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'Laurence Sterne, Fame, and Fashionable Disease'

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Laurence Sterne, famously, wanted to be famous: 'I wrote not to be *fed*, but to be *famous*'.[1]

Of course we know now that he was successful: European and world-wide celebrity ensued on the publication of his multi-volume comic novel *Tristram Shandy,* a tome which has influenced the novel form to this day in its knowing subversion of literary norms. He was also well-versed in the meanings and realities of disease, fashionable or otherwise. As W. B. C. Watkins put it so well: 'Two things are of fundamental importance to an understanding of Sterne; he was acutely self-conscious, and he was all his life a sick man'.[2] Watkins' book takes a sober view of Sterne's life, entitled as it is *Perilous Balance: The Tragic Genius of Swift, Johnson and Sterne.*[3] Recent Sterne criticism has modified this perspective, and we are fully aware of just how funny Sterne's works can be, but we also remain alert to the centrality of disease in Sterne's life and art. The two diseases that recur again and again in Sterne's writing are consumption and melancholy - both serious, if not terminal conditions, but also diseases that have been fashionable, at least in a literary and artistic context.

On the face of it, fashionable disease is a paradoxical notion: how can any disease be seen in a positive manner? Part of the answer to this question lies in the fact that the different diseases have symptoms that might be more suitable for fulfilling certain functions in different social contexts. Factors that constitute either disease or fashionability are variable

according to historical and cultural contexts. What can be a disease in one society is not in another; what can be fashionable from one perspective can be risible or just plain odd in another. In this essay I wish to explore how Sterne's fashionable diseases worked to help him achieve a certain literary and artistic image - an image that promoted his literary celebrity, or what Tom Keymer, in his usefully complementary essay also stemming from the Sterne Tercentenary Conference, has called ' Sterne's practical performances of celebrity selfhood'.[4] Roberta Barker has noted that 'the male aesthetics of consumption—how to *look* fashionably consumptive as a man—are much underdiscussed' – I am to make a start on that project in this essay.[5]

Why should we focus on consumption and melancholy as Sterne's fashionable diseases? He suffered from pulmonary consumption for much of his existence: this was a fashionable disease in some respects, although in others it was a feared killer. Melancholy is a fundamental aspect of his writing, especially as expressed through the character/persona of Parson Yorick, and Tristram Shandy himself, both Sterne's alter egos who recur in his main novels, *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*. In this essay I move comparatively smoothly between Sterne's real-life adoption of his characters' names and traits, and the manifestation of those characters in and across the literary works, a manoeuvre encouraged by Sterne himself and certainly appreciated by his world-wide audience. Sterne did not particularly see himself as a melancholy man, although there were certainly periods of his life when he did reveal his psychological suffering. These two diseases are the focus of my case here, although one might invoke others in relation to Sterne, not least the host of disorders of the nerves that I will argue accompanied notions of consumption and melancholy.

Sterne partly lived these diseases, partly represented them in his writing, and notoriously blurred the boundaries between his own life and art via the literary characters and real-life Sternean personas of Parson Yorick (a consumptive priest like Sterne) and Tristram (a consumptive anti-hero of sorts, not unlike Sterne!). I contend that these diseases 'worked' for Sterne in constructing the image of man of sensibility and sentiment, partly through self-fashioning of his and his characters' diseases, and partly through the long historical discourse of genius and piety associated with consumption and melancholia, associations that were not entirely controllable by Sterne himself. One aspect of Sterne's self-promotion was his manipulation of his physical image, which meant not only his external bodily appearance, but also the diseases from which he suffered and the way he represented them and they represented him.

Celebrity studies is in vogue at the moment of writing this essay, although Peter Briggs made some prescient observations in relation to Sterne over twenty years ago in his paper on 'Laurence Sterne and Literary Celebrity in 1760'.[6] Sterne deployed the characters of Yorick and then Tristram to promote his celebrity, as well as stirring up further fashionable controversy along the way.[7] He was an early celebrity, benefiting from an age in which, as Leo Braudy has argued, the new 'emphasis on the individual, along with the emergence of modern image-making technologies, allowed for a degree of self-fashioning that was impossible in earlier periods'.[8] 'Eighteenth-century culture introduced the individual to an awareness that his life could be contemplated, shaped and sold … In this world acting and self-promotion abounded. The proliferation of new modes of communication, the breakdown of hierarchy, and the careers now open to talents made it easier to author oneself' (Braudy, 397, 13). The story of how Sterne achieved his celebrity is

reasonably well-known, as Briggs shows (by way of Arthur Cash's two-volume biography), but the role of fashionable disease in it is not so well studied.

Consumption and melancholy were fashionable diseases by the time of Sterne, although both would receive a boost in status as the eighteenth century progressed. Before we arrive at Sterne, however, we need to explain the cultural and medical standing of consumption as he would have seen them, however contested their meanings. As I and others have discussed at length, consumption was a fashionable disease of the good Christian death, its symptomatology being particularly favourable to the dying Christian.[9] Consumption made one thin, otherworldy, gave little pain (ideally) because of the lack of nerves in the lungs, and allowed one to remain compos mentis up until the moment of death. The good Christian could organise his or her earthly estate in good time to repent and be pardoned because consumption was normally slow in duration (unless 'galloping', as Tristram fears in book 7 of *Tristram Shandy*).[10] Consumption was also a disease of the wasting lover in both classical and Renaissance traditions, and here connected directly with the love-melancholic.

We arrive at Sterne himself: we know about Sterne's full awareness of the tradition of learned wit, but Sterne is a man of his moment as well, as Tom Keymer has shown in the literary context– here I argue that Sterne was alive to the developing meanings placed upon diseases in his own time. Roy Porter states that Sterne 'was moreover, as James Rodgers has convincingly argued, in touch with many of the new currents in the biomedical sciences of his day. He was aware of a fresh emphasis on Nature as living and active, and of the new physiological importance of the nerves, organisation, sensitivity and sexuality. Naturalists were speaking less in terms of machine models and more of process, change, "animated nature"'.[11] We know a great deal about Sterne the sufferer of consumption: as I and others

have explored in previous research, his 'asthma', or consumption, was his main ailment and the one that eventually killed him.[12] 'Asthma' at this time was a condition that could easily signify an imminent consumption.[13] Early in *Tristram Shandy* our eponymous hero complains of living in 'one of the vilest worlds ever made' and his difficulty in breathing due to 'an asthma I got in skating against the wind in Flanders'.[14] Later in Sterne's writing career, this hydraulic and mechanistic depiction of consumption would be replaced by one defined by nervous sensibility.

