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Unsettling Agape:

Laurence Sterne's *The Journal to Eliza* as an Unorthodox Romance*

Hiroki KUBOTA

Laurence Sterne (1713–68) seems to have been proud of his intimate connection with the Archbishops of York. He, as an Anglican clergyman, had textual relationships with several past archbishops, among whom Richard Sterne (c. 1596–1683) and Robert Hay Drummond (1711–76) would be essential for his literary career. Archbishop Sterne, Laurence's great-grandfather and Royalist, was temporarily jailed in the Tower of London, survived the Civil War and then served as Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, before and after the Commonwealth. One of the four scholarships to the college founded upon property of his ancestor realised Laurence's entrance to Cambridge, where he enjoyed broader access to literature.¹ Thus, Laurence, feeling indebted to Richard, implies that his family has produced the Archbishop of York in a letter to a Presbyterian cleric.² While Archbishop Sterne prepared his great-grandson for a career as a writer, it was Archbishop Drummond who burnished his reputation and whom Sterne often refers to in his journal and letters. As author of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759–67), Laurence recognised the importance of the archbishop's subscription to sales of his works, and, in obtaining it, relayed his satisfaction to his lover, Elizabeth Draper (1744–78). Publication of *Tristram Shandy* enabled him to join the fashionable literary society of London and travel through France and Italy twice; indeed, most of his extant fictions were created during his brilliant career as a literary celebrity. That in them he touches on previous Archbishops of York, where he spent most of his lifetime, indicates his unreserved expectation for their names as advertisements.

Despite Sterne's frequent references to Archbishops of York, his personal connection with them did not guarantee his devotion to the Church of England, much less his faith

expressed in his private journal addressed to his lover. On the contrary, it is of absorbing interest that even heretical expressions of Christianity produce unsettling images of his love for Eliza Draper in *The Journal to Eliza* (1767). This does not mean that the religious doctrine of agape is unsuitable to describe his love affair with her, for he stresses their Platonic friendship. According to Yorick and Bramin, who are Sterne's personas in *The Journal to Eliza*, Sterne is unified nonphysically with Eliza, not through their vulgar bodies. Their chaste relationship is thus fulfilled only after collapse of their flesh. There is, however, difficulty in finding religious expressions based on Anglican orthodoxy in the work that is supposed to illustrate their spiritual love. What readers encounter in this romantic journal are seemingly Puritan languages and a spiritual and enthusiastic relationship between God and a lay individual. Sterne could write on unadulterated intimacy by selecting the sectarian language that he has always attacked, but, at the same time, he mistakenly forgets the couple's worldly relationship. He highlights the spirituality of their love to the point where he strangely does not tell whether he can see Eliza in this world again. Yorick repeatedly laments her absence, but the nonphysical form of love rooted in puritanical abstinence seems to reject their reunion in this life. His contradictory attitude as to whether he actually hopes to contact her is tightly correlated with his use of unorthodox images. It is, then, in the quite worldly journal of a love affair that he could employ such religious languages without inhibition, not in the rigid system of the Anglican Church.

The Journal to Eliza is 'worldly' as long as the friendship has no clear religious moments in which, for instance, Sterne offers her spiritual guidance or the couple shared the same ideal doctrines. They first met in London society in 1767. Since *Tristram Shandy* had achieved an eminent reputation in London seven years previously, Sterne had debuted in literary circles and been acquainted with several cultural stars such as Samuel Johnson and David Garrick. Its publication also afforded the author an opportunity for continental tours, which later became material for *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768). Sterne had been freed since these travels from his wife and daughter, with whom he had not got along, and then encountered Eliza Draper momentarily while she was returning from India for medical care. She, born in southern India and having a father and a husband both serving in the East India Company, enjoyed brief *aventure* with him and then went back to her spouse in Bombay. Sterne and Eliza made a promise to exchange diaries at their parting,

and *The Journal to Eliza* is a part of them kept by Sterne for four months in 1767. Their relationship is, after all, an ordinary love affair between an upstart and moderately rich writer of the age and a married woman with roots in the east march of the British Empire. Their scandalous affair and its document are a fruit of the eighteenth-century British economic territory ranging from London to India.

