# *Sterne's Captive and the Prison: Double Vision*

*Abstract: This essay contextualises Sterne's captive from* A Sentimental Journey *in the debates about the form and function of the prison as a penal instrument, which raged in Parliament in 1778. In the same months, and the same city, the captive was returned to public attention through a Royal Academy exhibition in Piccadilly, which featured a much-commented upon painting,* Sterne's Captive*, by Joseph Wright of Derby. This essay asks what light the contemporary prison debate can shed on Sterne's text, and conversely, how painterly renderings of 'The Captive' in the 1770s, by Wright of Derby, and by John Hamilton Mortimer, can elaborate the disconcerting bifocalism of Sterne's prison scene. These artistic stagings of the captive's imprisoned state insist on the involvement of the viewer in the suffering on display, in distinctly Christian modalities which challenge a contemporary critical framing of this scene as a mechanics of sentimentalist avoidance. It returns to Sterne's original a host of penological allusions which would have been evident to its earliest readers but which have become opaque, and offers close readings of three of the most innovative and influential paintings of* A Sentimental Journey*, and the relationship of compassion to inaction.*

## *A Capital Confluence of Prisons*

On 1 May 1778, readers of *The Morning Chronicle* were met by the intriguing promise of a 'learned dog' and a 'conjuring horse' performing on Westminster Bridge, and were alerted to the opening of *The Lucky Escape* at Drury Lane. According to the *Chronicle*, Mary Robinson's play only earned its title if you missed it. Five-minutes' walk from that theatre, however, was a cultural event that the paper recommended to its readers unreservedly. The highlight of a Royal Academy exhibition on Piccadilly was a new oil painting by Joseph Wright of Derby depicting the captive prisoner from Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*, published a decade earlier. '*Sterne's Captive* [is] an incontrovertible proof of the painter's genius', the *Chronicle* enthused: 'The more this great production is viewed, and the closer the figure is *conversed* with, the more eloquent will be the captive's distress, the more obvious the artist's ability'.[1] The exhibition had opened in April, and earlier reviewers had also singled out *Sterne's Captive* for particular notice. *The Morning Post*, if less effusive in its praise, was more deliberate in tying

Wright's painting back to the text that had inspired it: 'the spectator views in the painting all those emotions so well described by the author', and goes on to quote from Sterne's original, which describes the wasted body of the long-confined, solitary prisoner behind his darkening grate.[2]

Two weeks earlier, on 11 April, the same paper had announced the publication of a new work by Jeremy Bentham: *A View of the Hard Labour Bill about to be brought into Parliament for establishing labour houses throughout England, for the Confinement and Punishment of Felons*.[3] This Bill was one of the most radical proposals in criminal penology ever brought before the House of Commons.[4] It was first read on 11 May, and dismissed three days later. It suggested dividing England and Wales up into nine districts, in each of which two or more new 'Labour-houses' would be built to house convicts serving penal sentences at hard labour, who would sleep in solitary cells.[5] Until this point, prisons in England had been used for durance rather than the punishment of criminals. They were chaotic, overcrowded spaces, open to the paying public to the point of functioning as tourist destinations, and they were run on a commercial basis: keepers purchased their positions, and recouped their (considerable) outlay with fees for everything within the prison space, from candles to bedding.[6] State-sanctioned punishments were meted out at trial, and included whipping, being drawn through the marketplace on a hurdle, branding on the thumb, the death penalty, or, more commonly in the eighteenth century, transportation to the American colonies. The Hard Labour Bill sought to replace these sanguinary punishments (barring the death penalty, which would remain for the crime of murder) with terms of solitary imprisonment at hard labour.[7] It marked the culmination of half a century of attempted penal reform, not only in England but across Europe.[8]

It is difficult to find evidence of this extraordinary Bill in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, however, because it is so deeply entangled in a debate that raged in the House throughout March, April and May of 1778 around another piece of legislation concerning imprisonment and hard labour: The Convict Act. The Convict Act had been passed in 1776 in order to deal with the crisis in transportation resulting from the American War of Independence. With the advent of hostilities in 1775, transportation ships had been unable to dock in the Americas, and Parliament passed a series of interim measures to accommodate transportees.[9] One of these, The Convict Act, enabled Justices to consign convicts to one of two Hulks, the Justicia and the Censor, moored on the Thames, for terms of between three and ten years at hard labour.[10] Convicts were employed in dredging the river and lived on board the ships. 632 men were confined on the Hulks between 1776 and 1778. The appalling living conditions on board

meant that they died at a rate of one in three, but this did not suffice to get the Act repealed.[11] Lord North, astonishingly, reported to Parliament that the Hulks 'experiment' had 'answered beyond all expectation' in his speech of 6 March 1778.[12] In deliberating whether to extend the Act in the ensuing months, the House heard the testimony of many expert witnesses concerning the nature and experience of imprisonment as a penal instrument, including that of the renowned prison reformer, John Howard, who had twice visited the Hulks.[13] On 20 May, the Convict Act was extended; it gained Royal assent eight days later.[14]

Throughout March, April and May of 1778, then, Parliament staged a protracted debate over the justice and practicability of imprisonment as a punishment. It weighed up on a national platform the benefits, costs and risks of incarceration as it had been experienced by convicts on the Hulks, and deliberated over the wildly expensive, untried experiment of solitary incarceration as it was sketched out in the Hard Labour Bill. At the same time, Joseph Wright of Derby brought Sterne's captive, shackled and long-suffering in his dank prison, squarely back to public attention, again on a national stage, less than a mile away from Parliament Square. This essay begins from the premise that this confluence is not coincidental. It asks what light the contemporary debate around imprisonment can shed on this dense and disconcerting passage in *A Sentimental Journey*, and, conversely, how painterly renderings of Sterne's captive might resolve seemingly irreconcilable facets of the new prison philosophy of the 1770s.

### *Sterne's Captive and the Critics*

'The Captive' is not commonly read in the context of the 1778 Parliamentary debate about the prison. The episode, together with that of the caged starling, and the apostrophe 'To Liberty' that precedes it, is more frequently understood as a meditation on captivity as a human condition and the possibilities — and failings — of empathy and the imagination to spur ethical action. The most compelling criticism addressing 'The Captive' reads the episode as a metaphoric reworking of the problematics of African chattel slavery. Pursued to his room by the thought of the caged starling, Yorick attempts to grasp 'the miseries of confinement' by imagining the suffering of 'the millions of my fellow creatures born to no inheritance but slavery; but finding, however affecting the picture was, that I could not bring it near me', Yorick takes a single captive, 'pale and feverish' (and therefore not a pirated African), shuts him up in his dungeon and details his mental, physical and spiritual privation (*ASJ*, 97).