Sterne clearly had a deep identification with the characters of Yorick and Hamlet, and the melancholic scholar Robert Burton.[15] As Arthur Cash says of Sterne's experience of writing the first volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, he had composed them 'in the throes of melancholy and illness': his daughter was sickly, his wife herself melancholic and potentially suicidal, 'and he himself was fatally afflicted with consumption, which he had suffered in his days at Jesus College, Cambridge, when he had awakened one night having 'bled the bed full' from a haemorrhage of the lungs'.[16] Sterne represented this personal suffering as redemptive and creative in the context of his mother's death and wife's breakdown: 'every word of it [*Tristram Shandy*]wrote in affliction; & under a constant uneasiness of mind. Cervantes wrote his humorous Satyr in a Prison - & Scarron his, in pain and Anguish-such Philosophers as will account for every thing, may explain this for me'.[17] Cash argues that Sterne's literary work is a systematic attempt to overcome the obstacles to his own mental and physical health, specifically 'an unhappy marriage and a disintegrating body':

If 'tis wrote against anything, --'tis wrote, an' please your worships, against the spleen; in order, by a more frequent and a more convulsive elevation and depression of the diaphragm, and the succussations of the intercostal and abdominal muscles in laughter, to drive the *gall* and other bitter juices from the gall bladder, liver and sweet-bread of his majesty's subjects, with all the inimicitious passions which belong to them, down in to their duodenums.[18]

John Hill had pointed out that the 'obstructions' of the spleen which could cause that eponymous disease might also lead to consumptions: 'the impacted matter will continue quiet in a schirrous tumour of the breast', and cited the case of a man who contracted 'a galloping consumption' after the blockage (which could be a tumour) in his spleen dissolved.[19] Whether one takes Cash's argument as the key to Sterne's literary career or not, it is evident that he was personally and profoundly engaged with the two diseases of melancholy (or the spleen, vapours, hypochondria) and consumption (or asthma, tabes, phthisis).

Sterne's literary, and perhaps personal, melancholy was partly a product of his consumptive illness. Tristram, one of Sterne's alter egos, labours under the shadow of consumption, most famously in the chase with Death down to the South of France in volume 7: 'what jovial times! – but where am I? and into what a delicious riot of things am I rushing? I – I who must be cut short in the midst of my days, and taste no more of 'em than what I borrow from my imagination'.[20] *A Sentimental Journey*–a novella detailing Parson Yorick's travels (semi-autobiographical) around Europe-echoes the problem of consumption in

general less obviously, with the posthumously published (incomplete) account of Sterne's sentimental affair with Elizabeth Draper, *Journal to Eliza* or *Bramine's Journal,* adding a darker side for the modern reader to the lighter touch of the *Sentimental Journey.*[21]

Sterne's self-fashioning

Figure 1: Laurence Sterne by Sir Joshua Reynolds[22]

'My Phyz is as remarkable as myself' wrote Sterne to Robert Foley in 1764.[23] Sterne was indeed aware of his own image, and how to sell it, in an age where notions of fame were undergoing a shift towards what we might now think of as modern celebrity. As Sterne put it in a letter to Fourmantel: 'There is a fine print going to be done of me—so I shall make the most of myself, & sell both inside & out'.[24] This was the almost-instantly famous and much-reproduced portrait by Joshua Reynolds – which appeared just at the point when 'London was as interested in Sterne's person as his works' – and just in time to act as frontispiece to *The Sermons of Mr Yorick*.[25] Cheryl Wanko states that deployment of 'cheaper images' among viewers changed the reception not only of their subjects, but also of their engravers and painters.[26] By making Joshua Reynolds's portraits more affordable and therefore more accessible, engravings could confer celebrity on his sitters; simultaneously, the popularity of the images and their subjects' social connections contributed to Reynolds's own celebrity, as Tim Clayton argues.[27] Prints could also be very expensive, but the diffusion and reproduction of the Reynolds portrait across many different venues overcame this initial high expense.

In this portrait, and in his life and works, Sterne developed his personal image as a

combination of the melancholic and the consumptive. Here the mocking smile of a playful Yorick persona makes it easy to invoke the laughter that accompanies the whimsies of a man fighting off melancholy and the spleen. The placement of his forefinger on the temple deliberately connected Sterne to a long tradition of the melancholic posture that had been adopted by other writers and artists, notably including Alexander Pope.[28] Sterne was having his cake and eating it, both sad and comic simultaneously – at least to his more sympathetic readers.

Clothing maketh the man

By Fashion's hands completely drest

He's everywhere a welcome Guest.

(James Boswell, 'A Poetical Epistle to Doctor Sterne, Parson Yorick and Tristram Shandy')[29]

Sterne had a good sense of fashion, even if it meant going against a prevailing one. Ian Campbell Ross notes that 'Sterne seems always to have worn black', even in an age when the 'fashionable clergy' often avoided it (*Laurence Sterne,* p.223). Sterne himself drew attention to it, and others did too.[30] It became common knowledge that Sterne was an Anglican priest very rapidly once he appeared in London after *Tristram Shandy* became all the rage. When Sterne's image appears, he is usually in the black robes of the priest. I suggest that Sterne's motivation for wearing black was not merely to emphasise his profession, but also to invoke

the distinctive image of the sensitive and sensible (in the eighteenth-century meaning of the word) man prone to melancholy – a man who writes to ward off the spleen, an't please your honour. John Hill had pointed to the special significance of the melancholy priest: 'Among particular persons the most inquiring and contemplative are those who suffer oftenest by this disease; and of all degrees of men I think the clergy.' Another layer of meaning to the wearing of black was a more medieval religious discourse –that of the memento mori, in which black was the appropriate colour to signify one's inevitable fate. For the consumptive of course, the disease was thought to be largely terminal, and in itself a memento mori.[31]

