes over many years and characterized by movements backwards as well as forwards, and continuing self-interrogation. Dates are few – writers are largely indifferent to chronology – and information about everyday life scanty; a few weeks of spiritual struggle may occupy a quarter of the narrative, while years of marriage and childrearing are passed over in a few lines. The temporal structure is governed not by chronology but by providential and mystical time, in which past, present and future are present simultaneously in the frame of divine intention.

Providential time also reinforces the process of retrospective interpretation characteristic of autobiography: the backward gaze takes in the life as a whole and frames its meaning, reading the future in the past. It is a time of hindsight, in which the meaning of life's accidents, always already present, becomes clear only in retrospect. The task of spiritual awakening is to uncover that unknown meaning; conversion is a revelation of what has always been there as much as a radical transformation. So the Quaker Dorothea Gotherson recalls her first encounter with a Quaker preacher as an event that transforms her understanding of her own past: 'the Lord's time was then to direct me by the mouth of his Prophets', and the words of the preachers 'did show me all that ever I had done' (1661: 91–2). Her life is governed by the Lord's time, and he chooses the moment in which its true meaning becomes clear. This structure – the time of the Freudian *nachträglichkeit*, in effect – is reiterated in the instances of providence and foreshadowing that are so characteristic of spiritual autobiography, as well as in the mystical dreams recorded by many (Hodgkin 2008). However important the moment of grace, it has always been anticipated by divine foreknowledge; spiritual autobiography remembers the past in the light of 'an eternity which is always in the present', as Augustine called it (1992: 230).

This structure also governs the rare memories of childhood recounted in spiritual narratives: its primary significance is in its capacity to prefigure divine intent, both through providential escapes from disaster, and through character. Writers remember themselves as

serious children, worrying about sin and salvation, rather than going out to play. John Crook describes his anxiety at seeing other children 'merry and cheerful, and not at all as I was' (1706: 6); Richard Norwood frets over whether his recollections of early childhood piety are true 'fruits of regeneration' ([c1639] 1945: 8). Teresa of Avila recalls planning with her brother to become martyrs or hermits, and 'to go to the country of the Moors … that we might be there beheaded' ('our greatest difficulty seemed to be our father and mother', she adds [1561–5] 1962: 4). Continuity across time is guaranteed not only by the act of memory that holds together past and present selves, but by the divine reassurance that finds the signs of the adult to come in the child.

Providential time faces not only backward but forward, towards the millennium, locating the soul in the frame of eternity. Thus when Lucy Hutchinson notes the date and time of her birth (four in the morning on 29 January 1620) it is in order to locate this precise moment both in an extended chronology of British history (from ancient Britons and Romans through Saxons and Normans to the present), and also at a high point of Christianity, 'not in the midnight of popery … but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progress and hastening towards a meridian glory' ([c1671] 2000: 7). Norwood similarly counts his birth in 1590 as a mark of God's favour, having been 'born in those days of the glorious sunshine of the Gospel in the reign of that blessed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, the second year after the great overthrow of the Spanish Armada … in the most prosperous and happy age that ever England enjoyed' ([1639] 1945: 4). The repeated image of the sun evokes both cosmic and diurnal cycles, tying the time of memory to the long sweep of Christian history and the time of divine intention: individual lives and national history are set against a backdrop of immutable eternity, and also implicitly against the drive towards apocalypse. Both calendar time and the time of an individual life represent moments in a cosmological time which is always simultaneously past, present and future – 'A state but of one Day', as Donne described it in 1626, '… yesterday doth not usher it in, nor to morrow shall not drive it out' (1967: 271).

As Bedford and Kelly suggest, 'time … functions as a God-organized enabler of the process of individual sin, repentance and salvation' (2007: 42). Mystical temporalities govern the placing and shaping of the course of life, and the time of God's great plan lends significance to trivial details. The counting of numbered days draws attention to the cosmological frame, and to the shortness of human moments measured against eternity. Calendrical time in individual life memories is marked chiefly through significant dates; birth dates in particular are read for providential and auspicious meanings. Thomas Platter's birth 'on the Shrove-Tuesday of the year 1499, just as they were coming together for mass' led his family to believe

that he would become a priest ([c1573] 1839: 1). Thomas Shepard was born 'In the year of Christ 1604 upon the fifth day of November, called the powder treason day, and that very day wherein the Parliament should have been blown up by Popish priests' (1972: 37). Disconcertingly he mistakes the year; November 5 is evidently the date of real (providential) significance, rather than the specific year.

Astrology adds a further cosmic frame, as well as another model of time in which the future is to some extent predetermined. The British Library copy of Thomas Tryon's 1705 *Memoirs* includes a (damaged) copy of his astrological chart as frontispiece; while for the Calvinist pewterer Augustin Guntzer, the details of his birth define his humoral complexion (and thus future character) in relation to star sign and weather:

> I was brought into the world in the year 1596, on Tuesday the 4th of May, according to the old calendar, between one and two o'clock in the morning … the moon was in the Ram … I was melancholic by nature, the earth was cold and dry. (2010: 55)

The 'old calendar' is the Julian calendar, a reminder that calendar time itself was subject to change. It was also a subject of religious contestation. Quakers refused to use the pagan names of days of the weeks and months; other writers refer in passing to days and dates as 'Monday (so called)' (Rogers 1653: 421), or as 6 September 1634, 'according to our common computation' (Tryon 1705: 7). Placing the self in time thus has a religio-political dimension even in its minor form, in the choice of terminology and of significant dates. November 5 is a birth date of another kind for Rose Thurgood, whose spiritual rebirth is magnified by association with the date of Protestant triumph: lying sick in bed on 'the day before the Gunpowder treason day' she felt 'a sweet Flash coming over my heart' and is told, 'Thy name is written in the book of Life: Thou hast … a new name' (2005: 14). And underlying the attention to days and dates is the knowledge that they are countable and limited by God. 'Oh reader', wrote the Augsburg merchant Matheus Miller, 'think of me that I must die and that my days are numbered. And that I must live those days as the Lord did, must die as the Lord did' (Safley 2000: 15). The days of human life repeat the days of Christ; and memory of the past presses against the limits of the future.

