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"Mapping Sympathy: Sensibility, Stigma, and Space in the Long Eighteenth Century"

Jennifer Anne Foy Greater Manchester, United Kingdom

MSc, English, University of Edinburgh, 2009 BA, English (with Honors), University of Cambridge, 2005

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Department of English

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Introduction

STIGMA. *n.f.* [*stigma*, Latin]

- 1. A brand; a mark with a hot iron;
- 2. A mark of infamy.
- Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1755

In December 1777, Hester Thrale, diarist, travel writer, and great friend of Samuel Johnson, recorded an exchange with Johnson that draws on a particularly eighteenth-century map of sympathy and stigma:

I was saying this morning that I did not love Goose much one smells it so says I – But you Madam replies Johnson have always had your hunger forestalled by Indulgence and do not know the Pleasure of smelling one's Meat beforehand: - a pleasure answered I that is to be had in all Perfection by all who walk through *Porridge Island* of a Morning! – come come says the Doctor gravely, let us have done laughing at what is serious to so many: Hundreds of your Fellow Creatures dear Lady turn another way that they may not be tempted by the Luxuries of Porridge-Island to hope for Gratifications they are not able to obtain.

These Notions – just as they doubtless are; seem to me the faeculancies of his low Birth, which I believe has never failed to leave its Stigma indelible in every human Creature; however exalted by Rank or polished by Learning: no Varnish though strong can totally cover primeval meanness, nor can any Situation of Life remove it out of the sight even of a cursory & casual Observer. (*Thraliana* 186)

Of course, Thrale is far from a disinterested observer of Johnson in this moment. She is, as James T. Boulton remarks, "smarting under Johnson's rebuke for laughing at people who like to smell their food before eating it" (Porridge Island was the nickname of an area of London notable for cook-shops that served the city's poorer inhabitants) (17). Instead of taking seriously Johnson's encouragement to sympathize with the poor people of London, Thrale responds to Johnson's gentle reproach by redrawing the boundaries of identification. In her evaluation, Johnson's sympathy is indicative of a damning similarity between Johnson and the lower-class people who frequent Porridge Island, not a compelling argument to sympathize with the less fortunate. This leads to Thrale's disidentification with a category of stigmatized persons, in this case those of "low Birth," and to her dismissal of Johnson's appeal to her sympathy. Johnson is not qualified to offer credible counsel on this topic, Thrale concludes in her ad hominem, because his views are merely the result of "primeval meanness" inculcated by his early poverty. The relationship between sympathy and stigma set out here, whereby stigmatization prevents the extension of sympathy, is a common imaginative reflex, and is employed with particular tenacity in the eighteenth century for particular reasons.

Porridge Island consisted of a "nest of ... narrow lanes and streets," at the bottom of St Martin's Lane, and was part of a district described by Walter Thornbury in his *Old and New London* (1878) as "a knot of filthy and disreputable abodes" (141). It was located at the site that Trafalgar Square now occupies, and formed piece of a "whole labyrinth of close courts and small alleys" "swept away" for the construction of the Square (Thornbury 141). The district of Porridge Island included other so-called "islands," including "the Bermudas" and "the Caribee Islands," referred to as such from the seventeenth century because they were "so interlocking and obscure, so much a law unto themselves" (White 6). Thus, in Ben Jonson's epistle to Sir Edward

Sackville: "- Turn pirates here at land, / Ha' their *Bermudas*, and their *Streights* i' th' *Strand*" (1.81-2). To position this impoverished district of London, home to the city's poor and undesirable as a set of "islands" suggests a wishful distance between the respectable citizens of London and the less reputable inhabitants of the "islands." The imaginative connection between these impecunious and unsafe London streets and the West Indies is a transplant of the stigmatization of the Caribbean islands which I explore in the third and fourth chapters. There, I examine the distance between the British metropole and its colonies, and the limits of British citizens in imaginatively extending sympathy to those suffering in the outposts of empire, and keeping the stigmatized imaginatively, and where possible, physically, at a distance.

The episode between Johnson and Thrale may also demonstrate the risk inherent in sympathizing with the stigmatized: that by identifying with the stigmatized person through sympathy, the person who sympathizes will henceforth be identified as importantly similar to the object of his or her sympathy, and will take on the perceived undesirable or weak qualities of the stigmatized person in the eyes of the world. An awareness of this risk was heightened in the late eighteenth century by the power and ubiquity of the culture of sensibility and the sometimes uncomfortable obligations it conferred, so that having limits and terminuses beyond which sympathy might not be expected to extend was crucial.

Sympathy, as figured by the eighteenth century, is going into and coming near to; stigma blocks entry. Both are engagements negotiated in space, and to sympathize with the stigmatized requires careful navigations and corrections in space. This dissertation explores how these centrifugal and centripetal forces work with and against each other in the case of sympathizing with the stigmatized subject.

The force of the stigma Thrale perceives in the hungry poor is such that merely by sympathizing with them, Johnson reminds her of the stigma which he himself bears. In Thrale's eyes, Johnson's lower-class beginnings have resulted in a "Stigma indelible in every human Creature" who has endured poverty. In her estimation of the permanent effects of stigma, Thrale corroborates the first definition of the word given by Johnson in his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), which serves as the epigraph to this introduction: that stigma is "[a] brand; a mark with a hot iron." As such, stigma is resistant to the "amiable collisions" of social interaction which Shaftesbury recommends, and by which "[w]e polish one another and rub off our Corners and rough Sides," and no amount of the benevolent social phenomena that undergirded eighteenth-century society – politeness, or propriety – can remove it or varnish over it (*Characteristics* 1:39).

My dissertation argues that the emergence of a culture of sympathy and sensibility created by the boom in travel in the eighteenth century produced a backlash of stigmatizations that allowed Britons' to reconcile their imperial ambitions with their desire to see themselves as sentimental beings. I contend that the eighteenth century responded to sentimentality with a newly energized set of stigmatizations to be deployed in situations where sympathizing with the vulnerable seemed to threaten the physical, moral, or economic health of British interests. I claim that this negotiation between sympathy and stigma in the eighteenth century is peculiarly rooted in, and routed through space and spatial dynamics, as it is here in the case of the place that Porridge Island imaginatively and literally occupies in Thrale's and Johnson's London.

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¹ Samuel Johnson's father was a bookseller in Lichfield, who had "acquired a reasonable share of wealth, of (28) which however he afterwards lost the greatest part of, by engaging unsuccessfully in a manufacture of parchment" (Boswell, 27-8). Samuel Johnson was able to matriculate at Oxford as the result of a small legacy that his mother received from a distant relative, but the legacy ran out after a year, and Johnson had to leave because of his impoverishment. In the *Life of Johnson*, Boswell reports that at Oxford his poverty became "so extreme that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them," at which point he stopped attending lectures because of "this humiliating circumstance" (55). "He was too proud to accept of money, and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation."

My project brings together scholarship on sympathy and feeling with the scholarship of defect and stigma. I contend that scholars have overlooked the ways in which the fields of sympathy and stigma are interdependent, and are spatially delineated in the eighteenth century, and that any discussion of sympathy is incomplete unless it incorporates an understanding of stigma. I benefit from insights in the work of Lynn Festa and Adela Pinch in considering how sympathy and movement are crucially related. I develop Festa's and Pinch's interests in uncovering the tension between a culture of sympathy and the national ambitions of empire.

In Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen (1996) Adela Pinch discusses the movement of feelings, which "circulate," "contagious, as viruses," in "vexed ... relations to the person presumed to be feeling them" (1). Pinch writes about the ways in which the emotions that generate sympathy and those that create situations from which stigma is likely to issue are not necessarily distinct. She indicates the danger of this: "[E]xtravagant feelings could cause the greatest acts of benevolence, they could also lead women to their ruin" (2). Pinch documents the "attack on emotional extravagance" that ensued from this realization (2). Where Pinch focuses on the relationship between sympathy and negative reactions to sympathy by locating the origins of the movement of emotions, my project maps its spatial limits, and explores the ways in which sympathy and stigma are co-constitutive.

In theorizing these limits, I benefit from the scholarship of Felicity Nussbaum and Helen Deutsch which investigates categories of difference, and explores the "conceptual frameworks of culture" that struggled to classify "defect" (Deutsch and Nussbaum 1) and "[mark] the boundaries between the increasingly significant categories of the typical and the atypical human being, the normal and the abnormal" (Deutsch and Nussbaum 3). I take up the idea of marking these boundaries to show how the category of the abnormal is framed through the danger of what

Pinch identifies as "[e]xtravagant ... benevolence" (2). In the eighteenth century various populations were stigmatized as abnormal in order to sanction the denial of sympathy to those populations, as in the interaction between Hester Thrale and Samuel Johnson, where a failed appeal to Thrale's sympathy results in her recategorizing Johnson as abnormal and a part of that group to whom sympathy is denied.

Many critics argue that ideas of sympathy arose as a response to travel and global exploration. I build on these conversations by arguing that in this period, theories and representations of sympathy also assume the logic of imperial travel, most insistently and compellingly figured as movement. Lynn Festa contends that sensibility and its satellite concepts, sympathy and sentimentality, rose to cultural prominence as a reaction to increasing colonial expansion in Britain in the eighteenth century, an attempt to gain imaginative purchase on this widening of the world by clarifying how the individual self could best respond and belong to it. Festa's approach enables me to bring the local and quotidian field of sensibility into conversation with the necessarily capacious field of travel and global exploration.

I argue that the emergence of a culture of sympathy and sensibility, and in reaction, one of stigma, in the eighteenth century was created by the concomitant boom in travel, tourism, and imperial expansion. Deidre Lynch writes in "Novels in the World of Moving Goods" about the "portability" of the English novel, in which England's network of roads, transportation, and mail system provided a host of novelistic possibilities (125). In *Flesh and Stone* (1994), Richard Sennett contends that Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood caused a change in cultural perceptions of space from fixed to motile, as circulation became a metaphor for a healthy commonwealth. I add sympathy to this catalogue of motion-based change. Sympathy itself is most insistently and compellingly figured as a kind of movement through space. When sympathy

is successful, imaginative transfers move the traveler out of his own body and perspective and into another's. Often, the emotions have the capacity to travel, and concerns of directionality, velocity, propulsion, and the correct vehicle are paramount. The movement and imagery of travel imported into the language and imagery of sympathy is illustrated in Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy (1768), where, as James Chandler puts it, "Yorick's ... movements respond to his being moved, and they express his capacity to go beyond himself" (185). Wordsworth is an inheritor of these spatial metaphors of sympathy when, in the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads (1802), he concludes that "it will be the wish of the poet to bring his feelings near to those of the persons whose feelings he describes, nay, for short spaces of time perhaps, to let himself slip into an entire delusion, and even confound and identify his own feelings with theirs" (104). As Chandler notes in An Archaeology of Sympathy (2013), the metaphor of sympathy as travel comes up again in Charles Dickens's A Christmas Carol (1843), when Scrooge begs Marley's ghost to tell him "why do spirits walk the earth, and why do they come to me?" and Marley's ghost replies: "It is required of every man ... that the spirit within him should walk abroad among his fellow-men, and travel far and wide; and if that spirit goes not forth in life, it is condemned to do so after death" (22). Even in today's parlance, to feel sympathy is to be moved. All of these metaphors of sympathy are grounded in the particular language and imagery of eighteenth-century travel.

In Adam Smith's seminal example of sympathetic engagement and its limits which begins *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith defines sympathy as movement, as the act of being carried outside ourselves:

Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations ... By the imagination, we place ourselves in his situation ... we enter, as it were, into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him. His agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves ... begin at last to affect us. (*TMS* 9)

In Smith's conception of sympathy, our senses prove inadequate to do the work of transportation which is inherent in the mechanism of sympathy. Instead, it is the imagination which is required to resituate the spectator, to "carry him beyond [his] own person." Smith imagines sympathy as importantly spatial. As Fonna Forman-Brazilai, in her discussion of Adam Smith and considerations of proximity in his theory of sympathy, puts it, there is a "rich spatial texture of sympathetic responses" in Smith that requires further attention (190).

Both travel and sympathy attack insularity. As the old French officer tells Yorick in *A*Sentimental Journey, it is this function of travel that enables sympathy with unfamiliar persons:

there is a balance, said he, of good and bad everywhere; and nothing but the knowing it is so, can emancipate one half of the world from the prepossession which it holds against the other: - that the advantage of travel, as it regarded the *sçavoir vivre*, was by seeing a great deal both of men and manners; it taught us mutual toleration; and mutual toleration, concluded he, making me a bow, taught us mutual love. (52)

Travel also provides an intimacy between traveling companions which had the potential to disturb and disempower social distinctions. The barriers erected in polite society between different classes are troubled and sometimes completely dismantled during travel by the close quarters of confined conveyances, and out-of-the-ordinary interactions necessitated by journeys outside of the home or the metropole. Danielle Bobker notes that the change in the interior design of coaches in the mid-seventeenth century which placed passengers' seats opposite one another as opposed to facing outwards to the street ushered in instances of these potentially uncomfortable interactions: "How would anonymous passengers decide where to look and whom to acknowledge? What role should rank play within this transitory intimacy?" (246).

Thomas Rowlandson satirizes the possibility of social barriers breaking down in order to achieve sympathy between different age groups, classes, and even different species in his cartoon titled "Sympathy, or a Family on a Journey Laying the Dust" (1785). In the cartoon, "[t]wo ladies have descended from their coach, and stand in the road, urinating; one (left) is elderly and ugly, the other young and pretty. The footman stands in back view, also 'laying the dust', as are the pair of horses (right) and a dog. The coachman on his box, turning his back to the party in the road, imitates their example. A signpost (left) points 'To Broadwater'" (britishmuseum.org).



Through these social destabilizations, travel also has the potential to create phobia. It presents the possibility of interactions with stigmatized persons from whom the traveler might be shielded at home. In the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, Henry Fielding frequently complains of forced physical intimacy with his social inferiors. When attempting to reach his destination of Lisbon in 1754, he reports: "I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveler had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which ... is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious, or grossly corrupt" (Fielding, *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* 105). Sympathy might be even solicited by a person with whom it would be uncomfortable to sympathize, as Yorick discovers after dismissing the Franciscan monk who petitions him for money in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*.

Jonathan Lamb posits that questions of sympathy arise in situations of "comparative powerlessness in which the function and tendency of social roles is no longer directly apparent to those who fill them" (1). His analysis persuasively describes the post-feudal, post-Reformation

landscape of the eighteenth century, in which the rise of mercantile capitalism and revolutionary politics caused significant upheaval in social interactions. As Samuel Johnson puts it, in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1773), "[m]oney confounds subordination by overpowering the distinctions of rank and birth" (115). In many ways the increase in travel in the eighteenth century acted as both an amplification and a microcosm for these social changes, and a catalyst for, as well as a model of, sympathetic movement.

The boom in travel and its attendant experiences with unfamiliar and potentially undesirable persons also created a culture that was peculiarly fertile for the development of what Erving Goffman, the paradigmatic twentieth-century theorist of stigma, calls "stigma-theory," "an ideology" that "explain[s]" and "account[s] for the danger" represented by a person with a stigma of any kind, often "rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class" (4). Stigmatization is interested in protecting the "normal" by categorizing the stigmatized, concurrently placing stigma in a taxonomy more readily understood, such as class. Like sympathy, which relies on identification, stigma is a site of comparison, but it relies on disidentification. And like sympathy, stigma, in Goffman's terms, is a transaction that takes place across space.

Both sympathy and travel require self-extension, but both entail significant risk to the subject who extends himself. The moment of genuine sympathy, which is itself contagious, produces a danger for the imperial project and its recourse to forced labor. In order for Britain to profit from the exploitation of oppressed persons, it's necessary that those persons are not the subjects of identification and sympathy. The danger of sympathy is, as Hume writes in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, that "[t]he passions are so contagious, that they pass with the greatest

facility from one person to another, and produce correspondent movement in all human breasts" (254). In this way, then, the figurative map of sympathy threatened the literal map of empire.

Stigma castrates sympathy by forcing disidentification, rather than the identification that sympathy requires. In doing so, it protects self and empire. I argue that particularly in the eighteenth century sympathy was most often figured as a trope of movement; stigma I see as its spatial and affective counterpoint: localized and geographic.

By introducing stigma as a critical intersection of sensibility, my work opens up new possibilities for sympathy studies in showing the interdependency of sympathy, stigma, and imperial travel in the long eighteenth century. It is only in looking at the map of empire, and its interests in virility, imperviousness to foreign influence, and mystifying those commodities brokered through human suffering like West Indian sugar, that we can see where self-extension becomes dangerous and threatening to the imperial subject, risking contact with and contamination by the objects of stigma. Understanding the homology between imperial expansion and sympathetic self-extension allows us to see how sympathizing with the weak, the exploited, the physically or morally undesirable, threatened imperial interests and created a backlash of stigmatizations, in the forms of coding particular body types, behavior, cultural and racial signifiers.

Goffman's conceptualization of stigma is helpful in thinking through questions of sympathy and stigma in the eighteenth century, and I rely on his work as a touchstone across my project. As Heather Love puts it, in "Close but not Deep: Literary Ethics and the Descriptive Turn," Goffman is "interested in the potential of literature to account for the complexities of social life" (375).²

² There are, of course, eighteenth-century writers whose work conceptualizes the idea of stigma in one sense or another, for instance, in 'Deformity: An Essay,' William Hay pushes back against the stigmatization of those with

In his primary analysis of stigma, *Stigma*; *Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), Goffman uses the term, "stigma," to refer to "an attribute that is deeply discrediting," but immediately qualifies the definition: "but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed. An attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm the usualness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a thing in itself" (3). Goffman's presentation of the "normal" and the "stigmatized," as perspectives which can be adopted and discarded depending on the circumstance provides a useful frame for what I see as the social utility of stigmatization in the "Age of Sensibility." Goffman argues: "stigma management is a general feature of society, a process occurring wherever there are identity norms ... One can therefore suspect that the role of normal and the role of stigmatized are parts of the same complex, cuts from the same standard cloth" (130). Stigma was socially useful because it alienated certain populations from the reach of sympathy, and by so doing endorsed Britain's imperial ambitions.

Here, and throughout his work, Goffman provides a theoretical structure that understands stigma less as an aberration of the body than as a transactional event in lived coexistence. This is particularly relevant to an understanding of how stigma was enacted upon persons in the eighteenth century when, rather than operating as an isolated effect of "abominations" and "blemishes" of individual bodies and characters, a powerful set of stigmatizations arose to contain the culture of sensibility that emerged in the period and to protect power relations. The relevance of Goffman as the twentieth-century framework for illuminating important patterns in eighteenth-century texts has been under-examined. His sense of social structures and theoretical concepts usefully articulate historical, cultural, and literary patterns in the eighteenth century.

non-normative bodies, and Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* and *Agreeable Ugliness* also contend with this idea, but I find Goffman's approach uniquely useful in taxonomizing and thinking through the main moves of stigmatization.

These attempts to contain sensibility through reactive stigmatizations often appeared spatially, in ways that can be literally mapped. Goffman himself explores the spatial world of the stigmatized person, and how the limits of sympathy for such a person may be mapped. He argues that the stigmatized person is often "asked to act so as to imply neither that his burden is heavy nor that bearing it has made him different from us; at the same time he must keep himself at that remove from us which ensures our painlessly being able to confirm this belief about him" (123). He also argues that such distantiation is part of the division of the spatial world of the stigmatized, and resonantly terms the space into which individuals might be "herded together ... on the basis of a common stigma," "the back place" (82).

Sympathy does powerful and complicated kinds of work in eighteenth-century culture and I consider this work, and the backlash of stigmatization that resulted from it, through the category of the map to chart the influence of place and space in the extension and the revulsion of sympathy. The project maps limits and borders, where national and imperial borders converge with or diverge from the compass of sympathy. In doing so, it is concerned with what kinds of borders are required for sympathetic traffic between persons, and whether containment, leakiness, or porousness is the ideal condition for such traffic. It also asks what influence ideas of the center and the periphery have on the scope of sensibility, and on how the metropole and the colony fit into, and sometimes trouble this hierarchy of hub and spoke. I also explore the mapping of high and low in terms of hierarchies of anatomy, of social class, and of geographical terrain. Finally, the dissertation concludes with a digital mapping project which explores these relationships in a specific space in the British West Indies. I make my argument across four chapters that move geographically through different national spaces.

In chapter 1, "We enter, as it were, into his body': Sympathy and the Symptomatic Body," I articulate sympathy as a spatial system on the intimate scale of the face-to-face encounter, and explore Adam Smith's image of sympathizing as an "ent[ry], as it were, into [the sufferer's] body," in which we "become in some measure the same person with him" (9). I explore the cases of the sick travelers Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne, each of whom considers how the stigma attached to his condition forecloses the possibility of sympathy. In the case of the stigmatized body, the ideal self-extension of sympathy accrues troubling parallels with sympathy as contagion, and the feared consequences of a leaky body. Smith theorizes sympathy as the pleasant idea of travelling out of one's person to survey another's perspective, followed by an unfettered homecoming, but on their respective journeys to Portugal and France, Fielding and Sterne find themselves deferring the riskier outward-boundedness of Hamlet's "undiscovered country from whose bourn / No traveller returns" (3.1.80-1). The image of their porous bodies in turn repels potential sympathizers, who perceive the danger of too open a reciprocity with the damaged and defective body. When presented with the proximity of the stigmatic body, the idea of the sympathetic transaction becomes horrific, and the concept of outward-bound movement towards the suffering other makes the blood run cold.

In chapter 2, "Sympathy for the Scots," I trouble this reimposition of borders between the self and the stigmatized other. I reverse the paradigm of sympathy negotiated abroad by examining Samuel Johnson and James Boswell's 1773 journey to Scotland. In their descriptions of touring at home and finding it to be foreign, these accounts communicate a sense of geopolitical confusion about what it means to be inside or outside a national and cultural boundary, and how to negotiate the stigmatized other, the Highlander and the Jacobite, within one's own borders. Johnson initially perceives Scotland as a receptacle of the misguided,

uneducated, unproductive, and unclean, but his travel to the country, with Boswell, its countryman, effects precisely the model of sympathy proposed by Adam Smith of moving beyond his own person and into the situation of the other. Alongside this paradigmatic movement of sympathy, some of Johnson's antipathy toward the Scots, who had been racially codified as other by the English for centuries, endures. Two years after their journey to Scotland, Johnson commented, "The impudence of a Scotchman is the impudence of a leech that fixes and sucks your blood" (Murphy lvii). Johnson's image conjures again the uneasy connection with a stigmatized other: the leech, the monster that drains the sympathetic agent, while carrying the possibility of a transactional curing effect. The question of the kind of affective sharing that the English and the Scots are capable of abides, as was evident in the September 2014 referendum for Scottish independence.

The alienation of the stigmatized other is amplified further in chapter 3, "Sentiment and Interest in the British West Indies," which maps a broader sentimental system that traverses the Atlantic. This chapter looks at George Colman's comic opera, *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), and Sarah Scott's sentimental novel, *The History of Sir George Ellison* (1766) to examine perceptions of the West Indies as a site where British economic interests in the slave trade activated the stigmatization of non-white persons, and worked to suppress sympathy with the suffering of slaves. The activation of sympathy and stigma in *Inkle and Yarico* turns on questions of whether it is more important to be economically dominant, or to fulfill ideas of England as a nation of sensibility.

In 1774, John Dalling, then lieutenant-governor of Jamaica observed, "[t]he Sugar Islands are good places to pitch a Tent, but bad ones to build a House in" (49). My fourth chapter, "Space and Stigma on Thomas Thistlewood's Breadnut Island Pen," takes as its subject this

precariousness of the colonies' relationship to Britain, predicated on the establishment of the limits of sympathy in the West Indies. I focus on a specific space to demonstrate the harrowing way in which these limits were often enacted on the land itself: a Jamaican plantation purchased seven years prior to Dalling's observation by an Englishman named Thomas Thistlewood. As architectural historian Louis Nelson points out, "sites of terror," like the whipping post, or the scenes of rapes, don't survive physically, nor do they appear on plantation plans. My project uses Thistlewood's detailed diaries to locate these "sites" where they do survive, in text, and to retroactively map them in the digital space. I am creating a geotemporal digital map of this plantation, using the Neatline interactive exhibit-builder, to demonstrate how Thistlewood's self-reported acts of brutality correlate with the division of space and relationships of proximity, marking physical, personal violence on the landscape. In doing so, I show the relationship between domestic planning in the colonies and the emotional structures of empire.

Chapter 1

"We enter, as it were, into his body": Sympathy and the Symptomatic Body

Introduction

In this chapter I claim that the stigmatization of a particular kind of sick body is a reaction to eighteenth-century models of sympathy that position sympathizing as a physical extension of the self, in which the person who sympathizes places himself in the body and situation of the suffering other. Stigmatizing the sick body protects the self from the identification required for sympathy, and protects against the metaphorical contagion of sympathy which can become the physical contagion of disease.