In the secular world, the black garb of a Renaissance melancholic was a well-known tradition, not least through the characters on the Jacobean stage (Jacques in *As You Like It*, and Hamlet himself).[32] Burton's frontispiece also has the character of a melancholic clothed in appropriately fashionable attire and gazing down at his feet. Sterne's motivation was not to wallow in the spleen, however, but to overcome it through the comedy of his writing, as much work on Sterne has shown.[33] Writing could both cure and kill, depending on the particular circumstances of the writer. In Sterne's case, and Tristram's, comedy might negate the spleen, but hard writing (and talking or preaching) could be the death of him. As with the Romantics later (for whom Sterne did a great deal of spadework), dedication to one's art could exact a high price in terms of personal health, as fashionable society doctor George Cheyne's contemporary medical theory had demonstrated.

Sterne's development of his sympathetically and sentimentally consumptive persona begins with Yorick and Tristram in the first volume of *Tristram Shandy* and extends into his later writing. Typical of Sterne's self-representation via Tristram is his encounter with a French priest in volume seven of *Tristram Shandy*, in which our consumptive hero has fled to

France to escape Death, but takes the opportunity for romantic flirtations along the way: 'the director of Madam Le Blanc's conscience coming in at that instant, and seeing a person in black, with a face as pale as ashes, at his devotions – looking still paler by the contrast and distress of his drapery – ask'd, if I stood in want of the aids of the church'.[34] The joke is – appropriately – black humoured, if not actually melancholic: Tristram is in genuine danger from his consumption – as is Sterne, although Sterne recovers temporarily in Italy. The 'Blanc' - in both Madam's name and Tristram's visage - versus 'black' contrast is entirely deliberate.

Dr Cheyne and others had prepared the way for another aspect of Sterne's fashionable image: Sterne was famously skinny, later to the point of the comically skeletal. He possessed the classical consumptive 'habit', and his literary characters follow in this physical form: Tristram and Yorick enact their suffering sensibility in their wasted forms: even the 'hero' of the early minor satire *Political Romance* is physically like Sterne. Tristram Shandy emphasises the point to the extent that his body shape even affects his attitude to travel and its effects on health: 'Now, I (being very thin) think differently'.[35] John Hill argued in his treatise on hypochondria that 'the constitutions most liable to this obstruction [of the spleen] are the lean, and dark complexioned; the grave and sedentary'. In Hill's medical logic, blockages in the spleen would give rise to hypochondriasis, or the 'spleen'.[36] Classical medicine designated those prone to consumption – of a consumptive 'habit' – as usually young, slender, pale, narrow-chested, long-necked and with shoulders like birdwings. According to Aretaeus, the consumptive would also be distinctive in other visual ways: 'Nose sharp, slender; cheeks prominent and red; eyes hollow, brilliant and glittering'.[37] These consumptives would at least have the consolation of genius or beauty. Arthur Cash states that Sterne's visual portraits 'show Sterne in well-cut, fashionable clothes, but in clerical

black and with bands. Sterne was nearly six feet tall, which was exceptionally tall for those days. His forehead was broad, his cheeks hollow, his nose long, thin and hooked, his lips full and hanging loosely in his gaunt face'.[38] In Sterne's portraits and his fictional characters to be thin was a mixed blessing, although that very body shape helped promote his fame.[39]

Figure 2: Laurence Sterne by Louis Carrogis[40]

One anonymous correspondent to the *Grand Magazine* marked Sterne's comical appearance, with his 'long sharp nose, and his droll look altogether'. However, Sterne is so thin that the writer can 'only wish he was fatter – He looks as meagre as if he had pored over the metaphysical lamp'.[41] This, of course, was the point: Sterne wanted to seem as if he had been poring over the metaphysical lamp, devoting himself to his writing, and invoking John Donne, Andrew Marvell and George Herbert, all priests who had died of consumption and looked the part of both writer and man of the spirit rather than the flesh.[42]

In religious, Christian terms, weight is symbolic, as I have discussed elsewhere.[43] Pat Rogers has invoked weight in the context of the novel, but in Sterne's particular case his manipulation of his own image is remarkable for its persistent appearance in fiction and visual media.[44] In other ways of course, Sterne wished to be fatter, and said so, especially in his final years when he was travelling for health. From Naples Sterne wrote to Hall that he was 'growing fat, sleek, and well liking-not improving in stature, but in breadth'. To be fat when you think you might be dying of consumption is to be 'happy as a king'. [45]

This consumptive comedy of the spiritual, sentimental and sensitive man even extends to the animal kingdom: impecunious Parson Yorick and his horse mirror each other

physically. Yorick, inevitably, suffers from consumption: he must 'compose his cough' on the back of his spindly steed (*TS* 1.17–24). Yorick's nag is 'full brother' to that of Don Quixote, Rosinante, who is described by Cervantes as 'so admirably delineated, so slim, so stiff, so lean, so jaded, with so sharp a Ridge-bone, and altogether so like one wasted with an incurable Consumption, that any one must have owned at first sight, that no Horse ever better deserved that name'.[46] When the sight of Yorick's broken-winded nag bearing its slender owner causes people to burst into laughter, 'instead of giving the true cause, – he chose rather to join in the laugh against himself; and as he never carried one single ounce of flesh upon his own bones, being altogether as spare a figure as his beast, – he would sometimes insist upon it, that the horse was as good as the rider deserved; – that they were, centaur-like, – both of a piece. At other times, and in other moods, when his spirits were above the temptation of false wit, – he would say, he found himself going off fast in a consumption'. Yorick's skinny form is comical, especially in contrast to 'more simply caricatured figures as Slop (if at the opposite extreme of fleshiness)' as Mary Newbould has noted.[47]

Clearly this is not the glamorous slender look that was to develop in women as the century went on, although it is worth noting that this combination of consumptive wasting and slenderness was influentially present in Samuel Richardson's eponymous heroine Clarissa, who herself echoed the behaviour of John Donne in the self-fashioning of her own good death.[48] The issue with Sterne and men at this point is not beauty, but intelligence, creativity and piety (at least of a sort).