**[Figure 1: The Seven Ages of Man, from Johannes Commenius's *Visible World*, London 1659.]**

**Memory in time: from youth to age**

Providential and mystical time are powerful structuring models for memory, but other organizing temporalities also appear. The idea of life as a sequence of determinate stages, the ages of man, is widespread. Thus the sixteenth-century musician Thomas Whythorne locates himself in a structure of defined temporal change ('as I have been changed from time to time, by time, so altered mine affections and delights', [c. 1576] 1962: 1). His description of his narrative – 'the child's life, together with a young man's life, and entering into the old man's life' – underlines the generic character of his life story: temperament, horoscope and age determine his character, as he considers the 'ages of mankind, what humours have most dominion in every age' (so 'the blood reigneth chiefly in the juventute … from the twenty-fifth until forty years of age', ibid.: 66). Understanding himself in time, he is subject to preordained and determinate changes shared with a horizontal group of those of his age.

**[Figure 2: Thomas Whythorne, title page of MS, *A book of songs and sonetts, with long discoorses sett with them* … c. 1576]**

Other narratives too suggest the influence of this model. John Dunton, writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, suggests that his *Life and Errors* (as he calls it) will be 'digested into Seven Stages', though in fact his narrative offers only four (birth to fifteen; seven years apprenticeship; from freedom to marriage; and the years of his marriage), and those are eccentrically juxtaposed with his 'Idea of a New Life', which describes everything he would do differently if he were to live those years over again (1705: title page). The Jewish autobiographer Gluckel of Hameln in the late seventeenth century divides her life into seven books, one for every decade of the scriptural life span (though the narrative is not divided into decades). Others begin with a similar structure and divert from it, or reduce the number of stages. Guntzer outlines his life in three phases: 'my bitter youth and apprentice years… my travels and wandering over water and land … my marriage and housekeeping, my happiness and unhappiness up to my final end' (2010: 27).

The limitations of the fixed chronological temporality implicit in the idea of the ages of man are apparent in the narrative structure, which generally gives variable attention to different life phases, rather than aiming for a balance. Youth, between about fifteen and thirty, is a particular focus for memory. The often vividly recollected conflicts and choices of these years – struggles over apprenticeships and education, marriage, work or religion, leaving home and travelling, encounters with faith and doubt – highlight their centrality as a moment when

choices are made and pathways laid down for the future. Attention to subsequent decades is often comparatively cursory. Miller, for example, gives a chronological account of his early life which more or less stops at his marriage, followed by a three-sectioned house book recording family matters, public offices and social connections. John Dane's brief account of his life takes him through childhood, youth, and migration to New England in ten pages or so, with a few paragraphs covering the remaining thirty years.

For women the story of youth is often concerned with courtship and marriage, rather than apprenticeship and travel. Narratives by elite women in particular often feature versions of the marriage plot: romantic encounters, heightened emotions, difficult choices, parental reservations, and the eventual triumph of love. But marriage is seldom the end of the story. For some the love story is the background to a married life conditioned by war, politics and childbearing. Spiritual autobiographies, meanwhile, may vary this plot by describing struggles to stay single or to become a nun, against the wishes of parents who are set on advantageous marriages, though both men and women frequently fail to mention when they marry or have children at all.

Memories of youth in spiritual accounts, indeed, often focus on sorrow and loss, or sin. 'Dancing, Singing, telling idle stories' (Hayes 1723: 14), 'vain company … wearing long Hair … spending my Money in vain' (Crook 1706: 9–10), reading romances, playing cards, and temptations to sexual misbehaviour (generally heavily coded, and almost always invisible in the writings of women) belong to the phase of life before spiritual awakening. When writers regret their youth, it is more usually as a period of wasted or misspent time and foolish decisions than as a time of lost happiness. Time as the devouring enemy of youth and the body, so prominent a theme in the poetry of the age, is almost absent from autobiographical writing. Few of these narratives dwell on a sense of loss, or display nostalgia for the past more generally. The upward trajectory of spiritual autobiography, leading from spiritual darkness into the light of divine grace, is at odds with a nostalgic perspective at least on a personal level, though the condition of the world may be lamented.

In contrast to the prominence of youth, it is unusual to find writers reflecting on their own ageing process, or defining their lives in relation to the other ages of man. Whythorne identifies the moment when he 'began in my diet and government of the order of my body to do as the youngest sort of old men do' (1962: 117), but does not say what factors led him to do this. Norwood on his forty-ninth birthday reflected on the effects of age on memory: 'some things began to grow out of memory, which I thought I should scarce ever have forgotten … considering that as age came on, forgetfulness would increase upon me', he decided to write

them down ([1639) 1945: 3). Thomas Platter also identifies memory as a weakening faculty, recollecting how he used to tell stories of his wandering youth to his teacher, 'which I could much better remember then than now' (1839: 47). But descriptions of bodily ageing are rare; the passage of time is marked, if at all, by inward rather than outward change. Time as the devouring enemy of youth and the body, so prominent a theme in the poetry of the age, is almost absent from autobiographical writing.