Together with 'The Starling', 'The Captive' is typically taken to function either as a criticism of the slave trade or, more commonly, to have elaborated the rhetorical strategies that enabled it.[15] In the first reading, critics have argued that the suffering of pirated Africans is made more immediate and distressing to Sterne's first readers by being presented in the guise of the captive. The emblematic *ecce homo* of the captive is understood, through the lens of eighteenth-century, Smithian theories of sentimental affect, to be more able to bestir the nascent abolition movement than an undifferentiated 'multitude of sad groups' (*ASJ*, 97) of pirated Africans. In the second reading, critics argue that the experience of slavery is conveniently elided from the passage altogether, raised by Yorick only to be set aside in favour of the exquisite, compassionate sensations of the morally refined white man. They posit that this ideational elision was vital for the growth of the slave trade. Marcus Wood, Thomas Keymer and others have argued instead for the signal distance between Sterne's position, and Yorick's. In these readings, it is Yorick's wholly insufficient, sentimental response to suffering that Sterne intentionally satirises.[16] Rather than being Sterne's ethical failing, then, this is perhaps his narrative point. All of these readings are united by finding the passage interesting only in so far as it reflects Sterne's position — whether progressive or quietist — on the 'bitter draught' of African chattel slavery.[17] W.B. Gerard is explicit in his outright rejection of the possibility that the captive could be read not as a comment on slavery, but as a meditation on the imprisoned subject: 'Although some critics desire to identify the captive as an incarcerated criminal', he writes, 'Yorick clearly finds his "single captive" among "the millions of my fellow creatures born to no inheritance but slavery"'.[18] This is not quite true, however, and I would argue otherwise. The 'among' is Gerard's own and necessary intervention. Yorick 'was going to begin' his meditation on 'the miseries of confinement' with chattel slavery, 'but' in the event does not: 'I could not bring it near me' (*ASJ*, 97). He takes a single, pale-skinned prisoner instead.

Read together, 'The Captive' and 'The Starling' have generated an important body of work on the ethics of spectatorship and sentimental affect, both with reference to *A Sentimental Journey* as a whole and, increasingly, to Sterne's sermons.[19] But in this metaphoric reading, contemporary references to the carceral have been lost. I aim to recapture them here. I want to place Sterne's captive, which was extracted and isolated from its textual context in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1778, and in the press reviews of that exhibition, amid a burning national debate about the nature and function of the prison. My contention is that this

will illuminate both contemporary readings of Sterne's fiction, and the bifurcated nature of the new prison philosophy.

### *The Captive and the Prisons*

The discomforting quality of Sterne's prose, what Lynn Festa calls the sentimental trompe l'oeil effect, is particularly evident in 'The Captive'.[20] The recurrent painterly imagery of the extract is worth quoting in full:

> —I took a single captive, and having first shut him up in his dungeon, I then look'd through the twilight of his grated door to take his picture.
>
> I beheld his body half wasted away with long expectation and confinement, and felt what kind of sickness of the heart it was which arises from hope deferr'd. Upon looking nearer I saw him pale and feverish: in thirty years the western breeze had not once fann'd his blood—he had seen no sun, no moon in all that time—nor had the voice of friend or kinsman breathed through his lattice—his children—
>
> —But here my heart began to bleed—and I was forced to go on with another part of the portrait.
>
> He was sitting upon the ground upon a little straw, in the furthest corner of his dungeon, which was alternately his chair and bed: a little calender of small sticks were laid at the head notch'd all over with the dismal days and nights he had pass'd there—he had one of these little sticks in his hand, and with a rusty nail he was etching another day of misery to add to the heap. As I darkened the little light he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye towards the door, then cast it down—shook his head, and went on with his work of affliction. I heard his chains upon his legs, as he turn'd his body to lay his little stick upon the bundle—He gave a deep sigh—I saw the iron enter into his soul—I burst into tears—I could not sustain the picture of confinement which my fancy had drawn— (*ASJ*, 97–98)

Gerard is right to state that the captive is 'clearly' not an incarcerated criminal. The criminal prisons of England would have been familiar spaces to Sterne's readers: they were fully accessible to the paying public in daylight hours, and were the subject of some of the best-selling print narratives of the early decades of the century.[21] It would have been immediately obvious to an eighteenth-century reader that this dungeon is not gesturing towards an English criminal prison. Despite the fact that most criminal prisons in England, including Newgate, were crumbling, repurposed medieval structures, and therefore requisitely squalid and 'dismal', so as to fit Sterne's description, criminals would not have been subject to 'long expectation and confinement' in any of them. In the

words of Justice William Blackstone, 'one way or other, the gaols are cleared, and all offenders tried, punished, or delivered, twice in every year'.[22] By Blackstone's reckoning, six months was the most amount of time that criminals would spend in prison. 'Thirty years' of immurement in a criminal prison in England was not just unlikely, it was all but impossible.

Debtors, however, could and did experience imprisonment for such lengths of time. The practice of incarceration on a civil suit for a debt of more than forty shillings, which could legally continue indefinitely, was a peculiarity of English common law, often decried as an unaccountable blight on an otherwise resplendent legislature. 'Let us look Abroad', the narrator of Edward Kimber's mid-century, didactic novel *Joe Thompson* (1750) demands: 'Do *Turks*, or *Infidels*, thus treat their Debtors?' They did not. Kimber enlarges on the anomalously punitive nature of the English debt laws with the reflection that 'this is suffered in a Country subject to the best Laws, and where we boast so much of our Liberty, and the Privileges of Englishmen!'[23] That Sterne's captive might be a debtor is made more likely by the striking similarities between this passage and an earlier instance in the novel, in which Yorick refuses alms to the Franciscan friar, on the basis that the needy of his own country had a prior claim to his munificence, among whom he numbers 'the captive who lies down counting over and over again the days of his afflictions' (*ASJ*, 9). Sterne's first readers would almost certainly have glossed this as a reference to debtors, due to the allusive connection between 'counting over and over again' both money and time, and because the plight of the 'poor debtor', languishing in prison and in need of charitable assistance, was a cultural staple of the period, to the point of being a cliché.[24] The later captive is engaged in just such 'work of affliction', counting out 'the dismal days and nights he had pass'd' in the prison, 'etching another day of misery to add to the heap' (*ASJ*, 98 ).