Notwithstanding such an earthly background to *The Journal to Eliza*, or rather for this reason, Sterne retreats from flashy society in the work, which mainly details his state of tuberculosis from which he had suffered since his youth, and his devotion to his lover. On 22nd April, lying in bed with hematemesis in spite of treatment, he broods over her absence, grieving ‘O Eliza! how did thy Bramine mourn the want of thee to tye up his wounds, and comfort his dejected heart’.³ At that time, he had been confined to bed in London or in his rectory in York and was lonesomely given up to his deep affection to her. To a locket in which a portrait of Eliza is attached as a memento, he confides the impatience of one who should have had a premonition of death in those days. The monologue to her picture naturally links his complaint about illness and his fervent plea for her company. Hence Sterne, talking to the image, finds a ‘friendly balm’ in her expression and becomes anxious about ‘Sickness or other evils’ that may befall her during her nine-month voyage.⁴ By rehearsing the pain of consumption and his devotion to her, he stops thinking of his present worsening disease and escapes into his private fancy of blissful living with her.

Sterne imagines the future happiness that Eliza will share by using biblical imagery, as he writes down his delight at Archbishop Drummond’s subscription to *A Sentimental Journey* by citing the Second Book of Kings.⁵ This citation is more noteworthy because it typifies a pastoral image of Paradise that he brings forward to invent their love nest. When he prepares his rectory named Shandy Hall for her, he, comparing the couple to Adam and Eve, describes his effort as the arrangement of ‘Paradice’ and longs for their reunion, partially referring to Genesis in the comment ‘Behold the Woman Thou has given me for Wife’.⁶ Furthermore, he associates his rustic abode with a pastoral scene in Italy. Physically feeling better than ever and pondering how to spend his church living for his would-be partner, Sterne contentedly depicts his rectory in Coxwold as follows:

I wish I was in Arno’s Vale! —

July 2^d—But I am in the Vale of Coxwoud & wish You [Eliza] saw in how princely a manner I live in it—tis a Land of Plenty [...] In short tis a golden Vally—& will be the golden Age when You govern the rural feast, my Bramine, & are the Mistress of my table & spread it with elegance and that natural grace & bounty wth w^{ch} heaven has distinguish'd You.⁷

He here likens Shandy Hall to the attractive scenery of the Arno flowing near Florence into the Tyrrhenian Sea: a location that he had visited during the grand tour. His fancy tells that his residence is a 'Land of Plenty' and 'golden Vally' that will see 'the golden age' if Eliza with her unique elegance attends a feast.

However, he overlooks a fatal flaw in these pleasant fantasies of love, which is brought about by his reference to Paradise. This biblical topos is in essence doomed to catastrophe and, even though it is not actually lost, the imagery that involves the seeds of tragedy is likely to cast a sinister shadow over the couple's agape. In fact, Sterne's above-mentioned remark based on Genesis is a parody of Adam's justification for taking a fruit from the Tree of Knowledge with Eve, by which the man seemingly attempts to impute Original Sin to the woman. The well-known premise that their exile from Eden follows just after this apology renders Sterne's allusion more unacceptable to him, given his expressed desire to see Eliza again. To confess his eagerness for reunion by referring to Adam's last words could indicate a doubt as to whether Sterne is serious about their illicit relationship, and they would not at least be effective in developing it. This holds true for the pastoral image of the Arno. He bases it on a short poem, 'Arno's Vale', which Lionel Cranfield Sackville composed during his visit to Florence in memory of the late Medicean Grand Duke of Tuscany, Giovanni Battista Gastone. In its first stanza, Sackville certainly depicts scenery of the Arno idyllic enough to be compared to Paradise, as no other sights are more suitable for Sterne and Eliza than the vale where a silvery brook gleams, nymphs dance cheerfully and branches are heavy with grapes. Nevertheless, in the second stanza, such pastoral happiness evaporates due to the death of the shepherd, Palemon. The shepherd's son yields the Arno to enemies from the north after his father, who was supposed to be Gastone, passes away. Sackville thus misses the Grand Duke, lamenting 'All taste of pleasure now is o'er | Thy notes, Lucinda, please no more; | The muses droop, the Goths prevail: | Adieu! the sweets of Arno's vale'.⁸

Since 'Arno's Vale' is occasioned by Gastone's demise, it is not a mere song in praise of the scenery but a gloomy elegy on the duke, a doyen of the Arno. Sterne's rustic rectory is always intervened in and given ominous impressions by these kinds of Edenic images. They are too incomplete to be cited for Sterne's fancy and are capable of calling up unnecessary associations of collapse.