Figure 3: 'Caricature of Laurence Sterne and Death' by Thomas Patch [49]

The famous portrait of Sterne by Thomas Patch depicts a skeletal Sterne greeting Death, his mirror image. Sterne's *self*-representation draws on a medieval tradition of man as memento mori: by the eighteenth century, however, the skeleton had become a less frightening reminder of hell-fire and damnation, and in Sterne's hands transformed into a joco-serious mode that deployed a self-deprecatory tone in Sterne's personal writing as well as his fictional creations.[50] Sterne's literary arch-enemy, Tobias 'Smelfungus' Smollett, may have echoed Tristram Shandy's encounter with Death at the beginning of Volume 7, subsequently depicted in Patch's portrait, in an episode of his novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*.[51] The similarly skeletal, gangly and ridiculous character of Lismahago is pursued by Jack Wilson, himself in the guise of Harlequin Skeleton, a popular contemporary stage figure. The scene is 'a lively representation of Death in pursuit of Consumption' (p.331). The difference here is that Smollett's character is not an embodiment of suffering sensibility as we find with Yorick, Tristram, and Sterne himself. Smollett was consumptive, and had travelled to the South of France for the same reasons as Sterne, but was keen to represent himself in a very different light from the flighty Sterne.[52]

Sterne's characters and fashionable diseases

Thus far I have blithely elided Sterne and his fictional characters or alter egos, as I noted at the beginning of this essay. This is partly because Sterne (self-)fashioned the matter thus. As

is well documented, Sterne's main literary characters, Tristram and Yorick, are closely identified, and deliberately so, with Sterne himself. Titles like "Tristram Shandy, alias Yorick, alias the Rev. Mr St****" in *The Grand Magazine* are indicative of the response Sterne elicted through his tactics.[53] Sterne would 'Shandy it' through the fashionable society not only of London, but also of Paris and beyond. Ian Campbell Ross has argued that it was the 'fashionable, upwardly mobile, and affluent audience [Thomas] Gray feared that, to Sterne's delight, so enthusiastically took up *Tristram Shandy*' (*Laurence Sterne,* p.218-19). Ross makes these arguments in the context of poet Thomas Gray's amateur gentleman-ish rejection of popular publication for profit.

As we have been finding already, Sterne writes not only his own persona into his fictions, or aspects of it, but also his fashionable diseases as well. Both Sterne's alter egos - Tristram and Yorick - are consumptive, and both carry the mark of melancholy. Even Tristram's name echoes the sadness that his father Walter was attempting to avoid by choosing a different name with very different associations. Tristitia or 'sorrow' is an element of medieval religious melancholy, and so in one sense out of fashion in Sterne's day. Yet there were advantages for Sterne in choosing a central, indeed eponymous, character with a melancholy name, even if Walter Shandy regards the name as a disaster: 'Melancholy dissyllable of sound! Which, to his ears, was unison to Nincompoop, and every name vituperative under heaven.'[54] Tristram's sadness evokes a certain sensibility that resonated with his audience.

Yorick, of course, is the 'winged skull', the King's jester whose remains in the graveyard prompt Hamlet to make the most famous speech on melancholy in all literature. In one sense, Yorick is the very essence of melancholy, even as he uses comedy to defend himself against

the well-nigh existential ruin of the world narrated by Hamlet. Kenneth Monkman, in that key text from the Sterne Bicentenary celebrations, the *Winged Skull*, points out how deeply Sterne has internalised Hamlet overall.[55] For Monkman, the tragi-comedy of Hamlet is meaningful because Sterne knew all his adult life that 'death was at his heels' (p.114). Elizabeth Goodhue has observed that 'all of Sterne's Yoricks are exceptionally sensitive, verbally effusive men, and all of them exhibit symptoms of tubercular consumption'.[56]

Yorick's death blends both melancholy and consumption: he dies, 'as was generally thought, quite broken hearted', because he is an innocent abroad. His jovial but sometimes unguarded nature leaves him open to the 'CRUELTY', 'COWARDICE' and 'MALICE' of his enemies (*TS* 1.12.32–36). Like Sterne, Yorick is a man of sensibility wronged by his opponents (no doubt echoing *A Political Romance* and Sterne's battles about local church politics). Yorick dies a sentimental consumptive death, 'worn out by war' but free from grievous symptoms (*TS* 1.11.30).

Yorick, notoriously, lived on, both in the persona of Sterne himself and via the fictional Parson's reappearance in *A Sentimental Journey.*[57] Yorick and Sterne's consumptive condition was common knowledge amongst Sterne's readers by now, and the intensified sentimentality of this text (as indicated in the title) was partly enabled by the pathos of such a terminal condition, but also by the associations the disease itself had with sensibility a la Dr Cheyne. The melancholy circumstances of this consumption were obviously stimuli to the fashionable (if double-edged) sentimentality within the journey, itself prompted by Sterne's profitable change in generic strategy to an allegedly more 'pure' sentimentality. Yorick is an 'invalid', and describes himself as 'pale and sickly' to the love-melancholy maid Maria. Sterne's consumption and melancholy were to be contrasted with the splenetic outpourings

of 'Smelfungus' Smollett, whose *Travels* should 'more properly … be intitled, "QUARRELS through France and Italy for the cure of a pulmonic disorder"', according to Philip Thicknesse in his *Useful Hints to Those who Make the Tour of France* (1768).[58] For Sterne, Smollett is the wrong sort of invalid, a 'Splenetick Traveller' of the sort whose disease leads him not to creativity and sensibility, but anger and bitterness. Smollett's consumption works only to fuel his spleen, which is of the type that leads not to melancholy and sentimental reflections, but to the opposite of Sterne's celebration and sexualisation of sensibility in *A Sentimental Journey.*

