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We will never know his name, and can only guess at his motives. He was probably a sailor, who possessed a copy of W. W. Ryland's stipple engraving (1779) after Angelica Kauffman's painting of 'Maria - Moulines', and had time on his hands. He cut out Maria's face, coloured it in, stitches it on an oval piece of canvas, and skilfully embroidered the rest with wool and silk: her white dress, her dog Sylvio, a brook, and a poplar tree (see Fig. 4). His 'woolwork' is unusual in that it does not depict a ship or naval scene, as is normally the case in this curious genre (woolwork being a type of woven or embroidered picture widely produced by sailors in the period, usually of their own vessels). And although this is a rare and early example, it is not the only one. At least one similar woolwork has recently been auctioned on the eBay website, and has an intriguing series of three finely-wrought silk embroidered pictures with cutwork appliques, which tell the entire story that inspired them, from Maria sitting by the roadside in *A Sentimental Journey* to Yorick discovering her there and escorting her into Moulines. Sterne would have been pleased to find his 'Work of Redemption' (Letters 399) so popular in this humble species of folk art.

He would also have been intrigued by the art form, and by the way in which his deliberate set-piece of sentimental writing had been translated into a visual medium, for he had a vivid interest in the relationship between word and image. From the very start of his writing career, he was aware of the self-promoting value of graphic representation in the business of marketing his work. On arriving in London to see how the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy* were doing, he asked William Hogarth to design a frontispiece for the second (first London) edition of his book, using Richard Berenger, a close friend of Garrick and an acquaintance of Hogarth, as an intermediary. In his letter to Berenger, he asks 'for no more than ten Strokes of Hogarth's witty Chisel, to clap at the Front of my next Edition of *Shandy*', and specifies the subject: 'the loosest Sketch in nature of Trim's reading the sermon to my father & my uncle Toby' (Letters 99, 101). The remarkable result of this request from an obscure clergyman from the north of England to one of the most famous artists of the day was the frontispiece to volume 1 (engraved by Simon François Ravenet, Hogarth's favourite engraver and a leading book illustrator of the period), the second state of which, with clock and hat added, adorned all subsequent London printings and was frequently adopted in other editions. Hogarth also designed a frontispiece for volume 4, depicting the christening of baby Tristram, and can thus be listed as Sterne's first illustrator. His two frontispieces (see Fig. 5) fixed the visual features of Shandy Hall's inhabitants until the present day, not only by virtue of their inclusion in many of the most prominent editions of *Tristram Shandy*, but also because other illustrators have tended to follow Hogarth's designs when representing the sermon-reading and christening scenes.

Later that spring, Sterne managed to persuade Sir Joshua Reynolds to paint his portrait. Now in the National Portrait Gallery and known as the Lansdowne portrait, this splendid oil shows Sterne in full clerical garb, gazing at the viewer, resting his right elbow on a table with writing implements and the manuscript of *Tristram Shandy*, and leaning his head on his right hand.
His other hand rests almost jauntily on his hip, and his clerical bob-wig is slightly askew. The painting was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1761, where a visitor observed that Sterne appears 'in as facetious a humour as if he would tell you a story of Tristram Shandy', and was engraved in mezzotint for mounting and framing by Edward Fisher and again by S. W. Reynolds. A line engraving was made by Ravenet to serve as frontispiece to the two volumes of Sterne's sermons published in May under the somewhat scandalous title of The Sermons of Mr. Yorick, when many readers took offence at Sterne's use of his jesting Yorick persona in a sacred context. This portrait was to lead a life of its own, reappearing and subtly changing in numerous editions, both British and foreign. It came to stand model for a significant number of illustrations in which Sterne's fictional characters, notably Yorick, are given their own features, thus registering, though also oversimplifying, an association of identities that Sterne had established himself. Indeed, his face as represented by Reynolds crops up in the most unexpected places, such as a plate in George Henry Millar's New, Complete and Universal System of Geography (1783, facing II, 671), with the caption 'The Beggars asking Alms of Sterne, at Montreuil in France'. Thus, from the beginning, Sterne's work and persona were associated with, and promoted by, the two greatest living British painters, at a point in the history of book illustration when very few novels were illustrated at all.2

