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Memory and the eighteenth-century female poet

As the richly diverse papers of the 2017 BAKEA conference at Sivas have demonstrated, memory is central to our very existence as human beings. Memory -- whether cultural, historical, collective or personal -- is a source of identity, of motivation, of pleasure, pain and regret. Yet to what extent, this paper will consider, is memory gendered? Do male and female writers write about memory in similar or different ways? Within the poetry of the eighteenth century, male and female responses to memory are strikingly differentiated. Women poets of this period do not often make poems out of personal memories, especially childhood memories, and when they do, it is rarely with a sense of pleasure, fulfilment or recognition of the movement from youth to maturity. Memory, for the eighteenth-century female poet, is frequently associated with trauma, loss, and curtailment of potential – self-erasure rather than self-progression. In 1788 Ann Yearsley, the laboring class poet whose poetic career represented a triumph over poverty, conflict and degradation, rounded her long topographical poem 'Clifton Hill' with a penultimate couplet, 'Memory, 'tis a strain, / Which fills my soul with sympathetic pain'. The harshly monosyllabic rhyme of 'strain' and 'pain' seems to encapsulate the trauma that writing about memory can induce in women.

I: Locke, Hume and the rise in interest of personal memory

Female anxiety about memory is all the more striking because the long eighteenth century witnessed an avid interest in memory, especially the psychology of individual human memory. John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) advanced the ground-breaking argument that memory was fundamental to human identity. Locke argued that individuals depend on memory for any sense of the coherent subjective self, and that personal identity is founded on consciousness and continuity. Most of Locke's immediate intellectual contemporaries may have considered memory less in terms of personal psychology than in terms of cultural and historical memory, the relationship between past and present embedded in the writing of histories – whether of recent events (such as Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and

Burnet's *History of My Own Time*) or histories of the great cultural legacy of past civilizations such as Greece and Rome. Yet by the mid-eighteenth century, Locke's fascination with human consciousness began to develop new impetus, reflected in David Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, published in its first version in 1738. Hume explored the complex relationship between personal memory and individual identity, the extent to which we, for example, project our memory onto our earlier lives and reconstruct early absences through later memories. Locke's and Hume's philosophical interest in human memory and character formation found literary expression in a very wide range of creative and fictional works, such as Laurence Sterne's influential novel *Tristram Shandy* (1758), whose intensely self-conscious narrator tries to piece together his life from early childhood, even pre-natal, memories.

Personal memory begins to shape poetic self-consciousness, too. Early eighteenth-century poets, especially two of the most popular and prominent – Alexander Pope and James Thomson --wrote poems which recalled childhood memory, such as Pope's *Windsor-Forest* (1713), which interspersed its political commentary with personal childhood memories of the Berkshire landscape. In *Winter* (1726), James Thomson recalled how as a boy in Scotland in 'my cheerful Morn of Life / When, nurs'd by careless *Solitude* I liv'd, / [I] Sung of Nature with unceasing Joy' (ll. 7-9). By the mid-century, personal poetic memory was often tinged with nostalgia – for example Thomas Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College' (1746) or Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* (1770). Goldsmith's depiction of 'sweet AUBURN', village of his youth, is shaped as much by personal nostalgia as it is by its stinging attacks on a bloated metropolitan elite that has expropriated centuries-old yeoman farming land for private use. Goldsmith filters his social criticism through the rosy-tinted lens of his personal childhood memories of village life and their influence upon his subsequent poetic self-development. Implicit within the despoliation of the village is the despoliation of his personal memories.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century this fascination with personal memory and the process of memory formation emerges in full force in the work of the great male Romantic poets and essayists, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, Blake, Hazlitt and particularly Wordsworth. All were fascinated by childhood memory, the relationship between memory and place, and especially the relationship between memory and the poetic imagination. Wordsworth's 'Tintern Abbey', first

published in 1798 in *Lyrical Ballads*, is his first great poem on memory formation. As the poet stands high on the cliffs of the idyllic Wye valley, looking down over the ruins of Tintern Abbey, he remembers having stood in the same spot five years earlier, as a very different, younger self – 'I cannot paint what then I was' (ll. 76-6). The poet celebrates memory as a means of reconnecting his mature self with his younger self, acknowledging change as both loss – 'that time is past, / And all its aching joys are now no more, / And all its dizzy raptures' (ll. 85-6) – and yet also as gain. Through an act of memory Wordsworth finds 'Abundant recompense', a mature recognition of what he famously calls 'The still, sad music of humanity' (ll. 89, 92). Here, as in his great epic poem of memory formation, *The Prelude*, written over a period of several decades, and finally published in 1850, Wordsworth depicts memory as a kind of repository or storehouse for future personal nourishment, or, as he puts it, 'life and food for future years' (ll.65-6).