I explore the cases of two literary, sick travelers: Henry Fielding, suffering from "a complication of disorders," but most conspicuously from dropsy, and Laurence Sterne, dying of tuberculosis (Fielding 16). Each of them considers how the stigma attached to his condition forecloses the possibility of sympathy, and presents these considerations in their final works. Henry Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, published posthumously in 1755, documents his vain attempt to restore his failing health with Portugal's hospitable climate, and also provides an unstinting and unsettling account of Fielding's dying body, as swollen and clogged. In *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, published between 1759 and 1767, Laurence Sterne describes the titular hero as he is made hyper-porous by tuberculosis. The novel is increasingly propelled by its terminal results, which mirror Sterne's own condition at the end of his life. Both Fielding and Sterne suffer in the awareness that their bodies are stigmatized, and both use their writing as a technique of de-stigmatization to modify the perception of their bodies and garner the sympathy from their readers that is sometimes denied to them by their fellows.

I engage with Susan Sontag's critical framework of illness as metaphor, in her 1978 essay of that name, to demonstrate how these writers play with the symbolic logic of a physical state to comment on the limits of sympathetic exchange, and later rely on Julia Kristeva's discussion of abjection and the dangers of bodily porousness in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982) to think about how compromised bodily borders conjure disgust instead of sympathy. I find further evidence of the potency of the symbolic logic of diseases in eighteenth-century literature in Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), and in the case of Tristram's Uncle Toby in *Tristram Shandy*, and use these to clarify my argument about Sterne's and Fielding's aberrant bodies.

Fielding and Sterne represent two extreme cases which demonstrate the importance of balance and containment in discourses of sympathy and its limits in the late eighteenth century. I conclude my readings of Fielding and Sterne by claiming that the kind of body that permits sympathetic exchange is a porous body which nonetheless has limits on that porousness to preclude the danger of leakiness.

I don't see Sterne's, or Fielding's ailing bodies themselves as metaphors or as rhetorical devices, my concern is with how these real bodies were staged and described. I'm interested particularly in the moments in which these authors perform corrections in language to the presentations of their real ailing bodies, which seek to make these bodies more sympathetic. My critical interest is in where these interventions come, and what they seek to correct. I argue that these rhetorically orthopedic moments tell us something about the metaphorical consequences of differently symptomatic bodies. In doing so, they clarify the terms of the spatial economy of sympathy, as a movement beyond one's own body, and help us to think about what kinds of bodies are seen to permit this movement. These textual corrections seek to establish stable

borders for these imbalanced bodies, and to assign the writers' symptoms and bodily identifications to valorized sites that are high in the body rather than the stigmatized sites that are low in the body. These assignations of sympathy and stigma to high and low create a bodily map of the territories and limits of sympathy.

I see these rhetorical corrections and clarifications as often doing the work of what Fred Davis describes, in 1961, as "deviance disavowal": "the refusal of those who are viewed as deviant to concur in the verdict. Or, if in some sense it can be said that they do concur, they usually place a very different interpretation on the fact or allegation than do their judges" (120). Davis's theory of deviance disavowal theorizes at least some aspects of what Fielding and Sterne are up to in these texts: a self-fashioning that does not corroborate the general estimations of their dying bodies in an attempt to facilitate their readers' identifying with them. Like sympathy, deviance disavowal is powerfully concerned with identification. Davis describes the phenomenon as:

a redefinitional process in which the handicapped person projects images, attitudes and concepts of the self which encourage the normal to identify with him (i.e. 'take his role') ... One young informant insightfully termed the process 'breaking through' ... These dynamics might also be termed a process of identification. (127-8)

In Fielding's case in particular, deviance disavowal is directed towards the reader, not towards the other persons in the interaction, because the reader is often the only potentially

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³ Fred Davis's 'Deviance Disavowal: The Management of Strained Interaction by the Visibly Handicapped' remains a key text in the literature of deviance and the central articulation of deviance disavowal. In 'Deviance Avowal as Neutralization of Commitment' (1972), Ralph H. Turner used Davis's observations to elucidate the concept of "deviance avowal," "in which a potential deviant initiates the labelling process against himself" (308).

sympathetic witness to Fielding's suffering. As we shall see, it is particularly suggestive that Davis adopts the term "breaking through" to describe this attempt at overcoming bodily stigma and successfully obtaining a "normal" person's re-identification with the stigmatized. Movement and stable borders are crucial images in eighteenth-century metaphors of sympathy, and the fact that Davis is still using these images a little more than two hundred years after Adam Smith theorized sympathy speaks to the power of the work they do in thinking about sympathy and stigma.

My argument proceeds as follows: I look first at the eighteenth-century descriptions of sympathy as physical movement from one body to another and the frightening yield of this image. I move on to the modes of textual correction of their bodily defects that Fielding and Sterne engage in, and what these corrections tell us about the stigmatization of the sick body. Next I focus on the attributes that Fielding and Sterne frame as stigmatized: I find that those attributes are symptoms located in the lower, gross regions of the body, and symptoms which entail uncontrollable bodily fluids. I contend that these symptoms are stigmatized particularly in the late eighteenth century because they provoke connections with contemporary theories of sympathy as a contagious bodily practice. I explore a conceptual map of the body, in which ideas of high and low are variously mapped onto states of sensibility and availability for sympathy. From a concern with mapping, I will then transition to a concern with borders, limits, and what enables or frustrates movement itself, as it is construed as an analogue for sympathy.

The Risk of Bodily Sympathy

In Adam Smith's influential example of sympathetic engagement and its limits, Smith proposes that sympathy can move the spectator out of his own person, situation, and even body, and into

the person, situation, and body of a sufferer, after which the sufferer's "agonies" can be "brought home" to the spectator. Although necessary for the imaginative transfer of sympathy, the physicality and immediacy of this prospect has alarming implications:

Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations ... By the imagination, we place ourselves in his situation ... we enter, as it were, into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him. His agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves ... begin at last to affect us. (*Theory of Moral Sentiments* 9)

Using Smith's image of the body as the primary site of traversal and homecoming, I will focus on what kinds of suffering bodies can engage in this spatial economy of sympathy, and what kinds of imaginative limits the sufferer's physicality imposes on this exchange.

Hume likewise uses this imagery of entry and porousness to describe sympathy:

The propensity to company and society is strong in all rational creatures; and the same disposition, which gives us this propensity, makes us enter deeply into each other's sentiments, and causes like passions and inclinations to run, as it were, by contagion, through the whole club or knot of companions. (*Hume: Political Essays* 82)

The necessity and nature of these limits appear, both in Hume and Smith, as they characterize unregulated sympathy as a kind of emotional contagion. To sympathize with another person whose position is weaker than one's own, is to risk a transfer of his condition along with the sympathetic transfer of his image of suffering. What is at stake is to succumb immediately to a slide into similar straits. Hume's and Smith's imagery of sympathy as a transfer which resembles contagion – involuntary, and spread by contact – means that compassion for another's body entails the calamitous results that a literal infection of the body might have. As Smith argues: "the passions, upon some occasions, may seem to be transfused from one man to another, instantaneously, and antecedent to any knowledge of what excited them in the person principally concerned" (15). "The passions are so contagious," Hume wrote in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, "that they pass with the greatest facility from one person to another, and produce correspondent movement in all human breasts" (254). Smith elaborates on the necessity of protecting oneself against the potential ravages of over-sympathizing:

we often struggle to keep down our sympathy with the sorrow of others. Whenever we are not under the observation of the sufferer, we endeavour, for our own sake, to suppress it as much as we can. When we attend to the representation of a tragedy, we struggle against that sympathetic sorrow which the entertainment inspires as long as we can, and we give way to it at last only when we can no longer avoid it: we even then endeavour to cover our concern from the company. If we shed any tears, we carefully conceal them, and are afraid, lest the spectators, not entering into this excessive tenderness, should regard it as effeminacy and weakness. (*TMS* 84)

There is an important sense in which to sympathize with a suffering other is dangerous to the subject who sympathizes. It is communicable "weakness." Corrupted bodily borders, of the kind that Sterne, in his hyper-porousness, and Fielding, in his swollen cloggedness, exhibit, and the consequent unregulated movement of feeling and of suffering, represent a threat. When the spaces of inside the body and outside the body are no longer distinct and regulated, the porousness of sympathy becomes the threat of contagion. In order to mitigate that threat, Fielding and Sterne engage in textual practices that attempt to "redefine[e]" their aberrant bodies and "encourage the normal," in this case the readers of their texts, "to identify with [them]" (Davis 127).

Textual Correction of Bodily Aberration

The "Dedication to the Public" of Henry Fielding's *Journal* pleads on behalf of Fielding's "little work":

let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture ... of a hand trembling in almost its latest hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet struggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found. (3)

Thomas Keymer posits that this "Dedication" was written by Arthur Murphy, author of "The Life and Genius of Henry Fielding, Esq." which was prefixed to the first collected edition of Fielding's works (*Journal* viii). This plea employs what were to become the conventions of sentimental literature – the connection between sentimentality and the micro-level in its

reference to Fielding's "little work," and the way that it draws attention to the body parts typically associated with sentimental response: the tender heart and the weeping eye. The reciprocity between Fielding's body and the reader's imagined body is striking. Both bodies are vulnerable: Fielding's hand trembles, the reader's tears melt (both figure a kind of physical disintegration). In this description Fielding's body is emaciated, and the reader's heart is "tender." It is sensibility which makes the reader's body answer Fielding's in its production of vulnerability, and the two bodies collude in the production of the text: Fielding's "hand" writes, and the reader's tear revises, by blotting the page. Murphy takes his cue from Fielding's own Introduction to the *Journal*, in which Fielding describes his body as, "so entirely emaciated that it had lost all its muscular flesh" (14).

However, this description is not a "true picture" of Fielding's body at the end of his life, nor is it a "true picture" of that body's reception. Fielding's dying body was grossly engorged by excess water as a result of the dropsy which afflicted him. In fact, the "true picture" most likely to be carried away by the reader of this text is the grotesque and pitiful image of Fielding being winched aboard the ship which would take him to Lisbon. He is hoisted by pullies onto the deck of the ship while seated in a chair. Here, the dramatist becomes the spectacle. Fielding describes it:

upon my entrance into the boat, I presented a spectacle of the highest horror. The total loss of limbs was apparent to all who saw me, and my face contained marks of a most diseased state, if not of death itself. In this condition, I ran the gaunt-lope (so, I think, I may justly call it) through rows of sailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of insults and jests on my misery. (22)

Fielding calls this "a lively picture of cruelty and inhumanity" (23). These two "pictures", the first of Fielding and his reader, twinned in physical vulnerability, sentimental receptivity and the activity of text production, and the second, of Fielding's swollen body boisterously and cruelly rejected by a crowd of sailors, are stark in their opposition. One depicts reciprocity and sympathy, the other revulsion and rejection. In the first picture the bodies are barely there – they are anatomized parts: hands, hearts, eyes – in the second, Fielding's swollen, overembodied form is an elevated spectacle of "death itself," the horrid conclusion of any state of embodiment. This suggests an explanation of the sailors' cruel response to Fielding's picture of suffering. In this light, their mockery becomes self-protection.

The attempt in the 'Dedication to the Public' to commute Fielding into a body of shrunken proportions and partial embodiment, registers an understanding that Fielding is in the wrong body if he intends to be sympathized with. In fact, the descriptions of his body as "trembling," and "emaciated" are conspicuous in the way that they seem closely to approximate, and to reach for a description of the sufferer of tuberculosis. It makes sense that both Murphy and Fielding make this textual move. Tuberculosis was romanticized and aestheticized as early as the mid-eighteenth century. Roy Porter observes that "by being associate with modish sensibility, tuberculosis was becoming positively fashionable ... Conferring an intriguing, enticing languor, consumption had become associated with superior imagination, talents and discrimination" (*Consumption and the World of Goods* 67). As Susan Sontag puts it in *Illness as Metaphor*, "the tubercular look symbolized an appealing vulnerability, a superior sensitivity." (28). As opposed to dropsy which engorged the whole body, but most visibly swelled the abdomen, tuberculosis was a disease of the "upper," more "spiritualized" regions (Sontag 24). In wasting the body's materiality into emaciation, tuberculosis makes the sufferer less embodied,

and thus more available for being "carr[ied]" outside his own person as Smith suggests.

Contrarily, images of dropsical bodies, in their swollenness, seem to trap the sufferers further in their material frame, and obstruct travel beyond one's person.

The view I'm suggesting of Fielding's body as unsympathetic because it is swollen seems to contradict the representations of caricaturists and portraitists of the time, for whom corpulence often represented good health and a life well-lived. However, excessive fatness was an increasing source of anxiety in eighteenth-century consumer society, as is evidenced by accounts such as celebrity doctor George Cheyne's popular regimens for weight loss attest. Further, Fielding's swollenness exceeded the corpulence which was an indication of affluence and good spirits, and engorged his whole body in a manner that indicated serious disease. For that reason, it cannot be calibrated with images of jovial fleshiness. The image of Fielding's dropsical body, instead, seems to intensify the low, clogged, solidifying qualities of embodiment. This clogging by weight and resistance corresponds with the gross symptoms of dropsy, where the clog of Fielding's disease maps onto a perceived clog of sensibility in the sufferer, whereas the emaciation of tuberculosis seems to work against this blockage.

I invoke this binary between dropsy and tuberculosis, which provides insight into how the spatial dynamics of sympathy are imagined, in order, ultimately, to collapse it. Both bodies, in fact, illustrate in their lack of spatial regulation a corruption of their relationship with society. Despite having opposite physical characteristics, a powerful homology exists between the two bodies. There is something aberrant about the very round and the very flat, and their family resemblance is the quality of imbalance. I argue that questions of balancing and containment are paramount to the spatial workings of sympathy.

Fielding's body figures a kind of horrific leakiness as it is tapped by the surgical trochar,

the medical correction to his impermeability. Fielding performs a rhetorical correction of his own for this painful image, mingling pleasant and unpleasant affects to recast his bodily state as something more palatable. "By the end of May," he writes, "my belly became again ripe for the trochar" (19). Although Fielding's description of "ripe[ness]" is grimly ironic, I also see the use of an image of fruiting to describe a state of putrefaction as an attempt to reclaim generative values for his decaying body. We can see Fielding's desire to superimpose what Murphy calls "a true picture," which is to say an ameliorative one, onto his real appearance, alongside an awareness that this "true picture" is unlikely to be apparent to those who can see his real body. I argue that the imminent puncturing of Fielding's already corrupted bodily borders is recast here as an image of natural maturation to allay concerns about contamination, and fatal movement out of the body.

Sterne similarly tries to exert rhetorical control over the way his imbalanced body is seen and sympathized with. He seeks to make his tubercular body comport itself textually like the conventional sentimental body, and transforms its symptoms into those less troubling, less grotesque, and less spatially unregulated. In a letter to his mistress, Elizabeth Draper, written in the spring of 1767, a year before his death, Sterne writes:

My dear Eliza! I have been within the verge of the gates of death. In ten minutes after I dispatched my letter, this poor, fine-spun frame of Yorick's gave way, and I broke a vessel in my breast, and could not stop the bleeding till four this morning. I have filled all thy India handkerchiefs with it. It came, I think, from my heart! I awoke, with the bosom of my shirt steeped in tears. I awoke, but in what a frame! Oh! My God! But thou wilt number my tears, and put them all into thy bottle. (*Works of Laurence Sterne* 44)

Referring to himself as Yorick in this passage reflects Sterne's practice of letting his authorial persona bleed into his fictional characters, pun intended. He encouraged people to 'mistake' him for his characters, publishing sermons under the name of "Parson Yorick," and often signing correspondence as "Tristram." I take this porousness, or leakiness of personae, which Sterne fostered between himself and his fictional creations, as authorization to consider all their tubercular bodies together.

In this passage, Sterne commingles the fluid productions of his tubercular haemorrhage – blood – and of his sentimental nature – tears – to grisly effect. Sterne's transformation of blood to tears here recalls Galenic physiology, in which the body is made of "constituent fluids, all reducible to blood ... blood, semen, milk, sweat, tears, and other bodily fluids turn[ed] into one another" (Paster 9). To relate the symptoms of tuberculosis to the symptoms of sentimentality is not, in itself, remarkable in the late eighteenth century. A typical, aesthetic depiction of the tubercular and sentimental body appears in Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771), whose hero is carried off, euphemistically, by tuberculosis, and almost asymptomatically but for an aristocratic frailty and languidness. However, Sterne's description exceeds typical portrayals of the romantic tubercular body, and the image becomes horrifying. The explicitness with which Sterne relates the outpouring of blood which he suffered for hours, the image of love tokens ineffectually sopping up blood, and the palpable fear of death, makes his body a contaminant rather than a symbol of sensitivity.

Sterne seeks to regulate his horrific hyper-porousness in text, as it refused to be regulated in experience, by employing the sentimental literary conventions which he himself helped to establish. He sources the blood flow to his feeling heart, rather than to his lungs, and seeks to confine it to the staple refuge of sentimental tears, the handkerchief, although the hemorrhage

proves too copious to be contained by "all thy India handkerchiefs." Waking a few hours later to find the breast of his shirt "steeped in tears," another unconscious and unwilled fluid outpouring, he comforts himself with the image of Eliza "number[ing]" those tears, and safely re-containing them in a bottle. Tears and blood mix literally and imaginatively. It is Sterne's blood which most obviously must be contained, but he asks only that Eliza contain his tears, the fluid which befits the sentimental economy. Here is another image of the reader as reciprocator of sympathetic feeling, and corrective to the author's bodily flaws, complementary to that which appears in the Dedication to Fielding's *Journal*. The instability of Sterne's bodily border exceeds the porousness of sympathy and becomes a kind of ghastly leakiness, and his frailty becomes a potential contaminant. Sterne even describes *Tristram Shandy*, his enormous, digressive novel as an excessive evacuation over which its author has no control. "But this is neither here nor there," Tristram writes in volume six, "why do I mention it? ---- Ask my pen, -- it governs me, -- I govern not it" (*Tristram* 292). Even Tristram's pen spills ink without his permission.

Sterne's pervasive interest in the body as a troublesome container is evidenced throughout *Tristram Shandy* in his thought experiments of the Momus glass, which would fix a window in every man's breast to give visual access to the soul within, as well as the image of the Venusians' transparent glass bodies (*Tristram* 51). It can also be found in Walter's stipulation that his son's tutor not have, "a thousand unnoticed openings which let a penetrating eye at once into a man's soul," and in Tristram's observation: "our minds shine not through the body, – but are wrapt up here in a dark covering of uncrystallized flesh and blood; so that, if we would come to the specific characters of them, we must go some other way to work" (290, 52).

The danger of non-normative bodies and the consequent unregulated blood flow comes up in a number of instances in *Tristram Shandy*, and in Sterne's final letters. In Slawkenbergius's

Tale in *Tristram Shandy*, a debate breaks out amongst those who observe the stranger's nose which is "six times as big" as a typical nose (*Tristram* 150). In the wake of the stranger's visit the faculty of Strasburg postulate that there is no reason a nose should not grow to the size of the man himself. The townspeople retort that such a nose would fall off the man, or vice versa, to which the faculty reply: "Nature accommodates herself to these emergencies ... else what do you say to the case of a whole stomach, a whole pair of lungs – and but *half* a man, when both his legs have been unfortunately shot off? He dies of a plethora, said they – or must spit blood, and in a fortnight or three weeks go off in a consumption. – It happens otherwise – replied the opponents. It ought not, said they" (*Tristram* 158, 167). In this passage, the stranger in Slawkenbergius's Tale with the outsized nose, the wounded soldier left "but *half* a man," and the consumptive patient are equated with one another via the unregulated fluid economies of their bodies.

Both Sterne's and Fielding's bodies are fundamentally characterized by an imbalance, which is why both texts are riven with the deep imagery of balancing: of elevation, of fluids, and of the exchange of fellow-feeling. In neither body is the boundary between inside and outside a suitable membrane to permit Smith's model exchange while preventing an evacuation of the self, so textual boundaries are invoked in order to stabilize and influence their reception.

High and Low

Proceeding from the suggestive opposition of tuberculosis and dropsy, I argue that these diseases present a productive comparison between high in the body and low in the body. For instance, as I have noted, Murphy seeks to obviate these consequences textually in the *Journal's* 'Dedication' by translating Fielding's overembodiment into something like the underembodiment of dropsy's

obverse: tuberculosis. If, as Smith suggests, the body is the object which the subject must to some extent be released from, in order to sympathize and be sympathized with, then the body which figures entrapment and blockage requires such textual correction.

In Fielding's account of boarding the ship, we can see him making textual corrections in reassigning his body to the upper regions of the scene. Fielding is winched above the crowd of sailors, who use the opportunity of his elevation to mock his appearance. However, his description works to reassign and reverse positions of high and low, in order to recover for himself the altitude of higher class and moral superiority. "It may be said," Fielding reflects caustically, "that this barbarous custom [of mockery] is peculiar to the English, and of them only to the lowest degree ... and never shows itself in men who are polish'd and refin'd" (23). Here, he not only banishes his tormentors to the "lowest degree" of society, but also hierarchizes their comic aesthetic – parody and jest – as the lowest form of comedy. Fielding, a master of low comedy himself, could find it convenient to take the high ground here and discriminate further between high and low on this basis. Disease and other disruptions to the body seem to destabilize class markers in a way that Fielding finds disturbing, and he seeks to recover these distinctions of high and low in his account, through more abstract indices of social refinement and literary aesthetics.

Fielding's response also constitutes a form of deviance disavowal. Fielding counters the disgust he is met by with his own protestations about the stigma carried by the lower classes, both at this juncture of boarding the ship, and also when attempting to enter Portugal at the end of the novel, where Fielding remarks, as I briefly noted in the Introduction:

I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveler had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which, as all such matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious, or grossly corrupt, as they shall see occasion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice. (105)

By stigmatizing his tormentors as "low," he places himself in the position of "the normal," and encourages his readers to identify with him (Davis 127). Fielding's approach to the lower classes here and elsewhere (when he is winched aboard the ship) is the reverse of the one taken by Samuel Johnson in the exchange with Hester Thrale which I discuss in the Introduction. Instead of seeing the sailors and officials as his "Fellow Creatures," he strongly disassociates himself from them, attempting to cast the burden of stigma on their low-class status instead of his aberrant body (*Thraliana* 186). This is understandable in Fielding's situation, as the stigma of his disease is readily apparent and he is in a deeply vulnerable position as a traveler and invalid. When Samuel Johnson reproaches Hester Thrale to sympathize with the customers of the cook shops in Porridge Island, he is in a familiar environment with an intimate friend, and so the risk he takes in identifying with the poor and hungry is minimal, even though it results in Thrale's waspish response in her diary.

In *Tristram Shandy* the consumptive body reiterates the valuation of high in the body as a site of sentimental production and the successful appeal to sympathy. In this novel, Laurence Sterne anticipated and in many ways heralded the romantic associations of tuberculosis, styling his consumption as much a mark of his sensibility as were his sentimental literary productions. Consumption afflicts the better part of the novel's small community of characters: Tristram

Shandy, the titular hero, his father Walter Shandy, the Shandy family's crony, Parson Yorick, and even Yorick's horse. Further, tuberculosis is, in many ways, the very engine of Sterne's wild, bawdy, digressive meta-novel, propelling its urgency to document as much of Tristram's life and opinions as possible before his consumption wastes him to death.

When Tristram introduces himself in Volume 1, as a blameless victim of chance and the novel's sentimental hero in "this scurvy and disastrous world of ours," he cites the asthma which was a precursor to his consumption as a definitive feature of his embattled vulnerability (9). "From the first hour I drew my breath in it," he writes, "to this, that I can now scarce draw it at all, for an asthma I got in skating against the wind in Flanders – I have been the continual sport of what the world calls Fortune" (16). The asthma is symbolic of Tristram's ill-fatedness, and is imbued with the tragic significance of the spiritual, as well as the physical malady. Tristram, who was mangled during his birth by the obstetrician's forceps, circumcised accidentally by a sash window, and introduced to us at the end of his life as he is dying of consumption, has always, metaphorically been "skating against the wind," and his pulmonary illness firmly situates him here as symbolically and aesthetically sympathetic.

Parson Yorick, another of the novel's consumptives, whose emaciated frame "never carried one single ounce of flesh," makes his wasted physicality all the more remarkable by riding a horse which Tristram describes as, "as lean, and as lank, and as sorry a jade, as HUMILITY herself could have bestrided" (15). The value, Yorick tells those who ask him, of riding a tubercular horse, is that its listless pace allows him to "compose his sermon" and "compose his cough" at the same time (15). That Yorick's sermons and his symptoms are developed and nursed in the same site in his upper body, and mounted aboard his emaciated nag, speaks to the sentimental force attributed to the atrophied upper regions of the tubercular body.

In the contrast between Sterne and Fielding, it is possible to outline a key distinction between their conditions: tuberculosis is aestheticized and romanticized, while dropsy and its counterparts are grotesque and, by nature, repellant to sympathy. Susan Sontag reports, "It seems that having TB had already acquired the associations of being romantic by the mid-eighteenth century ... TB being, as it were the anti-gout. For snobs and parvenus and social climbers, TB was one index of being genteel, delicate sensitive" (28). As opposed to dropsy, turberculosis was a disease of the "upper", more "spiritualized" regions of the body: in emaciating the body and making it fluid, or permeable, tuberculosis makes the sufferer less embodied, and more available for the "getting out" of one's body.