**Family memory: time past and future**

Past and future are both invoked in the idea of lineage, which links ancestors and descendants through the hinge of the present moment. Many autobiographical accounts situate themselves in relation to family history, sometimes reaching back many centuries; Hutchinson, embedding her own life story in English Protestant history, traces her paternal descent to the Normans and her maternal to the Anglo-Saxons. The record of lineage was a basic component of gentry identity, often formally remembered in the written account in a more or less explicit claim to status, especially where it seemed to be in question. Hutchinson's insistence on her husband's ancient and honourable family counterbalances his death and the loss of his estate following the Restoration; Huguenot exiles wrote memoirs intended to establish lineage, replacing lost family documentation and 're-establishing social identity for the writer and the writer's family' (Hodgkin 2013; Chappell Lougee 2002: 96). Less elevated writers too locate themselves in genealogy. Thomas Platter, as if to offset the poverty and suffering of his early years, emphasizes the importance and 'greatness' of both paternal and maternal families, and the Welsh prophet Arise Evans gives his genealogy in the Welsh memorial tradition, to ten generations: '*Arise* the Son of *Evan* the Son of *Arise* the Son of *Owen* the Son of *Arise* the Son of *Evan* the Son of *David* the Son of *Arise* the Sonne of *Griffith* the Son of the *Red Lion* the Son of the *Ren*' (1653: 1).

For others, however, the lineage narrative might be neither available nor desirable. The proclamation of a poor and simple birth was often a rhetorical means to establish God's providence in raising up the humble (Bunyan describes his family as 'low and inconsiderable' and his father's rank 'the meanest and most despised', [1666] 1998: 6), or to demonstrate the writer's initiative and energy in moving beyond this birth (Thomas Tryon was the son of 'a Tiler and Plasterer, an honest sober Man of good Reputation', whose efforts brought him prosperity, 1705: 7). But in most spiritual autobiographies descent is stripped back to a minimum or omitted. The only significant information relates to the level of piety in the family; what counts is what is inherited from God. As Gotherson declares, 'When I came first from my

mother's womb, I was as all are in that state, an heir of heaven' (1661: 82); the fleshly womb is secondary to the divine. The soul exists in its own moment of time, without precursor.

Family memory also reaches towards the future; family and personal recollections are frequently directed towards children, as the bearers of their parents' memories and of their more distant lineage. 'My dear children,' writes Gluckel of Hameln, 'I write … lest today or tomorrow your children or grandchildren may not know about their family … that they should know from whom they are descended' (Gluckel 1962: 37). Ann Fanshawe's narrative is directed to her one surviving son (and not to his two sisters), as the heir of his father's lineage, to acquaint him with 'the most remarkable actions and accidents of your family' ([c1676] 1979: 102). And if lineage memories acquaint children with their useful allies and sponsors, spiritual autobiographers transmit memories of spiritual experience not only to their descendants but to the future community of the faithful. 'Now my Children,' writes Elizabeth Stirredge, at the end of her long narrative, 'the End and Aim of my leaving this to you, and all upon Record, is, that future Ages may know … the great God of Heaven and Earth' (1711: 161). And her children, as believers, must repeat her own experiences: 'keep faithful to the Lord, and his blessed Truth, that you have been trained up in, and your Eyes shall see for your selves, as mine eyes hath for my self' (1711: 165). This is an inheritance for the future in which blood links take second place. Bunyan, whose four children are mentioned in his narrative as objects of tender concern ('the parting with my wife and poor children, hath often been to me in this place, as the pulling of flesh from the bones', he writes of his imprisonment) nevertheless addresses his memoirs to his children in the spirit, who will carry forward his message; when those he had converted fell back, he writes, 'their loss hath been more to me, than if one of my own children, begotten of my own body, had been going to its grave' ([1666] 1998: 89, 80).

Repetition, then, is part of an engagement with the future: children (spiritual and fleshly) reaffirm the memories of their parents and ancestors by repeating them. Family history ties children to the lineage, enjoining them to repeat the virtues of their ancestors, maintain traditions and honour the past. This sense of heritage and continuity, in both spiritual and secular contexts, provides an alternative temporal structure to the millennial time that hurtles towards the final apocalypse: a cyclical and repetitive time follows established patterns of experience and affirms the enduring truth of repeated variations on a theme.

Such cyclical and repetitive temporalities, it is worth noting, have often been linked with femininity, tied to the rhythms of the female body. But the 'monumental time' identified by Kristeva in relation to femininity has a wider purchase in the context of spiritual temporalities; Ricoeur's concept of cosmic time evokes something similar (Kristeva 1986; Ricoeur 2004). If

women are often the guardians and transmitters of family memories, their relation to temporality is nonetheless complex and variable. In spiritual narrative, in so far as the body is represented at all, the gendered body of sexuality and childbearing is often replaced by the suffering body that imitates Christ: the story of the body is told through imprisonment, whippings, fasting and sickness, rather than through gender-specific temporalities, as both women and men position themselves variously in relation to different conceptions of time.

**Remembering place: mobility and settlement**

Geographical spaces, Doreen Massey suggests, should be conceptualized 'as temporal as well as spatial'; place is intrinsically historical, an 'envelope of space-time' (1995: 186, 188). Place in memory is similarly both temporal and spatial, and much recent work has focused on the ways that early modern collective memory is embedded in place; Alexandra Walsham describes post-Reformation Britain as a society 'in which historical consciousness was intimately connected with topography … space rather than time often provided the most significant fillip to remembering' (2011: 7; see also Wood 2013; Stock 2015). But if the deep historical memory of communities was held collectively in a fixed location, individuals, with the possibility of geographical mobility, had a different relation to the memory of place. Place in personal memory narrative is remembered and represented in complex ways. The meaning of place is inscribed temporally; the particular house, town, hill, river, may have been long left behind, but the memory of the place summons up the past. The symbolic resonances of places in the memory identify turning points and powerful emotions, lost homes and the liberation of travel. Spiritual and affective experiences are mapped onto the physical and spatial world, working differently for men and women, for spiritual and secular travellers, for those who choose to travel and those who are forced; the memory of place in personal narrative is legible in the dynamic of imagined relations between movement and stillness, home and abroad, security and danger.