However, it would have been equally clear to an eighteenth-century reader that the captive is not housed in an English debtors' prison, either. If he could not afford to eat, an imprisoned debtor would not have been alone. He would have had to share his lodging with another debtor; indeed, if he had nothing at all and lodged in the 'common side' of the prison, he could expect to share his ward with up to fifty other debtors, sleeping not on straw — which was mentioned regularly in prison account books — but on bare wooden planks.[25] Furthermore, a debtor's family could not only visit, but they could also lodge with an imprisoned debtor. In the words of the foremost prison reformer in England, John Howard, 'debtors crowd the gaols (especially those in London) with their wives and children. There are

often by this means, ten or twelve people in a middle-sized room'.[26] While an English debtor could have experienced thirty years of imprisonment, then, and keenly felt the sickness of the heart attendant on 'hope deferr'd' (that his creditors might relent or a charitable stranger release him) he could not have done so in both poverty and solitude. There was no reason at all why his friends, kinsmen, and children could not have 'breathed through his lattice' in 'all that time' (*ASJ*, 97).

Yorick's imagined prison space would, however, have resonated very clearly with a wealth of contemporary narratives about one, extremely prominent prison in eighteenth-century culture: the Bastille. Howard breaks off his prosaic, eye-witness account of every prison in England and Wales in order to insert for his curious reader a pamphlet of 1774 about the Bastille, written by an anonymous author who claimed to have been an inmate there, detailing the 'horrid dungeons' in which prisoners were famously immured for long periods of time, in total solitude. 'In the corner of each is a camp-bed', the inset pamphlet continues, 'made of planks laid on iron bars that are fixed to walls, and the prisoners are allowed some straw to lay on the beds. These dens are dark, having no windows, but openings into the ditch'.[27] Howard's meticulously researched publication of 1777 gave this view of the Bastille a rare stamp of verified fact, but long before it British fiction had abounded with proto-gothic depictions of the particular horrors of the Bastille. One of the most intriguing of these is *The Life of Lord Lovat* (1746), a biography of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, by the Scottish, Anglican minister, Archibald Arbuthnot.[28] Fraser was a Jacobite conspirator and the last man in England to be publicly beheaded for treason in 1747.[29] Suspected of being a double-agent for the British, Fraser was presented with a '*lettre de cachet*' in Paris and remanded in the Bastille. He demanded to know the reason for his arrest and was improbably informed by his escorting officer that 'it was not in France as in England, where they had an Habeas Corpus Act, for all People resident in France must be subordinate to the absolute Will and Pleasure of the Great Monarch'.[30] The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 meant that any prisoner remanded anywhere in England could request to be presented to a Judge in order to hear and answer the charges against him.[31] This was not the case in France, where in theory (and in law) it was possible to be condemned to death without knowing either the charge or the identity of the accuser. In Foucault's words: 'In France, as in most European countries, with the notable exception of England, the entire criminal procedure, right up to the sentence, remained secret: that is to say, opaque, not only to the public but also to the accused himself'.[32]

Arbuthnot joined a voluble chorus of his compatriots in condemning the French prison as the ancient, massy enabler of this (in)justice, describing Fraser's first experience of the 'much dreaded' prison thus:

> In the Night there sprung up a Wind, which beating against the Window, formed melancholy Accents; […] he was debarr'd Pen, Ink, and Paper, and even Books, with which he might have amused himself, and pass'd the Time. But he was destitute of all Things. […] the Dawn of the Day began to discover to him the Horror of his Cell.[33]

It is the absolute solitude and lack of mental stimulus that distinguishes fictional portraits of the Bastille such as this from depictions of other prisons in the period. In his first, determinedly optimistic imagining of the Bastille, Yorick had equipped himself with 'pen and ink and paper and patience,' and posited that 'albeit a man can't get out, he may do very well within' (*ASJ*, 94). 'Destitute of all things' in his second, and now painterly, as opposed to writerly imagining of that prison space, Sterne's captive instead loses his connection not only with man, but, visibly, with God: 'I saw the iron enter into his soul' (*ASJ*, 98). Sterne's captive is deprived of awareness of the rhythms of the natural world. Without the sight of sun or moon his ability to distinguish natural time is eroded, an effect that is heightened by the lack of distinction between his bed and chair. The diurnal progress of the sun and the monthly waxing and waning of the moon have been flattened to a monotonously accretive, linear time, visualised by the growing calendar of small sticks that form his only prison text and his 'work of affliction' as he marks off the 'dismal days and nights' of his incarceration.

The prolonged and complete solitude of the captive, his lack of stimulus and his spiritual despair, together with his immurement in a crumbling, dark, medieval edifice, would have combined to situate Sterne's first readers in, or very near, the Bastille. But if the particular privations of that prison would have been overwhelmingly familiar to them, Sterne's text was also, and enduringly, strange. Yorick's repeated intrusions into the prison scene destabilise the subject positions ordinarily attendant on British fictions of the Bastille. 'It was not in France as in England', Arbuthnot had taken great pains to demonstrate with his portrait of that prison, outlined above. The great pains of Sterne's text work differently. It is Yorick — an Anglican priest — and not the absolute monarch of France who 'took a single captive', 'shut him up in his dungeon', and 'darkened the little light he had' in order to observe his pain more closely. This prefaces the unsettling moment when the captive glances up at his creator at the grate and, failing to recognise him, or else, to be recognised by him, loses his

spiritual freedom. 'The iron enter'd his soul' is from Psalm 105 in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and thus functions as another reminder that this punitive gaoler is an English Protestant, adrift in Catholic France.[34] The pathos of the passage remains considerable, and yet Yorick's insistent obtrusions into the scene divert readerly empathy away from the captive and towards his creator/gaoler. In this it remains confusingly comic, in what Marcus Wood has called its 'auto-erotics of empathy'.[35] The blood and tears in the prison cell issue not from the captive, but from Yorick. It is Yorick whose 'heart began to bleed' and who 'burst into tears' (*ASJ*, 98), so profoundly moved is he by the suffering that he has worked so hard to create in another, who might in any case be a projection of himself, immured in the Bastille.