Contrarily, images of dropsical bodies intensify the low, clogged, solidifying qualities of embodiment, trapping the sufferer further in his own body, and obstructing sympathetic exchange. Bishop George Berkeley describes the state of embodiment "clogged by weight and by resistance" (476). This clogging by weight and resistance seems to correspond closely with the gross symptoms of dropsy, whereas those of tuberculosis seem to work against this "clogging" of embodiment. Another description of this "clogging" can be found in Thomas Short's 1727 Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency together with the Method for his Prevention and Cure. Short wrote that a corpulent body could scarcely be kept from putrefaction, even while the soul still inhabited "the clayie Cottage" (v). As Lucia Dacome puts it "the endemic perishability of the corpulent body [was] due to the accumulation of unperspired matter" (187-88). Lucia Dacome points out "corpulence was on the rise in eighteenth-century British consumer society, and warnings were issued about the consequences" (186). Citing George Cheyne's Essay of Health and Long Life (1724), Thomas Short's Remarks

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⁴ Note that Sontag here reads gout as belonging to the taxonomy of diseases which are grotesque and base, as opposed to my reading of gout, later in this section, as another kind of disease of sensibility.

on Cheyne's Essay of Health and Long Life (1725), and George Baker's Medical Transactions (1772), she concludes that "excessive fatness had found a stable place among eighteenth-century concerns" (186).

From such a "clogging" logically follows a distention or swelling. My discussion of mapping, and of regions of high and low in the body, will necessarily describe corresponding three-dimensional models of the body in which high in the body equates to ethereal emaciation, and low in the body, to swollenness and roundness. The distention of Fielding's body is perhaps the most important aspect of the "spectacle of high horror" which he presents to the sailors as he is winched aboard his ship, *The Queen of Portugal*, and seems to be the most active agent in inhibiting a sympathetic response to his condition.

However, not all literary tumid bodies of this period are characterized by monstrousness, threat, or illegibility. For an example of a round body whose person more closely fits my description of the delicate figures of sensibility, we can turn to Uncle Toby in *Tristram Shandy*, of whom Tristram comments, "I know no man under whose arm I would sooner have taken shelter" (*Tristram* 78). If Toby, swollen with gout, is nonetheless "of a peaceful, placid nature, - no jarring element in it," how is his body to be differentiated from Fielding's distended body, whose grotesque proportions seem to interfere, in a variety of ways, with his uptake into an economy of sympathetic exchanges (*Tristram* 97)?

Importantly, the causes of each figure's tumescence are relevant to the way their bodies and characters are read. Fielding's dropsy is characterized by a tight retention of fluid which results in his being trapped in his body, as well as a sense that that body itself has become an object: he is a barrel to be tapped. Toby's inflation, however, is the result of his gout. Gout is a disease which causes extreme sensitivity of the afflicted parts, and more closely relates the

body's insides to the external elements of which the gout makes it so keenly aware. Although gout is in evidence as early as the ancient Egyptians, in the eighteenth century, as Roy Porter writes, it "seems to have risen to almost epidemic proportions" in what he calls "the gout wave" (Porter and Rousseau 236). It accords with this chapter's interest in equating body and philosophy of mind to see this gouty sensitivity of eighteenth-century bodies as freighted to the Age of Sensibility itself. Like sensibility, gout is a disease of affluence.

In a cardinal example of Toby's sympathy, he releases an "over-grown" fly which had "tormented him cruelly all dinner-time", telling it, "'I'll not hurt a hair of thy head ... The world is surely wide enough to hold both thee and me" (124). While this episode is typically read as an example of Toby's great love for his fellow-creatures and sensitivity to suffering, I'd like to draw attention to the emphasis on proportions which attends Toby's solicitousness. The fly itself is "over-grown," like Toby's own swollen body. Toby's response to it is not just that of a consummate man of feeling, but of a sufferer of gout – he is painfully aware of its potentially tender extremities, down to the "hair[s]" of its head, and in disposing of it out of the window, reintroduces proportions of a latitude which might provide relief to the body besieged by sensation, a world "surely wide enough to hold both thee and me." The window which opens onto this wide world is a kind of border which can be permeated in the interests of sympathy.

Bodily Borders and Economies of Bodily Fluids

Attention to the permeability and bodily borders of tuberculosis and dropsy troubles the assumption that the symptoms of tuberculosis closely match the successful imaginative movement of sympathy out of the body in Smith's spatial terms. The hyper-porousness of the tubercular body emerges as troubling for the same reasons that the tight containment of the

dropsical body is troubling: both represent corrupted borders. Important checks on sympathy emerge in the fear of the over-leaky body as a risky body which threatens contagion more than clean and stable reciprocity, as well as in the body which presents tight confinement. Each body's fluid economy further qualifies the limits of its engagement in sympathetic exchange. Concerns about containment in the body, or the dangers of leaking out of it, are grounded in each disease's economy of bodily fluid. The bodies and texts of Fielding and Sterne demonstrate that any permeability of the body requires regulation, or balance.

We find an example of the dread of the leaky body in Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition* of *Humphry Clinker* (1771), in which Matthew Bramble, the novel's patriarch, describes a scene at the baths:

Two days ago, I went into the King's Bath, by the advice of our friend Ch—, in order to clear the strainer of the skin, for the benefit of a free perspiration; and the first object that saluted my eye, was a child full of scrophulous ulcers, carried in the arms of one of the guides, under the very noses of the bathers. I was so shocked at the sight, that I retired immediately with indignation and disgust! — Suppose the matter of these ulcers, floating on the water, comes in contact with my skin, when the pores are all open, I would ask you what must be the consequence? — Good Heavens, the very thought makes my blood run cold! we know not what sores may be running into the water while we are bathing, and what sort of matter we may thus imbibe; the king's evil, the scurvy, the cancer, and the pox. (90-91)

Here, Matthew Bramble is horrified at the vulnerability rendered by his porousness. This wariness of being over-permeable presents an embodiment of his sensitivity to emotional stimuli. Bramble's nephew Jery remarks of him, "He is as tender as a man without a skin; who cannot bear the slightest touch without flinching. What tickles another would give him torment" (97). Bramble's fear of being corrupted by the scrophulous child's body through "the strainer of the skin" emblematizes his fears about what havoc sympathizing with the child's condition might wreak on his already splenetic nature. Instead of sympathy, his stigmatization of the child results in "indignation and digust," and protects him from the physical contagion of disease and the metaphorical contagion of sympathy.

For Fielding and Sterne, the way that their bodies emit fluid becomes the principle signal of their diseases; here it is worth noting that the economies of fluid are in direct opposition to one another: Fielding's body is tight, and the fluids have to be forced out of the body using a trocar. When he is subjected, by Dr Joshua "Spot" Ward, to diaphoretic medicines, intended to produce perspiration, he comments that they "had so little effect on me, that Mr. Ward declared it was as vain to attempt sweating me as a deal board" (21). Given my concern with stigma, it is worth pointing out that the nickname Fielding uses here, "Spot," was given to Ward as the result of a claret-colored birthmark which spread over one of his cheeks (Clerk 109). Fielding is trapped *in* a body of water (his own) and *on* a body of water (the English channel, since his ship itself is windbound, and cannot begin its voyage to Portugal). Conversely Sterne's body "spits" blood against his will and floods him. In a letter written as an undergraduate at Cambridge, he reports waking up in a "bed full of blood" (*Complete Works and Life of Laurence Sterne* 417). He leaks, and finds himself sinking, or drowning in his own fluids. Fluids erupt against the will of the sufferer, just as tears flow spontaneously from the man of sensibility. Finally, Fielding's

body is impermeable, and Sterne's all too permeable, perpetuating the somatic quality of their respective success in sympathetic exchanges. The production of liquids is also a superficial index of sensibility: in conventional texts of sensibility these liquids would be tears, the hallmark of the response of sensibility. The only way to understand this now is to turn to something much older – the humors.

The Humors

Fielding's and Sterne's contrasting fluid economies aligns with the theory of humors, in which a balance of humoral fluids is required for a balanced and healthy body and temperament. The humors were described as fluids which circulated within the human body, like water in pipes, and a balance of the four humors – black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood – was required for proper functioning of the body. Both Fielding and Sterne engage in the deep imagery of the humoral – of the bellows and inflation, tubes and liquids, hydraulics – and use this imagery to think about what might be gauged by such fluctuations. When Tristram considers the various technologies by which it might be possible to estimate a man's character, he raises the question of bodily fluids, their quantity, and their balancing:

There are others again who will draw a man's character from no other helps in the world but merely from his evacuations. But this often gives a very incorrect outline, unless, indeed, you take a sketch of his repletions too; and by correcting one drawing from the other, compound one good figure out of them. (60)

Sterne's hypothesis that looking at evacuations, on the one hand, or repletions, on the other, provides "a very incorrect outline", suggests something of the imbalances in sympathetic exchange experienced by Fielding – whose figure is, by this model, replete – and by Sterne – whose figure is evacuated. Neither provides a satisfactory "outline," by which a man's "character" can be "drawn," and, in being correctly visually apprehended, can be "converted into the very impressions they represent" in the terms of Humean sympathy (Hume, 319). This correct visual apprehension marks the body's ability to engage in the network of sympathy. One which is marked only by evacuations, or by repletions, fails to present a coherent outline, and this incoherence threatens its uptake into an economy of sympathy.

The humoral body was imagined as particularly vulnerable to contagion by infiltration. As Gail Kern Paster puts it, "For the humoral body, *all* boundaries were threatened because they were – as a matter of physical definition and functional health – porous and permeable. What they may have threatened most of all was the psychic economy of the humoral subject in an age newly pre-occupied with corporeal self-discipline" (Paster 13-4). The older model of the humoral body contributes to the cultural force of the dread of the porous body.

Bodily Fluids and Abjection

In their symbolic logic of leakiness (the consumptive body hemorrhages, and the dropsical body swells with fluids which must be drained), these diseases present the literalization of what it means to be infected by another's situation. The fluids that leak out of the bodily borders of the sufferer present the image of contagion and of abjection. These fluids threaten the dissolution of the particular sick bodies themselves, but also the dissolution of the all-important border between what Susan Sontag terms "the kingdom of the sick" and "the kingdom of the well" (3).

Fielding's disease presents an image of a body which is uncomfortably felt and radically inhabited. Figuring, as he does, uncomfortable entrapment in his body, the picture he presents is one which seems incapable of the reciprocity necessary for sympathy. Instead, he presents the most frightening consequences of being tethered to the body: mortality. He describes himself, in the *Journal*, as "dead luggage" (46).

In *Powers of Horror* (1982) Julia Kristeva claims, with fascinating implications for concerns of "getting out" of one's body, that bodily fluids mark a separation between inner and outer world. In fact, in conjuring disgust, Kristeva highlights the precarious border between the inside and the outside of the body, and how easily corruptions of this border, in this case aberrant presentations of bodily fluids, like the bloody eruptions of Sterne's tuberculosis, or the forced evacuations of Fielding's dropsy, can translate to a reaction of disgust rather than sympathy. His condition of tight containment necessitates an unnatural violation of his bodily borders.

Kristeva's concept of abjection is suggestive for a reading of Fielding and Sterne in two ways: firstly in the capacity of bodily fluids to destabilize one's position as being inside or outside one's own body; and secondly in the terms of the disgust inspired by bodily fluids and unstable borders:

These bodily fluids, this defilement ... are what life withstands, hardly and with difficulty, on the part of death. There, I am at the border of my condition as a living being. My body extricates itself, as being alive, from that border. Such wastes drop so that I might live, until, from loss to loss, nothing remains in me and my entire body falls beyond the limit – *cadare*, cadaver. (3)

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⁵ N.B. Importantly, for Kristeva and for the cult of sensibility, tears are a species of bodily fluid which is considered a "non-pollutant".

The experience of the "wastes" which drop "from loss to loss" echoes Fielding's experiences in being "tapped" of excess quarts of water, and also of Sterne's leaking his lifeblood. Although I have argued that it is Sterne, and not Fielding, who is permeable, I see Fielding's border as being "corrupted" by the medical measures exacted on his very impermeability. It is in Fielding that Kristeva's description of the wastes which drop "so that I might live" is truly exemplified. "I was tapped," he writes, "and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly ... From that day I began slowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave" (17). However, while this eking out "from loss to loss" allows Fielding to live a little longer, the process of this loss – the corruption of the trocar's penetration of his body – exemplifies the larger rejection of abjection. The reaction of the sailors which so discomfits Fielding can be seen as part of the function of Kristeva's concept of abjection.

We can see this expulsion as a terminal iteration of the evacuations which Sterne suggests be taken as the one half of the measure of a man in *Tristram Shandy*. Kristeva goes on: "the corpse, the most sickening of wastes, is a border that has encroached upon everything. It is no longer I who expel, I is expelled ... The border has become an object. How can I be without border?" (3-4). Kristeva seems here to express the anxiety associated with Smith's theory of sympathy which involves "changing places" with another – what does it mean to leave one body and enter another: "how can I be without border?" The question of borders and contours whose function has become unstable is of paramount importance to the valetudinary traveler, who must concern himself with the corrupted borders of his own body, which must not, in turn "fall beyond the limit" and into death.

Kristeva's primary example of the unclean which represents defilement and promotes disgust is "when the eyes see or the lips touch that skin of the surface of milk – harmless, thin as

a sheet of cigarette paper, pitiful as a nail paring – I experience a gagging sensation" (4). Pertinently, it is the "skin" on the milk, that layer which distinguishes between states of matter, which causes the revulsion, because it represents a border which has been corrupted. Like Smith and Fielding, Kristeva finds herself arrested at the border of the skin. This concern with the dangerous or defiled border can also be found in *Tristram Shandy*, where we find that Tristram acquired the asthma which he sees as the beginning of all his tubercolic woe in skating, in engaging on the dangerous border of the lip of a body of water, the contour of which represents an unstable change of state: "To this hour art thou not tormented with the vile asthma thou gattest in skating against the wind in Flanders?" (*Tristram* 16). The unstable material borders which envelop Fielding repel the sympathy of onlookers and are portrayed as exponentially threatening in *Tristram Shandy*.

Abjection is described by Kristeva as repressive. As Cecilia Sjoholm points out:

corporeal rejection marks a differentiation between inner and outer world, the body of the self creating its contours, the abject being a remainder that has to be cut off in order for the self to be kept 'pure'. The abject is, however, a confirmation of the fact that the subject can only be conceived of as a heterogeneous construction that is always already contaminated. Bodily fluids mark a separation between inner and outer world, which is why the body acquires a fragile contour through disgust. (97)

I see Sjoholm's "fragile contour" expressed in the reactions of witnesses to Fielding's body. In rejecting his ailing body, its spectators throw up the, albeit "fragile," barrier of disgust against its excesses. Fielding becomes conflated with the productions of his tappings – that abject

remainder which is pushed away and rejected – and those who see his body feel the implicit danger of the contamination of sympathy and of his grotesque body.

Finally, Fielding's dropsy, and the tappings it necessitates, mean that he is dependent on medical assistance to live comfortably, which is particularly inconvenient on his lengthy voyage (June 26th-August 5th) where he is obliged to find ways to meet his need to be tapped on board the ship. Early in the journey Fielding writes: "I began with great reason to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no assistance was at hand" (30). The ship's captain assures him that there is a surgeon on board, but it is quickly established that this young man acts also as the ship's "steward, cook, butler, sailor," and "had never seen the operation performed, nor was possessed of that chirurgical instrument with which it is performed" (30). Since the boat is still windbound on the English coast, Fielding sends for "Mr Hunter, the great surgeon and anatomist of Covent-garden; and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water; the young-sea surgeoun attended the operation, not as a performer, but as a student. (30)

Later in the voyage, the same concern arises: "I began a second time to have apprehensions of wanting the assistance of a trochar when none was to be found; I therefore concluded to be tapped again by way of precaution, and accordingly I this morning summoned on board a surgeon from a neighboring parish" (93). Erving Goffman refers to the "special timing" required by some stigmatized persons to keep up the "disguise" of normalcy (90). While Fielding's tappings take place in order to facilitate his physical relief, not a disguise (although perhaps being able to keep his bodily proportions under some minimal control was useful in later passing inspection by Portugal's magistrates of health), I do find Goffman's idea of the special

timing and apparati required by the stigmatized body useful. Goffman refers to it as "'living on a leash' – the Cinderella syndrome – whereby the discreditable person stays close to the place where he can refurbish his disguise ... he moves from his repair station only that distance that he can return from" (90). Fielding's surgical requirements certainly amplify his experience of being trapped: in his own body which produces excessive trapped fluids, and on the English coast on a voyage that seems that it will never get underway. The absence of a "repair station" on the ship adds to Fielding's anxieties on the journey. Here, Goffman uses the term "discreditable," with which he generally refers to persons whose stigma "can be and usually is concealed" (ix). In Stigma, one of Goffman's key distinctions is the "discredited," for whom stigma is immediately perceptible, and the "discreditable," who might be able to manage information about their stigma. Although Fielding's stigma certainly falls under the heading of the "discredited" rather than the "discreditable," I find Goffman's description of "living on a leash" an apt one to describe Fielding. Although his stigma is immediately apparent, it is susceptible to some minimal management which reduces the degree of horror with which it is likely to be received. The distinction between the "discredited" and the "discreditable" person will be important to me again in chapter 3. The repair station that is so important to Fielding on his voyage offers the promise of the containment of his fluid outpouring and the presence of a fixed border, even if that containment is only temporary.

The image of sympathy as selective containment and movement outside of fixed boundaries recalls the anecdote of Uncle Toby and the fly in *Tristram Shandy* discussed earlier in the chapter in relationship to sensitive and sympathetic bodies. As Tristram relates it, Toby releases an "over-grown" fly which had "tormented him cruelly all dinner-time" from his cupped hand and through the sash window which he opens for the purpose, telling it: "'Go, – go poor

devil ... I'll not hurt a hair of thy head. The world is surely wide enough to hold both thee and me" (78). Toby's benevolent action is reliant on his ability to release the fly from its disagreeable confinement. When Toby opens the window to release the fly, it is the correct regulation of space – qualified access to "the wid(th)" of the world – which Toby cites as his reason for sympathizing with its plight. Toby and the fly are not closely contained but the stable and selective boundary of the window allows Toby to acknowledge, sympathize with, and then release the fly. Tristram, who witnessed this as a boy of ten, recalls that Toby's "harmony of movement, attuned by mercy" found "a passage to my heart," which imprinted a "lesson of universal good-will." This "passage" is the kind of movement which Smith, and his predecessors in theorizing sympathy, advocate.

Thus neither complete permeability nor complete impermeability can facilitate true sympathetic exchange. Instead, passage and exchange are enabled when a kind of balance is reached between the two states, and the purpose of rhetorical and conceptual corrections to the representations of real stigmatized bodies is to make membranes, where possible, to alleviate the perceptible stigmatized symptoms and to permit safe movement between bodies which are mapped for sensibility and regulated for sympathy.

Chapter 2

Sympathy for the Scots

Introduction

In chapter 1 I argued that a stable, yet permeable border is necessary in the eighteenth-century conception of sympathy. Here, I trouble the imposition of such borders between the self and the stigmatized other, and reverse the paradigm of sympathy negotiated abroad by examining Samuel Johnson and James Boswell's 1773 journey to Scotland.

This chapter looks first at Johnson and Boswell's meeting in 1763, ten years prior to their journey to Scotland, and how this meeting instantiates the often uneasy union between England and Scotland, formalized by the Acts of Union in 1707. It goes on to describe the widespread stigmatization of the Scottish by the English in the eighteenth century, which draws on earlier representations of the Scots as grasping and barbaric, and gains particular energy after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and during the premiership of John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1762-3).

Next comes a consideration of the trip that Samuel Johnson and James Boswell took together to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in 1773, and their accounts of it. Although Boswell was a native of Scotland, his home was Edinburgh, and the remote reaches of the Hebrides and the Western Islands were as foreign to him as they were to Johnson. Meanwhile Johnson, for all his uncertainty about Scotland and his well-established disdain for the Scottish, did succeed in extending himself beyond his comfort zone of London and England when he took the journey with Boswell in 1773. In Scotland, Johnson found himself abroad and also theoretically at home as a native of England and also of the United Kingdom. I argue that this disordering of the categories of inside and outside is reflected in the coexistence of expressions

of stigma alongside genuine sympathy in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). The question of what can be considered inside the reach of sympathy, and what should be imagined outside it, also manifests in repeated images of Scotland as a static container of some sort, motivated by the English fear of what might and did burst out in the form of Jacobite rebellion and migration into Parliament and the Premiership.

Johnson and Boswell's First Meeting

Johnson and Boswell first met in Thomas Davies' bookshop in London in 1763, ten years prior to their journey to Scotland. Boswell relates this meeting in his *London Journal*, written between 1762 and 1763:

I drank tea at Davies's in Russell Street, and about seven came in the great Mr. Samuel Johnson, whom I have so long wished to see. Mr. Davies introduced me to him. As I knew his mortal antipathy at the Scotch, I cried to Davies, 'Don't tell him where I come from.' However, he said, 'From Scotland.' 'Mr. Johnson,' said I, 'indeed I come from Scotland, but I cannot help it.' 'Sir,' replied he, 'that, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help.' Mr. Johnson is a man of a most dreadful appearance. He is a very big man, is troubled with sore eyes, the palsy, and the king's evil. He is very slovenly in his dress and speaks with a most uncouth voice. Yet his great knowledge and strength of expression command vast respect and render him very excellent company. He has great humour and is a worthy man. But his dogmatical roughness of manners is disagreeable. (260)

On meeting Johnson, Boswell is racked with the consciousness that his nationality constitutes a stigma which Johnson is particularly prejudiced against. Goffman considers this kind of social interaction when he discusses the person whose stigma makes him "discreditable," rather than immediately "discredited": "when his differentness is not immediately apparent, and is not known beforehand (or at least known by him to be known to others), when in fact his is a discreditable, not a discredited, person ... [t]he issue is that of managing information about his failing" (42). There is evidence that the problem of information management loomed large for the Scots in England, particularly the Lowland Scots, who were not as easily identifiable as 'other.' James Beattie's A List of Two Hundred Scotticisms (1779) is an attempt to help Scots navigate the English metropole without revealing their nationality by identifying and stigmatizing various lexical items and variants in grammatical usage. To use Goffman's vocabulary, this is an attempt at "passing," which is the most opaque means of information management about one's stigma. In this first meeting with Johnson, Boswell makes a clumsy attempt at managing information about his stigma – his Scottishness – which Thomas Davies immediately undermines. Boswell follows this with an effort to minimize the impact of his stigma: "indeed I come from Scotland, but I cannot help it.""

In this moment Boswell is deeply conflicted about how best to manage his own identity. The interjection that follows Davies's disclosure of his nationality is an attempt to separate himself from the Scots who cherish and consciously embody their national identity. Goffman calls this "ambivalence," and comments on it: "some expressions of this ambivalence [are] the oscillations of identification and association the individual exhibits regarding his fellowstigmatized" (106-7). Boswell exemplifies this "oscillation" between identification and dissociation from his "fellow-stigmatized" here.

We see this ambivalence at work throughout Boswell's *Journal*. On many occasions he wishes that Scotland were other than it is; for instance, when walking the streets of Edinburgh with Johnson early in the trip, he laments "I could not prevent his being assailed by the evening effluvia of Edinburgh ... A zealous Scotsman would have wished Mr Johnson to be without one of his five senses upon this occasion" (167, 166). However, he also exults with pride in the moments when Johnson takes pleasure in Scottish culture, as in this scene in Corrichatachin: "[Johnson] was guite social and easy amongst them; and, though he drank no fermented liquor, toasted Highland beauties with great readiness" (Journal 317), and takes pleasure in his displaying his Scottish identity to Johnson, "[o]ne of his cherished self-images, the ancestral laird" (Rogers, *Life* ix). He also manifests a little of the same ambivalence toward the figure that Johnson cuts when at his most prejudiced in Scotland. In Inverness, Boswell reports that "Dr Johnson expatiated rather too strongly upon the benefits derived to Scotland from the Union" in front of their Scottish host, and comments, "I am entertained with his copious exaggeration upon that subject; but I am uneasy when people are by, who do not know him as well as I do, and may be apt to think him narrow-minded" (Journal 228).

The "embarrass[ment]" and "apprehen[sion]" of their first meeting at Davies's bookshop, which is a product of Boswell's attempts to manage his Scottish identity, continue to play out throughout their relationship and are particularly evident when the two are traveling in Scotland together. As a Scot trying to find a dignified reception in England, Boswell finds himself pivoting between representing Scotland and distancing himself from it, and inevitably doing the same with his English identity, betokened by Johnson, while in Scotland. As Leith Davis puts it, "[i]n his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, Boswell negotiates a place for Lowland Scots as cultural mediators in Britain" (16).