The second person to illustrate Sterne's work was Sterne himself, a fact sometimes overlooked, but there is no doubt that he designed the curious squiggles — captioned 'Inv. T. S /Scul. T. S' in volume 6, the woodcut depicting Corporal Trim's flourish in volume 9, the coat of arms in A Sentimental Journey, and of course that 'motly emblem of my work!', the hand-marbled leaf in volume 3 of Tristram Shandy, which in early editions cleverly subverts the basic principle of the printed book as identical reproduction. The two marbled pages, with their margins and page-numbers, are unique 'texts' that turn each copy of Tristram Shandy into an individual work of art.3

The visual quality of much of Sterne's writing — both in the highly pictorial descriptions of characters and scenes and in the allusions to artists and contemporary aesthetic theory — has often been noted. Commentators on his narrative technique regularly note his distinctive use of the indescribability trope ('words cannot paint...') and the visual imperative, and it is striking how frequently the reader is urged to 'behold' or 'observe', to 'picture' or 'see' a scene. Of particular relevance in this context is the point in Tristram Shandy at which the reader is openly invited to produce an illustration to the text on a page left blank for the purpose in volume 6. Here the reader is asked to imagine the widow Wadman, and to 'call for pen and ink — here's paper ready to your hand. — Sit down, Sir, paint her to your own mind — as like your mistress as you can — as unlike your wife as your conscience will let you' (TS 6,38,566). The blank page is a logical complement to the black and marbled pages, another witness to the impossibility of perfect communication in language, which may be why no early reader is known to have taken up Tristram's challenge in any surviving copy.4

Few contemporary novelists were so frequently portrayed as Sterne. Even before he shot to fame, George Romney is said to have painted him (a portrait now unfortunately lost), and we know of an early caricature in oil of Sterne in a harlequin's costume by Thomas Bridges, owned by Dr James Atkinson in York, who showed it to the collector Thomas Frognall Dibdin in 1838. The painting has now disappeared, but Dibdin had an engraving made, a double picture of Bridges as mountebank and Sterne as his apprentice. When famous, Sterne was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Thomas Patch, Carmontelle (Louis Carrogis), and John Hamilton Mortimer; Joseph...
Nollekens sculpted a life-size bust. Sterne obviously realised that portraits were important for the marketing of his work, and his letters contain numerous references to copies of his own likeness that were made, given to friends, or shown to others, as well as references to portraits of people he knew and liked, such as Commodore and Mrs James, close friends of his last years, at whose house he first met Eliza Draper, the young woman he fell in love with in 1767, and whose portrait he banded about in public and immortalised in the opening pages of A Sentimental Journey.

Equally striking is Sterne's theoretical and technical know-how. His satire of connoisseurs in Tristram Shandy indicates his intimate knowledge of contemporary aesthetic terminology, and the same is clear from his extended play on Hogarth's treatise, The Analysis of Beauty (1753), in the opening volumes of the work. He also clearly expects his readers to pick up allusions to specific works of art, as when Father Lorenzo in A Sentimental Journey is described in terms of a painting by the Italian baroque master Guido Reni. Sterne listed painting as one of his hobbies, and John Croft, whose inimical characteristic comment is one of the few we have, confirms that he liked to paint; 'he had a good idea of Drawing, but not the least of mixing his colours', is Croft's characteristic comment. Towards the end of his life, Sterne was still riding this hobby-horse when he 'presented [Mrs James] ... with colours, and an apparatus for painting, and gave her several lessons before I left town' (Letters 412).