The text of *A Sentimental Journey* itself wears Yorick's condition lightly, safe in the knowledge that the readership knew of this reason for European travel for health from *Tristram Shandy*: it takes a good while before we find Le Count de B*** noticing that Yorick looks 'a little pale and sickly' and insists on him 'taking an arm-chair' (p.69); on the same page Yorick identifies himself as 'an invalid'. The complex interplay of Sternean consumptive personas arrives at a particularly poignant juncture when Yorick asks the love-melancholy Maria, who is also making a reappearance, whether she remembers 'a pale thin person of a man who had sat down betwixt her and a goat about two years before?' (p.96) Tristram had also been on a quest for health (in *Tristram Shandy*), and Yorick's present evocation of his meeting with Maria two years earlier nicely joins the dots in Sterne's knowing elision of life, and fiction, and more fiction. Yorick and Tristram feed on the readerly desire for characters' afterlives, and their consumptive sensibilities are a prime vehicle for achieving that continuity of identification for the audience. Maria herself was a famously melancholic character in both literature and visual art, whose condition promoted the idea of melancholia

as revealing true signs of sensibility in both writer and audience, as well as Sterne's male characters.[59]

Shortly before this incident in *A Sentimental Journey* Yorick has been forced to the allegedly balmy South because he has become 'sick', both of Paris and his consumption (p.94). At the end of the second volume, the last due to Sterne's own ill health, Yorick does 'not endeavour to stifle my cough' when a lady and her maid, with whom he is sharing a bedroom at an over-crowded hostelry, is in danger of consigning him to 'a damp cold closet' (p.102). Consumption proves to be useful in this instance, and reminds the reader of Sterne's own condition, albeit without any particularly fashionable connotation. Yorick has come a long way from the tragic and pathetic figure of *Tristram Shandy* volume one*, combining as he does consumption and comedy in these final writings of Sterne. However, Arthur Cash is right to point out that, in both works, Yorick is 'a sickly parson with a weakness for distressed women'.[60] Cash regards *A Sentimental Journey* as a 'quest for understanding', whereas *Tristram Shandy* volume 7 is a 'quest for health' (*Later Years,* p.314): I see the distinction, but both texts remain quests for health that use consumption and melancholy as markers of the author's superior sensibility.

Afterlives

Sterne was keen to embrace all readers, and 'Tristram' early on became 'the fashion'. Sterne critics have duly noted the power of Sterne's characters to enter the lives of his audience and continue his 'life' via their virtual existence. David A. Brewer has argued for a generous notion of readership, one that stresses the pleasures of the communal text of characters rather than

the more restrictive one that authors attempted to impose. Writers like Sterne became highly skilled at manipulating the readerly activity that demanded an 'afterlife' of both character and author. David Moore has claimed that 'after Sterne, the author, his life and work become an expressive totality, which teases and tantalises the reader to complete the portrait, of which the works themselves form only a pencilled outline.'[61] The visual metaphor here is apt, as we have seen how portraiture aided Sterne in his quest for a distinctive image and a celebrity derived from that image. This is an area that requires more work, but Brewer's idea that readers not only enjoyed their characters as 'real' persons but also wanted (and freely invented) 'more' than the author had supplied, suits well my overall argument that Sterne manipulated his image to create characters with a bodily life that would reinforce the idea of literary sensibility so crucial to Sterne's success.[62] Alongside this conscious manipulation, Sterne's fashionable diseases had a discourse of their own that sometimes assisted Sterne's fame, whether he was conscious of it or not.

Brewer has also discussed Sterne's technique of providing space for the audience of true sensibility's imaginative input into the writing, that 'Club of True Feelers'. Sterne's readers loved his talent for pathos and sentiment, a direct result of the physiological quality of sensibility.[63] Consumption and melancholy dovetailed into the culture of sensibility, a sensibility that was key to Sterne's efforts at self-promotion, and one that was later to be the crucial element in the extraction of Sterne's 'beauties' by later critics.[64]

Apart from the many interactions and reconstructions of Yorick and Tristram, there was strong public interest in the relationship between Sterne and Eliza Draper, which 'fuelled interest in those of his fictions referencing an "Eliza" among contemporary readers', as Elizabeth Goodhue has observed ('When Yorick Takes His Tea', p.77). Love melancholy

was also part of the mixture of fashionable disease that so promoted Sterne's image to the wider public, not merely his most devoted readers.[65] Even the attacks on Sterne, especially after his death, emphasised his sensibility –as excessive and morbid, however. John Wilson ridiculed Sterne's 'puny, sickly sensibility' in a Blackwood's review (1831).[66] For these critics, to be of Sterne's kind of consumptive and melancholic sensibility was to be diseased, morally more than physically.[67] Keats, another fashionable consumptive, suffered the same kind of criticism early in the nineteenth century, to the extent that Byron famously claimed, after Shelley, that a Blackwood's 'article' had triggered Keats' consumptive death.[68]

Fashionable disease was a double-edged sword, both for Sterne and others. Fashionability, along with the concepts of disease and sensibility, is partly determined according to perspective: for some, Sterne was sensible, sensitive, and the very embodiment of the suffering man of sentiment; for others, Sterne's works were as diseased as he was. In the service of growing his own fame, Sterne self-fashioned the image of the man of sensibility, via his own life and those of his literary and artistic characters (Tristram and Yorick especially). He exploited the long literary and medical tradition of melancholy and consumption as diseases of genius, but also used the newer rationales of the mid-eighteenth century to link the two conditions in a contemporary way. The mode of that deployment shifted as Sterne's illnesses progressed in severity and as changing market conditions dictated an intensified use of the sentimental mode, but the general principle of fashionable sensibility and its concomitant fashionable diseases persisted. It is as well to be clear on the point that many fashionable diseases as experienced by actual people did cause tremendous problems: Sterne's correspondence is peppered with his descriptions of the woes attendant

on consumption, for all the positive imagery and narrative it had accrued in relation to the good death, love melancholy and literary genius.[69]

In his conscious and unconscious dealings with fashionable disease, Sterne was very much a man writing in his cultural moment. By embracing an upwardly mobile and fashionable audience keen to discover the 'afterlife' of the author and his characters, Sterne not only ensured that his diseases of sensibility would authenticate his abilities as a writer, but also that he would appeal to a readership who also suffered from similar fashionable diseases of sensibility. In doing so, Sterne prepared the way for the Romantic equation of melancholy and consumption in literary celebrities like Keats and Shelley, and many more minor ones like Henry Kirke White and the (then very famous) Davidson sisters in America.[70] Sterne's case might be one of individual genius, but he was a key part of the rise of consumption and melancholy as Romantic diseases of poetic sensibility and celebrity as they emerged from the mid-eighteenth century moment when George Cheyne and others linked both diseases and their existing discourses of genius with the new medicine of the nerves.