Johnson responds to Boswell's awkward dissociation from Scotland by deliberately misconstruing Boswell's use of "come from Scotland" (James Beattie's *Two Hundred Scotticisms* was intended as a prophylactic against such semantic misconstructions, but Beattie's book could not guard against the kind of antipathy that Johnson engages in here). Johnson replies to Boswell, "as if I had said that I had come away from [Scotland], or left it, retorted, 'That, Sir, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help." Johnson's response dismantles Boswell's attempt to disentangle himself, in some way, from his Scottishness, by placing him squarely in a group of undistinguished Scotsmen who "cannot help" coming to England, and also engages with the trope of the fear of the Scots spilling out of Scotland.

At the beginning of Boswell's *Journal* he describes a moment early in the journey where Johnson gestures to this concern about Scottish infiltration of England: "I here began to indulge old Scottish sentiments and to express a warm regret, that, by our union with England, we were no more – our independent kingdom was lost ... JOHNSON ... I will agree to a separation. You have only to *go home*" (*Journal* 177). Johnson's response illustrates an anxiety about the perceived Scottish irruption into England, and the resolution that despite the uniting of England and Scotland, the Scots belong in Scotland.

Boswell goes on to manage his own identity by stigmatizing Johnson for his physical appearance. The unstated association between the report of Johnson's barb about the Scots and Boswell's next statement about Johnson's disagreeable appearance is Boswell's injury and retaliation. In making this move, the passage mirrors the entry from Hester Thrale's diary from the Introduction, where a reproach or put-down from Johnson is followed immediately by a harsh disparagement of Johnson that does not answer his point but instead passes the burden of stigma onto him in an attempt to invalidate him. This is similar to what Fielding does in chapter

1 when we see him stigmatize the sailors who mock his physical appearance for their low social class. Stigmatization can be seen as a reaction to discomfort or a sense that one's identity is threatened. Here, Boswell provides a catalogue of Johnson's physical maladies: his scrophulous scars ("the king's evil"), his unwieldy size, his problems with his eyes, and his poor dress and loud voice. In the *Life*, Boswell provides a kinder account of Johnson's physical difficulties:

Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrophula, or king's evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much, that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other ... [it was] a defect that man of his friends knew he had, though I never perceived it. I supposed him to be only near-sighted; and indeed I must observe, that in no other respect could I discern any defect in his vision. (31)

Boswell also remarks in the *Life* that "his size was remarkably large" (35). The difference in the character of these reports illustrates the retributive nature of the account in the *London Journal*. Boswell's desire to strike back at Johnson is not surprising. Although Johnson's antipathy toward the Scots was well-known, it was not unusual. English stigmatization of the Scots in the eighteenth century was widespread and virulent.

Stigmatization of the Scottish in the Eighteenth Century

Popular representations of the Scottish in eighteenth-century England imagined them as misguided, uneducated, unproductive, and unclean. Although the eighteenth century began with the Acts of Union between England and Scotland in 1706 and 1707, the union did not abate the

stigmatization of the Scots by the English, and, in some ways, exacerbated it. Although, as Gordon Pentland observes, "Scottish MPs were initially welcome to the new Imperial Parliament" because "there was little immediate sense of a distinctive bloc of Scottish MPs," the 1715 Jacobite rebellion provoked a reaction of invective and prejudice against the Scots, particularly in graphic satire, that was to rage for most of the century (69). "Sawney in the Boghouse" (1745), attributed to George Bickham the younger, shows a Highland soldier struggling to use a London latrine:



In the eighteenth century, 'Sawney' was an English nickname for a Scotsman, a diminuitive of the popular Scots' name 'Alexander.' And *this* Sawney,

... who ever from his Birth

Had dropt his Cates on Mother Earth

Shewn to a Boghouse, with Surprize

Down each hole thrusts his brawny Thighs

Sawney's a Laird, he cries, I trow!

Ne'er did he nobly sh—t till now.

The image was imitated in 1779 by James Gillray:



'Tis a bra bonny seat, o' my Soul, SAWNEY cries
I never beheld sic before with my Eyes,
Such a place in aw' Scotland I never could meet,
For the High and the Low ease themselves in the street.

Both images play on the comic barbarousness of the Scots who marvel at English conveniences, even as they seek to usurp the English government. In the Bickham print, the Highlander's broad sword is visible to the left of the image, cast aside as he straddles the latrine, and in Gillray's, the image of the upended crown being used as a pot for growing thistles (the Scottish national flower) pairs the Highlanders' military purposes with an image of slack-jawed simplicity. In Bickham's print of 1745, the image of the sword, as well as the clear shackles on the soldier's hands reflect the anxiety stirred in the English imagination by the Jacobite invasion of the same year. In Gillray's print, published more than thirty years after the last Jacobite incursion into England, the Highlander is unshackled and has no weapon, but he wears the tartan outlawed by the Dress Act of 1746, and his over-muscled legs signal his brute materiality and potential for disruption.

In contrast to this somatic barbarism, it was also common for eighteenth-century prints to caricature Scotland's scarcity, particularly that of the Highlands, as in the figure of the "poor Highlander ... brozing [sic] on scanty French fair [sic]" in the right-hand foreground of William Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais; or, O the Roast Beef of Old England* (1748-9).



The preoccupation with Scotland as a scene of want and lack appears throughout Johnson's *Journey*. It appears again in the frontispiece to *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral* (1763), a virulently anti-Scottish poem by Charles Churchill:



Figure 2: The Prophery of Famine: A Scott Philosof (London, 1763). Source: C. Churchill, The Prophery of Famine: A Scott Philosoft (London, 1763), frontispiece, Image coursesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

The skeletal figure wears tartan, and is pictured against a Highland landscape. Pentland observes that the image of "a ghoulish Scottish savage standing in front of a cave ... also appeared in

woodcuts and in texts dealing with the Scot who might have been the best known in popular culture ... Sawney Bean, the cannibal, whose story would have reached an exceptionally wide audience through its inclusion in popular compendia of criminology" (78).

Pentland points out that the frontispiece to *The Prophecy of Famine* "was used and reused, in the first instance as a cut to illustrate anti-Bute propaganda" (78). John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, was a Scotsman who held the office of Prime Minister from 1762-1763. He had been George III's tutor and was a close personal friend of the King. He was regarded with distrust and hostility, and thought to favor Scottish interests. As Leith Davis puts it, "Bute's detractors argued ... that his position constituted as much of a Scottish conquest of England as a successful Jacobite invasion would have achieved" (75). Tamara L. Hunt notes that his premiership "inspired nearly 400 caricatures against him and his policies, while only a handful supported him" (26).

The opposition to Bute expressed itself in a variety of anti-Scots' prejudices, but most often the characterization of the Scots as canny, avaricious, and unprincipled. Such characterizations were also levied against the Scottish politician Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, who rose from the position of Member of Parliament in the 1770s through Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1791, Minister of War on the outbreak of the French Revolution, and a Peerage in 1802. Newton's *Progress of a Scotchman* (1794) below, depicting the unscrupulous rise of a Scottish pedlar with a bare behind to become a peer, is thought to be leveled at Dundas:



The concern with a Scotsman's unstoppable trajectory also exhibited itself in a fear of the Scots' crossing the border into England and polluting or overwhelming the English. Seventeenth-century texts show that this fear did not originate with the Jacobite rebellions, but was part of a more general stigmatization of the Scots. John Cleveland's 'The Rebel Scot,' published in 1699, emphasizes the concern with keeping the Scots in Scotland:

Had Cain been a Scot, God would have chang'd his Doom,

Not forced him to Wander, but confin'd him home.

Like Jews they spread, and as Infection fly,

As if the Devil had ubiquity. (15-6)

But the fear manifested most literally in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. As Linda Colley points

out, "[f]or an island power, accustomed for almost a century to fighting its battles at sea, abroad, or at the very least on its own distant peripheries, it was profoundly unnerving that a hostile army, drawn from its own population, had been able to penetrate so close to its pampered centre" (87).

The following Whig parody of a Jacobite song of the '15 and the '45 foregrounds these concerns:

From barren Caledonian lands,

Where Famine Uncontroul'd commands,

The half-starved clans in search of Prey

Cover over the hills and far away (British Antidote to Caledonian Poison, 1764)

Incorporating the stigma of the Scots as hungry and deprived, the song presents those conditions as a motivating factor in the Scottish invasion of England. Rather than making the Scots the object of sympathy, their hunger renders them threatening predators "in search of Prey."

Concern with violation of the integrity of English space by the Scots was also a leading cause for discontent in response to Bute's very unpopular Excise Bill of 1763, also known as the Cider Act because it levied a tax on cider. The Bill permitted agents of the Crown to search any man's business for untaxed cider. In response to the Bill, Pitt argued in a debate in the House of Commons on March 27, 1763: "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown ... all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement" (qtd in Singer 309). The emphasis on the sanctity even of the Englishman's "ruined tenement" demonstrates

how the English bristled at the idea of what was perceived as potential Scottish infringement.

Although English stigmatization of the Scots did not originate in the eighteenth century, it certainly featured prominently in England's idea of its place in the world. However, some critics argue that it was in the eighteenth century that a sympathetic relationship between Scotland and England became possible. Leith Davis argues that "[t]he threat of another Jacobite invasion was essentially laid to rest after the defeat of the Jacobite army," and cites J. Mackinnon in suggesting that "the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion actually brought the two nations closer together" (74). Mackinnon claims: "The rebellion of 1745 is not merely a striking landmark in Scottish political history. It is memorable as marking the beginning of a closer and more sympathetic intercourse between Scot and Englishman" (461). Davis goes on to argue that these changes can attributed both to the Scots, "who were anxious to present a more positive view of Scotland to ensure their participation in the British economic market," and also to the English, "who were equally anxious to create a united national identity in the face of international unrest and competition in Europe and North America" (75). Pentland concurs in a slightly longer view of the eighteenth century when he states that "by the 1820s [criticisms of the Scots] were less viciously and frequently aired" due to "[t]he writings of [Walter] Scott," "the activities of George IV," and "the acceleration of Irish immigration to England [which] provided a much more threatening 'other'" (93). Pentland concludes that "[t]he growth of Britishness under the stimuli of war and global empire and the subscription to its values by Scots had softened national differences and their expression" (93).

Mackinnon's claim that in the decades following the rebellion of 1745 there emerged "the beginning of a ... sympathetic intercourse between Scot and Englishman" is borne out, I argue, by Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour*

of the Hebrides, even though Johnson retains some of his antipathy to the Scots through the journey. I focus my discussion more on Johnson's text than Boswell's because although I am interested in Boswell's perceptions of Johnson's "sympathetic intercourse" with the Scots, I find Johnson's more useful in conveying true moments of sympathy than Boswell's sometimes more wishful account of "scottifying" Johnson (Boswell 165). Perhaps the best evidence for Mackinnon's "sympathetic intercourse between Scot and Englishman" is that Johnson undertook such a journey through the peripheries of Scotland with Boswell, a Scotsman, and that despite the occasional scuffle in which pride was hurt or misunderstandings arose, the warmth of their friendship remained intact and facilitated the extension of Johnson's sympathy to the Highlanders. To fully understand the importance of Johnson taking this journey, it is necessary to return to the first meeting between Boswell and Johnson, in which Boswell's nationality and Johnson's antipathy towards his nation is the first matter discussed between them, and occasions the first time Boswell is the target of one of Johnson's witty put-downs.

Johnson's stigmatization of the Scots

Boswell's awareness of Johnson's antipathy to the Scots at their first meeting had been established by Johnson's textual output. At the beginning of his *Journal*, Boswell observes, "[Johnson's] prejudice against Scotland was announced almost as soon as he began to appear in the world of letters," but immediately qualifies his claim: "The truth is, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, he allowed himself to look upon all nations but his own as barbarians ... If he was particularly prejudiced against the Scots, it was because they were more in his way" (165). Boswell claims that for Johnson, the Scots are savages, like all foreigners, but that the Scots are particularly objectionable to him because they are "more in his way," within national borders.

This contention is supported by a moment he describes in his *Journal*, where Johnson and Boswell learn that their islander landlady has never been to the mainland. "On hearing this," Boswell relates,

Johnson, said to me, before her, 'That is rather being behind-hand with life. I would at least go and see Glenelg.' BOSWELL. 'You yourself, sir, have never seen, till now, anything but your native island.' JOHNSON. 'But, sir, by seeing London, I have seen a much of life as the world can shew.' BOSWELL. 'You have not seen Pekin.' JOHNSON. 'What is Pekin? Ten thousand Londoners would *drive* all the people of Pekin: they would drive them like deer.' (*Journal* 346)

Here, Johnson displays some of the indifference to the opinion of the Scots around him that embarrasses Boswell (*Journal* 228). Boswell relays this with no more than the observation that Johnson's remarks, though directed to him, are communicated "before" the landlady whose experience Johnson disparages. Johnson also strongly differentiates between what he sees as the landlady's provincialism, in only having seen a small corner of the world, and Johnson's own small experience of the world, because his experience is of England's metropole, the place around which, in his view, all other experience must be organized. Johnson's rebuttal to Boswell's objection that he has not seen China further establishes his hierarchy of England in relation to the rest of the world: the citizens of Peking will be driven "like deer." Johnson's animalization of the Chinese confirms Boswell's impression that to Johnson, non-English are barbarians by nature, and that in this taxonomy the Scots do not bear more of a stigma than any other inhabitants of foreign countries.

Despite Johnson's stated aversion to the Scots, Boswell begins his *Journal* by recording that the journey to Scotland alleviates much of this aversion: "To Scotland, however, [Johnson] ventured; and he returned from it ... with his prejudices much lessened ... as is evident from that admirable work, his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, which, to my utter astonishment, has been misapprehended, even to rancor, by many of my countrymen" (166). In journeying to Scotland, Johnson is "carr[ied] ... beyond [his] own person," as Smith suggests is the case in true sympathy, and "by the imagination," "place[s]" himself in the "situation" of the Scots (9). In doing so, he sympathizes with the Scots, and sympathizes with their "agonies," when he encounters them, by bringing them "home" to himself (Adam Smith, Theory of Moral Sentiments 9). Johnson's *Journey* offers plentiful examples of his imagining himself in the situation of the Scottish Highlanders, and of his sympathizing with them. Boswell's "utter astonishment" that Scottish readers have not appreciated these instances of true sympathy comes from his understanding of Johnson, and Johnson's reduced "prejudices," and does not take into account the slights that a Scotsman might feel when reading Johnson's *Journey*. In the *Journey*, Johnson's newly awakened sympathy jostles consistently against his old stigmatizations, but the fact that these impulses coexist demonstrates the power of a change of situation and entering the space of another in stimulating sympathy.

Virulent expressions of Johnson's prejudice are relatively rare, but nonetheless do appear in both Johnson's account of the journey and Boswell's. In the *Journey*, Johnson claims that "Till the Union made [the Scots] acquainted with English manners, the culture of their lands was unskillful, and their domestick life unformed; their tables were coarse as the feasts of Eskimeuax, and their houses filthy as the cottages of Hottentots" (51). In order to animate his stigmatization of the Scots here, Johnson symbolically casts them out onto the margins of the known world,

aligning their domestic arrangements with communities of people in Africa and the polar regions. Pentland discusses this conflation of the Scots with other groups considered to be alien in the eighteenth-century, citing rhetoric that compared the Scottish to Jewish people: "Far from being a unique and discrete episode," Pentland observes, "anti-Scottish xenophobia mirrored closely and borrowed from representations of a number of 'out-groups' in mid-eighteenth century England" (75). The complexities associated with such ethnic conflict are only beginning to be unraveled." This imaginative fusion of difference becomes even more broad in an example from Boswell's *Journal*: "Dr Johnson got into one of his fits of railing at the Scots. ... 'We have taught you,' said he, 'and we'll do the same in time to all barbarous nations, to the Cherokees, and at last to the Ouran-Outangs'" (308).

Although these expressions are meant as extreme expressions of denigration, the desire to see Scotland as a barbarous place is an important part of Johnson's project as a tourist. As Davis puts it, "[i]t is the desire to witness absolute difference which takes Johnson to Scotland in the first place" (95). She cites Pat Rogers' observation that "Johnson went north to see savage culture in its clearest expression" (57). In fact, Johnson purposely avoided scenes of Scottish cultivation in order to protect his image of the country as unadulteratedly wild. Boswell reports that Johnson chose not to visit Lord Findlater's grounds and gardens because "he was not come to Scotland to see fine places, of which there were enough in England, but wild objects — mountains, waterfalls, peculiar manners, things which he had not seen before" (*Journal* 219).

Johnson expressed disappointment that there were not more savage scenes to be encountered in the Highlands by 1773: "We came thither too late to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life ... a longer journey than to the Highlands must be taken by him whose curiosity pants for savage virtues and barbarous

grandeur" (74, 73). Johnson's pairing of savagery here with "virtue" and barbarousness with "grandeur" puts into perspective some of his "railing" against Scotland's deficiencies, and underscores ambivalence in reports such as Johnson's at Glensheals that "[t]he villagers gathered about us in considerable numbers, I believe without any evil intention, but with a very savage wildness of aspect and manner" (61), or his observation on Highland feuds shortly afterwards: "a feud once kindled among an idle people with no variety of pursuits to divert their thoughts, burnt on for ages either sullenly glowing in secret mischief, or openly blazing into public violence" (64).

In the *Journey* Johnson was consistently preoccupied with what was missing from Scotland. Stuart Sherman puts it this way: "[Johnson's] amplifications focus with increasing intensity on what he construes as Scottish omissions – on those things that in his opinion the people of the Highlands have failed to do: plant trees, open windows, write history. In one of the book's most persistent strains, Johnson meditates on Scotland as a place of lack" (199). Johnson complains throughout the *Journey* about Scotland's lack of trees. A few representative passages bemoan this absence: "I believe few regions have been denuded like this, where many centuries must have passed in waste without the least thought of future supply;" "From the bank of the Tweed to St Andrews I had never seen a single tree, which I did not believe to have grown up far within the present century ... There is no tree for either shelter or timber" (39).

Johnson's observations were not peculiar to his perspective or to his travel narrative. The criticism of Scotland as bare of trees and lacking in other features of the 'civilized' landscape was commonplace. The anonymously written, "A Character of Scotland, taken from a Pein of Glass in an Inn on the Northern Road," begins with this grievance:

Whoe'er he is, desires to see

A barren land, without a tree;

The rankest beggary and pride,

As close as Nits and Lice ally'd;

Be poison'd when he eats and drinks

Or flavour'd with all kinds of stinks:

Would get the itch, or be beshit,

Let him to Scotland but repair,

He'll find all these perfections there. (British Antidote to Caledonian Poison 3)

It is rare that Johnson's lambasting of even the most unsuitable Scottish scene approaches this rabid pitch, but occasionally descriptions in his *Journey* do gain energy from this archive of stereotypical complaints, for instance, the inn at Glenelg:

Of the provisions the negative catalogue was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine. We did not express much satisfaction. ... Out of one of the beds, on which we were to repose, started up, at our entrance, a man black as a Cyclops from the forge. Other circumstances of no elegant recital concurred to disgust us. (66-7)

That night, Johnson reports, "[O]ur highlanders had at last found some hay, with which the inn could not supply them. I directed them to bring a bundle into the room, and slept upon it in my riding coat. Mr Boswell being more delicate, laid himself in sheets with hay over and under him, and lay in linen like a gentleman" (67). Johnson seems to be poking fun at Boswell's genteel

self-image here, and stigmatizing him for being, or pretending to be, over-delicate.

Despite being "disgust[ed]" on occasion by Highland domestic offerings, or horrified by the barrenness of the land, the differences between the Highlands and England are easily accounted for, in Johnson's reckoning, by the Highlands' population by "wild objects" (Boswell, Journal 219). Lowland Scotland, on the other hand, is not different enough from England to be accounted "wild," but not similar enough to it to be considered really civilized. Johnson comments on the Anglification of the Lowland Scots in the Journey: "[t]he conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English; their peculiarities wear fast away" (151). Although Boswell collected intellectual luminaries for Johnson to socialize with in Edinburgh, Johnson expends barely a few lines on Edinburgh. He disburses a similar paucity of description of Glasgow, except for the following grudging acknowledgment: "Men bred in the universities of Scotland cannot be expected to be often decorated with the splendours of ornamental erudition, but they obtain a mediocrity of knowledge, between learning and ignorance not inadequate to the purposes of common life" (149-50). Situated here, "between learning and ignorance," the lowland Scots are in a position to mediate between, but also to be looked down on by both English and Highlanders. Colley comments that "[i]n Highland eyes, [Lowland Scots and English] were virtually indistinguishable, and both might seem equally alien" (15). Johnson reports that the Highlanders decline to be taught English by the Lowlanders, "for they have long considered them as a mean and degenerate race. These prejudices are wearing fast away; but so much of them still remains, that when I asked a very learned minister in the islands, which they considered as their most savage clans: 'Those,' said he, 'that live next the Lowlands'" (57).

In fact, although Johnson's sensibilities are often incensed when presented with what he perceives as the deficiencies of the Highlands, his sympathies are often with the Highlanders.

Early in their journey Boswell reports, "[o]n Wednesday it rained, and Johnson was irritated to be asked how he liked the Highlands. 'Who can like the Highlands? – I like the inhabitants very well'" (327). It is in traveling through the Highlands that, "by the imagination," as Smith suggests sympathy occurs, he "place[s]" himself in their "situation."

Sympathy with the Highlanders

In the Highlands, Johnson describes an experience that enacts Smith's model of sympathy. In theorizing how one comes to sympathize with "our brother upon the rack," Smith describes the way in which moving beyond our situation and into his means that "[h]is agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves ... begin at last to affect us" (9). On the Isle of Mull, Johnson is struck by the condition of the islanders: "Mull had suffered like Sky by the black winter of seventy-one ... Against a calamity never known, no provision had been made, and the people could only pine in helpless misery. ... In countries like these, the descriptions of famine become intelligible" (133). Johnson brings the "agonies" of the inhabitants of Mull home to himself, and, in recording them in his *Journey*, he brings them home to his readership in London, facilitated by his moving into the situation of the Highlanders and imaginatively occupying it with them. Davis claims that although Johnson's *Journey* is "an attempt to correct Macpherson's view of Scotland's prominence in the past ... at the same time, Johnson's narrative demands the reader's attention to both the situation of Scotland and the Highland predicament in the present" (16).

In stark contrast with the caricatures of starving Scots in the frontispiece of Churchill's
The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral, or Hogarth's The Gate of Calais; or, O the Roast
Beef of Old England, Johnson extends himself beyond even sympathetic "descriptions of
famine" and finds them "intelligible" after self-extension into the space of the suffering other. In

the same passage of the *Journey*, Johnson reflects on this change in perspective: "All travel has its advantages. If the passenger visits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worse, he may learn to enjoy it" (132-3). Although Johnson cites the "advantages" of travel as being the perspective that allows him to "enjoy" England, his focus in this entry is entirely upon Mull, so that this enjoyment seems to come through truly sympathizing with the plight of the Highlanders, and the yield of travel appears to be sympathy.

In another instantiation in the *Journey* of changing places with the sufferer in imagination, Johnson begins to imagine the desperate poverty which has caused the landscape to be without trees. Having given a great deal of attention to the lack of trees and the horrifying effect of that lack, at the end of his journey Johnson finds himself sympathizing with the Scots who have not planted them:

Plantation is naturally the employment of a mind unburdened with care, and vacant to futurity, saturated with present good, and at leisure to derive gratification from the prospect of posterity. He that pines with hunger, is in little care how others shall be fed.

... It may be soon discovered, why in a place, which hardly supplies the cravings of necessity, there has been little attention to the delights of fancy. (134)

Johnson's travel has afforded him the perspective of the Highlanders.

In more local examples of placing himself, by the imagination, in the situation of the stigmatized other, Johnson sometimes imagines himself literally in their architectural spaces. At one point, their guide Mr. Macqueen directs their attention to "an ancient building, called a dun or borough ... a circular inclosure" (*Journey* 84). Johnson reports that "its date, and its use, are

unknown" (*Journey* 84), but then begins to speculate by way of sympathy with past Highlanders: "I am inclined to suspect, that ... these inclosures were used to secure the herds and flocks in the night. When they were driven within the wall, they might be easily watched, and defended as long as could be needful; for the robbers durst not wait till the injured clan should find them in the morning" (*Journey* 84). Boswell records a similar moment during their journey: "Having expressed a desire to have an island like Inchkenneth, Dr Johnson set himself to think what would be necessary for a man in such a situation. 'Sir, I should build me a fortification, if I came to live here ..." (*Journal* 362). Johnson projects himself into the space of the Highlander, and so comes close to the experience of Highland life.