Finally, of course, there is Sterne's active involvement in the practical design of his books, his insistence that layout, typeface, and format were essential contributors to meaning and effect, the fact that he personally oversaw the production of his texts, and the probability that he composed them with an eye to the exact appearance of the words on the page (see ch. 9 of this work). Read from a painterly point of view, his novels and sermons appear to supply of gratuitous visual detail, or using the technique of freeze-framing the action, as when the Shandy brothers take several chapters to descend a staircase. (It is this sequence (TS 4.9-13.335-43) that inspired Patrick Caulfield, commissioned to design a tapestry for the British Library at St Pancras in 1994, in his monumental 'Pause on the Landing', now displayed in the hall of the library's conference centre.) When we think of Tristram Shandy, we see the Shandy brothers in the parlour, talking and smoking pipes; when we think of A Sentimental Journey, we see Yorick and Father Lorenzo exchanging snuff boxes in front of the remise door. It is not to be wondered at that Sterne has become one of the most illustrated writers of English literature.

For the history of the reception of a literary work, illustrations are an important source, as Robert Halsband demonstrated in his groundbreaking history of Alexander Pope's The Rape of the Lock (1714). David Blewett, who does something similar for Robinson Crusoe (1719), justly remarks that 'the repeated illustration of the same scene in successive illustrated editions...the simultaneous existence of several rival editions with illustrations of the same scene...reinforces the importance and power of those scenes, fixing them in the memory, like a device of rhetoric, while also building up a collective visual comment'. Sterne is an ideal subject for reception history of this kind, as both the most published and the most illustrated novelist of the eighteenth century; the frequency as well as consistency of illustrations of his works over time enable us to trace in detail the fluctuations of his critical reception. The English-language editions alone yield well over 1,300 different illustrations, and the field is so vast that it must be subdivided. In what follows, I take into account paintings and prints, book illustrations, and artefacts illustrating Tristram Shandy and A Sentimental Journey, and trace the ways in which these have both reflected and influenced changing responses to, and understandings of, Sterne's literary output. Because these two works were (and are) differently received, it will be necessary to distinguish between them; in this, as in other respects, his writing has, as he famously puts it, 'more handles than one' (Letters 411).

**Tristram Shandy**

In true Shandean fashion, the earliest known paintings based on Tristram Shandy are known only by name. Painted in 1761 and 1762 by George Romney, who knew Sterne when he lived in York, these canvases represented the death of Le Fever, Dr Slop's encounter with Obadiah, Uncle Toby and Obadiah in the garden, and the introduction of Slop to the Shandy brothers. The last survives in the form of an engraving reproduced in William Hayley's Life of George Romney (1809), and shows, in a crowded frame, the Shandy brothers and Obadiah realistically portrayed, with a caricatured Dr Slop. Another early series of four images did survive in its entirety, designed in 1772 by the amateur draughtsman Henry William Bunbury. 'The Overthrow of Dr Slop', 'The Battle of the Cataplasm', 'The Siege of Namur' (Fig. 6), and 'The Damnation of Obadiah' were engraved and published by James Bretheren in 1773, reprinted in 1799 by S. W. Fores, and lithographed in 1815-17; at least one Dublin piracy is known. Bretheren and Fores dealt in large numbers, and sets, coloured and uncoloured, still turn up for sale with some regularity. 'The Battle of the Cataplasm' was copied as a frontispiece in a 1779 Dublin printing of Tristram Shandy, but otherwise these designs were used exclusively in the print trade. For Bunbury, Tristram Shandy was clearly, above all, a comic novel: both in his choice of subjects and in the caricaturing
Figure 6: Henry William Bunbury, 'The Siege of Namur' (designed 1772, engraved 1773).