Sterne continues Bible citations to heighten the sense of spiritual nonphysicality, regardless of his doubtful fancy. Being confident of his chaste and pure friendship with Eliza, he firmly denies his doctor's diagnosis of venereal disease, grumbling about the suspicion as 'I'm still to be treated as if I was a Sinner—& in truth have some appearances so strongly implying it, That was I not conscious I had had no Commerce with the Sex these 15 Years'.⁹ What is notable in his denial is the possibility that he can be a sinner. Along with his frequent references to the Bible, this wording reflects his recognition that their relationship has been formed not mundanely but spiritually, rather than his internalisation of social dishonour that accompanies a love affair. In short, Stern believes that his devotion to Eliza can be rewarded only via the spiritual perspective. The entry for 26th April surely indicates that their reunion is achieved out of this world:

My Doctors, stroked their beards, and look'd ten per Cent wiser upon feeling my pulse, and enquiring after my Symptoms—am still to run thro' a course of Van Sweetens corrosive Mercury, or rather Van Sweeten's Course of Mercury is to run thro' me—I shall be sublimated to an ethereal Substance by the time my Eliza sees me—she must be sublimated and unincorporated too, to be able to see me—but I was always transparent & a Being easy to be seen thro', or Eliza had never loved me nor had Eliza been of any other *Cast* herself, could her Bramine have held *Communion* with her.¹⁰

Their flesh 'shall be sublimated to an ethereal Substance' that is 'easy to be seen' through, which is a process he also regards as a 'thorough Regeneration'.¹¹ They evaporate as transparently as mercury used for the treatment of his consumption, and such purity is necessary for '*Communion*' between the couple. As the Eucharist is a spiritual occasion for a Christian to approach God by way of his flesh and blood, Sterne and Eliza incorporeally unite through

‘Regeneration’. There is little evidence of any direct communication from their parting, but this is the reason why Sterne emphasises the telepathic and incorporeal relationship between them, because of which ‘if it [evil] had [befallen Eliza]—I had felt some monitory sympathetic Shock within me, w^{ch} would have spoke like Revelation’.¹² For a writer trying to pretend spiritual unity independent of earthly bodies, it seems quite strategic to invoke the conception of redemption and Holy Communion.

Incorporeal love whose purity is so highlighted involves an evident error of biblical chronology, for Christian orthodoxy expounds that both ‘Regeneration’ and Paradise attained through it are posthumous phases. In *The Journal to Eliza*, Sterne’s gaze is always fixed on a future life with Eliza in which his bodily worry is relieved, not on ever-present afflictions anchored in a quarrel with his wife, absence of his mistress and his pulmonary disease. His repeated hope for reunion in the uncertain future serves to divert his attention from the consumption gnawing at his body, as is suggested by the subjunctive mood in the aforesaid fancy of Arno’s vale. His love for Eliza gains extreme spirituality in proportion to the degree to which he forgets the oppressive reality of his earthly life. However, it should be noted here that he utterly neglects his remaining life in this world when he expectantly delays the realisation of spiritual love until the biblical future. Pure intimacy between the couple does not fully ripen until their flesh is ‘uncorporated’ or dissolved into ‘an ethereal Substance’ in the afterlife. Commenting on the chronological contradiction between their spiritual reunion and their death, Elizabeth Goodhue reveals a semantic instability of ‘uncorporat[ion]’, which denotes both mercurial sublimation and human death, and provides the interesting insight that ‘[w]hen Yorick turns again and again to address Eliza and plea for communion, however, we find him doing just the opposite of running from death’.¹³ Enlightening as her serious and deconstructive argument is, Goodhue seems to disregard the frivolity of Sterne, who so blindly cites biblical narratives in the journal of a love affair as to unsettle their agape. The way in which he compares his affection for Eliza to God’s love for humankind is easy and careless, but this lambency enables him to call his India-born lover ‘eternal Sunshine’, ‘my Rib’ and ‘*Cast*’ punningly.¹⁴ Sterne himself endangers their ideal relationship by laying out unpropitious imagery of Paradise; his description of spiritual reunion with her likewise carelessly entails their passing and implies that he does not consider whether he will live to meet her again in this world.