'It was not in France as in England' refuses to function as the subtext to this prison scene, in other words, and herein lies the radicalism of Sterne's Bastille. He deflates the self-congratulatory nationalistic bombast that ordinarily accompanied fictional portraits of that prison in British writing. Henry Fielding, for instance, had suggested in 1749 that '*Lettres de Cachet*, Bastiles [sic] and Inquisitions, may, perhaps, give us a livelier Sense of a just and mild Administration, than any of the Blessings we enjoy under it'.[36] The terms of Sterne's refusal to engage in this binary traducement become clearer still if we compare *A Sentimental Journey* with William Cowper's *The Task* (1785). Cowper pits the freedoms of an English, constitutional monarchy against the thraldom of an absolute monarchy:

> We love the man. The paltry pageant you.
> We the chief patron of the Commonwealth;
> You the regardless author of its woes.
> We, for the sake of liberty, a king;
> You chains and bondage for a tyrant's sake.[37]

Cowper deploys the language of chattel slavery to describe the citizen's relation to power under an absolute monarchy. The 'chains and bondage' of the French work to illuminate the contrasting 'liberty' of the enlightened English state. And while Sterne, too, shifts from contemplating African chattel slavery to bemoaning the curtailed rights of a citizen in eighteenth-century France, he signally fails to sound the ringing triumphalist note of Cowper's text. The 'here' where 'we' enjoy liberty, in opposition to the 'there' where 'you' suffer as slaves to a tyrant, are as difficult to keep separate as the bed and chair of the captive's cell in Sterne's text. Instead, Sterne's narrator is both lamenting (Anglican) observer and punitive (French, Catholic) gaoler, both subject and object, inside and outside the suffering on display, which is disquietingly both tragic and, in its excess

and self-infliction, comic. This effect is amplified by the ways in which Sterne likens the captive of the Bastille to the captives of his own country, whose fate he had bemoaned in the opening pages of the novel, and who share the same 'work of affliction' in a prison space. Gross and unchristian injustice, as bodied forth by the prison, is not the (sole) province of France, Sterne's captive confusingly insists.

### *Sterne's Captive in Three Portraits*

Three artistic renderings of 'The Captive' emerged in the penologically crucial decade of the 1770s which elaborate the radicalism of Sterne's text. The first was by John Hamilton Mortimer. In 1774, at the age of 33, he had been unanimously elected President of the Society of Artists, a position he retained until his death in 1779. In the same year, a pen and ink drawing by Mortimer entitled *The Captive, from Sterne's Sentimental Journey* appeared in the Exhibition of the Society of Artists in London.[38] This has since been lost, but a small, brown wash sketch in the Oppé collection, now housed at the Tate, has survived, detailing the same scene (Fig. 6).

Several key details from Sterne's text are present: the fetters on the captive's legs, the straw mattress, serving as both bed and chair, and the dim light, illuminating the figure via a small aperture in the brickwork, above left. His stomach is concave, which, together with his empty plate, profuse beard, and the ragged state of his clothes indicates the privation of his confinement. But, if hungry, his body does not appear 'wasted'; his legs and arms are muscular, strong and full, making the fetters seem both more necessary to prevent his escape and more cruel in succeeding, as though the captive were a healthy animal, penned in his stable of straw. If this might lead us to assume that Mortimer has truncated the thirty-year sentence of Sterne's original, then the pile of 'small sticks' behind him refute it, bearing the etched evidence of the heaped days and nights of his captivity.

Mortimer has manipulated the perspective of the scene, pulling the viewer down and into the prison space to a logically strange degree of intimacy (are we kneeling, sat beside the captive in his cell, or bending over to peer in at him through an opening in the door?). Mortimer also dresses the captive in loose, draped cloth, and gives him a clay urn to drink from, which places us in a Greek, Roman, or perhaps a biblical setting, rather than a contemporary, if crumbling, prison of late eighteenth-century France. This increases the moral freight of the picture (the captive might be Christ, or an early Christian saint) as it seemingly diminishes its contemporary carceral resonances. But Mortimer yokes



*6* John Hamilton Mortimer, *The Captive, from Sterne*, 1774, graphite, ink and watercolour on paper, support, 106 x 128 cm, Tate Britain, London. Photo @ Tate

his prison portrait to the present tense through the metafictional frisson of the captive's glance, just as in Sterne's original. His haggard, haunted gaze is masterfully suspended between the fear of violence and the hope of liberation, and in this, Mortimer elicits the same degree of disquiet in his portrait that Sterne provokes in his. Why are we so proximate to such privation and yet so signally unable, or else unwilling to alleviate it? It is the prisoner's cognisance of our gaze that makes our intimacy with his suffering unnerving, and which collapses the safe and seemly distance necessary for the exercise of our pity.[39]

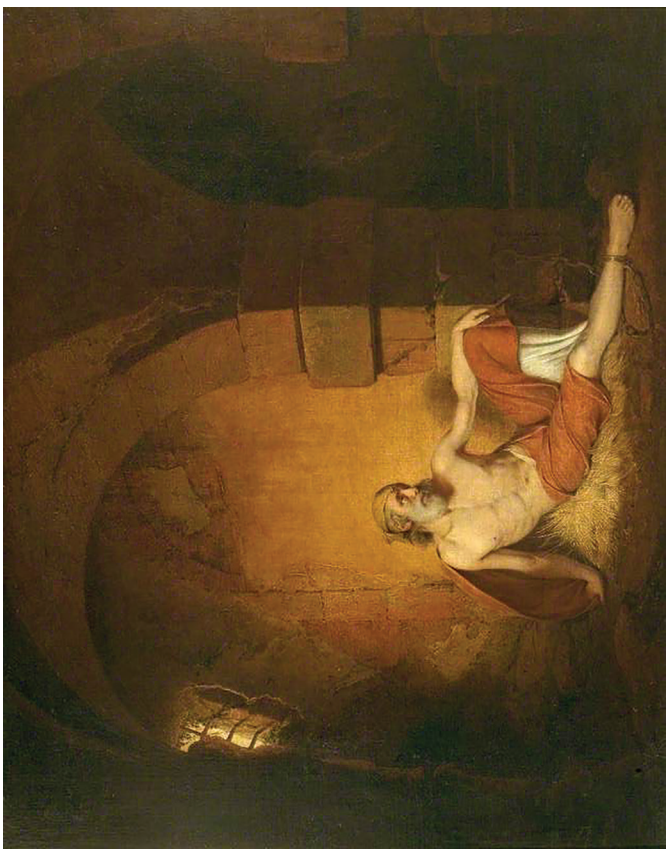
Two later portraits of the captive explore this dynamic differently. Both are by Joseph Wright of Derby. In the early 1770s, Mortimer had decorated a room at Radbourne Hall in Derbyshire with Wright, the sober, industrious 'great empiricist' of English art and Mortimer's loyal and beloved friend.[40] Wright had left England for a two-year stint in Rome in the autumn of 1773, and so cannot have seen the Academy exhibition in which Mortimer's pen and ink drawing was first shown.[41] He must have been familiar with it, however, because, in the summer of 1774, he painted the same scene (Fig. 7).