Tendency of his designs, Bunbury opted for farce as opposed to humour, portraying Sterne's characters as conspicuously mad.7

The same is true of the series of twelve prints designed by Robert Dighton in 1784 and published by Carington Bowles in 1785 under the title 'Prints, representing the most interesting, sentimental, and humorous Scenes, in Tristram Shandy'. Like Bunbury, Dighton was free to use his own format, working as he did for the print trade as opposed to a book publisher. He opted for landscape folio, an unusual and 'wide' horizontal format, which allowed him to include copious detail. Dighton obviously knew the designs of three fellow illustrators, all of whom worked for the book trade. These were Michael Angelo Rooker, Thomas Stothard, and Daniel Dodd, who had designed plates for three editions of Sterne a few years beforehand: the 1780 Collected Works brought out by a consortium of booksellers led by William Strahan, the 1781 reprint of Sterne's novels in Harrison's Novelist's Magazine, and Joseph Wenman's cheap edition (also 1781) in his Complete Circulating Library series. To these can be added a series of designs by John Nixon, of which only a few were actually worked out, for the tenth (1787) and later editions of The Beauties of Sterne, a popular compilation published by George Kearsley in 1782, and the illustrations designed by Richard Corbould and others for Cooke's Novelist's Pocket Library series in the 1790s.8

There can be little doubt that these mass-produced and frequently reprinted plates shaped readers' reactions to Sterne's strange novel. It is striking how often illustrators were drawn to the same passages: Hogarth and Bunbury set the pattern, and beyond them there is considerable overlap in subject matter, with a strong emphasis on the pathetic story of Le Fever and on the comic subplots of Uncle Toby, Corporal Trim, and the widow Wadman. The illustrations thus further the sense of Tristram Shandy as a curious collection of memorable scenes, an effect reinforced by The Beauties of Sterne, which anthologised the separate scenes, emphasising the humorous and sentimental features of the curtailed selections. Noteworthy as well as exceptional is a rare version of Tristram Shandy published around 1785 under the fictitious imprint 'Amsterdam: for P. van Slaukenberg, 1771', which contains fourteen sexually explicit illustrations with captions from the text such as 'The duchess take that slit' and 'Tom's had more gristle in it'.9

Other than the examples noted above, very few paintings were based on Tristram Shandy, even if one also includes George Stubbs's 1762 painting of a racehorse owned by Viscount Bolingbroke, called Tristram Shandy, which ran at Newmarket in the 1760s. The Royal Academy exhibited only two (rather insignificant) canvases in the eighteenth century, by William Hincks and Henry Singleton, both inspired by Le Fever's story. The relative unpopularity of Tristram Shandy with illustrators would change in the next century, with Charles Robert Leslie's painting 'Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman', first exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1831, of which at least three versions exist. Leslie's image became a bestseller, and engravings after it were sold all over Europe; 'Phiz', illustrating Dickens's Dombey and Son (1848), shows one hanging on the wall in Dombey's dining room (ch. 16). From the midcentury, it began appearing on the lids of Staffordshire pots containing 'Russian Bear's Grease', a perfumed hair treatment, and it turns up thereafter in equally unexpected places, including bookmarks issued in the early twentieth century by the Scottish Widows Fund, an Edinburgh-based mutual life office, and the logo of the Australian breakfast cereals firm founded in 1893 as the Uncle Tobys Company.10 Thus Tristram came to be overshadowed by his sentimental uncle, a fact illustrated by popular nineteenth-century American editions, which took for their frontispiece a striking portrait of Toby by Felix Octavius Darley, who emphasises his benevolence. The contrast with the demented war-gamer of Bunbury's illustrations is remarkable.