In *The Prelude* Wordsworth develops his now familiar 'spots of time' theory, exploring episodes taking place in time and rooted in topographical location, which become embedded in memory, and which enable the poet to pivot between past, present and future. In *The Prelude*, events, often traumatic or shocking, imprint themselves on memory, memories attached to specific, often quotidian objects and places – a footpath, a clump of trees, a rock or mountains – objects which then act as triggers for memory. The death of the poet's father, when Wordsworth is ten, or his childhood witnessing of the episode of the 'drowned man' whose unclaimed pile of clothes left by the lakeside acts as mute testament to the drowned body of the wearer - shape the poet's moral and psychological development, his understanding of himself. From such memories, paradoxically a source of privation yet refreshment, he would 'oft repair, and drink, as from a fountain' (*The Prelude 1850*, XII, ll. 325-6).

2: Memory as mnemonic performance

Even by the end of the eighteenth-century – when Romantic subjectivity formed the focus for much new poetry - no woman could have written a long, introspective poem like *The Prelude*, so focused on personal creative development. Self-disclosure of this kind did not sit comfortably with the habits and expectations of eighteenth-century female propriety, even for women who ventured into print. As Stuart Curran notes of women poets, 'if you write about yourself … the

generic conventions get trickier, since … a true 'character' [would be] revelatory of an inner life to which it would be indecorous or even imprudent to draw attention' (Curran:149). The memoirist and poet Laetitia Pilkington's 'Memory, a poem', first published in her *Memoirs* of 1748-54 (Pilkington: 55-6), addresses not her own personal memories but memory as the human mind's intellectual power to retain information and knowledge, especially from books. The poem is impersonal, abstract, and scientific.

> IN what recesses of the brain
> Does this amazing power remain,
> By which all knowledge we attain?
> What art thou, Memory?

'Memory, a Poem', which describes memory as a 'surprising Storehouse', is inspired primarily by Locke's chapter on 'retention' in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. It has little to do with personal or childhood memory. Ironically, one of Pilkington's few warmly positive childhood memories was being praised by her parents for reciting Pope's verse by heart: 'They were both astonish'd at my Memory'. In her *Memoirs*, Pilkington boasted that she surprised her mentor Jonathan Swift by being able to recite any passage of Shakespeare off by heart, and that she tricked him by learning overnight one of the poems he had lent her – what became his *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift*. Pilkington's pride in her remarkable memory was characteristic of her time. For girls and young women in this period, having a 'good memory' – that is, being able to learn verses off by heart and to be able to recite them in front of social gatherings – was regarded as a highly desirable social skill. For women, memory often serves an epideictic function. There is perhaps a further irony that Pilkington's *Memoirs*, despite its title, was not written to chart her personal and creative life, but to make enough money to get her out of debtors' prison. In order to sell her personal history to the public, Pilkington focused on the marketable anecdotes drawn from her close familiarity with the famous Jonathan Swift and on the lurid details of her acrimonious divorce from her husband Matthew with all its ensuing scandals and pathos. Memory serves less as personal celebration than as commercial leverage.