Early modern attitudes to mobility were deeply ambivalent. The expectation that everyone should have a fixed place of origin and residence was embedded in frameworks for employment and poor relief as well as in cultural unease over vagrancy and displacement; gadding and wandering were potentially transgressive activities. But the principle that people should stay put was under pressure. Geographical as well as social mobility seemed to be continually on the rise. Young people left their homes as apprentices or servants; journeymen travelled to develop their skills; increasing numbers travelled for pleasure or curiosity. Explorations and colonial settlements brought young men into military and naval expeditions,

and both men and women travelled willingly or unwillingly to the New World, as missionaries, settlers, traders, bonded servants. War and persecution displaced many: Catholics or Protestants fleeing hostile authorities, peasants and townspeople fleeing the line of danger, left their place of birth, often never to return. In this sense early modern spatiality was perhaps experienced as increasingly unbounded, even if authorities continued to display a strong preference for emplacement. The link between place of origin and identity remained strong, but the place of origin for many was to become a place of memory rather than settlement.

**[Figure 3: Edmund Barlow leaving his mother's house in the wheatfield. Journal of Edward Barlow, 1659-1703.]**

Departure from home thus appears repeatedly in autobiographical narratives, as young men leave their families and go travelling. Their journeys may be haphazard, driven by poverty, chance encounters, or employment, or they may be directed and purposeful; often there are elements of both, at least with hindsight. But leaving is a memorable act, recorded with a sense of momentous detail. Edward Barlow, son of a poor labouring family in the north of England, illustrated his departure with a picture of himself as he leaves; his mother beckons to him at one edge of the picture as he heads out of the image on the other. The young John Dane, having been 'basted' by his father for attending a dance, rises early in the morning, taking 'two shirts on my back and the best suit I had', and a bible, 'and went to my father's chamber door and said, Goodbye father, Goodbye mother. Why, whither are you going? To seek my fortune, I answered' ([c1670] 1854: 150). This abrupt departure eventually becomes a determination to leave for New England, validated by the familiar technique of opening the bible to find guidance (here 2 Cor. 6: 17, 'Come out from among them'). Providence governs place as well as time.

To travel is to enter into danger, leaving the predictable and known for a world of chance and risk; journeys are commonly remembered as encounters with hazard. Shipwrecks, robbers, hunger, illness, loneliness, are juxtaposed with friendship, sustenance and the offer of help. Platter recalls the journeys of his early youth as a repetitive cycle of suffering, in which he was bullied, made to steal, and always hungry; the education he seeks is always somewhere else, and the kindness he occasionally encounters only highlights the general lack of care. Contentment comes only with settlement, and late in life his success is ratified by his enumeration of the properties he owns – a secure identification with place that affirms the distance in time and space from his unhappy wandering youth and recaptures the stability of

his village childhood, with a family name derived from ‘a broad plat … on a very high mountain’ nearby ([c.1573] 1839: 1).

As the colonizing impetus of the period suggests, travel often aims at mastery, both as the journeyman’s goal – to become a master of his craft – and as the effort to master strange worlds. The traveller must take possession of the spaces traversed, negotiating the dangers, and naming and disciplining new peoples and places. This urge takes different forms. Journeymen like Guntzler, who includes itineraries of his journeys over years and many countries, with lists of all the places he went to and the distances between them; settlers like Dane, recording his encounters with Indians and the places he lived in and farmed; or colonial administrators like Norwood, who ends his life as the surveyor of Bermuda, mapping a new world and identified with the colonial project, all assert some kind of ownership and knowledge of the unknown. Travels in strange places are remembered as hazards successfully overcome.

**[Figure 4: Mary Rowlandson’s Narrative, cover image, Boston 1773 (original publication 1682)]**

But loss as well as peril accompanied such displacements. In her late seventeenth-century captivity narrative Mary Rowlandson describes herself carried away into the unknown depths of North America in a structure that does away with the distinction between time and space altogether: her account is divided into a series of ‘Removes’ as her captors journeyed on, each section a reluctant displacement which also measures the passage of time. Through the frame of involuntarily changing place, she remembers the events and emotions that accompanied each new location; and the nomadic life she is forced into by her captors also reinforces the colonizer’s division between settled civility, and unsettled savagery, named repeatedly as ‘wilderness’. Constant removal dislocates the order of life, both temporally and spatially. Her six-year-old daughter, wounded during the raid, dies in the course of the third remove; Rowlandson records the exact date of death but cannot identify the burial place, writing, ‘I left that child in the wilderness, and must commit it, and myself also in this wilderness condition, to Him who is above all’ (Rowlandson [1682]: 1977: 6; and see Chedgzoy 2007: 173–86). The lost wilderness grave stands in for her many other losses.