NOTES

[1] *The Letters of Laurence Sterne,* ed. Lewis Perry Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), p.90; cf *The Letters of Laurence Sterne: Part One, 1739–1764,* ed. Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd (Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 2008), p.237, 446, and Arthur H. Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.1.

[2] W. B. C. Watkins, *Perilous Balance: The Tragic Genius of Swift, Johnson and Sterne* (Cambridge: Boar's Head Book, 1960 [1939]), p.101.

[3] More recent Sterne criticism, as the Sterne Tercentenary conference in 2013 demonstrated, has reminded us of just how hilarious the experience of reading Sterne is. My thanks to the fellow panellists and audience at my sessions at the Sterne Tercentenary conference, 2013, and at the International Laurence Sterne Foundation Inaugural Conference 2015. My particular thanks to Brigitte Friant-Kessler and Mary Newbould. Their perceptive questions and comments have been very helpful in the formation of this essay.

[4] Tom Keymer, 'Small Particles of Fame: Subjectivity, Celebrity, Sterne, in Melvyn New, Peter de Voogd and Judith Hawley (eds), *Sterne, Tristram, Yorick: Tercentenary Essays on Laurence Sterne* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2016), p.3-25, p.6.

[5] My thanks to Roberta Barker for her insightful comments on an earlier version of this essay and allowing me to cite some of them here.

[6] Peter M. Briggs, 'Laurence Sterne and Literary Celebrity in 1760', *The Age of Johnson: A Scholarly Annual* 4 (1991), p.251–80.

[7] Frank Donoghue's *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers (*Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) discusses the power of reviews in the burgeoning periodical market to boost fame (positively or negatively). Sterne is clearly a beneficiary of controversial reviews – at least for the first part of his career.

[8] Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986) – Braudy is paraphrased by Laura Engel in *Fashioning Celebrity: Eighteenth-Century British Actresses and the Politics of Image Making (*Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2011), p. 8.

[9] See Clark Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature: the Making of the Romantic Disease* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), chapter 2, 'The 'Golden Disease': Early Modern Religious Consumptions', p.28-40.

[10] For the idea of time and disease in Tristram Shandy, see 'Consuming Time: Narrative and Disease in Tristram Shandy', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 30 (2000), p.46-59. Reprinted in Thomas Keymer (ed*.*)*, Laurence Sterne's 'Tristram Shandy': A Casebook,* Casebooks in Criticism Series (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), p.147-67.

[11] '"The whole secret of health": mind, body and medicine in Tristram Shandy,' in John Christie and Sally Shuttleworth (eds), *Nature transfigured: science and literature, 1700-1900* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989), p.61-84, 77. For Sterne as a man of his literary moment, see Tom Keymer's *Sterne, The Moderns, and The Novel* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002).

[12] See Clark Lawlor, 'Consuming Time: Narrative and Disease in *Tristram Shandy*', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 30 (2000), 46–59 for a summary.

[13] See, for example, John Floyer, *A Treatise of the Asthma*, 3rd edn. (London: Wilkin, 1726), p.31.

[14] *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, *The Text,* ed. Melvyn New and Joan New, *The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne*, 2 vols. (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1978), I, p.8.

[15] See Madeleine Descargues-Grant, 'Burton and Sons: the Masks of Melancholy,' in *Le Spectateur européen* (10), *Before Depression: the Representation and Culture of Depression in Britain and Europe, 1660-1800/Figures et culture de la dépression en Grande-Bretagne et en Europe, 1660-1800*, ed. Clark Lawlor & Valérie Maffre (Montpellier, Presses Universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2010), 143-66.

[16] Cash, *Later Years*, p.2.

[17] Cited in Ian Campbell Ross, *Laurence Sterne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), p.215; and Cash, *Later Years,* App. 1 letter IV, p.360. *Later Years*, p.325, cites a later broad repetition by Sterne of these sentiments, just before his death in March 1768 – *Letters,* ed. Curtis, p.416.

[18] Cash, *Later Years*, p.2-3, Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, I, p.360. See also Charlotte Holden, '"Against the Spleen": Treatment for Melancholy in the Novels of Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne', unpublished PhD thesis, Northumbria University (2011), and Holden, 'Yorick's Answer to Tristram Shandy', *The Shandean*, 22 (2011), p.107-115. Cash notes that Tristram at first takes the spleen as 'the best principle upon which to travel' in book 7 of *Tristram Shandy*, but 'he discovers that spleen ruins his appetite and gives him a diarrhoea' (p.598, 603-4), *Later Years,* p.199. Naturally Tristram chooses the Shandeism of good spirits and good humour to promote health.

[19] John Hill, *Hypochondriasis. A practical treatise on the nature and cure of that disorder; commonly called the hyp and hypo.* 2nd edn, (London, 1775) (1st edn 1766), SECT. IV. The DANGER, p.16.

[20] *TS,* 7.14.595. It is worth noting that Sterne does not necessarily crudely map his own travels and sufferings onto *Tristram Shandy* – volume 8 is much less concerned with the flight from Death, even though it does continue the constant theme of the flight of time and the possibility of death snatching away the unprepared Christian at any moment. See Warren Oakley, *A Culture of Mimicry: Laurence Sterne, His Readers and the Art of Bodysnatching* (London: Manley publishing for MHRA, 2010).