In a wild spot close to Anoch, he muses:

Whoever had been in the place where I then sat, unprovided with provisions and ignorant of the country, might, at least before the roads were made, have wandered among the rocks, till he had perished with hardship, before he could have found either food or shelter. Yet what are these hillocks to the ridges of Taurus, or these spots of wildness to the deserts of America? (*Journey* 61)

Rather than a traveler at leisure, he imagines a native inhabitant of the very place he occupies, and pictures his situation in all its direness. By virtue of the sympathy which is galvanized by sharing space object of his sympathy, at the end of this musing Johnson finds his imagination wandering, just like the Highlanders', of whom Johnson observes the increasing trend of emigration, to America. In this vacant landscape the importance of being able to occupy the same space as the person with whom one wishes to share a bond of sympathy, and the threat of

distance from that person takes on a power which literalizes the metaphors of sympathy enacted in space.

In a more literal example of entering into the space and copresence of a Highlander, Johnson demonstrates that sympathy again when he and Boswell venture into "a little hut," whose inhabitant, an old woman, is within (231). Boswell describes it:

we and our guides entered the hut. It was a wretched little hovel of earth only ... Dr Johnson was curious to know where she slept ... She answered with a tone of emotion saying ... she was afraid we wanted to go to bed with her ... Dr Johnson would not hurt her delicacy, by insisting on 'seeing her bed-chamber.' (231)

Although Johnson enters the hut primarily as a tourist, and comments to Boswell later that he "was pleased at seeing, for the first time, such a state of human life," he imagines her perspective and refrains from infringing on her privacy (Boswell, *Journal* 232). Boswell is less sympathetic by comparison, and reports, "my curiosity was more ardent; I lighted a piece of paper, and went into the place where the bed was" (231).

In another instance of Johnson's achieving sympathetic communication with a Highland woman, Boswell records Johnson's conversation with Mrs. M'Kinnon regarding Charles Edward Stuart's escape: "Upon that subject there was a warm union between the soul of Mr Samuel Johnson and that of an Isle of Skye farmer's wife. It is curious to see people, though ever so much removed from each other in the general system of their lives, come close together on a particular point which is common to each" (264). Here, Johnson and Mrs. M'Kinnon "come close together" in imagination after they have "come closer together" in space. Their

conversation is facilitated by Johnson's presence in the Highlands, and the influence that that situation has on his sympathetic faculties.

Boswell reports with pleasure that Johnson even takes on the Highland dress one night in Col: "he strutted about the room with a broad-sword and target, and made a formidable appearance; and, another night, I took the liberty to put a large blue bonnet on his head. [He] presented the image of a venerable *senachi*: and, however unfavourable to the Lowland Scots, he seemed much pleased to assume the appearance of an ancient Caledonian" (359-60).

The composite of sympathy and stigma in Johnson's responses to his journey through the Highlands and islands is exemplified in the final scene of his *Journey*, in which he describes visiting Thomas Braidwood's school for the deaf in Edinburgh. Declining to describe Edinburgh, Johnson focuses his attention instead on Braidwood's school: "We now returned to Edinburgh, where I passed some days with men of learning, whose names want no advancement from my commemoration ... There is one subject of philosophical curiosity to be found in Edinburgh, which no other city has to shew; a college of the deaf and dumb" (151). Johnson enters the classroom before the instructor has arrived, and details an interaction with "one of the young ladies" in which he presents her with an arithmetic question:

She looked upon it, and quivering her fingers in a manner which I thought very pretty, but of which I know not whether it was art or play, multiplied the sum ... but did not add the two lines together, probably disdaining so easy an operation. I pointed at the place where the sum total should stand, and she noted it with such expedition as seemed to shew that she had it only to write. (152)

From this, Johnson extrapolates: "It was pleasing to see one of the most desperate of human calamities capable of so much help: whatever enlarges hope, will exalt courage; after having seen the deaf taught arithmetic, who would be afraid to cultivate the Hebrides?"

It might seem here that even after all the instances in which he changes places with them in imagination, at the end of his *Journey* Johnson still equates Highland provenance with a kind of disability. However, when Johnson presents the arithmetic question to the young lady he is engaging with her at the same time as he investigates her abilities. At first she completes only half of the sum – with those pretty, quivering fingers – demonstrating only half her abilities. But when prompted, she completes the sum with that definitive expedition. As with the villagers gathering at Glensheals, Johnson admits uncertainty about motivation, but grants abilities and benignancies in the spaces of ambiguity. Although analogizing the deaf students and the Hebrideans, he seems to condescend to both groups, by also acknowledging his own limits in understanding them, what seems to be a statement of English superiority actually smuggles in some respect and sympathy for the Highlanders.

Johnson began his journey with full assurance of English superiority and Scottish savagery, and witnesses there "peculiar manners" and scenes of "savage wildness of aspect and manner" (*Journey* 61). As his journey concludes, his expectations have, to some extent, been met. However, he has also seen things which contradicted expectations of barbarism and instead confirmed another set of expectations which expected to find a romantic primitive society. He finds Highland society refined, a quality transmitted through "royal government": "Civility," he writes, "seems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftan is a monarch, and politeness, the natural product of royal government, is diffused from the laird through the whole clan" (52). He values the gentility of the Highland upper classes, commenting on "[t]he family of

Raasay," that "[m]ore gentleness of manners, or a more pleasing appearance of domestic society, is not found in the most polished countries;" and he appreciates the Highlands' culture of hospitality: "Wherever there is a house, the stranger finds a welcome" (75, 105).

Chapter 3

Sentiment and Interest in the British West Indies

"... preventing the natural Impulses of his Passions, by Preposession towards his Interests."

Spectator 11

Introduction

Despite being on the periphery of the British empire, in the late eighteenth century the West Indies was at the center of competing ideas about what it means to be English, and what an Englishman's proper intervention in the world should look like.

In the West Indies in the late eighteenth century, the figurative map of sympathy was at odds with Britain's imperial map. The imperial project required an extension of power and territory without the extension of sympathy. In the West Indies, chattel slavery was the cause of unimaginable human suffering, but the islands' natural resources, made available primarily by slave labor in the form of sugar, were a key source of wealth for Britain. In this chapter I look at two texts from the latter half of the eighteenth century that stage the conflict between Britain's ideas of itself as a mercantile and a sentimental nation at an important transitional moment in its imperial history: Sarah Scott's sentimental novel, *The History of Sir George Ellison* (1766), and George Colman's comic opera, *Inkle and Yarico* (1787). This chapter looks at the West Indies as a site where British economic interests in the slave trade activated the stigmatization of non-white persons, and worked to suppress sympathy with the suffering of slaves.

The story of Inkle and Yarico was first recorded in Richard Ligon's *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1673). There, Ligon recounts the history of an Indian slave woman who rescues an Englishman whose ship has landed in North America. She preserves,

protects, and falls in love with the young man, and on the return of his ship, he takes her to Barbados. However, on reaching the islands he sells her into slavery, "And so poor *Yarico* for her love, lost her liberty" (Felsenstein 74). Richard Steele reports the story in *Spectator* 11 on March 13th, 1711, where it is an inset tale told by Arietta, Mr. Spectator's hostess. Arietta is described as the epitome of politeness, and tells the tale in response to a rendition of a story which denigrates women's constancy, the story of the Ephesian Matron. The story of Inkle and Yarico is an occasion for demonstrating men's frequent and brutal inconstancy to women, and also for demonstrating Mr. Spectator's sentimental response to a tale of suffering. As in Ligon's version of the tale, Yarico is sold into slavery, but Steele's version notes that Yarico was pregnant by Inkle when she was sold by him. The tale entered public consciousness when it was the subject of *The Spectator* and persisted in a series of poetic pieces and heroic epistles.⁶

The Inkle and Yarico story was adapted into a comic opera by George Colman and first staged in 1787. Colman's opera is notable for substituting a sentimental happy ending, in which Yarico is not pregnant, and Inkle does not sell her. Instead, the lovers are reunited and married in Barbados. Colman's play suggests that the movement of sympathy into the perspective of the suffering other can overcome culturally imposed stigmatizations if the sympathetic agent understands that stigma is contingent. Furthermore, it suggests that this understanding can be gained through travel.

In 1827, the critic J.W. Lake wrote: "The subject is well-handled, and was happily chosen at the time to stimulate the already awakening sympathy of the British public, in behalf of the untutored, fettered, friendless blacks" (xi). The claim that Colman's play manifests the

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⁶ These included two poems by Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford (1699-1754), published in a collection known as the Tunbridge Miscellany (ca. 1726), a 1736 poem originally attributed to Edward Moore, a poem by Edward Jerningham, an incomplete fragment by the Cambridge poet William Pattison (1706-27), and John Winstanley's 'Yarico's Epistle to Inkle' and 'Yarico to Inkle,' appeared in the *American Museum* (1792) under the pseudonym 'Amicus' (Felsenstein 29).

emergence of British sympathy for African slaves is complicated by the inherent racism that characterizes the play, despite its sentimental ending and proto-abolitionist statements. However, the play is a useful case study of the way Britons were beginning to think about how sympathy and stigma should be meted out in their perceptions of the British colonization of the Caribbean. The activation of sympathy and stigma in *Inkle and Yarico* turns on questions of what is more important in England's self-perception: economic dominance, or sensibility.

The first part of Scott's *The History of Sir George Ellison* takes place in Jamaica, where George Ellison, the eldest son of a family which finds itself in financial difficulties, has been dispatched to make his fortune. Mr. Ellison does just that, and spends fifteen years in Jamaica accruing the substantial bounty which he will spend the rest of the novel bestowing on the deserving poor in England. The means by which Mr. Ellison acquires the bulk of his riches is his marriage to a young widow with ostensibly good character and a desirable fortune, which includes "ten thousand pounds in money, and a plantation of no less value" (9). Scott's novel presents a compassionate English slave-owner, who extols English virtues of mercy and generosity. It enumerates Ellison's misgivings about becoming a slave owner, while making clear his powerlessness to change the state of those slaves in his possession: "[a]ccording to the present state of the island he was sensible he could not abolish this slavery, even on his own estate" (10).

I begin by examining how scenes of selling slaves in Scott's novel and Colman's play prompt impassioned statements of English national character, and why those moments should draw these forth. Next, I suggest that in West Indian society in the eighteenth century sympathy itself is stigmatized as weakness. I then look at how economic interest constrains sympathy in the British West Indies, with particular attention to the characters of Sir George Ellison and Inkle. I

then discuss the changes that the decade in between Scott's novel and Colman's comic opera has wrought on British culture and how those changes are reflected in the texts' proto-abolitionist sentiments. I conclude with a discussion of how *Sir George Ellison* and *Inkle and Yarico* use class to complicate their depictions of racial stigmatization.

Scenes of Sale, Definitions of Englishness

Both Colman's comic opera and Scott's sentimental novel foreground self-conscious positioning of what it means to be English against the background of life in a slave-owning society. In both texts, scenes in which slaves are sold call forth the most vehement assertions of national principles.

In *The History of Sir George Ellison*, on first witnessing a severe punishment administered by the steward of the plantation, Mr. Ellison takes over the task of disciplining the slaves on his plantation. He improves the slaves' living conditions drastically, and in return puts in place a tiered system of punishment where the punishments meted out increase in severity depending on how many times the slave has offended. After one offense, the slave is excluded from the following week's holiday, after two offenses, they are excluded from the holiday and also deprived of a day's food, and after three offenses, he sells the offending slave to the first person to offer a price on the slave, no matter how low the price. One of his slaves breaks the plantation rules three times, and he follows through on his threat in order to preserve his authority. The severity of the punishment troubles him enormously, though, and prompts Ellison's anguished justification:

The poor criminal is more outrageous in his expressions, but I question whether he feels more than I do on this occasion. I am exerting a power merely political, I have neither divine, nor natural right to enslave this man. This shocking subordination may be necessary in this country, but that necessity makes me hate the country. The most atrocious crime only could deserve the punishment I am inflicting; and were it not that all order depends on a superior's inviolable adherence to his own laws, I assure you the poor man should be instantly pardoned. Nor could I go through with what I am doing, if I did not hope this example will have so strong an effect on those who are now deploring his fate, that it will prove the last time I shall be reduced to so painful an exertion of power.

(16)

Ellison appeals to the imperative of order in the colony above that of compassion here. Maintaining order and control was a particularly pressing concern in eighteenth-century Jamaica where African slaves outnumbered whites ten to one. In addition, *The History of Sir George Ellison* was published just six years after Tacky's Revolt in 1760, a massive uprising in which fifteen hundred slaves killed up to sixty whites over eighteen months, and caused thousands of pounds worth of property damage. The revolt was reported with great anxiety in British newspapers, and Scott would certainly have been aware of it. Her portrayal of Mr. Ellison's anxiety about upholding order is especially intelligible given the historical context. In the anguished antipathy toward Jamaica Mr. Ellison expresses here, we can see the conflict between what he sees as necessary stigmatization and his natural impulse to sympathize. His wife chastises his pity as weakness: "Surely,' said she, 'you have less spirit than a sucking babe, if

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⁷ For an account of Tacky's Revolt, and a digital mapping project that shows the rebel slaves' progress during the uprising, see Vincent Brown's exhibit at http://revolt.axismaps.com/project.html

you can pity such an ungrateful creature'" (16). This prompts Ellison's account of the crucial difference between England and Jamaica:

the difference between us lies only in education; you have been bred in a country, where scarcity of natural inhabitants introduced slavery, which can never be established but at the expense of humanity; the master becomes a tyrant, for human nature always abuses a power which it has no right to exert; and the slave's mind being as heavily fettered as his body, he grows sordid and abject. I, on the contrary, was born in a country, that with all its faults is conspicuously generous, frank, and merciful, because it is free; no subordination exists there, but what is for the benefit of the lower as well as the higher ranks;

Ellison buttresses his idea of himself and of Englishness because at this moment – when he considers himself forced to sell another human being against all his sympathetic instincts – the idea of distinguishing England from its colony and exonerating it of the moral failings of its empire is necessary to reconcile his sensibility with the colonial project he participates in.

In another scene where a slave is offered for sale in the West Indies, in George Colman's comic opera, *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), a young English merchant, Inkle, attempts to sell his American Indian lover, Yarico, to the governor of Barbados, Sir Christopher Curry. His haste to sell her is the result of his desire to cast her off. This desire is motivated by two factors: firstly that her race came with a stigmatized status in Britain and the British colonies, and secondly because he wishes to enter into a profitable marriage with Sir Christopher's white and aristocratic daughter. Sir Christopher agrees to buy Yarico from Inkle, but not before giving the

following disclaimer: "though I witness this custom every day, I can't help thinking the only excuse for buying our fellow creatures is to rescue them from the hands of those who are unfeeling enough to bring them to market" (221). Inkle replies: "Fair words, old gentleman; an Englishman won't put up an affront," and Sir Christopher responds angrily: "An Englishman! More shame for you! Let Englishmen blush at such practices. Men, who so fully feel the blessings of liberty, are doubly cruel in depriving the helpless of their freedom!" (212). This exchange describes the central conflict in images of England in the play. Sir Christopher Curry sees England as a seat of virtue, Inkle as a seat of business and profit.

These conflicting visions of England, played out on the London stage in the year that also saw the birth of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, demonstrate the conflicting visions of Britons on their interventions on the imperial map, and enact the kind of thinking on the extension of sympathy that was presented in the work of philosophers like Adam Smith. When Inkle attempts to defend the intention to sell Yarico, after being accused of barbarousness by Sir Christopher Curry, he claims that his father taught him to value profit above all, "and the first sentence that I ever lisped, was – *Charity begins at home*." The perimeters of "charity" were more firmly inscribed for him, Inkle goes on, "[a]s I grew up": "he'd prove – and by example – were I in want, I might e'en starve, for what the world cared for their neighbours; why then should I care for the world?" For most of the play Inkle represents mercantilism, and at the end, renounces mercantilism in favor of Sir Christopher Curry's sentimental world view, and his model of English national character as fundamentally sympathetic.

However, Sir Christopher's idea of the requisite attitude of an Englishman to slavery contains its own conflict between sympathy and pragmatism. Sir Christopher puts his objection

to buying slaves to Inkle in the terms of a person who is fully complicit in the system he criticizes: "though I witness this custom every day, I can't help thinking the only excuse for buying our fellow creatures is to rescue them from the hands of those who are unfeeling enough to bring them to market" (221). Archival research shows that Sir Christopher Curry's attitude in *Inkle and Yarico* is reflective of the feelings of contemporary governors and administrators of the West Indian islands. Colonel John Dalling, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica in 1772, and then served as Governor of Jamaica from 1777-1782, reports a similar conflict in his *Observations on the Present State of the Island of Jamaica* (1774):

Let us consider that to the distinctions which nature has made between the two Races of Men, our Laws have superadded other equally difficult to overcome Viz. Liberty to one and Slavery to the other; hence a perpetual enmity must always subsist, which no policy, no time can eradicate. Let us likewise take into contemplation, that inherent desire for all men to withdraw themselves from pain, and equally to pertake of the satisfactions of life; then shall we see the dreadful precipice we stand upon, if not blinded by the too anxious pursuit of wealth. ... Hence arises the necessity of keeping up a constant regular force, and supporting numerous barracks to protect the inhabitants from extirpation. (19)

Dalling acknowledges that all persons, white and black, share the same feelings, goals, and desires, but his solution to the tension between that admission and the imposition of slavery is to marshall a greater military force to protect the whites on the island. Earlier in his *Observations*, Dalling considers the incongruity between ideas of British liberty and the slavery that the British empire inflicts in the West Indies:

Let us Survey this Earth, what Scenes of Rapine and Oppression surround us? How are Men enslaved and overburdened in every Corner of the Globe? Britain alone, like the Temple of Vesta, seems appointed by Heaven, to preserve the Sacred Flame of Liberty. Oh may she religiously cherish and maintain the precious deposit, till time shall be no more! And like an Indulgent Parent, bestow a portion to her Western Sons to illuminate the New World! May they, with gratitude, receive the Mighty Boon, and consider themselves as part of her happy and Extensive Empire! Strange Idea for a Resident in the West Indies, where Slavery is established by Law, and who denies to others, that which he himself so ardently desires! (49)

Dalling argues that British administrators in the colonies ought to abolish the laws that allow for chattel slavery, and that Britain should be able to influence its own empire. Despite these feelings, real colonial administrators like Dalling in Jamaica, and fictional ones like Sir Christopher in Barbados enforce the system of slavery despite the fact that it conflicts with ideas of British freedom. As Thomas Jefferson was to say more than forty years later when considering the similar bind that American slavery placed on expressions of American liberty: "we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other" (Ford 10:159).

Sir Christopher's ardent expressions of sympathy for Yarico, and expressions of intent to "cherish her like my own daughter," then, come within a framework that is conditional and contingent, and realistically so. Thus, it makes sense that the most vehement defenses of Englishness and English liberty come at the moments in which compassionate Englishmen are

particularly implicated in stigmatizing African slaves to the point of objectifying them: the selling of other human beings.

The Stigmatization of Sympathy

In a society as brutal as the British West Indies in the eighteenth century, it was practical for slave-owning whites to steel themselves against their natural tendencies to sympathize with the slaves whom they abused so ruthlessly. Here, the compassionate Mr. Ellison is an unusual case, and his attempts to ameliorate the lives of his slaves are looked upon by his wife, who has lived in Jamaica her entire life and become accustomed to the appalling treatment of African slaves, with contempt. In turn, she stigmatizes him, implying that his pity makes him weak and effeminate. This is in keeping with Adam Smith's contention in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which was discussed in chapter 1 in connection with sympathy as contagion, that sympathizing can cause the sympathizer to become an object of ridicule. Smith argues: "If we shed any tears, we carefully conceal them, and are afraid, lest the spectators, not entering into this excessive tenderness, should regard it as effeminacy and weakness" (84).

The fact that Mr. Ellison does not carefully conceal his compassion leaves him open to the derision and antipathy of his wife. This is the same kind of antipathy Samuel Johnson experiences from Hester Thrale when he urges her to sympathize with the hungry poor of London and she ascribes the rebuke to his early poverty and the stain she proposes that it has left on his psyche. Mrs. Ellison's response to Mr. Ellison's more humane treatment of their slaves is first chagrin, followed by stigmatization:

Mrs Ellison was mortified to find her husband incorrigible in so material an article; but recompensed herself ... that however it might be in other families, in their's woman was certainly not the weaker vessel, since she was above those soft timorous whims which so much affected him; had always kept her slaves in as good order as any man in the island, and never flinched at any punishment her steward thought proper to inflict upon them.

(23)

By imaginatively shifting the gender roles of their relationship, Mrs. Ellison confers on Mr. Ellison the stigma of the weaker partner, and comes to employ the same tactic used by Hester Thrale in the exchange with Johnson, whereby she conflates Mr. Ellison with the slaves he sympathizes with. As time goes on, she manipulates his generous nature to such an extent that "she soon made her husband that slave which he would suffer no one to be to him" (22).

Such is the stigmatization of benevolence by Mrs. Ellison that when Mr. Ellison sees her shedding tears over an injury to her beloved lapdog, he characterizes sympathy as a stigma-like mark, the brand that Samuel Johnson defines it as in his *Dictionary*: "I am surprised, though agreeably, to see such marks of sensibility in a heart that I feared was hardened against the sufferings even of her fellow creatures" (12).

In Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, the sympathy that Trudge, Inkle's manservant, shows to his dark-skinned lover, Wowski, is challenged and derided when they arrive in Barbados. A planter spots Wowski, and refers to her as "that young Indian," and "Our Black Fair," and tells Trudge that he "ought to be sent back to the savages again," and is "not fit to live among us

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⁸ For a definitive reading of this scene, see Markman Ellis's *The Politics of Sensibility* (1996), in chapter 3, "'Delight in misery': sentimentalism, amelioration, and slavery," pages 95-8. Ellis describes the scene as "an extraordinary sentimental set-piece" (95), and illustrates the way in which the lap-dog both unevenly metaphorizes the slave population of the plantation, and also diffuses the tension inherent in sympathizing with a potentially dangerous population by substituting for them an unthreatening object of sympathy.

Christians" as a result of his relationship with, and loyalty to her (201). This scene articulates the conflict between the impulses of sympathy and stigma. Trudge is devoted to Wowski, but on returning to an English territory he is confronted by the fact that in this environment her race makes her a discredited person and their marriage stigmatizes him by association. In response to the planter's jeering, "Why sure friend, you wou'd not live here with a Black," Trudge responds with frustration, and acknowledges the sting of the social censure, while maintaining his allegiance to Wowski: "Plague on't; there it is. I shall be laughed out of my honesty here ... – But you may be jogging friend I may feel a little queer, perhaps, at shewing her face. – but dam'me, if ever I do any thing to make me asham'd of shewing my own" (201). Trudge's honesty about the effect of Wowski's referred stigma on him gives his loyalty to her even more value. When Inkle considers the referred stigma that Yarico will bring upon him in England and English territories, he muses, "here ... lie my interests, great connections, and other weighty matters ... which her presence here will mar!" (203). The damage that Inkle imagines Yarico's mere "presence" doing to his prospects is enough to encourage him to cast her off. Because Yarico is a discredited person, her presence alone speaks her stigma.

Trudge is the only character in Colman's play who addresses the idea of stigma and understands how to dismantle it. Trudge's understanding of stigma encapsulates Goffman's insight that stigma is relational. For Goffman, stigma is not in the body, it only means that a person possesses a trait that is undesirable in a particular context. It is this discernment which prevents Trudge from being overcome by the stigma attached to his new wife in the British West Indies, as Inkle initially is. Trudge intuits this aspect of stigma early in the play, when he and Inkle first happen upon Yarico's cave, decorated in feathers and animal skins. He cautions Inkle: "All that enter here appear to have had their skin stript over their ears; and ours will be kept for

curiosities— We shall stand here stuff'd for a couple of white wonders" (184). Trudge's relatively complicated understanding of the stigma of skin color is conveyed clearly by the fact he can see their whiteness as an outsider's quality in North America, and can imagine a native American regarding it as a peculiarity, one that perhaps even marks him with animality in this context, as he imagines himself stuffed like hunted prey. This awareness of the relationality of stigma is also showcased in Trudge's language of changing race, or changing faces, with Wowski, which signals an awareness that which of them belongs to the stigmatized race is interchangeable depending upon context. When Narcissa's servant Patty derides his relationship with Wowski, he rebukes her using this image: "I'd have you to know, Madam Patty, that Blackamoor Ladies, as you call em, are some of the very few, whose complexions never rubb off! S'bud, if they did, Wous and I shou'd have changed faces by this time" (214).

The force of economic interests in constraining sympathy

The History of Sir George Ellison and Inkle and Yarico demonstrate the way in which economic interests constrain the natural impulse to sympathize in the British West Indies. George Ellison finds himself in the position of slave-owner in the West Indies as a result of his family's reduced financial circumstances. His father was a younger son who received only a small portion of his father's wealth, and he found himself with limited means to pass on to his three children, of whom Mr. George Ellison was the eldest. He decided to give two thirds of his children's endowment to Mr. George Ellison as capital with which to make his fortune in Jamaica and return the original sum to his siblings once he had secured himself. Thus, when Mr. Ellison finds himself in Jamaica in a position to marry a wealthy, slave-owning widow, his family's security as well as his own depends on it.