**[Figure 5: Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen, Portrait of Lady Ann Fanshawe (1625-1680)]**

Ann Fanshawe, whose memoirs recall repeated displacement and separation as she and her husband travel with the exiled Stuart court, also leaves her dead children scattered across the space of travel. She enumerates with careful attention the burial places of the nine children

who died during the years of exile: ‘the parish church of Tankersley in Yorkshire’, ‘the chapel of the French Hospital at Madrid’, ‘the parish of Fotts Cray in Kent’, ‘in the Esperance in Lisbon in Portugal’, and so on ([1676] 1979: 106–7; Hodgkin 2013). Fanshawe’s wandering life has dispersed these remains, and again her careful recollection of the bodies of her children, with their repeated names (two Anns, three Elizabeths, two Henrys, three Richards), represents a recurrent scene of loss, of both homes and children.

Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* regards the pain attached to the loss of home with some disdain. ‘Banishment is no grievance at all … ‘Tis a childish humour to hone after home’, he declares (1927: 201, II.iii.iv). But the experience of exile for the displaced is often one of yearning. The diasporic communities of early modern Europe also took with them remembered places, to be transmitted to the next generation. In reconstituting memory cultures for the new environment, they recollected places and property at the same time as remembering fears and violence. Huguenot memorialists, writes Chappell Lougee, felt themselves exiled from a local rather than a national place; they ‘might evoke Poitou or Rouen or Saintonge, but not France’ (2002: 93). And even if home was not remembered as a specific place, displacement generated a wish for settlement, and a yearning for imagined homes (Wilcox 2006).

For many travellers even temporary departures bring a heightened awareness of nationality and difference, sharpening the memory of – and desire for – home. Barlow’s youthful longing to travel, once he actually gets to sea, is transmuted into a bitter sense of the hardships suffered by seamen, and a longing to escape from bad food, bad masters and dangerous seas; England becomes ‘more dear than all the other lands I had ever been in in all my travels’ ([c1703] 1934: 244). Love of country is associated with a sense of the danger of foreign parts, especially (for many English) the spiritual dangers of Catholicism. Richard Carpenter, a youthful convert to Catholicism, travelled around the Continent with increasingly disillusionment; returning, ‘I came out of the noise, and tumults of other Countries, into England, as into a silent harbour, and haven of rest ... I kneeled down, and kissed the very sands, and gravel on the shore’ (1642: 173). Norwood is not only drawn to Catholicism during his European travels, but also suffers from ‘that nightly disease which we call the mare’, along with ‘nocturnal pollution … horrible dreams and visions’. In an increasingly allegorized journey, he is literally led astray: ‘every step I went, as it was further from my native country so it led me and alienated my heart farther from God, from reason, and from a desire to return’. Eventually ‘the Lord … set limits to my wanderings’, bringing him away from ‘the places of confusion and destruction’, and his return home frees him from both nightly afflictions and

heretical temptations ([1639] 1945: 22, 28). In such retrospects, the remembered errors of youth are symbolized through foreign places and foreign religions, and the return to England is also a return to the true self and the true faith. Wandering as metaphor for spiritual confusion in Norwood's narrative becomes also its reality, and the return to England inaugurates his spiritual journey away from internal and external pollutions.

Danger to the soul is also implicit in the wanderings of Dionys Fitzherbert, whose departure from home followed a disagreement with her father about marriage plans. Moving from one aristocratic household to another, against the wishes of her family, she eventually suffers a collapse into a mental and spiritual crisis which she attributes in part to her 'gadding humour', and the word's connotations of misbehaving and undisciplined femininity underline the gendered aspect of her error: a daughter who leaves home against her father's wishes wanders off into trouble ([c1608] 2010: 179). Fitzherbert's journeys from one household to another enact her unsettled and restless condition, and her increasing departure from godliness; her eventual recovery is figured in the narrative both as a retracing of her steps (from London to Oxford, to her father's house, and from there to Wales, to her mother), and as a retracing of memory, involving meditation on 'all this which I have written', with 'many tears and sometimes trembling of my body' ([c1608] 2010: 221). Again her journeys are both internal and external. The father's house is a resonant image in early modern writing, echoing the biblical house of many mansions as a place of homecoming; Donne's sermon on this text, quoted earlier, identifies the mansion with God's time, explaining that the word 'signifies a Remaining, and denotes the perpetuity, the everlastingness of that state' (1967: 271). Fitzherbert's wish to return to her father's house evokes a location of dream and memory (like Bachelard's oneiric house) in which her life will be resolved.

**[Figure 6: John Bunyan dreaming. Frontispiece to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, book 2, 4th edition 1680]**

**Places of memory, spiritual journeys**

In the preface to *Grace Abounding*, John Bunyan urges his congregation to remember the word of God, and the moment they first heard it. He also urges them to remember the place it happened:

> Remember, I say, the word that first laid hold upon you: remember your terrors of conscience … remember also … how you sighed under every hedge for mercy. Have you never a hill Mizar

> to remember? Have you forgot the close, the milk-house, the stable, the barn, and the like, where God did visit your souls? ([1666] 1998: 5)

As Bunyan's own memory narrative returns to the doorstep in Bedford where he saw a group of women sitting in the sun and speaking 'as if joy did make them speak' ([1666] 1998: 14), so he summons up for his listeners a concrete world of common places, imbuing the mundane environment of milkhouses and barns with spiritual resonance and memorial significance, and reminding his congregation that God is in all these places and does not need churches or rich houses to speak to his children: the image of a barn, resonating in the soul, will reignite fervour. Agnes Beaumont, locked out of the house by her father after going to hear Bunyan preach, recalls a night of unforgettable spiritual illumination in the barn where she took shelter: 'it was a blessed night to me; a Night to be remembered with comfort to my life's end'. But 'the heart ravishing visits' are not the only things she will remember. 'It froze vehemently that night,' she writes, 'but I felt no Cold; the dirt was frozen on shoes in the morning. My heart was wonderfully drawn out in prayer' ([c1675] 1998: 200). Beaumont's memory holds in place the barn, Satan's assaults, God's protection, and the frost sharp enough to freeze the mud on her shoes.