The most recent adaptations of Tristram Shandy in visual media, by the cartoonist Martin Rowson and the film maker Michael Winterbottom, follow the pictorial tradition by curtailing Sterne's text considerably. Rowson's cartoon version of 1996 skips most of the later volumes of Sterne's book, putting in their stead brilliant modern equivalents for Sterne's self-conscious
play on contemporary modes of narration: thus we get ‘Oliver Stone's *Tristram Shandy: From a Place called Namur to Hell and Back*, starring, among others, ‘Meryl Streep as “Trim”’. More recently still, Michael Winterbottom's motion picture *Tristram Shandy: A Cock and Bull Story* (2006) inserts highlights from Sterne's novel in a narrative frame that foregrounds the rivalries of the two main comic actors and the problems of financing the film. Both adaptations focus on a selection of set pieces, and stress the wildly digressive nature of the narrative, representing Sterne's text in a caricaturing sequence of frames and scenes. Interestingly, both these reworkings of *Tristram Shandy* ignore the sentimental and moral aspects of Sterne's text, and instead emphasise the bawdy and scatological potential.

**A Sentimental Journey**

*Tristram Shandy* yields a very different picture. Bunbury's ‘The Departure of La Fleur from Montreuil’, which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1779, is characteristic: unlike his caricaturing *Tristram Shandy* prints, this one is soft-toned and sentimental. It was stipple-engraved by Thomas Watson in 1781 and, to judge from the bilingual caption (English and French), produced for the international market; at least one Dublin piracy used it as a frontispiece. The popularity of *A Sentimental Journey* is further attested by the survival of an illustrated fan from 1796 (fans based on fashionable novels had been a phenomenon since Richardson's *Pamela* half a century beforehand), the continuous plated double paper leaf of which contains three stipple etched and engraved scenes in oval cartouches. Entitled ‘Yorick & The Monk’, ‘La Fleur & Madame de Loo•$, and ‘Yorick & The Grovers Wife’, all three scenes are realistically depicted. The Royal Academy exhibited some thirty-five paintings and engravings during the *Sentimental Journey* between 1768 and 1820. Favourite subjects were the captive in his cell, the peasant mourning his dead ass, Yorick and the monk exchanging snuff boxes, and similar sentimental scenes and vignettes that offered themselves readily for illustration. A good example of the way in which Sterne generated illustrations by using pictorial language is found in the episode captioned ‘The Captive. Paris’, in which Yorick literally imagines the captive’s ‘picture’ and describes the setting, posture, and even the lighting of the portrait (S/J/BJ 97–8). The most popular subject, however, was Maria of Moulines, who sat for almost one third of all illustrations. Abandoned by her lover, and deeply melancholic, Maria had first appeared in volume 9 of *Tristram Shandy*, when Tristram finds her sitting by a brook under a poplar tree, playing her shepherd’s flute and accompanied by a little goat – an animal

that somewhat detracts from the sentimental dignity of the scene. Towards the end of *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick, too, meets Maria:

When we had got within half a league of Moulines, at a little opening in the road leading to a thicket, I discovered poor Maria sitting under a poplar—she was sitting with her elbow in her lap, and her head leaning on one side within her hand—a small brook ran at the foot of the tree ... She was dress'd in white, and much as my friend described her, except that her hair hung loose, which before was twisted within a silk net.—She had, superadded likewise to her jacket, a pale green ribband which fell across her shoulder to the waist; at the end of which hung her pipe.—

Since meeting Tristram, Maria goes on to tell Yorick, in a passage poised between pathos and absurdity, that her goat has left her, to be replaced by a dog called Sylvio; tears are shed, Maria reveals a handkerchief embroidered with a capital S (S for Sylvio, or perhaps even for Shandy or Sterne), and Yorick accompanies her to Moulines. The episode was anthologised widely, appearing prominently in compilations such as *The Beauties of Sterne* (1782, with numerous reprints well into the nineteenth century) and *Gleanings from the Works of Laurence Sterne* (1796), and it shows Sterne's management of his own reputation at its most astute. The reference to *Tristram Shandy* is an early example of product placement, the S on the handkerchief underscoring the possible identification of Sterne with his characters, and even suggesting an element of autobiography in the fiction; small wonder that travellers went on sentimental pilgrimages to Moulines in the hope of meeting Maria, or that texts appeared under titles like *The Letters of Maria, with an Account of her Death in the Castle of Valerie* (1790). As a stimulus to visual representation, the passage also hands the illustrator useful specifications such as the poplar tree, while also offering, in its delicate innuendoes and hints of self-mockery, considerable freedom of artistic choice.