Mortimer's influence is evident here. The grated window is in the same position relative to the captive as in the earlier portrait, and Wright, too, has manipulated perspective in order to draw the viewer in and down within the prison scene. His captive also sits on a pallet of straw, a fetter on his left ankle, and the chain is fixed to the wall with an identical iron bolt. His water is provided in the same, baked clay urn of biblical antiquity. The captive's stomach is also concave, and he, too, is naked but for the loosely-draped cloth around his middle. But the affect of Wright's portrait is achieved through the captive's palpable despondency, rather than the startling challenge of his gaze. Unlike in Mortimer's portrait, Wright's captive's pale, almost translucent skin testifies to the punishing length of his immurement, his every muscle wasted from inactivity, down to his limp fingers, crossed wrists, and delicately crossed ankles. He is profoundly alone. The moment that this portrait stages is perhaps the one that follows Mortimer's: 'I saw the iron enter into his soul'.

As such, its connection to the contemporary moment is differently orientated. Wright's placement of the prison in biblical antiquity, and the anonymous humanity of its carceral subject recalls the challenge issued to the faithful in the book of Matthew. 'I was a stranger', Christ tells his followers, 'and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not': 'Verily I say unto you, Insasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me'.[42] The sin Christ details is one of inaction: 'ye did it not'. Wright's portrait, by so signally



7 Joseph Wright of Derby, *The Captive, from Sterne*, 1774, oil on canvas, 102 x 127.5 cm, Collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery



*8* Joseph Wright of Derby, *Sterne's Captive*, 1775–1778, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 127 cm, Derby Museum and Art Gallery, Derby. Photo @ Derby Museums

distilling the physical and spiritual privation of the captive, insists that the viewer involve himself, in the name of Christian ethics, in alleviating the suffering of others. The portrait bequeaths to the viewer the unchanging edict to ameliorate the prisoner's distress as though it were Christ's own, since in truth it *is* eternally Christ's own.

If the accusatory stare of Mortimer's captive seems more thrillingly original, Lorenz Eitner has stressed that the influence of Wright's paintings was far-reaching. They instanced, Eitner writes,

> a new type of prison picture in which the whole emphasis falls on the pathos of man-inflicted suffering, witnessed at close range. The figure of the solitary captive now dominates the scene with something of the stillness and solemnity of an *Ecce Homo*. […] The conception of the prisoner as a Man of Sorrows and of jail as a kind of Golgotha, very different from Hogarth's noisy hells for petty offenders, is the absolute opposite of Piranesi's Baroque fantasies in which the humanity of the prisoners is of no consequence.[43]

The revolutionary phrase here is in fact 'man-inflicted'. In early eighteenth-century prison fictions, divine providence remained integral to the mechanics of temporal justice.[44] Even Henry Fielding, Justice of the Peace for Westminster, and a voluble champion of legislative reform, had published his *Examples of the Interposition of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murder* in 1752.[45] Providence remained central to the practice of early modern justice; the fallen man is ushered to the 'grand tribunal' of God's judgement by the exercise of temporal justice, and whether or not the latter is flawed, the former is in every instance unerring.[46] Yet God is pointedly absent from Wright's late eighteenth-century prison cell. The portrait cannot be read as a demonstration of the interposition of God's will in man's justice, but, if anything, the very opposite of this. It is with the viewer that the potential divinity of the image devolves, and it is here that its contemporary challenge sounds. It is we who must enact God's will in our — so far sinfully lacking — interposition in the carceral suffering on display.

This is made more evident in Wright's next articulation of the scene: the portrait with which I began this essay, *Sterne's Captive* (Fig. 8), exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1778 on Wright's return from Rome. In it we can trace Wright's movements through the eternal city. The backdrop to the portrait is, aside from a few minor details, the same as that in his earlier painting, and, although the later painting has been cleaned, their colour scheme is almost identical. This image is more theatrical and less natural than Wright's earlier *Captive*: his staged pose and dramatic



*9* Michelangelo Buonarroti, detail, *The Creation of Adam*, 1508–1512, oil fresco, 280 x 570 cm, Sistine Chapel, The Vatican, Rome. Public domain

costume, his draped clothes now including a cape and headdress, which indicate, non-specifically, his provenance from an ancient culture, his fuller, more muscular figure and regal expression. Yet this painting generates its emotional affect in dialogue with another: Michelangelo's Adam, from the Sistine Chapel.[47] If we place the two images side by side the ways in which Wright's image speaks through Michelangelo's become clear (Fig. 9). The captive's posture is identical to Adam's: his right leg is outstretched, his left leg raised, his body is reclining, supported by his left arm, while his right arm and hand balance identically on his upraised knee. So striking are the similarities, down to the shadowing around his left clavicle, that the differences between the figures are more notable. Where Adam's fingers are languorously outstretched to receive the current of life from God, Wright's prisoner's wrist hangs limp, his fingers dangling down towards the floor, loosely clasping one of the sticks with which Sterne had described the captive etching the 'dismal days and nights' of his captivity. This is a portrait, then, of the absence of God from the prison space. There is no 'interposition of Divine providence' in evidence here. Instead we can read it, to paraphrase Foucault, as God receding from the legible surface of the practice of Western punishment.[48] In the wake of which it is man who, even in the name of Christianity, makes and must amend injustice. Despite the prodigious silence of the captive's cell, it is an image that speaks volubly with others: with Michelangelo's Adam, with Mortimer's earlier drawing of the same subject, with Wright's own earlier painting, and of course with Sterne's text. It is an image that encodes dialogue and a demand for ethical action in its aesthetics.