Few writers summon up their own hill of Mizar with such vividly concrete detail; in the inwardly directed spirituality of the seventeenth century the significant journey is internal, and outer places of memory exist primarily as prompts. But the recollection of place to depict moments of spiritual awakening is widespread. For Arise Evans, the 'hill Mizar' is a more literal hill: his place of memory is the mountainous landscape of Wales, where God first spoke to him. Thus he remembers 'a high place called *Bwlch Ryw Credire*' where 'the dark Clouds about me by the wind were driven swiftly', and the power of prayer lifts him over the pass; 'a place called Gole Ronnw', where he saw 'the Sun at its rising Skip, Play, Dance, and turn about like a wheel'. Evans summons up a landscape drenched with visionary meaning, already present in the Welsh placenames, to be opened to him subsequently in dream. His translations of placenames ('*Bwlch ryw credire* in *English is*, Believe ascend the gap') display the entire landscape as a symbolic commentary on the struggles of seventeenth-century England (1653: 5–6). The Welsh mountains, collapsing time and space into a single system of mystical meaning, have been waiting for both the events and the prophet who will disclose them.

For Catholic mystics too the place of awakening is often imbued with symbolic resonance. Claudine Moine, embarking on an extended period of spiritual austerity while alone

in Paris, similarly collapses spiritual and physical location to identify her room as the place of divine service:

> It is time, my God, that I enter that bedroom which your divine and loving Providence prepared for me. When they brought me the key, you, O my sweet Jesus, put into my head the idea that I should go off in front of the most Holy Sacrament and present it to you … I should enter that room as your poor, little servant ... ([c1645] 1989: 60)

The physical world here is indistinguishable from its spiritual place-mate. The chamber is both the place where she pays rent and sleeps, and the home of her spirit, in which material needs are irrelevant; her master God will find the money to pay the rent.

Place is an anchor for memory, then, in complex ways. The symbolic value assigned to place may or may not correspond to a place in the real world, and real world places are also inscribed with spiritual significance, constructing the landscape as simultaneously material and mystical. This doubling effect also shapes the meaning of the landscape traversed by spiritual travellers, imprinting it with a changing devotional and memorial significance. The post-Reformation world remapped sacred space; late medieval Catholicism's landscape of pilgrimage, shrines, wayside crosses, churches and monasteries came under pressure in what has been described as 'a rearrangement of space according to a new conception of the sacred' (Coster and Spicer 2005: 6). But it was a contested rearrangement in which laws against vagrancy and sedition were mobilized against radical preachers, policing the boundaries of acceptable spirituality as well as acceptable travel.

Radical preachers interpret their journeys and their conflicts with the authorities in relation to spiritual histories and geographies. George Fox's travels around England trace a map of sacred paths which is both new – marked by the places in which he preaches and finds Friends – and ancient, as he inscribes the landscape of the apostles onto the towns and hills of England. In Mansfield, he writes, 'the Lord's power was so great that the house was shaken', and people said 'it was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were' ([c. 1675] 1997: 22–3). He walks in his stockings through channels of blood, crying 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield', realizing afterwards that he was called to 'raise the blood' of 'Christian Britons' martyred there by Diocletian (72). And the founding places of Quaker gathering – Pendle Hill, Nottingham, Derby – were imbued with spiritual resonance, as new places of memory for the new religion.

The common metaphor of spiritual awakening as journey intensifies the meanings of the actual journeys undertaken. 'I speak my Experience of the Dealings of the Lord with me, in my Travels and passings through my Spiritual Journey, for the benefit of those that Travel rightly after', writes the Quaker Barbara Blaugdone; and her spiritual is also her physical journey, as it alternates between the open road and the enclosed prison (1691: 8). Her relation to the social and physical places she inhabited in the past has been transformed. Former friends she tries to visit have her driven away: 'when I would go to their Houses to reprove them', she writes, '… their Servants would come … and hale me out and shut the Doors' (28). The meaning of place in her narrative is shaped by exclusions and transformations; safety is found not in places of settlement, but in the power of God that accompanies her. A similar dynamic shapes the journey of many preachers, perhaps particularly Quakers, who practised a travelling ministry and for whom imprisonment under vagrancy laws was a repeated threat (Hinds 2011: 100ff). Fox's narrative juxtaposes the open spaces of field and orchard, barn and haystack – places of communion and communication – with the deathly confinement symbolized by steeple-houses and prisons.

Women preachers and missionaries such as Blaugdone claimed with varying success an exception to the general rule that good women stay at home (Flather 2007). Anna Trapnel records an exchange with a hostile Cornish magistrate who interrogates her over her reasons for travelling alone to a place where she had no family or connections – 'having no hindrance, why may I not go where I please, if the Lord so will?' she asks, asserting her independence both as unmarried and as in the Lord's service (Trapnel 1654: 26). And the Lord's will took some women great distances. Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, Quaker missionaries attempting to reach Turkey, spent two years imprisoned in Malta, and in their account again the enclosed space of the prison defines both the open but perilous world traversed, and the inner spaciousness of divine grace that allows them an internal escape from imprisonment, to be remembered with joy (Evans and Cheevers 1663). When the French missionary nun Marie de l'Incarnation set off for Canada, after a lengthy struggle for permission, she recalled, 'When I put my foot on the boat, it seemed to me I was entering Paradise' – the boat, Paradise and Canada remembered as merging into one place, reached with a single step (quoted Davis 1995: 83). In women's narratives, the pleasures of travel seem accessible more readily through spiritual rather than secular journeys.