After a time, Mr. Ellison comes to see himself as his wife's property in some way, and to those friends and acquaintances of his who make fun of her dominance in the relationship, "he only said, that 'they must not wonder if his long application to merchandize had taught him to see every thing in the light of traffic; and his wife had bought him at so great a price, that he thought she had a right to make the best of the purchase'" (23). Although Mr. Ellison seems to intend this response to be lighthearted, the novel frequently refers to him as in some way enslaved by his circumstances, and more particularly by his wife. After fifteen years in Jamaica, Mr. Ellison decides to return to England in the interests of his young son's education, an event that is accompanied by Mrs. Ellison's death. Her death and his ensuing freedom is described: "tho' habit and gentleness of temper may teach a prisoner to hug his chains, yet when taken off, he will soon grow sensible he is relieved from a burden" (35).

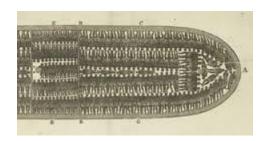
In Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, as in Ellison's playful description of himself, Inkle sees everything in the light of business and profit, and is the character in the play most constrained in the exercise of sympathy. His economic interest places narrow limits on his ability to sympathize. In the epigraph to this chapter, taken from *Spectator* 11, which popularized the Inkle and Yarico story in 1711, Inkle's education is said to "preven[t] the natural Impulses of his Passions, by Prepossession towards his Interests." At the end of Colman's *Inkle and Yarico*, Sir Christopher Curry points to the same constraint of sympathy in Inkle when he describes him as "one in whose breast the mean passion of avarice smothers the smallest spark of affection or humanity" (227). In both these characterizations, Inkle's sympathy is constrained by avarice and interest, both of which motivate the stigmatization of people of color on the imperial map in eighteenth-century Britain. Of these groups and spaces, the enslavement of Africans in the West Indies was the most egregious, and it is this issue that Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* seeks to

present to a British audience that was increasingly cognizant of, and sensitive to the suffering of the African slave population in the British West Indies.

Proto-Abolitionism in Inkle and Yarico

Looking at the sentimental stance on slavery in the West Indies in Scott's novel and Colman's comic opera, the effect of the decade between the two is evident. Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* reflects the progress made in thinking about the slave trade in the 1760s and particularly 1770s in Britain. Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* changes the ending of the tale as it had passed down through the eighteenth century, so that Yarico is not sold into slavery at the end of the play and Sir Christopher Curry speaks passionately on the immorality of the slave trade. This reflects the play's historical and cultural context, in which the British public was increasingly concerned with the question of the morality of slavery and with the Caribbean. The dissolution of the Royal African Company in the early 1750s had the effect of thinning out the amount of pro-slavery propaganda in Britain and the result was increased questioning of the ethics of the slave trade. In 1772, Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset Ruling of 1772 deemed that on English soil there was no law that entitled one man to own another. In Mansfield's words: "England is a soil whose air is too free for slaves to breathe" (qtd in Van Cleve 627). This construction of England as a place of liberty bolsters the views of English charity and freedom articulated by Sir Christopher Curry in *Inkle and Yarico*. Further widespread attention was brought to the horrors of the slave trade when, in 1783, a court case was brought by an insurance company against the owners of the Zong, a slave-ship, who had claimed recompense for the lost profit after the captain threw one hundred and thirty two slaves overboard when they ran out of drinking water.

Inkle and Yarico was first staged on 4 August 1787, a significant year in the history of the abolition of the slave trade. The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the political and popular engine of abolition in Britain, was formed on 22 May 1787. The same year, the Society circulated powerful pieces of anti-slavery material such as the diagram of the 'Brookes' Slave Ship, which depicted the ship loaded to its full capacity with four hundred and fifty four slaves packed into the ship's hold, and Josiah Wedgwood's famous anti-slavery medallion, bearing the image of an enslaved man on his knees and the question, "Am I not a man and a brother?"



Fine focus of the 'Brookes' Slave Ship Image



Wedgwood's Anti-Slavery Medallion

The play demonstrates an awareness of and response to this crystallization of abolitionist thinking. This is demonstrated most importantly in the tale's amended ending so that instead of selling Yarico, Inkle is reformed and comes to understand that attempting to sell her is an act of terrible cruelty. Secondly, the influence of progressive, abolitionist ideas is evident in the inclusion of characters, namely the governor of Barbados, Sir Christopher Curry, and Inkle's servant, Trudge, who are repelled by the idea of slave-owning, and protest frequently that people of color are sympathetic and deserving of liberty and fair treatment. Finally, there are some clues in the Prologue that Colman put these changes in place to reflect an audience that was likely to be increasingly critical of the slave trade. The speaker of the prologue insists that the ending has been changed, "not to damp the glow of youth, / But 'To set passion on the side of truth," and "we but claim the charter of the stage, / 'Gainst vice and folly constant war to wage" (173). A contemporary reviewer confirmed the welcome nature of this change in his report that "Mr. Colman, junior has judiciously conceived that the reformation of his hero would be agreeable to an English audience" (Monthly Review 77, 389). The reviewer's specification of the national character of the audience signals the perceived importance of this issue to the British public.

Stigmatization of the Laboring Class

Inkle and Yarico's presentation of racial stigma is given additional nuance by its treatment of the laboring class. Sir George Ellison brushes over interactions with the laboring class in Mr. Ellison's description of English society as one of complete equality. Mr. Ellison tells his wife that in England

no subordination exists ... but what is for the benefit of the lower as well as the higher ranks; all live in a state of reciprocal services, the great and the poor are linked in compact; each side has its obligations to perform; and if I make use of another man's labour, it is on the condition that I shall pay him such a price for it, as will enable him to purchase all the comforts of life; and whenever he finds it eligible to change his master, he is as free as I am. (16-17)

Mr. Ellison's description of English society here is an idyllic one, and his assertions about the freedom of the laborer to obtain a comfortable life and to choose his own master seem disingenuous, particularly in the context of his feelings of being forced into taking morally objectionable actions by his own financial instability. If George Ellison, owner of a profitable plantation and destined, as we know from the novel's title, to come into the estate and title of a knight, feels constrained by his financial situation, how much more constrained must those members of the laboring class feel?

In *Inkle and Yarico* Trudge benefits from some of the social privileges of being white and English (these become particularly apparent when he arrives in Barbados and the racial stigmatization of Wowski puts him in the position of assumed owner and master). However, because he is a servant, and the servant of a merchant rather than a lord, he has already experienced stigmatization based on his class in London, and uses this experience of stigmatization to relate to Wowski's experience in Barbados. He describes some of this on his arrival on the island with Wowski. In prompting her to recall some of the European social norms he has taught to her, he asks:

suppose you meet an old shabby friend in misfortune, that you don't wish to be seen speak to – what would you do? Wowksi: "Look blind – not see him." Trudge: "Why would you do that?" Wowski: "Cause I can't see good friend in distress." Trudge: "That's a good girl! And I wish every body could boast of so kind a motive for such cursed cruel behaviour. – Lord! How some of your flashy bankers' clerks have *cut* me in Threadneedle-street. – But come, though we have got among fine folks, here, in an English settlement, I won't be ashamed of my old acquaintance: yet, for my own part, I should not be sorry, now, to see my old friend with a new face. (199)

Although at the end of this exchange Trudge admits that he would prefer that Wowski change her African features, presumably for less conspicuous European ones, he decides not to abandon her even though doing so might make his life in this English settlement easier. Although it consistently resolves into loyalty and sympathy, the ambivalence Trudge expresses about his connection with Wowski's stigmatized status throughout the play performs the conflict between stigma and sympathy.

Trudge's social station allows the play to project the more socially unaccepted of the two interracial relationships on stage – with the darker-skinned Wowski – safely within the laboring class. Fitting this scheme, Wowski is Yarico's servant. In this way, the play remains conservative in its projection of the triumph of sympathy over racial stigmatization in the West Indies.

Although Yarico's skin color makes her vulnerable to being sold as a slave, it is the darker-skinned Wowski who more readily fits the racial profile of the enslaved African population of the British West Indies, and so her relationship with a white man poses more of a threat to imperial social structures if it is considered a real marriage. As a result it must be contained

between the play's two servants. For reference on this point, we have Colonel John Dalling's remarks on interracial relationships in the British West Indies in *Observations on the Present State of the Island of Jamaica*, written in 1774 during his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, and thirteen years before Colman's play was first performed. Dalling writes: "It would be a constant reflection upon a white man to marry a Mulatto or a Negroe, and he would become despicable" (18).

By confining the more stringently stigmatized interracial relationship within the working class, Colman conflates the stigma of race with the stigma of class⁹. When Inkle and Yarico first begin to intimate a romantic connection, Trudge exclaims, "O ho! It's time, I see, to begin making interest with the chamber maid," identifying Wowski primarily as a member of his own social group predisposed to his advances rather than an exotic other (185). When the two begin talking, Wowski tells him without embarrassment that she has had a "great many" lovers (185). Despite being of different races, the two share a relaxed attitude toward promiscuity and as such are a good match. As Daniel O'Quinn puts it, the "conventional bawdy representation of working class sexuality" is conflated with the image of "the hypersexualized racial other who the play deems an appropriate partner for Trudge" (401, 400).

The association of a stigmatized quality with a lower-class status recurs in late eighteenth-century texts, and examples can be found in the foregoing chapters. It appears in the exchange between Hester Thrale and Samuel Johnson which begins the introduction to this dissertation, in which Hester Thrale attributes Johnson's ability to sympathize with a group whom she finds distasteful to "the faeculancies of [Johnson's] low Birth, which I believe has never failed to leave its Stigma indelible in every human Creature" (*Thraliana* 186). In

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⁹ For a detailed discussion of this, see Daniel O'Quinn's 'Mercantile Deformities: George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* and the Racialization of Class Relations' (2002)

Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* there is a related association between a bodily stigma and the stigma of low class. When Fielding finds himself cruelly mocked by the sailors as he is hoisted onto the boat that will take him to Portugal, he exercises Davis's "deviance disavowal," and reflects, "this barbarous custom [of mockery] is peculiar to the English, and of them only to the lowest degree" (23). Fielding seems to feel that his physical disability, the bodily stigma he bears, has brought him uncomfortably close to the lower-class sailors who feel free to insult and make fun of him, and his reaction is to deny the conflation of his stigma with a lower-class identification and clearly establish his higher social status.

At the end of the play, Trudge is the beneficiary of an improvement in his social status, but the advancement does not elevate him above the servant class, rewarding him without bringing his stigmatized relationship into the realm of more genteel society. Sir Christopher Curry, impressed by Trudge's steadfastness and loyalty to Wowski, takes Trudge into his employment, and Trudge replies: "O rare! – Bless your honour! – Wows! You'll be lady, you jade, to a governor's factotum" (229).

Sir Christopher's sympathy is not the product of a former stigmatization, but is the result of a warm and generous nature. Inkle's uncle Medium accuses Sir Christopher: "among the hodge-podge of your foibles, passion is always predominant," and Sir Christopher replies, "it becomes every man, especially an Englishman, to speak the dictates of his heart" (206). When talking to Inkle about the possibility of buying a woman, Sir Christopher reflects: "though I witness this custom every day, I can't help thinking the only excuse for buying our fellow creatures is to rescue them from the hands of those who are unfeeling enough to bring them to market" (221). Sir Christopher's proto-abolitionist sentiments do not go so far as to suggest any real upheaval of the system as it exists in the British West Indies, and points to the limitations of

the sympathetic self-extension in *Inkle and Yarico*, despite its thoughtful consideration of the role of stigma in oppressing and enslaving non-whites.

Chapter 4

Space and Stigma on Thomas Thistlewood's Breadnut Island Pen

Introduction

In 1774, Colonel John Dalling, lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, wrote his *Observations on the Present State of the Island of Jamaica*. The text is a manuscript description of Jamaica, currently housed in Yale's Beinecke Library, that provides a first-hand summary of the geography, productions, population, customs, and economy of the island. It seems to have been made for visiting British officials or merchants, and also contains reflections on the place of Jamaica in the global system and the potential danger that the volatile system of slavery on the island poses to its white inhabitants. In it, Dalling reflects:

The Sugar Islands are good places to pitch a Tent, but bad ones to build a House in. Let us Survey this Earth, what Scenes of Rapine and Oppression surround us? How are Men enslaved and overburdened in every Corner of the Globe? Britain alone, like the Temple of Vesta, seems appointed by Heaven, to preserve the Sacred Flame of Liberty. Oh may she religiously cherish and maintain the precious deposit, till time shall be no more! And like an Indulgent Parent, bestow a portion to her Western Sons, to illuminate the New World! May they, with gratitude, receive the Mighty Boon, and consider themselves as part of her happy and Extensive Empire! Strange Idea for a Resident in the West Indies, where Slavery is established by Law, and who denies to others, that which he himself so ardently desires! (49)

The image of Jamaica Dalling offers as peripheral, precarious, and both a representative, and an inversion of the British metropole, is one that draws out my discussion of the West Indies as perceived sanctuary and receptacle in the previous chapter. It also raises the relationship with Britain as a condition of the unstable and contingent nature of the West Indies as a place for long-term lived experience: "good places to pitch a Tent, but bad ones to build a House in." To better examine the consequences of this perceived instability in the terms of the extension of sympathy and the enactment of stigmatization, I will look at the diaries of Thomas Thistlewood, an Englishman from Lincolnshire who did build his house in Jamaica in the period in which Dalling wrote his *Observations*, and whose detailed description of life as a white slave-owner, and later property-owner, helps us to map in microcosm this relationship of metropole and periphery.

Thomas Thistlewood: Subject of Empire and Subject of Inquiry

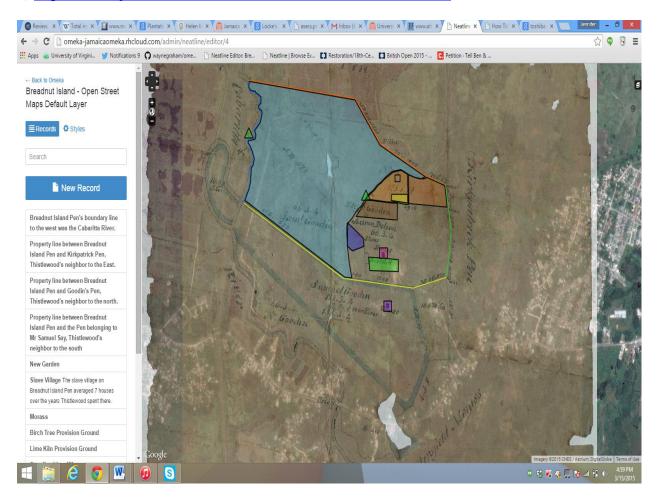
Thistlewood came to Jamaica at the age of twenty-nine. Born in Lincolnshire in 1721, he had received a good education, and at eighteen had been apprenticed to a farmer. He did not settle into his apprenticeship, however, but instead drifted between various agricultural jobs, after which he spent two years with the East India Company. By the end of his twenties, Thistlewood's finances were slight and his prospects in England were even slighter. He decided to move to Jamaica to improve his lot. He was not unusual in seeking his fortune in Jamaica, which was, as Vincent Brown observes in *The Reaper's Garden*, "the most profitable single colony in the British Empire" (15). When he first arrived in Jamaica, Thistlewood was employed as a pen-keeper at Vineyard Pen. Pens were livestock farms where cattle, horses, asses, and mules were raised for sale to the owners of larger properties on the island where they were used

for the powering of mills and transportation of goods and persons (Higman 197). The following year, Thistlewood left Vineyard for a position as an overseer on a sugar estate named Egypt, in the south of the parish of Westmoreland. Here he worked until September 1767. Managing a sugar estate was, as Trevor Burnard puts it, "hard work and required a hard man" (183), and it was here that Thistlewood records horrifically inhuman treatment of the slaves under his oversight, which sealed his reputation in the history of Jamaica's slave owners as a particularly brutal one. In 1766 he purchased his own property, located just across the Cabaritta River from Egypt estate, that he named Breadnut Island Pen. He moved there the following year and lived there until his death in 1786.

While the general trajectory of Thistlewood's life in Jamaica is not unusual among landowning whites, what makes Thistlewood such a profitable object of study is that from his arrival
in Jamaica in 1750 to his death there in 1786, he kept a detailed daily diary that offers a very full
picture of what life was like in Jamaica at that time. In his diary, he almost never recorded his
feelings about day-to-day life. Instead he kept it as a kind of ledger of daily goings-on: he
recorded his slaves' activities, when and how he punished them, his sexual activities, which also
sometimes served a punitive role, his health or ill-health, work done on the property, and various
levels of socializing with his neighbors (gifts, books borrowed and lent, etc). The diaries are
many thousands of pages long. I read them with a particular interest in how self-reported acts of
brutality and sympathy correlate with the division of space and relationships of proximity on his
own agricultural property, Breadnut Island Pen. I focus on Breadnut Island Pen because, of the
various properties Thistlewood lived on in Jamaica, this is the one he had the most control over,
and so it will tell us the most about how he thought about space and delineated different kinds of
actions to different spaces.

As a complement to this chapter I am developing a series of geotemporal digital maps of Breadnut Island Pen, using the Neatline interactive exhibit-builder, to mark this physical, personal violence on the landscape. Three examples of these maps can be found on Omeka, and I have provided the URLs, as well as screenshots and a short description of each below:

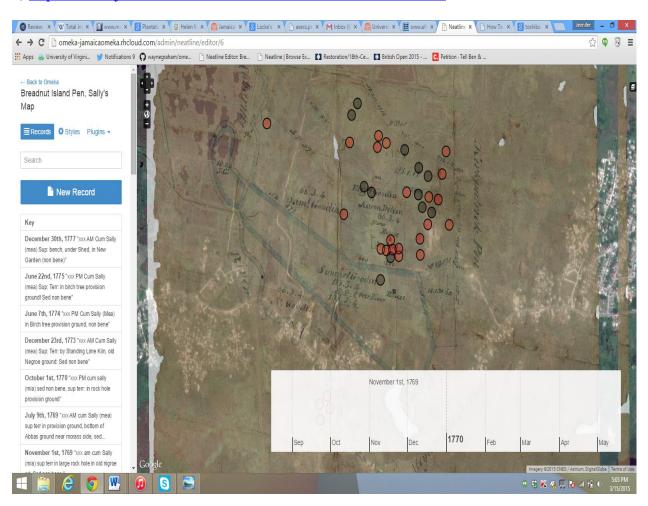
1) http://omeka-jamaicaomeka.rhcloud.com/admin/neatline/editor/4



This first exhibit shows an 1835 survey map of Breadnut Island Pen made by Moris and Cuninghame, which has been digitized, georeferenced, and annotated to show where different built and natural features were located on the Pen. Only a few of these features were marked on the survey itself, the rest of the locations are gleaned from descriptions in Thistlewood's diary,

so the map is provisional. The user can interact with the exhibit by moving the mouse over different areas (known features are differentiated by colored shapes and lines), and clicking for more information about the built or natural feature. For instance, the large area shaded in light blue denotes what Thistlewood calls the "morass," a marshy area of land which was mainly good for fishing. The indigo-colored polygon to the east of the morass and the west of Thistlewood's house is the slave village, and to the north I have illustrated the provision grounds: land which was set aside for slaves to do their subsistence farming on.

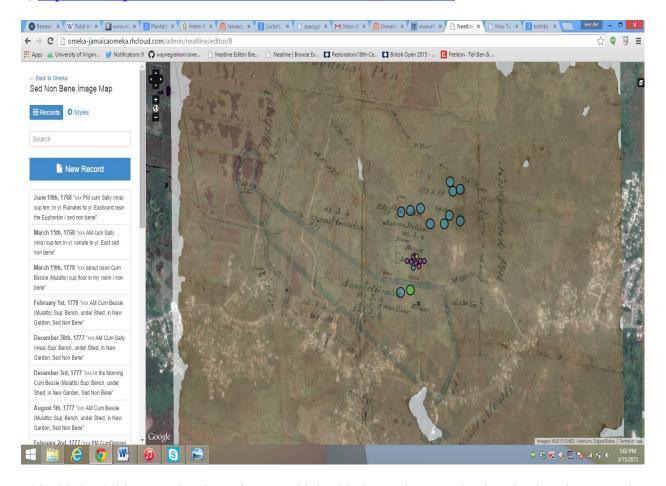
2) http://omeka-jamaicaomeka.rhcloud.com/admin/neatline/editor/6



This second exhibit maps the sites on which Thistlewood's slave, Sally, was raped. The black dots indicate that the report of the rape in the diary carries a unique notation: "sed non bene,"

meaning "but not good." I am especially interested in the "sed non bene" notation, which appears only thirty three times in the diary, and I have also created an exhibit which maps each instance of it:

3) http://omeka-jamaicaomeka.rhcloud.com/admin/neatline/editor/8



This third exhibit maps the sites of rapes which Thistlewood reported using the descriptor, "sed non bene." Each distinct color represents a different woman, and as you can see, the rapes occured mostly either on the edge of the dry part of the Pen, or in a cluster in Thistlewood's show garden in front of his house.

Here I return to architectural historian Louis Nelson's contention, reported in the Introduction, that "sites of terror," like the whipping post, or the places where rapes occurred, don't survive or appear on plantation plans, so I have located them where they do survive, in

Thistlewood's diaries, and retroactively mapped them. This mapping project has provided various insights into the relationship between Thistlewood's acts of sexual violence and particular spaces on the plantation. The project uncovers a relationship between what Thistlewood imagined as the center of the Pen – his house – where his acts were, for the most part, acts of caretaking and what Thistlewood would have imagined as affection, and a series of perimeters moving outwards from that center, where his actions were more likely to be violent the further he moved from his house. This model which equates sympathy with proximity to, and brutality with distance from, his domestic sphere, is troubled by my finding that the new garden in front of Thistlewood's house is a common location for Thistlewood's rapes. I suggest that this can be explained by Thistlewood's idea of that garden, which became a well-known show garden in the parish, as a place to display his mastery over the natural world, creating a kind of aesthetics of rape. Thistlewood notes that the rapes that take place in the new garden happen, for the most part, under the shadow of the shed. An examination of the rapes that took place on Breadnut Island Pen shows that this attempt at obscuration was not unusual and that Thistlewood frequently sought some kind of cover for his rapes.

In approaching Thistlewood's diaries, I take into account the lively critical conversations that debate alternative ways to read or think about the history of this period. Orlando Patterson claims that Thistlewood's diaries are emblematic of Jamaican society in the late eighteenth century, and uses Thistlewood to push against what he refers to as Barry Higman's "revisionis[m]" (160). In "The Paradox of Freedom: An Interview With Orlando Patterson," published in *Small Axe*, Patterson argues:

white society was totally chaotic. Now people like Barry Higman have been working hard to show that the system was much more robust. But I don't believe it. I think the best model comes out of the diaries of that planter, Thomas Thistlewood. *That* was Jamaica ... it was a *chaotic* society. ... the most recent work on Jamaican slavery, drawing on [Thistlewood's] amazing diary ... completely supports my position against the revisionists such as Barry Higman, who have done everything possible to normalize Jamaican slavery and to underplay its uniquely catastrophic and near genocidal cruelty. (160)

Barry Higman's Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (1988) and Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy (2005) provide formidably detailed accounts of the Jamaican landscape and of the properties I am most interested in, and as such I rely on Higman for my understanding of what Thistlewood's Breadnut Island Pen would have looked like, and how it would have been run. However, it is easy to understand some of Patterson's frustration with Higman. In the introduction to Plantation Jamaica, Higman writes that he "attempts to approach the questions from a broadly social and moral point of view," but that "[i]n order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to attempt to see the system largely from the perspective of the capitalist and manager" (xiii). It seems that as a matter of fact, to approach the questions from a moral and "broadly social" point of view, it is necessary to attempt to see the system from any point of view other than that of the capitalist and the manager. Higman goes on: "[t]heir business was exploitation and part of my task is to assess how efficiently they carried out that enterprise" (xiii). An

assessment of the "efficacy" of the "exploitation" seems to be largely besides the point if the primary questions are social and moral. Higman concludes:

It is only by taking this perspective that it is possible to understand the working of the larger system of plantation economy and the role of enslaved and free workers within the society. The people who did the hard work of the plantations remain essentially voiceless in the narrative, reduced to the tools of capital and themselves literally to human capital. It is a harsh story. (xiii)

My chapter, and the Neatline exhibit that it is paired with, seeks to give these slaves, if not voices, then representation.

The question of what kind of representation best expresses and dignifies their experiences is one I take seriously. As Saidiya Hartman puts it in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America* (1997), "how does one give expression to these outrages without exacerbating the indifference to suffering that is the consequence of the benumbing spectacle or contend with the narcissistic identification that obliterates the other or the prurience that too often is the response to such displays?" (4). The taxonomy of responses that Hartman presents – numbness, narcissism, and prurience – gets to the heart of the attempt to extend sympathy and the impulses and reactions that frustrate it. It is my hope that in some way the digital medium of the Neatline exhibit, which is interactive, and allows users to look at maps that represent the experiences of individual slaves as well as to look at different kinds of punitive events, permits engagement along a fine line between "the benumbing spectacle" and "the narcissistic identification."