### *Sterne's Captive and the Penitentiary*

At the same time that *Sterne's Captive* was staging these intertextual conversations with the public, Lord North, William Blackstone, and the brilliant MP and penologist William Eden, were attempting to persuade Parliament to pass legislation that would dramatically increase the number of British citizens who would experience incarceration in solitude for extended periods of time. In 1779 they succeeded and the Penitentiary Act was passed, calling for the construction of two, national penitentiaries to house 900 convicts.[49] Prisoners were to sleep separately, wear a standard issue uniform, be kept to hard labour and fed a 'hard diet' for sentences of up to seven years. The prison thus became the foremost secondary punishment of the state for every legal infraction bar murder. The only completely novel aspect of this legislation was the stipulation that prisoners be housed in solitude, and it was this stipulation which would necessitate the rebuilding of every prison in the country.

The figure who most vociferously espoused this new facet of penal philosophy was Jonas Hanway. Next to John Howard, Hanway was the most influential prison reformer of the century. A successful merchant turned travel writer and philanthropist, in 1758 he and Robert Dingley had founded a Magdalen House, in which prostitutes were accommodated singly, fed a 'spare' diet, and set to a strict daily timetable of work and religious instruction. Between 1758 and 1786, 2,451 women were (apparently voluntarily) resident there, of whom 900 left, either as 'incorrigibles' or at their own request.[50] In 1776, Hanway published *Solitude in Imprisonment with Proper Profitable Labour and a Spare Diet, the most* [...] *Effectual Means of bringing Malefactors* [...] *to a Right Sense of their Condition*, proposing that these measures be extended to all the criminal prisons of England.[51]

Hanway's call for prisoner segregation begins with the assumption that it is everywhere agreed that the prisons are in urgent need of wholesale reform. As they are, they promote rather than suppress the conjoined evils of criminality and disease, they reward the villainous inmate, and destroy the innocent.[52] Hanway argues in 1776, and Howard concurs in 1777, that in order to stamp out the worst depravities of eighteenth-century prison culture they must no longer operate on a commercial basis.[53] Rather than purchasing necessaries from the keeper, all prisoners should be provided with adequate food, clothing, bedding, and heating and lighting in winter, the cost of which would be met either by the State, or by the fruits of their labour within the prison.[54] This posed something of a problem for the prison reform movement, since large portions of the working population could not rely on having access to these basic provisions in their own homes. If the reformed prisons were to safeguard inmates from violence, disease, hunger and cold, what was to stop them from acting as an enticement to crime? Howard states the difficulty as follows:

> It may be said, that from the many conveniences suggested in this structure of the gaols, and the removal of those hardships which rendered them so terrible, the dread of being confined in them will in great measure be taken off, and the lower classes of people will find them more comfortable places of residence than their own houses.[55]

Where would the requisite 'terror' and 'dread' of the prison issue from in the well-regulated penitentiary? Howard demurs from stating a solution to this problem, suggesting only that that the lack of 'amusement' would make a prison 'irksome' to the dissolute.[56] But Hanway both poses the question and then emphatically answers it for his readers: 'It may be urged, — will not this kind of treatment tempt some […] to become prisoners,

in order that they may get cloaths upon their backs? What! No: solitude is too terrible to them to admit of such a suggestion!'[57]

Solitary incarceration, a roundly reviled penal practice signalising the most deplorably *ancien* of *régimes*, was, then, to become the cornerstone of the new, 'humane' English penitentiaries. In this, the penal philosophers can be seen to repurpose the bifurcated subject position of 'The Captive'. The imagined solitary prisoner of Howard and Hanway's texts is at once 'our own' and at the same time antithetical to such a status; he is both a contemporary English citizen of an enlightened state and the dejected subject of an antique, absolute monarchy. Sterne's captive can be seen to inhabit the kind of prison the reformers would obliterate: dank, cold, disease-ridden, crumbling and outmoded. He also inhabits the kind of prison the reformers would inaugurate: one in which the prisoner is entirely alone and in communion only with his own soul. He at once occupies a there and a here, a past and a possible future. Hanway insists that incarceration in solitude is a radical innovation: 'for heaven's sake' he exclaims, 'let us try the experiment of solitary imprisonment!'[58] And yet as the artistic renderings of 'The Captive' discussed here amply demonstrate, it is an 'experiment' that was rooted in antiquity. A new, Protestant penitentiary was erected on the template of an ancient, Catholic penality. In this disorientating double vision, the reformers illuminate the innate tension of the penality of the penitentiary: the difficulty of — at one and the same time — punishing inmates for an infraction of the past, and, newly, rehabilitating them for participation in the society of the future.

Having yoked the penality of the new penitentiary to the terror and dread ordinarily associated with the Bastille, the reformers then signally separate themselves from it with the added injunction of incarceration at hard labour. In this way, work is cast as a kindness to the prisoner, since it ameliorates the horrors of solitude which might otherwise lead to an unchristian, spiritual despair. 'I take it for granted they will gladly work', Hanway assures his readers, 'they will fill up the void, which *solitude* would otherwise render dreadful'.[59] Again the penitentiary is artfully suspended between reformation and rebuke, 'gladness' and 'dread'. This labour, Bentham suggests in 1778, should be 'the hardest, most servile' imaginable: 'Treading in a wheel; Drawing in a capstern for turning a mill, or other machine or engine; Beating hemp; Rasping logwood', and, for those unable to perform these tasks, weaving, spinning and knitting.[60] These suggestions would be ratified in law in almost identical terms a year later in the Penitentiary Act.[61] Shorn of its sentimental affect, the captive's 'work of affliction' thus assumes an unironic, central place in penitential penality. By incarcerating prisoners in solitude, the penitentiaries would

conjure affinities with the 'much dreaded' Bastille. In enforcing a strict daily timetable of hard physical labour, they would distance themselves therefrom. Here again, it is not (entirely) in England as it is in France in the reformist writings of the 1770s.