3: Memory, death and loss

The relationship between 'Memory' and 'Sorrow' – the titles of Pilkington's two most well-known anthology poems - is key to an understanding of the female poet. Female identity during the early modern period can be characterized by what Nancy Chodorow defined in 1978 as a 'relational' as opposed to an 'autonomous' self. In the words of Ann K Mellor, women poets 'typically endorsed a commitment to a construction of subjectivity based on alterity, and based their moral systems on … an ethic of care which insists on the primacy of the family or the community' (Mellor 1993:10). Women thus often defined themselves primarily in terms of their relationship to others – those they would nurture and care for – and the loss of the other leads to a loss of self-identity, a fragmenting of the self. It is not surprising that the elegy was the most popular form of poem published by women in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the poem which commemorates a loved one – a sister, a spouse or close female friend, or a child. Grief serves to sustain the emotional memory felt by wife for husband, mother for child, daughter for parent, friend for close female friend, even beyond the death of the beloved. Some of the most powerful female elegies of this period commemorate the loss of children. In an age of high infant and child mortality, the dead child forms the key subject of memory. The eminent poet Mary, Lady Chudleigh, at the turn of the seventeenth century, wrote two powerful elegies, one addressed to her mother, the other to her ten-year old daughter Elizabeth. Both died within the same year. Mehitabel Wright, sister of the famous Methodist preaching brothers Samuel and Charles Wesley, not only endured a deeply unhappy marriage to a man her considerable intellectual inferior, a barely literate plumber, but she also lost all her children in their early infancy. In her powerful 'To an Infant Expiring the Second Day of its Birth', she yearns for self-obliteration along with her new-born infant, to 'be / Partner in thy Destiny' (Fairer and Gerrard:333). Elizabeth Singer Rowe recalls the memory of her younger husband Thomas (who died at 28) and is alternately delighted and tormented by her vivid and inescapable memories of him, 'The fatal object is forever new'. She vows to make her very body a shrine to his memory: 'My bosom all thy image shall retain, / The full impression there shall still remain'.

4: Female memory reflected in the mirror

Female memory during this period also focuses on another kind of loss – the loss of beauty or good looks, a loss which is at once both personal, yet curiously impersonal. This topic looms curiously large in the poetry of the eighteenth century. Britain's growing commercial prosperity

during the early Hanoverian period enhanced women's role as consumers of luxury goods, to be admired and aestheticized. Thus women's essential or inner self became far less valuable than their outward appearance. Much of the male-authored poetry of the period celebrates but also satirizes female beauty, associating it with superficiality, frivolity and vanity. Yet even poets such as Pope and Swift were aware that society's emphasis on female beauty forced women to cultivate their outward appearance at the expense of their inner spiritual or mental qualities, qualities which tended to develop and improve over time. Conversely, the ageing process brought with it an exorable loss of physical beauty, and hence a loss of value and identity. Thus memory for many women poets hinged – once again – on loss: on the painful gap between former beauty and present wrinkled old age, with it accompanying diminution or loss of social power and influence. The fact that Thomas Parnell entitled his 1722 satire on a middle-aged woman's misplaced attempts to cling on to youth 'An Elegy, To an Old Beauty', suggests the potentially tragic implications of the loss of female beauty (Faire and Gerrard: 64-6). The youthful Parnell advises his fifty-five-year old addressee, the oxymoronically-titled 'Old Beauty', to shun all social events such as plays and balls, and instead to conceal herself in dark clothes more suitable for church attendance and regular prayers. No wonder, then, that women poets often responded to this kind of misogyny with poems which expressed dismay and horror at the sight of themselves in the mirror. The mirror or looking-glass poem, the 'specular' poem, is one of the most popular genres in this period. When a woman looks into a mirror and sees an image that she simply cannot recognize or acknowledge, the sense of self-alienation is very powerful, the inability to reconcile the inner self with the outer self.

Memory haunts these 'specular' poems. Mary Leapor's 'Dorinda at Her Glass' shows the fifty-five-year old Dorinda seated at her dressing table, lamenting the loss of her former good looks. The gap between 'now' and 'then' is palpable. Dorinda, 'once the fairest of the Train', whose 'shining Eyes a thousand Hearts alarm'd', is now old and grey-haired. As she glances into the mirror, she 'loathes that Idol which she once admir'd' and 'at length all trembling, of herself afraid', addresses herself as if she is the ghost of her former self, some 'Spectre' or 'Phantom' or 'stragg'ling Horror' (Faire and Gerrard: 372-5). The same sense of horror is shared by Flavia, the speaker of one of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Town Eclogues', 'Saturday, or the Smallpox'. 'How am I chang'd! alas! How am I grown / A frightful spectre, to myself unknown!' Flavia has

lost her good looks through smallpox – a disease the poet herself suffered and for which she found an inoculation during her time in Turkey. Flavia is haunted by the memories of her former triumphs, her position as the 'reigning beauty', who once wielded huge social power because of her beauty. 'There was a time (oh! That I could forget!)' 'Now beauty's fled, and lovers are no more!'(Fairer and Gerrard: 205-7). Memory taunts her and she longs for oblivion and obscurity. She ends up desperate to shun society and to flee the *beau monde* for rural isolation, where she can no longer see or be seen. Such poems offer up a powerful critique of a society in which women's sense of identity or self-worth can only be shaped by their value to others in terms of outward appearance.