Spiritual love in *The Journal to Eliza*, transcending ostentatious society and earthly time, is even unorthodox in respect of Anglican theology. Since Sterne believes himself to be mystically and sympathisingly linked with Eliza, he feels oneness strongly enough to regard his lover as ‘my second self’.¹⁵ When he indulges in a dream of rambling about around Shandy Hall with her, his devotion to her grows so intense that he suddenly expresses his passion:

June 12. I have return’d from a delicious Walk of Romance, my Bramine, which I am to tread a thousand times over with You swinging upon my arm—tis to my Convent—& I have pluckd up a score Bryars by the roots w^{ch} grew near the edge of the footway, that they might not scratch or incommode you—had I been sure of y^r taking that walk with me the very next day, I could not have been more serious in my employm^t—dear Enthusiasm!—thou bringst things forward in a moment, w^{ch} Time keeps for Ages back[.]¹⁶

‘Enthusiasm’, which characteristically brings stagnant reality ‘forward in a moment’, best fits Sterne, who is bound by his unreciprocated love and incurable tuberculosis; for it is this religious notion that sustains the passionate relationship between the couple who lack direct means of communicating with each other. A problem of mystical image reflected in his love lies in this spiritual communion enabled by enthusiasm. In several sermons including ‘On Enthusiasm’, Sterne argues that this passion is confused with false confidence in one’s own justification. An individual possessed by enthusiasm feels that he/she becomes ‘the children of God’ in instant communion with the Deity and ‘the whole score of [his/her] sins is for ever blotted out’.¹⁷ It comes as no surprise to Sterne, who he thinks must break the fetters of his chronic illness and separation from the lover through ‘Regeneration’, that he accepts these present adversities as ‘sins’ to be removed. In exchange for expressive affinity between mystical enthusiasm and incorporeal love in *The Journal to Eliza*, however, the latter is theologically problematic in the light of Sterne’s negative stance towards the former.

To examine the unorthodox doctrine of justification Sterne references in the work, it should be noted that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglican Church had viewed enthusiasm as socially and religiously improper fanaticism. One of these criticisms was lev-

elled at Puritanism after the Civil War, which, Anglicans insisted, respected the primitive and indefinable experience of God. John Tillotson (1630–94), an Archbishop of Canterbury and theological model for eighteenth-century clergymen, rejects spiritually arrogant Puritans who instantly achieve conversion ‘by an extraordinary power of GOD’s grace upon their hearts’¹⁸; moreover, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), tracing the history of Puritanical enthusiasm in ‘A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit’, suggests that their suspicious behaviour actually derives from love ‘of a Gallant’, not from direct communication with the Deity.¹⁹ A criticism of enthusiasm by John Locke (1632–1704), among others, is significant in that it is similar to descriptions of Sterne’s agape in terms of their vocabulary and imagery:

Immediate *Revelation* being a much easier way for Men to establish their Opinions, and regulate their Conduct, than the tedious and not always successful Labour of strict Reasoning, it is no wonder that some have been very apt to pretend to Revelation, and to persuade themselves that they are under the peculiar Guidance of Heaven in their Actions and Opinions, especially in those of them which they cannot account for by the ordinary Methods of Knowledge, and Principles of Reason. Hence we see, that in all Ages, Men, in whom Melancholy has mixed with Devotion, or whose Conceit of themselves has raised them into an Opinion of a greater Familiarity with *GOD*, and a nearer Admittance to his Favour, than is afforded to others, have often flattered themselves with a Persuasion of an immediate Intercourse with the Deity, and frequent Communications from the Divine Spirit.²⁰

According to Locke and Johnson, who cites the philosopher to define enthusiasm, an individual can commune with God the moment he/she receives ‘Immediate *Revelation*’ during this mystical experience, deceived into finding him/herself nearer to the Divine than others.²¹ These Anglican writers recognise that enthusiasm provides Apostles with diverse miracles and therefore will not spurn all mystical experience and inspiration; they rather intend to blame Puritans drunk with justification for their spiritual haughtiness by stigmatising enthusiasm as disease.