In this chapter, I aim primarily to differentiate the spaces on Breadnut Island Pen, and to

characterize the kinds of events that took place in each space. By doing so, I will make some proposals about how Thistlewood imagined and used the different spaces of his Jamaican property. Rather than try to elaborate or untangle Thistlewood's motivations, or to begin to excavate the horror of these slaves' lives, in this first manifestation of my archival work in the Beinecke's Thistlewood Archive, I follow the example of affect scholars like Heather Love, who argue for the importance and power of description in textual engagement. Rather than deep interpretation of Thistlewood's diary, in this chapter I will practice close description as a means of analyzing my research. In "Close but not Deep: Literary Ethics and the Descriptive Turn," Love stages what she calls an "encounter between literary studies and sociology" that "take[s] its cue from observation-based social sciences" that "rely on description rather than interpretation," through which, she contends, "we can develop modes of reading that are close but not deep" (375). Love's article focuses on the work of two social scientists, Bruno Latour and Erving Goffman, both of whom "suggest an alternate model of reading that does not depend on the ethical exemplarity of the interpreter or messenger" (375). I contend that this method of close attention through description allows a clear focus on Thistlewood's use of space and facilitates inferences about stigma, and a very limited scale of sympathy, without falling prey to the numbness, narcissism, and prurience condemned by Hartman.

I found that this commitment to description was useful in processing such troubling source material. As part of my preparation for creating the digital maps associated with this chapter, I built a spreadsheet of each rape that took place on Breadnut Island Pen. ¹⁰ On reviewing the completed data set, I found that there were certain disturbing incidents that I remembered as having happened more frequently than they appeared in the data set. In my affective experience of reading the diaries, these incidents had left a strong impression in my memory, and had

¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

skewed my recall of their frequency. Having a quantitative and spatial methodology at work alongside my reading of the diary allowed for greater critical rigor.

My description of Thistlewood's use of space on Breadnut Island Pen adopts the structure of the first three chapters of the dissertation, which move from the center of empire, Great Britain, to the periphery of its empire, the West Indies. Following that expanding sphere, the chapter moves from what Thistlewood imagined as the center of the Pen, his great house, to the area at its periphery, the Morass, and beyond, to that area just off his own land that included his neighbor to the south, Samuel Say, and the Cabaritta Bridge. I include this piece of land that exceeds Thistlewood's property line because it was not unusual for Thistlewood to rape slaves — his own and those belonging to other whites on the island — on this land that bordered his own, and he was also called to the Cabaritta Bridge on at least one occasion to serve at the inquest of a slave suicide.

Thistlewood's actions and behavior strain but fall under my rubrics of stigma and sympathy. His brutality seems always to be based on, and to reinforce, stigma. The literal stigma of his brand, applied to the shoulders of his slaves, and even to the cheeks and forehead of those slaves who ran away most often, is a brutality that enacts the physical marking of stigma and the figurative stigmatization of the racial other. The other punishments he metes out – floggings, confining his slaves in the stocks, or "bilboes" as they were referred to at the time, and rapes – systematically stigmatize the slave population on Breadnut Island Pen.

Even when Thistlewood engages in acts that seem solicitous, it is dubious whether any of his actions merit the term "sympathy." Certainly, he engaged in acts of caretaking, such as looking after slaves who were sick, but Thistlewood would likely have thought of these acts more as property maintenance than as caring for another human being. Even if he thought of

them as sympathetic acts, given the context in which they occurred and his treatment toward these same people, we cannot take his evaluation seriously. He also observed Christmas by giving gifts to favored slaves, for instance on Christmas Day 1772, when he records giving Lincoln, Abba, Solon, Cudjoe, Cofor, Pompey, Dick, and Chub a bottle of rum, but this seems to constitute something reflexive and habitual rather than an extension of sympathy toward them. This might also have been Thistlewood's attempt at effective management of the slave population. Historians of this period have written of the week off after Christmas, the season of Jonkonnu, as serving a Saturnalian, pressure-valve purpose. I am persuaded by Orlando Patterson, who writes, in *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, "No authentic human relationship was possible where violence was the ultimate sanction. There could have been no trust, no genuine sympathy, and while a kind of love may sometimes have triumphed over the most perverse form of interaction, intimacy was usually calculating and sadomasochistic" (12).

The House

I locate a simulacrum of sympathy in Thistlewood's house. Although they were with persons whom he enslaved and oppressed, in Thistlewood's most intimate relationships, he was able to produce a parodic version of sympathy. In the years that Thistlewood lived on Breadnut Island Pen, his great house was the space in which those scenes that came closest to domesticity and tenderness took place, affects that I consider subcategories of this parody of sympathy. At his house, Thistlewood kept a small family: his common-law wife, a slave named Phibbah, and their son, whom Thistlewood refers to in the diaries as "Mulatto John," born in 1760 while Phibbah and Thistlewood were still at the Estate they lived on prior to Breadnut Island Pen – Egypt Estate – and freed by Thistlewood in 1762. The house was the locus of Thistlewood's sexual and emotional relationship with Phibbah. Thistlewood's relationship with Phibbah began while he

was working as the overseer at Egypt Estate, where Phibbah was enslaved. When Thistlewood left Egypt Estate on September 3rd, 1767, he was not able to convince her owner, John Cope, to sell her to him, but shortly afterwards he did negotiate a situation in which he hired Phibbah from Cope on an annual basis. On November 16th 1767, Thistlewood reports: "In the morning sent the battoe to Egypt, by Lincoln & Pompey in which come Phibbah, and many things belonging to her – her time at £10 per ann commences today."

The house was also a space where Thistlewood showed something like tenderness towards his son. His tenderness is complicated by the fact that he usually describes him in his diary as "Mulatto John." Thistlewood had a nephew named John, who came to join him in Jamaica in 1764, and worked with him on Egypt Estate until his unexplained death by drowning on 30th March 1765, so the descriptor "Mulatto" might serve to distinguish between his nephew and his son, but after the death of his nephew in 1765, the racial modifier becomes superfluous. But for this telling detail, Thistlewood's relationship with John, especially when he was a young boy, often appears as an unremarkable parent-child relationship in his diary. John was sent away to school between the ages of five and twelve, and when he came home from school for the Easter holiday at the age of nine, Thistlewood records that John slept in his bed on several nights. On Saturday 25th March, Thistlewood writes, "John slept with me," and two nights later, "Last night John lay in my bed again." This picture of father and son, reunited after an absence, is perhaps a tender one, and the fact that it happens within the walls of his great house is significant. In his house, Thistlewood's interactions are primarily with his nuclear family.

As John grew older, his relationship with Thistlewood deteriorated. Thistlewood arranged for John to be apprenticed to a carpenter, but John frequently shirked his work, and on several occasions absconded for days, coming home to Breadnut Island Pen. Thistlewood's punishments

on these occasions were brutal, and were of the sort usually reserved for slaves. On Friday 3rd July, 1778, Thistlewood reports, "John at home this morning before sunrise & wanted to go to Carawina ... but I had him ... laid down & flogged, then sent him on a rope by Solon home to his master at Sav la mar." Just five days later, Thistlewood reports John's unauthorized presence on Breadnut Island Pen again, and another punishment usually meted out only to slaves: "In yl: evening catched John in Cudjoe's watch hut put him in yl: bilboes." John's maturity takes him out of the safe realm of the home and into the working spaces of the island's unforgiving landscape, where, despite his freedom, his blood relationship to Thistlewood, and Thistlewood's seeming earlier affection for him, he is subjected to the punishments that any other person of color might expect.

Despite this fraught relationship, however, when John died of a fever at the age of only twenty, Thistlewood buried him in the ground by the great house, something of a return to the safety, familiarity, and affection of the domestic sphere. On Thursday 7th August 1780, Thistlewood records, "a little after sunset buried John in the old garden, between the pimento tree & the house, mr Tho: mordiner said the service over him." Thistlewood seems to have been deeply affected by John's death, describing himself, a week after John's burial, as "exceeding dejected and low spirited," one of the very few occasions on which he expresses his emotional state in the diary.

The entries that record sex with Phibbah are demonstrably different from those that record sex with other slave women. Their sexual relationship took place in the trappings of what we might think of as comfortable domesticity. This suggests something substantively different about Thistlewood's sex with Phibbah: that it was less of a conquest than those slaves he overtook on his property as they went about their day. It seems most plausible that their sexual

relationship took place in his house, and his bed. The diary presents a series of entries that suggest that he and Phibbah slept in the same bed. On Tuesday 12th March 1771, he reports, "at Night had words with phib: about going to Bed, &c," an entry that suggests the interactions of a cohabiting couple negotiating their daily routine. In addition, Thistlewood often reports on the quality of his sleep, particularly at times when he is sick, and comments on the quality of Phibbah's sleep also feature in this entry: "I rested very badly last night. Phibbah's arm troubled her much" (Friday 16th March, 1770). From this entry we can conclude not only that Phibbah shared Thistlewood's bed, but that he talked with her about what troubled her sleep, and that he was also affected by it. This is also one of the few entries in Thistlewood's diary that records the lived experience of another person. Further, Thistlewood's sexual relationship with Phibbah also took place exclusively "at night," and he never records paying her. Tips were a regular feature of Thistlewood's sexual encounters with his slaves, and there is no record of Phibbah ever receiving money after sex with Thistlewood. This seems to be because he considers her his domestic partner to all intents and purposes, and therefore his rapes of Phibbah are categorized differently than his rapes of other slaves. None of this is to imply that we should think of their relationship as consensual, but on the scale of tenderness of which Thistlewood was capable his sexual congress with Phibbah at his house came closest to a relationship of sympathy and companionship.

The house also seems to have been the scene of sexual activity with slaves whom Thistlewood favored. He seems, for instance, to have felt increasingly positively disposed towards a slave named Abba, and this correlates with a change of the location of his sex with her from predominantly outside in various locations in the working spaces of Breadnut Island Pen to the bedrooms of his great house. Thistlewood's increasing regard for Abba over his years at

Breadnut Island Pen can be traced across a series of gestures, beginning with small acts such as the one recorded on Friday 9th October 1767, "Gave Abba a pint of Rum; She having begged hard for a little." He also provided for the burial of her husband in January 1771: "gave Abba Rum to entertain her Company at the Burial." It is after her husband Johnnie's death that Thistlewood changes the scene of raping Abba from outside on the larger property, to predominantly in his house, which might, on the limited spectrum of Thistlewood's good will, be considered a movement up the index of affection. Towards the end of his life, after the devastating hurricane of 1780, and in his ill health, Thistlewood's gestures become even less ambiguous. On Saturday 5th November 1785, Thistlewood reports that he "gave Abba a dollar to assist her, she being ill, and a large Family to maintain"; on Thursday 29th June 1786 he writes, "gave Abba a dollar to assist her Family this hard time." The increasing goodwill that Thistlewood seems to have felt towards Abba, coupled with his moving the scene of her rape to his house, suggests that the space of the house was used primarily for acts that came closest to affection for Thistlewood.

This hypothesis is supported by an entry made in the diary on Friday June 11th 1773, when Thistlewood records curtailing a sexual encounter with Abba in his bedroom on hearing Phibbah approach. He reports: "xxx In the Morning Cum Abba (Mea) Sup:Lect:domo xGave do: 2 bitts! phib: Come in to the piazza So: end." This entry is unique in the diary, but is nonetheless suggestive of a sense on Thistlewood's part that in the space of the home Phibbah has earned something like deference. Of course, that deference does not extend to abstaining from raping other women in her bedroom, but it does extend to terminating the rape if she is in earshot.

There is one more unique entry that points to Thistlewood's use of the house as a space set apart on Breadnut Island Pen, and predominantly reserved for acts that, for him, feel like

sympathy. On Friday March 4th, 1768, he records: "about eleven AM as I was sitting in my hall reading Hanway's Travels, a pea dove, who was chased by a hawk flew in at yl: back door, and sat on my knee, I took hold of her, and when the hawk was gone, let her go again." Thistlewood's protection, and release of the pea dove seems significant in this landscape of brutal, arbitrary violence which most certainly extended to animals as well as to slaves. Thistlewood's physical posture is one of comfort in his domestic space, and he is also reading a travel narrative, which is a genre, as I have suggested in the chapters that precede this one, that takes the reader imaginatively beyond his person and country. The physical and potential imaginative positions occupied by Thistlewood at the time of this act are suggestive, then, of the kinds of spatial locations required for sympathy. This entry is one of the very few that literalizes David Hume's metaphor that there is, as Hume puts it: "some Particle of the Dove, kneaded into our Frame, along with the Elements of the Wolf and Serpent" (*Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, 175-6).

The entry also recalls Uncle Toby's sympathetic action of catching, and then releasing the fly that buzzed around the Shandy dining table. Although Thistlewood did not own a copy of *Tristram Shandy*, it seems likely that he read it. Thistlewood was an avid consumer of sentimental literature and a reader of novels. He records, for instance, that he read *Tom Jones*, and an excerpt from the novel provides the first entry in his commonplace book. He notes in his diary, on 4th May 1770, that "mr John hutt, has the key to Tristam Shandy," which suggests at least that he had read part of it by 1770, and so quite possibly by March 1768, the date of the entry which describes his release of the dove. Even if Thistlewood had not read the novel in its entirety, the vignette of Toby and the fly was often excerpted, so it is very likely that he would have been familiar with it. If so, the possibility that his reading of the scene where Uncle Toby

releases the fly informed his actions toward the dove, or more importantly, informs how he portrays himself in the diary entry where the scene is recorded, provides a tantalizing portrait of how Thistlewood conceived of himself as a sentimental subject even within the daily brutality of his life. In this way, he is more like Mrs. Ellison in her interactions with her lapdog than Uncle Toby with the fly, because while Uncle Toby is a genuinely compassionate person, Mrs. Ellison can only exercise compassion towards diminuitive, non-human, sentimentalized objects, and not towards her fellow human beings.

Thistlewood's house was also the space in which he commonly arbitrated complaints about his own runaway slaves. Sally, one of Thistlewood's slaves at Breadnut Island Pen, was the object of a disproportionate amount of Thistlewood's punishments, both floggings and rapes, and also frequently ran away. When she was away from Breadnut Island Pen she was obliged to scavenge for food and there are a number of reports that she stole from other plantations.

These reports of her theft come through Thistlewood's records of both white and mixedrace persons coming to him for compensation, which conversations he had at his house. He hears
these complaints in his private space, and in some cases does give recompense for their losses.

On Sunday November 17th 1776, he writes that Sally ran away the day before and went to "a
Negroe house at 3 Mile River, Where a Mulatto daughter of old Mr John Thompson lives." Once
there, Sally "told her she was Sent from Egypt ... to buy plantones ... And while the woman
Stepped to another house, not doubting the truth of her Story, nor Mistrusting her, She Stole her
Work basket, with Several Valuable Cloaths, &c and got off Clear with them." Entries like this
one demonstrate Sally's resourcefulness in obtaining what she needed to help her survive.
Thistlewood reports that "[t]his Mulatto Woman Was at my house As Soon As I was up this
Morning, With this Complaint. I Sent out immediately, but heard Nothing of her." The fact that

this woman came to Thistlewood's house first thing in the morning suggests that he was routinely available for such complaints, and that they were sometimes met with reparation, a suggestion supported by an entry a few days later that describes a similar interaction with Miss Bessie Calamy Thompson. On Friday 22nd November 1776, Thistlewood writes, "*Bessie Calam, Come again about the things Sally Stole from her, and Can't be found, lost at Mr:goodin's Negroe houses. She lamented So Much, & behaved So Mildly, that I gave her a £3:13:6 piece, to make her amends in part." The fact that Miss Bessie Calam, a free white, received restitution when the mixed race daughter of Mr. Thompson did not, is a typical injustice of late eighteenth-century Jamaica, but the fact that both came to his house to complain of the incidents indicates that at least some of the time, Thistlewood treated claims like these from non-whites favorably.

Although Thistlewood negotiated these complaints about his slaves at his house, it seems to have been extremely rare that Thistlewood punished a slave at his own house. Thistlewood only records it once, and the circumstances are unusual. One of the slaves belonging to Mr. Samuel Say, Thistlewood's neighbour to the immediate south, named Alexis, had badly wounded one of Thistlewood's slaves, and the entry that describes the punishment indicates that Thistlewood may have been strongly communicating his displeasure by flogging Alexis in front of his house. Usually, Thistlewood gives no place data for floggings, which suggests the presence of a flogging post, making floggings that took place in other locations particularly significant. On this occasion, Thistlewood wrote: "*About 8 O'Clock this Evening, took Lincoln and Jimmy, and went to Mr. Say's house, Where Waited till the Negroes Came home, then had Alexis Seized, brought him down to my house and flogg'd him for Striking Juba over the head With a piece of wood & Wounding her badly." The phrase, "brought him down to my house," underlines the intentional selection of the house as the location of the punishment.

As with all permanent or semi-permanent landmarks on Thistlewood's property, like the standing lime kiln, the Morass, and various trees, Thistlewood uses his house as a marker for the locations in which he raped his slaves. A few entries from the early 1770s illustrate this. On Tuesday January 29th 1771, he records: "xxx A.M. Cum Nanny (mea) Sup: Terr: in Limekiln Negroe ground Morass, West from house." On 30th January he writes: "xxx P.M. Cum Maria (Mea) about WSW from my house, in the pasture, near the fence. Stans.! Backwards." Thistlewood begins with the notation "xxx," a note that seems to signal that he considers the event he is about to record particularly important. Next comes the time of day, which is often no more specific than "A.M.," or "P.M.," but occasionally he reports an hour of the clock. He then begins the Latin quotient of the entry, where "Cum" always indicates sex with a person. Following this, he names the woman whom he raped, and, if he names an owned slave, often qualifies with "Mea," in parentheses following the name of the woman. After this, he describes the location, which is often extremely specific, and which he usually describes using other landmarks on his property such as his house, the lime kiln, the Morass duck pond, etc. The notation "sup terr" indicates that the rape took place on the ground. In this entry he includes the position: "Stans!" meaning standing, and "Backwards." The exclamation mark which sometimes follows a description of a standing sexual position could plausibly indicate sexual excitement. Absent from this record is a note indicating whether or not he gave the woman payment following the rape. He usually paid, either "a bitt," which was a unit of small change, or "two bitts." To slaves whom he thought of as troublesome or difficult, he often gave nothing, so the lack of payment to Maria in this record might suggest that he thought she had been difficult, although she is certainly not a slave who is often mentioned, either in a negative or a positive

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¹¹ For a complete catalogue of each of Thistlewood's rapes on Breadnut Island Pen, see Appendix 1.

context. The slave Thistlewood most often rapes without subsequent payment is Sally, who, unsurprisingly, also runs away frequently.

The New Garden

In December 1766, ten months before he moved to Breadnut Island Pen, Thistlewood began planting in his new garden in front of the house. He was a keen horticulturalist and through his careful planning and the labor of his slaves he created "one of the earliest and most spectacular gardens of western Jamaica" in this space (Hall 10). It was, as Hall puts it, a "horticultural show-place" (115). It was also the site of a significant number of the rapes that victimized women other than Phibbah. Thistlewood lived on Breadnut Island Pen from September, 1767 until his death in November, 1786, and in that time he committed fifteen hundred and eighty four acts of rape. Phibbah, Thistlewood's common-law wife, was the victim of nine hundred and fifty four of these rapes, or a little over sixty per cent of the total. Of the six hundred and thirty remaining rapes, one hundred and forty seven took place in his new garden.

This would seem to disrupt my hypothesis that sexual violence was more likely to take place in the areas of the Pen more remote from his house: the new garden was immediately outside his house. Despite its proximity to the house, I propose that the new garden is an explicable site of colonial, sexual violence. We can see his practice of raping on this piece of land as being congruent with his cultivation of it. As Jill Casid puts it,

the practices of landscaping that emerged in the eighteenth century are inextricable from the contested terrain of empire within which they operated. Landscaping functioned as an imperial mode ... the landscape garden, with its inescapable history of the effects of the imperium ... [is] a material, political, and figurative territorialization . (xxi, xiv)

The new garden was a site in which Thistlewood took pleasure in exerting mastery over nature and imposing himself on the landscape, and the rapes are a natural extension of that imposition.

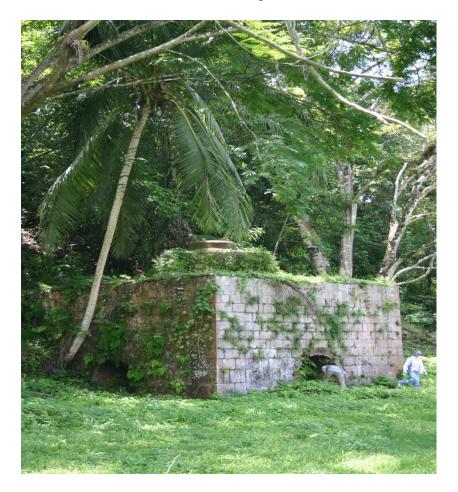
The new garden was also the site of a noteworthy number of a particular kind of rape: those which Thistlewood recorded with the qualifier, "sed non bene," meaning "but not good." The use of "sed non bene" is rare: it appears only thirty three times in fifteen hundred eighty four reports of rapes. For the most part it is up to Thistlewood's reader to speculate about what might have made a sexual encounter "non bene" for him. Possible explanations include resistance on the part of the woman, or, perhaps more likely, performed indifference (as opposed to distress or resistance) to the act, which could well have frustrated the erotics of domination for Thistlewood. It is conspicuous that of those thirty three incidents, fourteen of them took place in the new garden.

Standing Lime Kiln and Provision Grounds

Moving outwards from the house, the most frequently cited landmarks on Breadnut Island Pen are the standing lime kiln and the slaves' provision grounds. The two features seem to have been close to each other; in fact Thistlewood regularly refers to the "Standing Limekiln Negroe ground." In addition, for the most part, Thistlewood's record of his activities in the two areas were the same: they were both very frequent locations of rapes. For these reasons, I will treat the standing lime kiln and the provision grounds as a collective space.

The fact that Thistlewood refers to his lime kiln as "standing" tells us that it was an immensely durable landmark. There were two types of kiln used for burning lime in early Jamaica: the first a massive inward-sloping log platform that collapsed in on itself as it burned, and the second, the type that Thistlewood had on Breadnut Island Pen, was a

permanent structure made of stone that would have withstood the passage of time as well natural events as destructive as earthquakes.



Standing Lime Kiln from the Good Hope Estate in Trelawney, Jamaica (most were not quite this large)

In his *History of Jamaica* (1774), Edward Long writes: "[t]he lime, when properly burnt here in standing-kilns, is not inferior to any in the world, either for building, or tempering sugar" (849). He goes on to exhort: "[E]very capital plantation ought to have a standing-lime kiln ... Or, encouragement might be given to inferior settlers to build standing-kilns, and prepare lime for temper, in a skilful and careful manner, so as to become a sort of fixed marketable commodity, and article of regular traffic, for supplying the sugar estates"

(850). Thistlewood does not record the uses to which the lime kiln is put on the Pen, but as one of the "inferior settlers" Long refers to, he may well have made tempering lime for sale to his sugar-producing neighbors, or lime for building.

In Thistlewood's diary, the standing lime kiln is most often cited with reference to the rapes that took place either in the "entrance" to the lime kiln, or "near" its structure. The entrance to a lime kiln would have been a short tunnel of sorts that then opened into the chamber of the kiln interior. This is a specific kind of space: dark, small, sheltered, and with sound echoing through the interior of the empty kiln. The lime kiln's proximity to the provision grounds – the land provided for the slaves' subsistence farming – would have made it a site frequented by female slaves, and so a likely spot for apprehending them, and it is also possible that the lime kiln was a favorite spot for Thistlewood's rapes because it was such a stable landmark, and allowed him to easily record the sites of sexual activity.

In Jamaica, Woodville Marshall reports, "most of the slaves subsisted not on rations of imported or locally grown food but on the produce of own-account cultivation of provision grounds" (470). Higman corroborates: "Provision grounds, on which slaves were expected to produce their own food, existed on most Jamaican plantations after 1780. Only where almost all of the land within an estate was suited to the cultivation of sugar and backlands were not accessible did planters choose to purchase food or produce provision crops by supervised gang labor" ("Evaluating Jamaican Estate Maps" 158).

The provision grounds are a continual site of Thistlewood's molestation of his female slaves. He seems to have favored caves and "Rock Holes" within the provision ground as sites of rape. These caves and rock holes would be quite like the entrance to the kiln in being covered spaces. On 11th January 1768, for instance, he records "xxx AM cum Sukey mea sup

terr in the large rockey cave in the nigroe ground - gave d: 2 bitts," and on 29th September 1770, "xxx AM cum phoebe /mia/ sup terr: in large rock hole, in provision gd: gave d: 2 bitts." This desire for cover is a recurring feature of Thistlewood's sexual violence on Breadnut Island Pen. It gains significance when examined in the larger data set of the rapes he committed on Breadnut Island Pen. Thistlewood lived on Breadnut Island Pen from September, 1767 until his death in November, 1786, and, as noted earlier, in that time he committed fifteen hundred and eighty four acts of rape. Phibbah, Thistlewood's common-law wife, was the victim of nine hundred and fifty four of these rapes, or a little over sixty per cent of the total. Of the six hundred and thirty rapes committed on Breadnut Island Pen that did not victimize Phibbah, five hundred and three indicate some concealment or cover for the rape. This cover took the form of built structures on the Pen, as well as natural features, such as rock holes and caves. Of the five hundred and three rapes that took place behind some kind of concealment, two hundred and forty four happened in a built structure: his house, a slave's house, the watch hut (a surveillance feature of the Pen), the storm house, the cook room, the storeroom, or the standing lime kiln).