The first Maria painting was exhibited in 1773 by George Carter, who created at least six paintings based on *A Sentimental Journey*, and painted his daughter in the attitude of Maria; it was mezzotinted a year later. Fourteen other Marias were exhibited between 1774 and 1792, of which ten went into mass production as prints. David McKitterick has pointed out that, although oil paintings took pride of place at the Royal Academy, ‘their reputation and their influence depended on the trade in reproductive engravings’. Too little is known of the precise scope of the print trade of the period, but the market was expanding rapidly, free-standing prints were sold in great numbers, and many of these illustrations will have entered the cultural memory of readers in much the way that modern paperback cover images become associated with, and condition response to, the text within. It may well have been these mostly
very sentimental illustrations, rather than Sterne’s decidedly ambiguous text, that fixed his late-eighteenth-century reputation as an exponent of pure sensibility.

Of the many Marias, Angelica Kauffman’s ‘Maria – Moulines’, one of several produced by the artist, exhibited in 1777 and engraved in 1779 by William Wynne Ryland (see Fig. 7), became in due course the best known, a process fuelled in the 1780s when Josiah Wedgwood began using Lady Templetown’s design ‘Poor Maria’ for his jasperware tea service, so disseminating her image on candlesticks, cameo brooches, bud vases, and other consumer articles. This image of Maria was so well known that, as late as 1833, the political cartoonist John Doyle (‘HD’), who worked for Punch and designed a series of political cartoons for the publisher Thomas McLean, could use it to attack Queen Adelaide, the unpopular wife of William IV, who was held responsible for the ‘Coercion Acts’ passed to suppress Irish popular protest at the time (see Fig. 8). Here the Queen is portrayed in the attitude of Kauffman’s Maria, with all the usual attributes: a poplar tree, a white dress, a pipe on a string, a running brook, and a small animal, in this case a lamb with ‘Irish Coercion’ shorn into its fleece. Doyle states in his caption that he has taken the liberty to change Maria’s dog into a lamb (perhaps to introduce connotations of fleecing), and this suggests that he may have been unaware of the earlier Maria scene in Tristram Shandy, involving a goat. It is clear enough that his cartoon has nothing directly to do with Sterne’s work, just as not all owners of Wedgwood china would have been aware of the provenance of

Figure 7 Angelica Kauffman, ‘Maria – Moulines’ (1777; engraved by W. W. Ryland, 1779).

Figure 8 John Doyle, ‘A Study for Sterne’s Maria’ (1833), caricaturing Queen Adelaide.
the ‘Poor Maria’ design on their table; the image had become disassociated from its source, a piece of cultural property in common.

The first book illustration featuring Maria was by Edward Edwards, for Strahan’s *Sentimental Journey* and the important ten-volume *Works of 1780* (see Fig. 9). Curiously, both Yorick and Maria are depicted here as members of the affluent middle class. The handkerchief is very much in the centre of the picture; Yorick is watchful, Maria demure, Sylvio at ease at her feet, the carriage ready, and the spectator at a distance, viewing the theatrical scene from the other side of the brook. Fourteen years later, William Bromley depicted the departure of Yorick and Maria to Moulins for the Creswick edition, which came out in three different formats in 1794, when the sentimental vogue was at its height. This frontispiece (see Fig. 10) yields a very different picture: Yorick, clearly a
clergyman, supports a visibly distressed and wan Maria, his hand on his feeling heart, his attempt to establish eye contact frustrated by her downward glance. The scene invites in the spectator an empathetic reaction, and it is no coincidence that Maria became a favourite frontispiece subject or title-page vignette of several editions, not necessarily of *A Sentimental Journey*, during the period. Thus she appears as frontispiece in the frequently reprinted anthology by William Enfield, *The Speaker* (1801), and elsewhere, in the role of emotional trigger: the spectator (and reader of compilations like *The Beauties of Sterne*) was confirmed in possessing a proper 'heart of sensibility' (to use the idiom of the sentimental vogue) on sympathetically viewing this picture of Maria's 'virtue in distress'.