Thus memory, as we have seen, for most women writers rarely brought a sense of pleasure or wholeness. Since women at this time were defined by their relation to the private rather than the public sphere, they could rarely revel in the opportunities for individual personal achievement open to men, such as the acquisition of university degrees, published books, a distinguished professional career. Women who achieved professional status as authors, such as Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley or Eliza Haywood, elicited ambiguous if not downright hostile responses from both men and other women. Though many women produced and exchanged poetic 'trifles' as gifts when children and teenagers, the idea of poetic vocation or destiny was sharply discouraged as they grew toward adulthood. Often, fathers would encourage their young daughters' intellectual precocity, only for such inclinations to be sharply checked and discouraged as a girl reached marriageable age. In her bitter poem of memory, 'A Cure for Poetry' (c. 1741), Annabella Blount recalls how when small her father encouraged her reading, writing and poetic ambition. 'I sought instruction from my dawning years, / My father to my playfellows preferred' (Lonsdale: 186). But her dream of fame is destroyed when her brother asks her why she is employed 'in manly works, for ladies' hands unfit?' In an act of self-erasure, she burns her poetry. Some of the most poignant poems of female memory are those which recall youthful pre-marital friendships celebrated in shared female verse exchanges and intellectual companionships, such as the georgic poems from the sixteen-year old Constantia Grierson to the eighteen-year old Laetitia Pilkington, inscribed from memory in Pilkington's *Memoirs* – written before marriage, divorce, scandal and debtor's prison.

Close female friendship supplies eighteenth-century women poets with perhaps the most warmly positive source of memory. But when do women writers begin to write about memory as a rich source of individual personal authorial identity, of independent intellectual and imaginative continuity and growth? As Stuart Curran notes, perceptions of female authorship gradually evolved as increasing numbers of women published both prose and verse: 'this widespread reaching of women for an overtly public status outside the domestic circle is a sociological fact of the period'. He observes that 'To claim an identity through writing is, it might be said, a motivation for all poets, but the complex takes on something approaching historical urgency in the last third of the eighteenth century' (Curran:155-6). It is only when women writers have the confidence to see themselves as unique, individual and autonomous creative beings, that they are able to explore their own personal memories, and to show how past and present selves can be reconciled and integrated. Arguably, the kind of self-consciousness that begins to permeate Romantic male writing also begins to shape and influence the work of women poets who, as recent criticism has shown, often enjoyed social and intellectual coterie connections with them – Barbauld with Coleridge and Wordsworth, Ann Yearsley not just with Hannah More and the Bluestocking women, but in her later years with Godwin, Beddoes and Southey.

5: The recuperative female poetic memory: Anna Laetitia Barbauld and Ann Yearsley

Anna Laetitia Barbauld, born in 1743 as Anna Aikin, grew up among intellectuals. Her father was a nonconformist evangelical preacher who founded Warrington Academy, a highly academic school for the children of nonconformist parents which matched Oxford and Cambridge in its academic rigor. Anna Barbauld, unable to attend the all-male academy, nonetheless absorbed all the educational advantages that her background could bring, and went on to have a distinguished and independent literary career. She was a scholarly editor – editing, for example, the letters of the novelist Samuel Richardson – as well as writing numerous poems, and many educational works for young children. Thus Barbauld was widely read, and self-confident. Also, perhaps very importantly, her interest in interiority, a Unitarian belief in the divine spark that lies within each of us, both men and women, led to an innate conviction of female self-worth based on inner qualities. In her beautiful cosmic voyaging poem 'A Summer Evening's Meditation' she asks, 'Is there not / A tongue in every star that talks with man?', and

claims that each of us, both men and women, contain within us ‘an embryo GOD, a Spark of Fire Divine, / Which must burn on for ages’ (Fairer and Gerrard: 594-6)