[21] See *Continuation of the Bramine's journal,* ed. Melvyn New and W.G. Day, vol. 6, *The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne,* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2002).

[22] Laurence Sterne by Sir Joshua Reynolds oil on canvas, 1760 50 1/8 in. x 39 1/2 in. (1273 mm x 1003 mm) Purchased with help from Mr and Mrs Lewis Golden, the Art Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, H.M. Government and the results of a public appeal, 1975 Primary Collection NPG 5019, © National Portrait Gallery, London. Cash, *Later Years,* p.31-2, analyses this portrait and its diffusion. The 9th May 1761 exhibition by the Society of Artists included Reynolds' portrait and Simon-Francois Ravenet's original drawing after the Reynolds portrait, which had in turn served as frontispiece for *The Sermons of Mr Yorick* and Edward Fisher's mezzotint of Sterne. Cash, *Later Years,* p.237-8*,* discusses the actual origin of the portrait in Florence in 1765-6 and the subsequent etching with less detail made for Patch's book of *Twenty-Five Caricatures* (1769). Cash also examines the Nollekins bust on which was brought to London and exhibited in 1767, selling copies in plaster and marble (p.239-40).

[23] Cash, *Later Years,* p.19, *Letters,* ed. Curtis, p.231; see Martha F. Bowden's discussion of Sterne's portraits and his manipulation of his three personas in *Yorick's Congregation: The Church of England in the Time of Laurence Sterne*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007) p.141 ff., esp. p.145. She notes Fanning's exploration of Sterne's sense of his own unique look, and discusses the influence of the Reynolds portrait and subsequent engravings in making Sterne's face and image famous.

[24] William Holtz, *Image and Immortality: A Study of Tristram Shandy* (Providence: Brown UP, 1970), p.31; *Letters*, ed. Curtis, to Fourmantel, p.99). See also W. B. Gerard's discussion of this portrait by Reynolds (and subsequently engraved by Ravenet for the cover of the Sermons

and many editions of his work later) in *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p.23ff.

25 Two volumes of Sterne's *Sermons* were published in May 1760 – the first title page said 'The Sermons of Mr. Yorick' (the second used 'Laurence Sterne').

26 Cheryl Wanko, *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lubbock: Texas Tech UP, 2003)*,* paraphrased in Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity,* p.9.

27 Cheryl Wanko, 'Celebrity Studies in the Long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Overview', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011), p.351–362, p.357; Tim Clayton, '"Figures of Fame": Reynolds and the Printed Image', in Martin Postle (ed.), *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (London: Tate*,* 2005), p.49–60*.*

28 See, for example, the famous portrait of Pope by Jean-Baptiste Van Loo (1684-1745).

29 James Boswell, 'A Poetical Epistle to Doctor Sterne, Parson Yorick and Tristram Shandy', Spring 1760, in Alan B. Howes (ed.), *Laurence Sterne: The Critical Heritage,* (London: Routledge, 1971), p.80-85, p.83.

30 See *TS* VII.xxxiv.422; there are exceptions to Sterne wearing black: much later in his career in January 1767 Sterne was noticed wearing a grey suit in fashionable company (Cash, *Later Years*, p.268). By this stage Sterne no doubt felt that he had achieved fame and now could indulge himself on occasion. He continued to represent himself in writing in black, however, as this was the most useful mode of reaching the wider public to disseminate his image as wasting Yorick. See Cash on Sterne's construction of Yorick as priest in *A Sentimental Journey* (Cash, *Later Years*, p.316.)

31 See Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature,* Chapter 2, p.28-40.

[32] For a classic study of melancholy, fashionable and otherwise, in Renaissance literature see Bridget Gellert Lyons, *Voices of melancholy; studies in literary treatments of melancholy in Renaissance England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971); for a recent and richly illustrated art-historical analysis, see Laurinda S. Dixon, *The Dark Side of Genius: the melancholic persona in art ca. 1500-1700* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State UP, 2013). For recent scholarship showing Sterne's relationship to Hamlet and the theatrical fashioning of his image see Emily Hodgson Anderson, 'Theatrical *Tristram*: Sterne and *Hamlet* Reconsidered', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 273:4 (2015), p.661. John Harvey's *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995) provides a wider context for the use of black by Sterne.

[33] The recent discovery of the 'Good Humour Club' in York (which Sterne might have attended at some point) further reinforces the battle against melancholia in eighteenth-century culture.

[34] *TS* 7.34.636.

[35] *TS*, 7.13.493.

[36] Hill, *Hypochondriasis,* The NATURE of the DISORDER.

[37] *The Extant Works of Aretaeus, The Cappadocian*, repr., unabridged, 1856 edn, ed. and trans. Francis Adams (Boston, MA: Longwood Press, 1978), 'On the Causes and Symptoms of Chronic Diseases', bk. 1, ch. 8, 'On Phthisis', p.309–12, 311–12.

[38] 'Animadversions on *Tristram Shandy',* by an unidentified correspondent, *Grand Magazine,* III (April, 1760), p.194-95; cited in Cash, *Later Years,* p.19.

[39] See, for example, Sterne painted in watercolour by French artist Louis Carrogis Carmontelle (who styled himself Louis de Carmontelle), ca. 1762. See also Cash, *Later Years*, p.129-30.

[40] Laurence Sterne by Louis Carrogis ('Louis de Carmontelle') watercolour, circa 1762 NPG 2785, 10 3/8 in. x 6 7/8 in. (263 mm x 175 mm). Purchased, 1935 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

[41] Cash, *Later Years,* p.19.

[42] See Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature*, Chapter 2, especially p.37-39.

[43] Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature*, p.38-9, 70.

[44] Pat Rogers has explored the politics of size in his now classic essay 'Fat is a Fictional Issue: the Novel and the Rise of Weight-Watching', and argues both for the unease of the period's cultural memory with leanness as a sign of famine and yet the stigma attached to excess weight (sloth, gluttony), and particularly cites Sterne's real Dr Slop as in the wrong bodily register for the textual need: Sterne needed comic obesity for Slop. Rogers' general argument is that the further the century went on, the more the awareness of weight, both socially and in novelistic representation, heightens. (*Literature and Medicine during the Eighteenth Century,* Marie Mulvey-Roberts and Roy Porter (eds), (London: Routledge, 1993), p.168–87).