There are over forty known illustrations, English as well as Continental, all conjuring up the same picture of a benevolent, if slightly ineffectual, Yorick, from whom a mentally distressed Maria elicits emotional support. In his detailed study of the cult surrounding this figure, Blake Gerard suggests three different phases in the history of Maria illustrations: her first appearance as a figure of mourning (c. 1770–1810) overlaps with representations of her rescue by Yorick (c. 1790–1830), and is gradually supplanted by images of Maria as lost to this world, a madwoman whom Gerard labels 'Maria as Other' (c. 1840–88). This last category suggests a fascinating link with the popularity in Victorian culture of the Ophelia figure, and more generally with the love-mad heroine in Victorian fiction, whose characteristics Helen Small has traced in part to 'the spectacle of feminine derangement' offered by Sterne's Maria and exploited by Kauffman and her imitators. When one surveys all illustrations, however, this neat schema does not quite work out: different 'readings' of the episode coexist at all times, and the only clear development is the gradual disappearance of sentimentalism, the concomitant change in the role played by Maria in the picture, and the reappearance of her goat.

The last, and lasting, picture of Maria is Maurice Leloir's full page illustration (1884), which was used well into the 1920s in editions of *A Sentimental Journey* in France, Germany, Spain, Britain, and North America (see Fig. 11). The landscape has become domesticated (note the prominent gate), Yorick has been defrocked again, Maria shows little interest in him and seems not to notice his handkerchief; her hand rests on the head of Sylvio, who has turned into a retriever. This is but one of twelve full-page illustrations (with 220 smaller images scattered throughout the text). From the middle of the nineteenth century, Maria's dominance waned, and other subjects, with more obvious erotic charge, began to take over: Gilbert Stuart Newton's 'Yorick and the Grisette', and particularly Frith's paintings 'Feeling the Pulse' (1842) and 'The Gloves, Paris' (1843), set a new model, which became almost standard in the great outburst of expertly illustrated and beautifully produced editions in the 1920s and 1930s, in which Yorick's flirtations are evidently of greater interest than the sensibilities of Maria. In particular, the episodes entitled 'The Fille de Chambre, Paris' (*SJ/BJ* 87–90), 'The Temptation, Paris', and 'The Conquest' (*SJ/BJ* 121–4) are singled out by illustrators such as Véra Willoughby, Norah McGuinness, and Valenti Angelo.

Sterne scholarship has always been a divided field, and debates have tended to veer between two extremes. One emphasises the fact that the Revd L. Sterne was a clergyman and a Latitudinarian divine, and reads him as a moralist and satirist; the other points out that an eighteenth-century Anglican churchman need not have been personally pious, and stresses the libertine side of Lory Sterne, a
member of the rakish Demoniacs club, a coterie of the notorious freethinker John Wilkes, a womaniser and sentimentalist who sympathised with the philosophes, and was received in the salon of the atheist d'Holbach. The history of Sterne illustrations shows that visual interpretation of the text has been as varied as its critical reception. The shorter and more accessible Sentimental Journey has been vastly more illustrated than Tristram Shandy, but whereas the latter has been almost exclusively rendered as a funny and at times farcical work, rather than as a serious satire, the former has been ambiguously interpreted from the start, as a repository of alternative possibilities, sentimental, satirical, or sexual.

NOTES

4. For a complete and generously illustrated list, see Arthur H. Cash’s appendix on ‘Portraits of Sterne’, in his Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years (London: Methuen, 1975), 399-376; the engraved version of the Bridges caricature is Plate II.