Sterne’s reference to Puritanical fanaticism is not anachronistic, for enthusiasm had

still been an actual worry for Anglican theology in the 1760s when Sterne wrote *The Journal to Eliza*. Anglican clergymen thought of Methodists as heterodox descendants of enthusiastic Puritans whose experience of prevenient grace absorbs the pious laity and spreads enthusiasm among them. Anglican orthodoxy renews criticism of Puritanical enthusiasm to rebuke the burgeoning sect, and this renewal suggests that Methodists share with Puritans the vain respect for immediate communion with God. Sterne as an orthodox preacher declares that their mystical intuition annuls the works of the Holy Spirit; he also condemns their absurdity in *Tristram*



Fig. 1 William Hogarth, 'Enthusiasm Delineated' (1760–62)

Shandy, ironically naming George Whitfield 'with such a distinct intelligence, Sir, of which of the two *masters* it was, that had been practicing upon his *instrument*,—as to make all reasoning upon it needles'.²² Furthermore, Methodists are widely known for exaggerated gestures during self-proclaimed communion with the Deity, and 'Enthusiasm Delineated' (Fig. 1) printed by William Hogarth (1697–1764) vividly depicts a Methodist preacher with a halo leaning out of a pulpit and weeping laity offering up prayers.²³ The ecstatic look of the preacher gazing at midair in the caricature, and Aldersgate conversion during which John Wesley felt 'my Heart strangely warm'd' and 'I did trust in *Christ, Christ* alone for Salvation: And an Assurance was given me, That He had taken away *my* Sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the Law of Sin and Death' mark unworldliness of enthusiasm for Methodists,²⁴ whereas Anglicans contend that their blind belief in communion characterises its unreasonableness and privateness.

Escaping from physical difficulty and loneliness into imaginary love with Eliza, however, Sterne considers that any other normative doctrine expresses his devotion to her better than unorthodox enthusiasm. The incorporeal love he describes is enthusiastic in its

privateness and complacency. Physical distance between the two forces him to cultivate lonesomely his affection to his lover, which is never confirmed by her and grows all the more intense. The privileged and exclusive friendship between them in his journal has the same roots as his desire to occupy her, which is condensed in his frequent address to ‘my Bramine’ and in such intimacy as to call her ‘my second self’. Such unsubstantial and idealised love allows him a series of fancies that he calls ‘religious Elixir’—their intimacy without any sexual relations, their reunion through a dream, inspiration and sympathy, and a pastoral life together.²⁵ The imaginary world of love described in *The Journal to Eliza* therefore belongs to their personae, Bramin and Bramine, rather than to Sterne and Eliza, for his use of different addresses indicates how carefully he divides his fancy from his uneasy life, with which he deals using such real names as Mrs Sterne or Mr Draper. It is due to the unworldly, closed and enthusiastic love that Bramin, whose ‘heart glowes more warmly as I think of you [Eliza]’,²⁶ boasts of a firmer spiritual connection with Bramine than is present in Mr Draper’s worldly contract with Mrs Draper. Sterne’s selfish passion for Eliza constitutes both his monetary effort to end matrimony and his fancy that he will marry her after her husband’s death as well. His passion for her and mystical intuition of heterodoxy melt into his exclamation, ‘dear Enthusiasm!’ which is never received by the lover.

Sterne, depressed by physical pain and solitude, writes to Eliza—living in another world—that her departure was equal to ‘the Separation of Soul & Body’ for him and ‘I w^d give a world, to follow thee, or hear even Acc^t of thee’ in the entry for 6th July.²⁷ By separating his soul from his wretched body and employing mystic imagery of Methodism, he creates a rustic world where he believes they can reunite without any physical means. It is a blissful Paradise and they are the only couple residing there, Adam and Eve. His enthusiasm helps him adhere to his private fancy that he has never made bodily contact but has sympathetically communed with her. This ecstasy, like that which Puritans and Methodists experience during an instantaneous approach to God, lifts him up from grim realities to Paradise and plays a critical role in inventing agape in *The Journal to Eliza*. At the same time, however, such intense enthusiasm for her renders him blind to the catastrophe inherent in Eden and Arno’s Vale, whereby there remains doubt about his intent to see her again in this world. He concentrates on establishing Platonic intimacy with her to flee from his imminent death, but he fails to construct his fancy upon an earthly order—an actual possibility of their

reunion, his Anglican faith and biblical chronology. Sterne, absorbed in enthusiasm for Eliza, resembles Thales possessed by enthusiasm when Swift describes the Greek philosopher as follows:

Too intense a Contemplation is not the Business of Flesh and Blood; it must by the necessary Course of Things, in a little Time, let go its Hold, and fall into *Matter*. Lovers, for the sake of Celestial Converse, are but another sort of *Platonicks*, who pretend to see Stars and Heaven in Ladies Eyes, and to look or think no lower; but the same *Pit* is provided for both; and they seem a perfect Moral to the Story of that Philosopher, who, while his Thoughts and Eyes were fixed upon the *Constellations*, found himself seduced by his *lower Parts* into a *Ditch*.²⁸

Though ‘seduced by his *lower Parts*’ or affected by tuberculosis since his early days, Sterne is a rare writer who can sublimate a short love affair with Eliza into *A Sentimental Journey*. And enthusiasm is typified by the possibility that *The Journal to Eliza* is a romance that borrows heterodoxy, despite his ministry.