[45] See Cash, *Later Years,* p.241, 244*. (Letters,* ed. Curtis, p.269).

[46] See the comments of the Florida editors (*FL*, 1.18.7–12); Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Peter Motteux, rev. John Ozell, 7th ed., 4 vols. (London: D. Midwinter, 1743) I:74.

[47] "A new order of beings and things": Caricature in Sterne's Fictional Worlds', in *Hilarion's Asse: Laurence Sterne and Humour*, Anne Bandry-Scubbi and Peter de Voogd (eds), (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), p.37-52.

[48] Clark Lawlor, '"Long *Grief*, dark *Melancholy*, *hopeless natural Love": Clarissa*, Cheyne and narratives of body and soul', *Gesnerus: Swiss Journal of the History of Medicine and Sciences* 63:1/2 (2006), p.103-112.

[49] 'Caricature of Laurence Sterne and Death', Thomas Patch, Jesus College, Cambridge, reproduced here by courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge, and through the generosity of Brigitte Friant-Kessler. Duncan Patrick, 'Tristram's Dialogue with Death and Thomas Patch's 'Sterne and Death', *The Shandean* (2005), p.199-136, 120 ff., discusses this portrait. He claims that in the early volumes of *Tristram Shandy* 'Parson Yorick is virtually indistinguishable from 'Death himself' and this can only be interpreted as a darkly satirical attack on the Anglican clergy' (p.122-3) and finds an overall tendency to Deism in Sterne, despite the consensus of critical opinion in the other direction. There might be a certain amount of resentment towards aspects of Anglicanism in Sterne's work, but I do not see it as dictating the imagery of Yorick to any great extent. Sterne 'certainly never saw' the much elaborated engraving of Patch's initial painting produced in 1768, as Sterne died in March of that year (Patrick, 'Tristram's Dialogue', p.127). In this newer version Sterne is portrayed by Patch as 'looking haggard and ill, with deep lines etched around the eyes and jowls', despite the caption stating his 'careless indifference' to death. Sterne is 'fashionably dressed', notwithstanding the clerical collar, and 'his wig has the long extension favoured by the "Maccaronies"', whose popularity ran from the early sixties to the mid-seventies at the latest (p.128).

[50] A greater assurance in the prospect of heaven and divine benevolence by the eighteenth century gradually changed the image of death to a gentle friend rather than a frightening

skeleton. See Roy Porter, 'Death and the Doctors in Seventeenth-Century England', in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *Death, Ritual and Bereavement*, (London: Routledge, 1989), p.77–94.

[51] *TS* 7.438; Thomas Preston argues that this scene might echo Tristram's flight from Death and this meeting in the annotations in the University of Georgia Press edition of *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1771]), p.18)*.*

[52] See Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature*, p.104.

[53] 'An Account of the Rev. Mr ST****, and his Writings', in *The Grand Magazine* 3 (1760), p.309.

[54] *TS*, 1.64.

[55] *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Arthur H. Cash and John M. Stedmond (London: Methuen, 1971), p.112-23.

[56] 'When Yorick Takes His Tea; Or, the Commerce of Consumptive Passions in the Case of Laurence Sterne', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6:1 (2006), p.51-83, 52.

[57] *A Sentimental Journey and Other Writings*, ed. Ian Jack and Tim Parnell (Oxford UP, 2003 [1767]).

[58] *Useful Hints to Those who Make the Tour of France* (London: R. Davis, 1768), p.5.

[59] See W. B. Gerard's discussion of Maria as a sentimental emblem, especially p.141-3. Brigitte Friant Kessler analyses the two melancholy figures of Walter and Maria in '*Tristram Shandy*'s mirroring images: refracting pictorial models and staging melancholy', *RSEAA* 63 (2006), p.63-86, while Mary Newbould's *Adaptations of Laurence Sterne's Fiction: Sterneana, 1760-1840* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013) examines the sentimental Maria's afterlives.

[60] Cash, *Later Years,* p.312.

[61] David Moore, *Romanticism: A Structural Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.230.

[62] David A. Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character 1726-1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); see also *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager (Cambridge UP, 2015)

[63] Cash invokes Sterne's rare comment on his own philosophy of writing from the letter to Dr Eustace of Wilmington, North Carolina, who had sent Sterne a Shandean walking stick: Sterne refers to the 'true feeler' of humour who 'always brings half the entertainment with him. His own ideas are only called forth by what he reads, and the vibrations within, so entirely correspond with those excited, 'tis like reading *himself* and not the *book*' (*Letters,* ed. Curtis*,* p.411), Cash, *Later Years,* p.323.

[64] See Warren Oakley, who modifies Brewer's model to retrieve hack critics as skilful surgeons extracting the beautiful parts of Sterne's original work (*A Culture of Mimicry*).

[65] For the dangers of fashionable love melancholy, see Oliver Lovesey, 'Divine Enthusiasm and Love Melancholy: *Tristram Shandy* and Eighteenth-Century Narratives of Saint Errantry', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16:3 (2004), p.373-399, p.394, fn. 40.

[66] In Alan B. Howes, *Yorick and the Critics: Sterne's Reputation in England, 1760-1868* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1958), p.132-3.

[67] Walter Scott's 1823 essay on Sterne states that Sterne's popularity 'carries in it the seeds of decay; for eccentricity in composition, like fantastic modes of dress … is sure to be caricatured by stupid imitators, to become soon unfashionable, and of course to be neglected' (Howes, *Yorick and the Critics,* section 123, p.372).

[68] See Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature,* p.111.

[69] The *Journal to Eliza* and its continuation are particularly enlightening in their combination of complaints about illness and yet the sensibility that the very same illness authenticates.

[70] See Clark Lawlor, 'Transatlantic Consumptions: Disease, Fame and Literary Nationalisms in the Davidson Sisters, Southey and Poe', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36:2 (Fall 2004), p.109-126.