Given her strong educational interest in childhood development and memory, it is perhaps not surprising that Barbauld was one of the first published female poets to write about her own childhood memories in a positive, recuperative way. Her poem ‘Washing-Day’, written in the 1780s (Fairer and Gerrard: 600-602), parallels the experiments in childhood memory formation and adult recollection that we find in male Romantic poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge. Like these two poets, Barbauld moves seamlessly between past and present selves, the ‘then’ and ‘now’, with the same compression of time. But instead of landscape, Barbauld writes about an ordinary domestic routine or ritual – washing day, the one day of the week in which the maids would do the household laundry and when all efforts were dedicated to this important domestic task. Barbauld’s humorous, at times mock-heroic or burlesque account of the trials and tribulations caused by the domestic laundry, make her recall her childhood. ‘I well remember when a child the awe / This day struck into me’. One of her memories is of female solidarity and companionship. She shelters by the fire with ‘my dear grandmother’ and listens to her mother’s voice orchestrating the rhythmic routines of washing. The poem is rich in sensory detail of sound, sight, taste and touch:

> At intervals my mother’s voice was heard,
> Urging dispatch; briskly the work went on,
> All hands employed, to wash, to rinse, to wring
> To fold, and starch, and clap, and iron, and plait.

Barbauld remembers her younger self as the thoughtful, speculative author of her older mature self. ‘Then would I sit me down, and ponder much / Why washings were’. The poem pictures Barbauld as a little girl sitting with her grandmother, blowing soap bubbles through a pipe and dreaming of the future. The adult poet recalls the changes that have taken place since childhood days, including men taking to the air in flight by balloon. Barbauld watched the first balloon flight by the Montgolfier brothers in 1783: ‘Little dreaming then / To see, Montgolfier, thy silken ball /Ride buoyant thro’ the clouds’. Her childhood memory of soap bubbles merges with the

later scientific invention of the balloon. This idea of the bubble leads to association through memory with the 'bubble' of the poetic imagination, something light and airy which floats off into the sky. Within this bubble image, Barbauld combines ideas of female domestic labour, scientific discovery, childhood wonder, and the power of the creative imagination. The older Anna recalls and acknowledges her childhood self with affection and respect.

A more expansive and persistent recuperation of memory can be found in the work of the laboring class poet Ann Yearsley (1753-1806). Yearsley was an exceptional and unusual female poet. Born into a poor family in Bristol, she was taught to read by her brother John but received no formal education. In 1774 she married a local man, John Yearsley, and subsequently gave birth to six children. She supported her family by selling milk from door to door. In the winter of 1783 the family sank into poverty and starvation. They had retreated into a barn and resigned themselves to die but were rescued by Hannah More, a Bristol poet and educational writer from the evangelical middle classes. Audiences at this time in England were interested in the working class writer as 'original genius' and More and Elizabeth Montague, of the Bluestocking circle, promoted Yearsley's career. Her poetic pseudonym, 'Lactilla', was derived from the Latin word for milk. Most labouring class poets were controlled and patronized by their patrons. Yearsley was different. Although her middle-class patrons tried to control her career and image as well as the profits she made from publication, almost treating her like a child, Yearsley fought back and took control of her own career. She managed to make a financial success of her poetry and opened a library and when she finally died she was independent and prosperous.

Yearsley is important for women writers of her own time and later times. She had the courage to contest her patrons, despite social class differences, to control her own career and image, and – most importantly - she did not write primarily to please other people. Yearsley is more interested in inner strength than outward beauty. As the *Monthly Review* noted in 1785, her poems present us 'with a very striking picture of a vigorous and aspiring genius, struggling with its own feelings'. Yearsley's struggle involves not only the tension between being poor and obscure but imaginative and intellectually ambitious. She also struggles to articulate her developing sense of an emergent creative self often held back through lack of intellectual community, conversation and support. 'Oft as a trod my native wilds alone, / Strong gusts of thought wou'd rise, but rise to

die' (Faire and Gerrard: 553). These lines from 'On Mrs Montagu' contrast past and present selves to show how creative self-confidence is built from overcoming past failures and losses.