Notes

- * This essay is based on a paper delivered at the 15th Meeting of the Kanto Branch of the ELSJ held at Chuo University on 28th October, 2017. I express my deep gratitude to Professor Takami Matsuda of Keio University and Professor Naoki Yoshida of Seijo University, both of whom provided me insightful comments in response to the original paper.
- 1 The fruit Laurence Sterne reaped from his attendance at Jesus College was not only BA and MA degrees but, more importantly, his lifelong friendship with John Hall-Stevenson, who was a lord of Skelton Castle, also known as ‘Crazy Castle’, and presided over the ‘Demoniacs’. As a member of this intellectual society, Sterne became involved in upper-class diversions such as hunting and also came to know François Rabelais’ works.
- 2 Laurence Sterne, *The Letters Part I: 1739–1764*, ed. by Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009), VII, 168–72 (p. 168). In a letter to Robert Brown dated 9th September, 1760, Sterne casually writes that his great-grandfather served as an archbishop. For more

- on Sterne's pride in Archbishop Richard, see Ian Campbell Ross, *Laurence Sterne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 23.
- 3 Laurence Sterne, *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, ed. by Melvyn New and W. G. Day, 8 vols (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2002), VI, 167–225 (p. 176). *The Journal to Eliza* is also known as *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*. This is because *The Journal* is presumed to follow two volumes of the journal, both of which have yet been undiscovered. According to usage, *The Journal to Eliza* is used in this article.
- 4 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 179.
- 5 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 221.
- 6 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 217.
- 7 Sterne, *Continuation*, pp. 211–12. Square bracketed words are added.
- 8 Lionel Cranfield Sackville, 'Arno's Vale', in *The Charmer: A Collection of Songs, Scots and English* (Edinburgh, 1752), pp. 314–15 (ll. 13–16).
- 9 Sterne, *Continuation*, pp. 185–86.
- 10 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 180.
- 11 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 197.
- 12 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 190. Square bracketed words are added.
- 13 Elizabeth Goodhue, 'When Yorick Takes His Tea; or the Commerce of Consumptive Passions in the Case of Laurence Sterne', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 6 (2006), 51–83 (p. 61).
- 14 Sterne, *Continuation*, pp. 171, 205. When Sterne calls Eliza 'my Rib,' it should be remembered that God created Eve from a rib taken from Adam. His address to her as 'Cast' invokes two meanings: one is 'chaste' and the other is the Indian caste, in which Bramin or Brahmin is classified into the uppermost group.
- 15 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 191.
- 16 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 200.
- 17 Laurence Sterne, 'On Enthusiasm', in *The Sermons of Laurence Sterne: The Text*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, ed. by Melvyn New 8 vols (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), IV, 357–367 (p. 366). Square bracketed words are added.
- 18 John Tillotson, 'Of the Nature of Regeneration', in *Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions, by the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 12 vols (London, 1748), VI, 363–75 (p. 368).
- 19 Jonathan Swift, 'A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. by Marcus Walsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 165–87 (p. 186).
- 20 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, (London, 1735), p. 318.

- 21 Samuel Johnson, 'enthusiasm', in *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: Selections from the 1755 Work that Defined the English Language*, ed. by Jack Lynch (New York: Levenger Press, 2002), p. 166. Johnson defines 'enthusiasm' firstly as 'A vain belief of private revelation; a vain confidence of divine favour or communication'.
- 22 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman: The Text*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, ed. by Melvyn New and Joan New, 8 vols (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1978), I, p. 273.
- 23 William Hogarth, 'Enthusiasm Delineated' (1760–62), The British Museum [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1439204&partId=1&people=58368&peoA=58368-3-18&page=1] (accessed, February 23rd, 2019)
- 24 John Wesley, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal from February 1. 1737–8. To His Return from Germany* (London, 1740), p. 34.
- 25 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 187.
- 26 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 207.
- 27 Sterne, *Continuation*, p. 215.
- 28 Swift, p. 186.