**Time, place and memory**

Time and space are experienced and understood differently in these accounts. The structure of life and the relation between past and present are unfamiliar; likewise the ways that place is shaped and occupied, reinvented and traversed. The expected details of time and place that for us orient and anchor memory are often bypassed in favour of other priorities, both spiritual and secular. The memories recalled and recorded in early modern autobiographical narratives are radically other, and the work memory is doing seems to be different.

At the same time the mere possibility of reading these accounts as memory texts, of reflecting on and engaging with their different senses of the past, raises the question of how fundamental the differences are. Debates about formations of cultural memory which are seen as distinctively modern have been questioned by historians in recent years (Pollmann 2013; Sherlock 2010). In relation to the specific question of autobiography the issue is sharpened by parallel arguments about the history of the self and subjectivity: how far is it justifiable to read these documents as if they were modern memory texts, founded on linear and secular time and space, and autonomous subjects? One answer to this would be that modern subjects are not necessarily as autonomous, nor as firmly rooted in a linear chronology and secular landscape, as they might suppose, and neither are their self-narratives. The boundaries of subjectivity, like other boundaries, are not fully secure in any epoch; and to say that memory operates differently, as time and space are different, does not mean that memory is not at work in these narratives.

The relation of time, space and history once again suggests the resonance of nostalgia, a concept which despite its early modern origins is often tied to modernity, among historians as well as cultural theorists. Rudolf Dekker and Ariane Baggerman, among others, have persuasively argued that nostalgic sentiments about the past, especially childhood, do not emerge until the early nineteenth century, when they register a significant change in the ways that people understand the processes of historical change and their own place in relation to those changes (Baggerman, Dekker, and Mascuch 2011). However Kristine Johansen has recently questioned this, suggesting that nostalgia may exist in different forms at different historical moments, and that the ways in which a culture conceives of time may generate other forms of nostalgia: 'the longing for an idealised, unobtainable past may possess different cultural or rhetorical weight if that past is imagined or understood as able to return, an idea encouraged by cyclical and momentary notions of time' (2016: 7). The same might be said of the desire for lost place. A lost real place, rather than a lost illusory time, is at the heart of the concept as originally formulated by Johannes Hofer in 1688; and in devising the term he is building on existing words and ideas (*Heimweh*, banishment) (Starobinski 1966). Nostalgia, suggestively described by Atia and Davies as correlating 'place, time and desire' (2010: 184),

might thus take other forms and other names in early modern Europe, but still retain recognizable elements of a shared emotional structure.

Time, space and affect are also brought together in the model of remembering symbolized by the memory palace. One of the principles of the memory arts was that the objects chosen to evoke specific memories should themselves be memorable, and one way of ensuring this was to choose symbols that were resonant, that evoked emotion: 'merry, cruel, injurious, marvellous, excellently fair, or exceedingly foul things, do change and move the sense and better stir up the Memory', according to Guglielmo Gratarolo (Engel, Loughnane, and Williams 2016: 64). Place memories in autobiographical narratives often seem to work similarly, summoning up a memory of emotional significance alongside a lost moment, something irretrievable in time. The displacement of *ars memoriae* by other discourses of memory (such as nostalgia) might thus be understood as a reconfiguration of elements, rather than a radical transformation.

If we place ourselves differently in time and space, then, we might also consider the elements that go to shape that placing; and if we remember differently, and think about memory differently, we do also use it in some similar ways. Memory is what enables the writer to hold together the idea of the self in time. But memory also needs anchorage. In these narratives of fracture, loss and change, to remember and record in writing a place and a time may secure the continuity of self in a world of change.

## References

### Primary sources

Augustine of Hippo (1991), transl. and ed. Henry Chadwick, *Confessions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blaugdone, Barbara (1691), *An Account of the Travels, Sufferings and Persecution*, London: T.S.

Bunyan, John [1666] (1998), eds John Stachniewski, Anita Pacheco, *Grace Abounding, with Other Spiritual Autobiographies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burton, Robert [1621–38] (1927), *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, London: G. Bell & Sons (3 vols).

Crook, John (1706), *A Short History of the Life*, London: T. Sowle.

Dane, John [c1670] (1854), 'John Dane's Narrative' ('A Declaration of Remarkabell Prouedenses in the corse of my lyfe'), *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April: 147–56.

Donne, John (1967), *Selected Prose*, selected Evelyn Simpson, eds Helen Gardner, Timothy Healy, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dunton, John (1705), *The Life and Errors*, London: S. Malthus.

Evans, Katherine, and Cheevers, Sarah (1663), *A true account of the great tryals and cruel sufferings*, London: Robert Wilson.

Fanshawe, Ann [1676] (1979), ed. John Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Fitzherbert, Dionys [c.1608], MS. e Mus 169, Bodleian Library, Oxford; (2010) ed. and intr. Katharine Hodgkin, *Women, Madness and Sin in Early Modern England: The Autobiographical Writings of Dionys Fitzherbert*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Fox, George [c.1675] (1997), *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John Nickalls, Philadelphia: Religious Society of Friends.

Gotherson, Dorothea (1661), *To all that are Unregenerated, a call to Repentance from dead works*, London: Robert Wilson.

Hayes, Alice (1723), *A Legacy, or Widow's Mite, left by Alice Hayes to Her Children and others*, London: J. Sowle.

Isham, Elizabeth (c1639), 'Booke of Rememberance', MS. RTC01 no. 62, Princeton University. Transcripts at 'Constructing Elizabeth Isham 1609–1654', Elizabeth Clarke, Erica Longfellow (2008), <http:// www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/isham/>.