Memory for Yearsley is often a painful topic, in part because her own personal memories were so painful – not least the death of her mother from starvation. Yet Yearsley is the first female poet who can consciously draw on painful memories as a source of future growth and regeneration. The connections between Wordsworth and Yearsley's treatment of time and memory has been fruitfully explored in recent years by critics such as Kerri Andrews, Madeleine Kahn and Vassili Markidou, especially within Yearsley's long landscape poem 'Clifton Hill' written in January 1758 and published later that year (Fairer and Gerrard: 554-561). The title 'Clifton Hill' places this poem within the long tradition of topographical or 'prospect' poems such as Sir John Denham's *Coopers-Hill*, John Dyer's *Grongar Hill* and Richard Jago's *Edge Hill*, poems written from high places where poets (nearly always male) survey the landscape. The landscape evokes memories in which personal and national history are often intertwined. Clifton, a hilly area outside Bristol, looks down over the city, a prosperous English port made rich by the traffic in negro slaves – a subject about which Yearsley also wrote very critically in her subsequent *A Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave Trade*. But Yearsley also knew the landscape intimately as a place of her childhood wanderings.

'Clifton Hill' was written thirteen years before Wordsworth's great poem of memory and place, 'Tintern Abbey', and anticipates many of its themes, including the connection between past and present, childhood self and adult self. As Markidou notes, the poem hinges on the intrinsic interconnectedness between temporal and spatial relationships. Like *Tintern Abbey*, Yearsley's *Clifton Hill* moves fluidly between past, present and future. Yearsley weaves into the landscape of her childhood two memorials to different women who have suffered and died: one, her mother, who is buried nearby, and the other a strange uncanny figure, the 'fugitive Louisa', a young female refugee from Germany who escaped a forced marriage and then roamed the Clifton hillsides, living outside alone for three years before she died, having suffered trauma, mental illness and the loss of her own memory. Yearsley incorporates within her poem elegiac addresses to the memory of these two women – drawing, as we have seen, on what was a traditional female memory mode. As she walks past her mother's grave she shrinks from

memory: ‘The past! Ah shield me, Mercy, from that thought’. Dead, can it be, ’twas here we frequent strayed’. Childhood memories of walking the same hills with her mother well up, yet the poet moves on. She then goes on to recall and commemorate the ‘fugitive Louisa’ who also wandered these hill for three years. Unlike the poet, Louisa had ‘no mother’ to befriend her. Louisa’s end is tragic – she goes mad, and finally dies. As Madeline Kahn observes, ‘memory persists, overwhelms, and eventually sinks … the mad Louisa’, a figure Yearsley could easily have become had she not written her poems. Yearsley ends her poem with an epitaph and elegy to Louisa – ‘MEMORY! I charge thee yet preserve the shade’. ‘Ill starr’d LOUISA! Memory, ‘tis a strain / Which fills my soul with sympathetic pain’. But ‘Clifton Hill’ is not just a poem about loss and mourning, but a poem of survival, progression and poetic vocation. Clifton Hill is both the place that preserves the memory of these two lost women and which functions, in Markidou’s metaphor, as the ‘springboard’ for Yearsley’s poetic career.

Conclusion

As time went by, more and more women wrote about the female self in relation to memory. Very often the novel, rather than the long poem, was the vehicle for this kind of self-exploration. Charlotte Bronte’s *Jane Eyre* (1847) and George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) were both heavily autobiographical explorations of the childhoods of clever, intelligent and unconventional women who were often out of place as small girls but who went on to become powerful creative women. It is arguably easier for women to write about memory in novels, works of fiction, than it is in autobiographical poems, because they can dissociate or distance their biographical selves from their fictional self-projections. Poems such as *The Prelude* require a very egotistical sense of self-significance, and this is something women writers of any age have found hard to cultivate. But still, I would like to conclude by arguing that eighteenth-century women poets underwent a quiet revolution in their growing capacity to develop, nurture and sustain their memories of a younger, emerging self that was not defined solely in terms of its relationship to or interdependency on others. As creative women grew in confidence, and acquired a legitimate public identity as writers and thinkers, they began to explore memory as a rich blessing, rather than as a fatal curse.

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