### *Conclusion: The Liberties of Sterne*

This is not to argue for a causal relationship between Sterne's narrative method and the ideational innovations of prison reform discourse in the decade that followed *A Sentimental Journey*'s publication. It is flatly impossible to read 'The Captive' as an argument that many more people should spend more time in solitary confinement without placing interpretational burdens on the text that it is both unwilling and unable to bear. It seems to me that Sterne collapses stable distinctions between self and other, English and French, sufferer and persecutor, in a prison space that is deliberately designed to evoke the Bastille in order to implicate his readers in the suffering that they were well used to deploring from afar. In doing so, he brings the abuses he chronicles home. The prison reformers of the 1770s blur the distinction between the Bastille and the British prison for the very opposite reason: to reassure their readers that the new penitentiaries will not be so very far removed from the most dreaded dungeon in Europe as to render them entirely distinct. Sterne's text brings what seems disparate together in order to insist that the suffering of the prison space is complicatedly and shamefully our own. Reformist discourse does so in order to celebrate that similitude. With 'The Captive' Sterne is not (only) failing to engage in a contemporary debate about slavery; he is (also) engaging in a contemporary debate about the prison as a punitive instrument of the State.

Reading 'The Captive' as Yorick's failure to address the horrors of chattel slavery, Keymer contends that he 'weeps only for a victim who resembles himself, and whose predicament implicates only the convenient bugbear of foreign Absolutism'.[62] Contextualising 'The Captive' in the prison debate of the 1770s, however, this 'only' is revealed as unstable, and a source of the episode's radicalism. The 'convenient bugbear' of an Absolutism that is foreign to Britain is not now readily discoverable in Sterne. It is far less clearly or cleanly available as a reading than in Arbuthnot's, or Cowper's, or Fielding's fictions of the Bastille. As the Anglican narrator adopts the role of a Catholic, French gaoler, the bugbear of France becomes discomfortingly entwined with the moral failings of Britain, and the punitive architecture of the English debt laws are made to mirror the absolutism that is bodied forth by the French state prison. It is the text's refusal to repeat glib British triumphalism over the legislative

failings of France that inform Lana Asfour's conclusion, that *A Sentimental Journey* 'represented a rare English work that was sympathetic towards France and French Culture', citing the book's unusually enthusiastic reception, its many fictional continuations, and its novelistic imitators in France in the second half of the eighteenth century.[63]

Keymer's elegant reading of 'The Captive' ends with the observation that Wright's portrait, and the thousands of imprints of that image which hung in the windows of the print shops of England in 1778, 'bear […] witness to its availability for purely sentimental consumption', shorn of all traces of Sterne's destabilising irony and with all vestiges of references to chattel slavery shorn away.[64] But these images were exhibited at the acme of a Parliamentary debate over the function and future of the prison, one which would redraft that structure's place in state-sanctioned penality in ways that continue to define contemporary jurisprudence. As such, Wright and Mortimer's reimaginings of the captive accrue more depth and potency than those critical readings of the passage as an avoidance of the problematics of slavery would allow. They direct the viewer back to the bifurcated subject position of Sterne's text, both through their titles, and in the quotations that accompanied the reviews of their exhibition in the press. And they importantly elaborate the ways in which the narrator/reader/viewer's failure to intercede and alleviate the suffering on display is framed as a pointed, live Christian failing. These images do more than silence a debate about slavery. They stage an 'eloquent' 'conversation', to use the *Chronicle*'s allusive terms, about the prison space with Christian iconography and ethics, with Sterne's original, and with each other. It was a conversation that demanded a response, not in spite of, but because of the viewer's ethical culpability in the human suffering before them. If the dominant mode in these texts and images is indeed sentimentalism, it is in this reckoning neither pure, nor simple.

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## NOTES

1 *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 2712, 1 May 1778, 2–3. Italics in the original.
2 *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 1725, 29 April 1778, 2.
3 *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 1710, 11 April 1778, 5.
4 Simon Devereaux, in 'The Making of the Penitentiary Act, 1775–1779',

*The Historical Journal*, 42.2 (1999), 405–33 (417–29), demonstrates that the Penitentiary Act of 1779 was in fact an amelioration of the more radical proposals of the Hard Labour Bill. The Penitentiary Act called for the construction of just two national penitentiaries. 19 Geo III (1779) c.74. *The Statutes at Large*, 42 vols (Cambridge: Danby Pickering, 1775–1781), vol. 32, 1778–79, 417–45.

5 *Commons Sessional Papers*, Section 2, vol. 28, 16 Geo III (1778), 291–345 (293).

6 Perhaps the most accessible of the many histories of early modern prison culture remains Anthony Babington, *The English Bastille: A History of Newgate Gaol and Prison Conditions in Britain 1188–1902* (MacDonald, 1971); see also Sean McConville, 'Local Justice: The Jail', in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, ed. by Norval Morris and David Rothman (OUP, 1995), 297–327.

7 Lesser crimes would be punished with a fine. Jeremy Bentham, *A View of the Hard Labour Bill* (1778), 20–47.

8 See Anthony J. Draper, 'Cesare Beccaria's Influence on English Discussions of Punishment, 1764–1789', *History of European Ideas*, 26 (2007), 177–99.

9 J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 564.

10 16 Geo III (1776) c.43. *The Statutes at Large*, 42 vols (Cambridge: Danby Pickering, 1775–1781), vol. 32.

11 Seán McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration, Vol I, 1750–1877* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 106. See also Charles Campbell, *The Intolerable Hulks: British Shipboard Confinement 1776–1857* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1993), 27–39.

12 *The Parliamentary Register; or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons, 1774–1780*, ed. by John Stockdale, 17 vols (1775–80), vol. 9 (1778), 4.

13 For the Parliamentary discussion around the Convict Act, see *The Journals of the House of Commons*, 101 vols, vols 1–51 reissued 1803, vol. 36 [1776–78], particularly, 926–32, additionally 945, 949, 952, 962–3 and 967. In the same volume, the Hard Labour Bill's passage through the House is at 952, 970, 972 and 977.

14 *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 36, 987, 997.

15 For examples of the former interpretation, see, for instance, John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 194 and W.B. Gerard, 'Laurence Sterne, the Apostrophe, and American Abolitionism, 1788–1831', in *Swiftly Sterneward: Essays on Laurence Sterne and His Times in Honour*

*of Melvyn New*, ed. by W.B. Gerard, E. Derek Taylor, and Robert G. Walker (Newark: University of Delaware, 2011), 181–206. For the latter, see, most compellingly, Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (CUP, 1996), 71–79, and Paul Moore, 'Sterne, Tristram, Yorick, Birds, and Beasts', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 10.1 (Spring 1987), 43–54 (45).