This raises the question: why does Thistlewood seek protection and shelter when he dominates the landscape? Thistlewood does not record his affective responses to his experiences, so no indication of an answer to this question appears in the diary. Whatever the reason, it seems to be the same impulse that causes him to record the rapes in Latin in his diary. If he had really wanted to obscure the rapes, he would not have recorded them, but the code-switching makes a kind of partial obscuration possible while not foregoing the recording of them. In the same way, he does not forego the rapes, but overwhelmingly seeks a form of concealment for them.

The Morass

Some of the most useful data we have about Breadnut Island Pen comes from an advertisement for the property that Thistlewood placed in the Montego Bay Paper on February 21st, 1781, and reproduced in his diary in an entry of the same date. He placed the advertisement following the devastating hurricane of 1780, and following the death of his son John and the decline in his own health. He describes the Pen as "[c]ontaining 160 Acres, between 60 and 70 of which are highland and are in Negroe grounds and pasture, very Clean; Most of the rest is a rich open Morass, great part of Which in the dry Season is good pasturage; It affords Fish of Various Sorts, more specially Mudfish, also Crabs, and in the Season plenty of Wild Fowl."

The Morass seems to have spread out from the Cabaritta River that bordered

Thistlewood's property on its west side, comprising a large portion of the Pen and spreading out eastwards from the river across the property. We can also infer that the Morass spanned from

Thistlewood's property line at the north to the one at the south. The information about the

Morass meeting his property line at the north comes from a letter he wrote to Robert Goodin, his neighbour to the north, asking Goodin for "leave to get Logwood ... on your Land," "to fence ... between your Land and our Morass" (Thistlewood reproduces Goodin's reply, in which Goodin expresses his "enjoyment" in refusing Thistlewood's request, "for that Man divested of

Neighbourly Friendship has no right to ask Favours, and Consequently to expect their being granted.") The fact that Thistlewood reproduces Goodin's unflattering refusal of his request suggests either that it did not cause Thistlewood to feel embarrassed, or that Thistlewood recorded it because he recorded his life in an obsessive way which did not censure embarrassing material. We know that the Morass stretched as far as Breadnut Island Pen's southern property line as a result of entries like this one made on 18th August 1773: "xxx P.M. Cum Mr.S..'s ...

Sally, Sup:Terr: ... by morass Side and South from dividing ffence and, in Mr:S..'s Land. xGave do: 2 bitts."

Thistlewood's provision grounds and standing lime kiln also seem to have bordered or at least been close to the ample Morass on the Pen, as is evidenced by a number of diary entries, for example, the entry on Monday 13th January 1777: "pasture, by Morass Side, Near Standing Lime Kiln." Other Pens on Jamaica contemporary to Breadnut Island Pen located the provision grounds on the edge of the property.

The Morass was an area where slaves could more easily escape and were more familiar with the land than Thistlewood was. Just as the Morass transformed from marsh to pasturage depending on the season, its purpose varied for Thistlewood. It was, as he states in the advertisement, the source of plentiful fish, which he consumed himself and sent out as gifts to neighbors and friends in the parish. How rich a resource was a point of contention between Thistlewood and his fisherman, and arguably most trusted slave, Lincoln. Over the years on Breadnut Island Pen, Thistlewood regularly accused Lincoln of holding back some or most of his catch for himself. In addition to its offerings, it was also a largely uncultivated part of the property, through which his own slaves could flee for their best chance of not being immediately retrieved, and where slaves and runaways from other plantations could easily poach fish and water birds from his property.

Thistlewood's experience of the Morass as something of a wild exterior on his own property is illustrated by this entry from Monday January 29th, 1776: "About 11 A.M. Lincoln Come with Fish, but did not bring enough ffor a Cat. ordered pompey to take hold off him in the CookRoom, but While I was getting the Bilboes, he escaped ffrom pompey & run into the Morass, & pompey affter him: but he Could not Come up with him." Lincoln's familiarity with

the Morass meant that he could easily navigate it at speed, and Thistlewood's unfamiliarity with it meant that a slave like Pompey would have little to fear from telling Thistlewood that he was unable to retrieve Lincoln from it, and would perhaps have used this as deniability in the case of his unwillingness to run Lincoln down and enable his confinement in the bilboes. Thistlewood's inability to confine Lincoln's activities once he had entered the Morass is reflected again in an entry on May 17th 1776: "about half past noon, Lincoln Come, but did not bring ½ off a bitts worth of fish ... & when he perceived I would punish him, he threatened to make away With himself if I troubled him: however gave him a good flogging & put him in the bilboes! ... Cannot be kept fishing in my Own Morasses ... but will go out to Sea ..." Here, it is clear that once Lincoln has entered the Morass, his whereabouts are of his own choosing. This entry also suggests that Thistlewood considers Lincoln's body as part of the theft at issue. When Lincoln threatens "to make away With himself," by running away Lincoln would be stealing property (in the form of himself) from Thistlewood, in addition to the fish. Even Lincoln's reaction to Thistlewood's threat of punishment – "he threatened to make away With himself if I troubled him" – indicates that Lincoln retained the sense of liberation gained by a morning spent in relative autonomy obtained via the Morass.

That the Morass landscape was a useful place for runaway slaves to lose their pursuers is illustrated by this entry from 19th July 1776, where Thistlewood records an escaped slave evading capture in the Styx Morass: "*It Seems the Negroe got away ffrom the Troopers about the Styx Morass." Although the Styx Morass is not the Morass on Breadnut Island Pen, the entry demonstrates the strategic advantages for escape and evasion that the Morass land presented for absconding slaves. On September 5th 1776, Thistlewood records: "*Solon do: brought bad fish, Flogged him again & put a Collar about his Neck; Note he Started from Lincoln, Jimmy, Strop,

Cæsar & pompey, when going to be put down, but they Catched him again in the Morass." The fact that it took five slaves to apprehend Solon, including Lincoln, who, as the primary fisherman of the property, arguably knew the Morass of Breadnut Island Pen better than anyone on the Pen, speaks for the benefit of the Morass as hiding place, even despite Solon's eventual capture. And Thistlewood's punishment of Solon with flogging and a collar gestures to the impotence Thistlewood himself had felt to prevent his near escape. However, as this incident demonstrates, the Morass was by no means a guaranteed means of escape, especially when the pursuers included fellow slaves.

Thistlewood's diary also reflects his awareness and experience of the theft and poaching that went on in his Morass. On 18th April 1767, he records, "walked in the ruinates over the morass duck pond, and frightened some Negroe men there." The Morass and its duck pond are far enough from the house, open land, and centers of activity that "Negroe men" who seem to be strange to Thistlewood (or he would name them) can be discovered, presumably fishing, and that Thistlewood felt the need to "frighten" them off.

Thistlewood's diary also reflects the fact that the duck pond in the Morass made for a good location for, or possibly marker, for rapes. On 5th January 1769, he reports: "Cum Mirtilla Mea. Sup: Terr: on the West Side of the Morass Duck Pond." We cannot discount the possibility that Thistlewood, who was seemingly obsessive compulsive in his attitude to recording the locations of the rapes he committed, might have chosen particular locations because they lent themselves to description and identification. The recurrence of certain landmarks in his rape records – the Morass duck pond, the "bench under [the] shed in [the] garden," and the "standing lime kiln" – indicate that Thistlewood may have focused his rapes on these locations because their presence enabled ease of recording the exact location of the event later. Thistlewood seems

to have tried to create experiences that he could document. Thistlewood seems to be aware of two texts: the text of the diary and the text of the landscape, and he seems to see the two as related.

Off his own land

The final perimeter I will consider is the borderline of Thistlewood's own land, and the area just beyond it that still engaged his concerns, and that he records his activity on in his diary. For the most part this is Mr. Samuel Say's land, his neighbor to the south. Thistlewood and Say bought their properties together as one parcel of land called Paradise Pen from Mrs. Sarah Bennett in 1767, and divided the land up into two properties using a "dividing fence" (referred to by Thistlewood on August 18th, 1773). It seems plausible, then, that Thistlewood would have a sense that Say's land was a kind of extension of his own. Thistlewood's actions on that land, including in Say's own houses, suggested assurance that he would not be disturbed or have his presence or behavior there questioned.

The most common reference to Thistlewood's presence on Say's land in the diary is to the rapes that Thistlewood commits there. Here, he rapes his own slaves, and, more commonly, slaves from other properties, mostly Say's slaves. The rapes take place in Say's upper house, his lower house, the Ruinates on Say's property, and in unnamed areas close to the property line between Thistlewood's land and Say's land. One of the details that suggest Thistlewood's imagined mastery of these spaces is that he continues to tip those slaves he molests. On Tuesday 22nd December 1772, he writes, "xxx P.M. Cum Mr Say's Sally, Sup: Lect: in his upper house, South Room, above stairs. gave d: 2 bitts." On Thursday June 17th 1773, he records, "xxx P.M. Cum Mr:S..'s phillis, in his lower house, West gallery, Sup:Floor. gave d: 2 bitts." And on

Friday October 8th 1773, "xxx A.M. Cum Sukey (Mea) Sup: Floor in Mr: S.'s lower house, West gallery, or balcony ... x (gave d: 2 bitts." This sample tells a mixed story: on the one hand, Thistlewood felt comfortable raping slaves he did not own on the property, and in the house of the man who owned them. Given his sense of authority and safety in his own house, to rape in another man's house surely communicates his authority over both the slaves, and also the man. On the other, we can see that when Thistlewood raped Say's slaves, on 22nd December 1772, and 17th June 1773, the rapes took place within doors, but that the rape that took place on the West gallery or balcony, which was surely exposed to view, was a rape of one of his own slaves, Sukey.

Other entries repeat this pattern: Thistlewood rapes Say's slaves, Phillis, and Louisa in Say's upper house, usually in the "South Room above stairs," but he rapes his own slaves, Nanny and Sally outside of domestic structures on Say's land, respectively in the "West Shed, or horse Stable," and "by marsh side, about wsw from my house." One might conclude some cautiousness or what could be termed a perverse decorum or respect for Say in Thistlewood's confining his rape of Say's slaves to the houses. Perhaps Thistlewood's confidence in his right to rape on Say's property did not extend to raping non-owned slaves in plain sight.

This taxonomy is made more complicated by entries like this one from Tuesday 19th

February 1771, where Thistlewood rapes a slave from Egypt Estate named Jude: "xxxA.M. Cum

Egypt Jude, Sup: Terr: in mr: Say Ruinate's SW from my house, and NW off path leading to his

trench end: Sed non bene. Gave d: a bit." These references to locations on Say's land that

nonetheless include Thistlewood's house might suggest an impulse to claim mastery of the space
through proximity to his house, the part of the Pen that most connoted the metropole and

complete control to Thistlewood. The notation "Sed non bene," coupled with "gave d: a bit" is

also puzzling. Usually if a sexual experience is not satisfying to Thistlewood, no payment is given. However, possibly this interaction with a non-owned slave on land that was also not his created the jarring impression that although he did not get pleasure, or sufficient pleasure, from the rape, he had obligations that he would not otherwise have felt on his own land to his own slave. Another entry from 7th March 1768, "PM cum Sally (mea) sed non bene / stans! by march side, in Mr Says land, about wsw from my house," corroborates some of these propositions. The experience is "non bene" for Thistlewood, and so he provides no payment. The notations "sed non bene" and "stans!" might suggest a particularly forcible and unpleasant encounter, which would tally with the inclusion of the view of Thistlewood's house in the diary entry, if it is taken as a measure of his attempts at imagined mastery.

Thistlewood was also occasionally called to arbitrate incidents that took place on the area around his land. On 27th January 1767, in a unique occurrence, he was sent for to participate in the inquest of "a nigroe boy named Sancho, belonging to mr McLeod, who shot himself in the breast this morning with a silver mounted pistol loaded with a ball" and had fallen off the Cabaritta Bridge after shooting himself. Thistlewood records being one of eleven men "on the inquest," not including the coroner, or the constable, both of whom are reported to be present also. In his description of the event Thistlewood notes first that the pistol used had been "stole out of KirkPatrick House last night." Kirkpatrick was the name of the Pen to the east of Breadnut Island Pen. Next he provides of the circumstances of the suicide, which he must have been required to think about and articulate for the purposes of the inquest, but which are notable nevertheless for the detail he engages in, and the trouble he takes in conveying both Sancho's intentions and the sequence of events that happened to him: "he lay on this side the river 70 or 80 yards below the bridge, he intended to have fallen in the river, but tumbled backwards, instead of

forwards into the river; he had tied a stone to the pistol with a width to sink it, but it dropped at his feet also." This pathetic scene might give some indication of what kinds of observation and, if not sympathy, then attempts to enter into the inner lives of others, even the enslaved, that Thistlewood was capable of when away from his own land and his own interests. It is worth pointing out that Thistlewood does not show this kind of concern when his own interests are threatened. For instance, he provides information in his diary about the punishments of the slaves who had revolted in Tacky's Rebellion of 1760 that is stripped of any interest in the slaves' motivations or experiences. Sancho's case may well be unique because this boy was entirely unthreatening, and did not involve Thistlewood's financial interests at all. Nonetheless, it is unusual in Thistlewood's diary, and for that reason, must be considered as a significant data point for his actions and behavior off his own land.

Preliminary conclusions from this survey of Breadnut Island Pen as it is articulated in Thistlewood's diary offer some possible insight as to where sympathy might appear on the map of feeling, and where stigma takes hold and denotes its limits. Taking the Pen as a series of spaces beginning with Thistlewood's great house and moving in an expanding set of concentric spaces through the provision ground and lime kiln, the Morass, and the area outside of his property line, we might observe that stigma impinges more invasively on relationships beyond Thistlewood's house: the house is the only site where anything approaching kindness and relationships of affection can be observed. Moving outwards across the Pen takes us into a landscape of the scenes of an enormous number of rapes. The Morass is the site of behavior that suggests Thistlewood's frustration with the instability and unknowableness of the physical features of the land, and its implications for his control over his slaves. Finally, off his own land Thistlewood's relationships to slaves, owned and non-owned, seem to be particularly contingent.

On Say's property, Thistlewood takes the rapes that would have happened outdoors or under provisional cover on his own property into the more stable cover of domestic buildings, and at the Cabaritta bridge he engages in a very preliminary version of sympathetic self-extension with a slave boy's suicide. There's a kind of instability, and, for the most part (his new garden excluded), escalating brutality in spaces that are increasingly distant from the emotional center of his property, the great house. This seems to mimic the colony's relationship to the British metropole.

There is also a compelling strand of information in Thistlewood's own record of his rapes that indicates his desire to conceal his rapes, at least partially. In five hundred and three out of six hundred and thirty rapes of women other than Phibbah (whom he raped in his own bedroom), Thistlewood used the built structures and natural features of the Pen to provide some form of cover for his sexual brutality. This indicates that Thistlewood felt a kind of conflictedness about the rapes that also expresses itself in his system of code-switching into Latin in his diary when he records them. Although Thistlewood tried to replicate the spatial relationship between metropole and colony on Breadnut Island Pen – where the intimate, domestic sphere was the scene of sympathy, and the distant and imaginatively wild exterior was one of brutality – the desire to conceal his violence even on the periphery of his land and to sexually dominate even in the cultivated garden just outside his house troubled this neat separation of sympathy and stigma. As the British metropole would discover in the decades following Thistlewood's death, this separation between Britain's avowed sensibility at home and oppression abroad would not stand.

Coda

Breaking Through to the Shared Space of Sympathy

I conclude with a short reading of a novel that enacts the dynamics of sympathy, stigma, and space I have been describing in close quarters: Elizabeth Inchbald's *A Simple Story* (1791). The novel is concerned with the stigma of a woman's infidelity, and details the ways in which that infidelity makes outcasts of the women stigmatized by it either directly or by proxy. The novel comes to its sentimental resolution by slowly closing the gap between the stigmatized persons and those who impose that stigma, and creating opportunities for sympathy through shared space.

The novel is divided into two parts. The first describes the relationship between the virtuous Catholic priest, Dorriforth, and his new ward, the vivacious Miss Milner, which concludes in Dorriforth inheriting the title Lord Elmwood which frees him from his priestly duties so that he can get married, and his using this new freedom to marry Miss Milner. The second part picks up the story seventeen years after their wedding, and describes a radically changed scene in which, after giving birth to Lord Elmwood's daughter Lady Matilda, Lady Elmwood has been seduced by a rake while Lord Elmwood conducted lengthy business in the Caribbean. In response, Lord Elmwood banishes Lady Elmwood and subsequently the infant Lady Matilda, "in vengeance to her mother's crimes ... as the perpetual outcast of its father" (170-1). The story recommences as Lady Elmwood lies dying on the border between England and Scotland, and Lady Matilda fears for her future. Following Lady Elmwood's death, Lord Elmwood agrees to shelter the destitute Lady Matilda on condition that she stay at Elmwood Castle, a country seat he visits infrequently, and that when he is in residence at Elmwood Castle she confine herself to designated parts of the house. He threatens that if he ever sees her at

Elmwood Castle, or so much as hears her voice, he will exile her once again: "if, whether by design or by accident, I ever see or hear from her; I abandon her once more ... she may easily in that extensive house avoid me – while she does, she lives in security – when she does not, you know my resolution" (186).

Inchbald's story of stigma and exile makes interesting use of the spaces on the geographical and imaginative edge of empire that I have been describing in my chapters. The turn in the plot that allows for Lady Elmwood's seduction and moral destruction is Lord Elmwood's journey to the West Indies, necessitated by "the depredation of his steward [of] a very large estate in the West Indies" (170). Elmwood's stay is extended by the onset of "a severe and dangerous illness" (171). The Caribbean is framed here as the site of corruption and sickness, and as a landowner Elmwood is affected by the moral and physical rot of the West Indian colonies. Elmwood's absence contributes to his wife's moral destruction, but we know that as an absentee landlord (the owner of a large estate who made his home in England) he may have been responsible for destabilizing conditions in the Caribbean also. In *Observations on the Present State of the Island of Jamaica*, John Dalling reports on the negative consequences of absentee landlords:

these Absentees have large properties here, that enable them to live in Splendour in England, and are moreover the cause of Danger to this Community, (as all the Rebellions that have broke out here have begun upon the Estates of Absentees, where the Slaves are more Opprest, than when an Owner, who is interested in their welfare resides amongst them). (55-56)

Spreading his influence thinly across the map of empire entails dangers for Elmwood's properties (I use the term to describe his estates and his wife) in both Britain and the West Indies.

Meanwhile, when Lady Elmwood flees Elmwood's house on hearing of his return after her affair, she chooses "a lonely country on the borders of Scotland, a single house by the side of a dreary heath" (174). The actual location is a village in Northumberland, but its most important descriptor as a site of exile is its proximity to, and association with, Scotland. Once she has relocated to Elmwood Castle, Lady Matilda underlines the fact that this location was a choice which Lady Elmwood made deliberately to reflect her exile, recalling "the dreary, ruinate place where her deceased mother had chosen her residence" (192).

The moral stigma of Lady Elmwood's affair results in her expulsion and that of her daughter. The enforcement of Lady Elmwood's and Lady Matilda's stigmatization through exile is reported to be a backlash against Elmwood's keen sympathies. Elmwood is said to have sent Lady Matilda away because of his "sensibility, which urged him to fly from [his former happiness's] more keen recollection as much as possible" (172). The affair also leads to a different kind of stigmatization: that of the rake who seduced her. On Elmwood's return, Lady Elmwood and Lady Matilda are ejected from his space, but he also inscribes the stigma on the libertine who caused her fall, Lord Frederick. After dueling with Elmwood, Lord Frederick "was left upon the spot where they met, so maimed, and defaced with scars, as never again to endanger the honour of a husband" (172). Here, the rake's stigma takes the form of the "mark of infamy" described by Samuel Johnson in his denotation of "stigma" in his *Dictionary*, instead of the expulsion the women experience. Lord Frederick is decidedly left standing in the place of the duel, and the disfigurement rendered him by Elmwood fix him similarly to the crime of Lady Elmwood's seduction.

Once Lady Matilda has been received into residence at Elmwood Castle after her mother's death, the space of the Castle becomes a site of precarious division between the spaces for stigmatized and non-stigmatized persons, in order to prevent Lord Elmwood from having to see his daughter, and potentially to identify and sympathize with her.

During her residence at Elmwood Castle, on hearing that Elmwood will arrive at the house soon, "she began ... to seclude herself in those apartments which were allotted or her during the time of his stay" (180). She comments, on his arrival: "How strange is this!' cried Matilda, when Miss Woodley and she were alone, 'My father within a few rooms of me, and yet I am debarred from seeing him! – Only by walking a few paces I might be at his feet, and perhaps receive his blessing" (196).

When Sandford, the old priest who delivers the news of Lord Elmwood's decision to take Lady Matilda in on this conditional basis, he relays the importance of these spatial divisions, "not even sparing, with an erroneous delicacy, any of those threats her father had denounced, should she dare to break through the limits he prescribed" (189). Fred Davis's description of the phenomenon of "breaking through" (discussed in chapter 1) obtains here, in which a stigmatized person secures sympathy from a non-stigmatized person by facilitating identification between the two. Davis describes it as:

a redefinitional process in which the handicapped person projects images, attitudes and concepts of the self which encourage the normal to identify with him (i.e. 'take his role') ... One young informant insightfully termed the process 'breaking through' ... These dynamics might also be termed a process of identification. (127-8)

When "breaking through" is achieved, sympathetic traffic can flow between the two persons. It is this, ultimately, which secures Lady Matilda's happy reconciliation at the end of the novel.

The power of shared space, real or imaginary, and thus the importance of the act of breaking through, is what allows sympathy to overpower stigma in the novel. These acts of sharing space begin when Lady Elmwood writes a letter to Elmwood on her deathbed, asking for sanctuary for their daughter. Her letter implores him to imaginatively enter her grave:

before you throw this letter from you with contempt or anger, cast your imagination into the grave where I am lying. ... Behold *me*, also – in my altered face there is no anxiety – no joy or sorrow – all is over. – My whole frame is motionless – my heart beats no more. – Look at my horrid habitation, too, - and ask yourself – whether I am an object of resentment? (184)

On reading this, and performing this imaginative entry into Lady Elmwood's situation, Elmwood capitulates to her request to house Lady Matilda, and opens the door to the possibility of sharing real and imaginative space with his estranged daughter. After one lengthy visit in which Elmwood and his daughter remain segregated from one another, he returns to Elmwood Castle unexpectedly and the two come across each other accidentally in the house. Lady Matilda's response is to faint into his arms, at which he "pressed her to his bosom," and "his long-restrained tears now burst forth – and seeing her relapsing into the swoon again, he cried out eagerly to recall her. Her name did not however come to his recollection – nor any name but this – 'Miss Milner – Dear Miss Milner'" (236). The moment in which father and daughter find themselves facing each other brings on the deluge of feelings which Lady Matilda predicted on

arriving at Elmwood Castle: "to see my father, would cause a sensation, a feeling, I could not survive" (192). For Elmwood, it permits him to sympathize not only with Lady Matilda, but, as he had feared her presence would cause, with his exiled and deceased wife.

As a result of this meeting, Elmwood exiles Lady Matilda from his house one more time, but she is immediately kidnapped by a rake named Margrave, a new and more violent iteration of the libertine who seduced Lady Elmwood. Hearing of this, Elmwood's final reserves of antipathy are depleted – broken down, I argue, by the sharing of imaginative and literal space – and he goes himself to rescue his daughter and renew his relationship with her. Fittingly, this rescue is described in terms of Elmwood finally entering her space:

That moment her father entered – and with the unrestrained fondness of a parent, folded her in his arms. ... The apprehensions to which she had been accustomed, kept her timid and doubtful – she feared to speak, or clasp him in return for his embrace, but falling on her knees clung round his legs, and bathed his feet with her tears. – These were the happiest moments she had ever known – perhaps the happiest *he* had ever known. (286)

By looking at Inchbald's 1791 novel through the lens of mapping, exile, the edges of empire, and sympathetic traffic in space, we can see how the cognitive and cultural limits of sympathy are imposed by the force of stigma in the period, and where these limits are importantly dictated by mapping and space and broken down by real or imaginative traffic across those limits.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1 comprises the complete data set of sexual violence events on Breadnut Island Pen. It is published online at the following location:

file:///C:/Users/Jennifer/AppData/Roaming/Microsoft/Windows/Network%20Shortcuts/Data%20 Thistlewood%20Sexual%20Violence%20on%20Breadnut%20Island%20Pen.htm

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