Glückel of Hameln [c.1690–1719] (1962), ed. and transl. Beth-Zion Abrahams, *The Life of Gluckel of Hameln, 1646–1724, Written by Herself*, London, Horovitz Publishing Company.

Guntzer, Augustin (2010), transl. Monique Debus Kehr, *L'histoire de toute ma vie: autobiographie d'un potier d'étain calviniste du XVIIème siècle*, Paris: Honoré Champion Editions.

Moine, Claudine [c.1645] (1989), *You Looked at Me: the Spiritual Testimony of Claudine Moine*, transl., and ed., Gerard Carroll, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.

Norwood, Richard [1639] (1945), ed. and intr. Wesley Frank Cravan and Walter B. Hayward, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, Surveryor of Bermuda*, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, for the Bermuda Historical Monuments Trust.

Platter, Thomas [c.1573] (1839), [transl. Elizabeth McCaul], *The Autobiography of Thomas Platter*, London: n.p.

Rogers, John (1653), *Ohel or Beth-Shemesh: a Tabernacle for the Sun*, London: R.I., and G & H Eversden.

Rowlandson, Mary White [1682] (1977), *A true history of the captivity and restoration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson*, New York: Garland Publishers.

Shepard, Thomas [c1646] (1972) 'Autobiography', in Michael McGiffert (ed.), *God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Stirredge, Elizabeth (1711) *Strength in Weakness Manifest: in the Life, Various Trials, and Christian Testimony of that Faithful Servant and Handmaid of the Lord*, London: T. Sowle.

Trapnel, Anna (1654), *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea. Or, a Narrative of Her Journey from London into Cornwal, etc*., London: Thomas Brewster.

Thurgood, Rose [c1636] (2005), 'A Lecture of Repentance', in Naomi Baker (ed.), *Scripture Women*, Nottingham: Trent Editions.

Tryon, Thomas (1705), *Some Memoirs of the Life of Mr Tho. Tryon*, London: T. Sowle.

Whythorne, Thomas [c.1576] (1962), *The Autobiography of Tomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn, Oxford: Clarendon Press (modern spelling edition).

**Secondary sources**

Amelang, James (1998), *The Flight of Icarus*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Atia, Nadia, Jeremy Davies (2010), 'Editorial', *Memory Studies*, 3 (3): 181–6.

Bachelard, Gaston (1994), *The Poetics of Space*, transl. Maria Jolas, Boston: Beacon Press.

Baggerman Ariane, Dekker, Rudolf, Mascuch, Michael, eds (2011), *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Time since the Sixteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Bedford, Ronald, Davis, Lloyd, Kelly, Philippa (2007), *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500–1660*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Chedgzoy, Kate (2007), *Women's Writing in the British Atlantic World: Memory, Place and History, 1550–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chappell Lougee, Carolyn (2002), 'Emigration and Memory: After 1685 and After 1789', in Rudolf Dekker (ed.), *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, 89–106, Hilversum: Verloren.

Coster, Will, Spicer, Andrew, eds (2005), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, Natalie Zemon (1977), 'Ghosts, Kin and Progeny: some features of family life in early modern France', *Daedalus*, 106 (2): 87–114.

Davis, Natalie Zemon (1995) *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Dragstra, Henk, Ottway, Sheila, Wilcox, Helen, eds (2000), *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Engel, William E., Loughnane, Rory, Williams, Grant, eds (2016), *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flather, Amanda (2007), *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press.

Foucault, Michel (1984), 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', transl. Jay Miskowiec, *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, October: 1–9.

Graham, Elspeth, Hinds, Hilary, Hobby, Elaine, eds (1989), *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, London: Routledge.

Gusdorf, Georges (1980 [1956]), 'Conditions and Limits of Autobiography', in James Olney (ed.), *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hinds, Hilary (2011), *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hodgkin, Katharine (2008), 'Dreaming Meanings: Some Early Modern Dream Thoughts', in Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan, S.J. Wiseman (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night*, 109–24, Abingdon: Routledge.

Hodgkin, Katharine (2013), 'Women, Memory and Family History in Seventeenth-Century England', in Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Muller, Jasper van der Steen (eds), *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 297–313, Leiden: Brill.

Hodgkin, Katharine (2016), 'Childhood and Loss in Early Modern Life Writing', *Parergon*, 33 (2): 115–34.

Johanson, Kristine (2016), 'On the Possibility of Early Modern Nostalgia', *Parergon*, 33 (2): 1–15.

Mascuch, Michael (1997), *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Massey, Doreen (1995), ‘Places and their Pasts’, *History Workshop Journal*, 39: 182–92.

Pollmann, Judith, Kuijpers, Erika (2013), ‘Introduction: On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory’, in Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Muller, Jasper van der Steen (eds), *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 1–26, Leiden: Brill.

Ricoeur, Paul (2004), *Memory, History, Forgetting*, transl. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Safley, Thomas Max (2000), *Matheus Miller’s Memoir: A Merchant’s Life in the Seventeenth Century*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.

Sherlock, Peter (2010), ‘The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe’, in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, 30–40, New York: Fordham University Press.

Smyth, Adam (2010), *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Starobinski, Jean (1966), ‘The Idea of Nostalgia’, *Diogenes*, 54: 81–103.

Stock, Paul, ed. (2015), *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walsham, Alexandra (2011), *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Landscape and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilcox, Helen, (2006) ‘Selves in Strange Lands: Autobiography and Exile in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’, in Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly (eds), *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Practices, Genres*, 131–59, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wood, Andy (2013), *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woolf, Daniel (2003), *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.