16 Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography* (OUP, 2002), 15–18; Thomas Keymer, '*A Sentimental Journey* and the failure of feeling', in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. by Thomas Keymer (CUP, 2009), 79–94; see especially 89–90. These readings view 'The Captive' as Sterne's failed attempt to respond to the direct request of Ignatius Sancho that he write of the plight of the slave.

17 Keymer, '*A Sentimental Journey* and the failure of feeling', 92.

18 Gerard, 'Laurence Sterne, the Apostrophe, and American Abolitionism, 1788–1831', 119.

19 From Kenneth MacLean, 'Imagination and Sympathy: Sterne and Adam Smith', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10.3 (June, 1949), 399–410 ff. The sermons that Stout in particular has demonstrated are of relevance to Sterne's fictional writings on captivity, slavery, and the ethics of spectatorship include: Sermon 3, 'Philanthropy recommended'; Sermon 7, 'Vindication of Human Nature'; Sermon 10, 'Job's account of the shortness and troubles of life'; and Sermon 15, 'Job's expostulation with his wife'. See *Sermons*, 23–39; 65–73; 91–102; 140–149. Stout's readings of the sermons are given in the notes to the Florida edition of *A Sentimental Journey,* 95.24; 96.3; 96.4–6; 98.1–5.

20 Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 84.

21 Of the Accounts of the Ordinary of Newgate, Paul Linebaugh claims that 'they enjoyed one of the widest markets that printed prose narratives could obtain in the eighteenth century'; 'The Ordinary of Newgate and his Account', in *Crime in England 1550–1800*, ed. by J.S. Cockburn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 246–69 (250).

22 William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols (1765–69), vol. 4, 267.

23 Edward Kimber, *The History of Joe Thompson*, 2 vols (J. Hinton, 1750), vol. 2, 57, 38.

24 Of the many instances of the sentimental man of means, liberating the poor debtor in English prisons of the period, see, for instance, Sarah Scott, *The History of Sir George Ellison*, 2 vols (A. Millar, 1766), vol. 2, 74–85. Ellison visits the prisons of his county, in search of deserving debtors to assist: Scott details 'his yearly tour for the release of debtors',

vol. 2, 72.
25 *A Report […] Relating to the Marshalsea Prison* (1729), 3.
26 John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1777), 33.
27 Howard, *State of the Prisons*, Appendix, 88.
28 Archibald Arbuthnot, *The Life, Adventures, and Many and Great Vicissitudes of Fortune of Simon, Lord Lovat* (J. Stanton, 1746), 56.
29 Edward M. Furgol, 'Fraser, Simon, eleventh Lord Lovat (1667/8–1747)', in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/article/10122?docPos=3>, accessed 10 August 2022.
30 Arbuthnot, *Life, […] of Simon, Lord Lovat*, 56.
31 Paul D. Halliday, *Habeas Corpus: From England to Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1–2.
32 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Penguin, 1991 [1975]), 35.
33 Arbuthnot, *Life […] of Simon, Lord Lovat*, 67.
34 *The Book of Common-Prayer* (Edinburgh, 1713), Psalm 105.18. *The King James Bible* renders the phrase differently: 'He was laid in iron', Psalm 105.18. The biblical references of the passage, and Sterne's use of it in his sermons, are elucidated in the notes to the Florida edition of *A Sentimental Journey*, 98.7–9.
35 Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography*, 16.
36 Henry Fielding, *A Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury* (1749), 40.
37 William Cowper, *The Task*, v, 348–52. *The Task and Selected Other Poems*, ed. by James Sambrook (New York: Longman, 1994), 55–228.
38 Benedict Nicolson, 'Introduction', *John Hamilton Mortimer ARA 1740–1779: Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1968), 5–12 (8–9).
39 Gerard has explored the ethics of the sentimental gaze with reference to Maria, who is often depicted looking down. See W.B. Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 97–103.
40 Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 9.
41 Paulson, *Emblem and Expression*, 11–12.
42 *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, Authorised King James Version*, Matthew 25.43–45.
43 Lorenz Eitner, 'Cages, Prisons, and Captives in Eighteenth-Century Art', in *Images of Romanticism: Verbal and Visual Affinities*, ed. by Karl Kroeber and William Walling (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 13–38 (34).

44 This was true both in terms of the process of the criminal trial in the period, and in criminal lives, such as *The Ordinary of Newgate, his Account* (for one example, see *The Ordinary of Newgate, his Account*, 22 March 1704, verso, for a description of the 'dreadful tribunal' to which the condemned criminal was to be ushered, from the lesser tribunals of man). See also, fulsomely, Laurie Throness, *A Protestant Purgatory: The Theological Origins of the Penitentiary Act, 1779* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).
45 Henry Fielding, *Examples of the Interposition of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murder […]* (1752).
46 See, for instance, John Villette, *The Annals of Newgate: or, Malefactors Register*, 4 vols (1776), vol. 3, 188, 253, 323.
47 The similarity was identified by Benedict Nicolson, *Joseph Wright of Derby, Painter of Light* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), 61.
48 'The right to punish has been shifted from the vengeance of the sovereign to the defence of society', Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 90.
49 19 Geo III (1779) c.74.
50 John Hutchins, *Jonas Hanway: 1712–1786* (The Faith Press, 1940), 115.
51 Jonas Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment* (1776), 13.
52 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment*, 8. See also Howard, who describes the unreformed prisons as 'sources of misery, disease, and wickedness', *State of the Prisons*, 21.
53 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment*, 35; Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 51, 57.
54 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment*, 30.
55 Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 76.
56 Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 77.
57 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonmen*t, 30.
58 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment*, 99.
59 Hanway, *Solitude in Imprisonment*, 34.
60 Bentham, *View of the Hard Labour Bill*, 46–47.
61 With the additions 'making cordage, or any other hard and laborious service'; 19 Geo III c.74. par. XXXIII (432).
62 Keymer, '*A Sentimental Journey* and the failure of feeling', 92.
63 Lana Asfour, 'Movements of Sensibility and Sentiment: Sterne in Eighteenth-Century France', in *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*, ed. by Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer (Bloomsbury, 2008), 9–31 (14).
64 Keymer, '*A Sentimental Journey* and the failure of feeling', 92.