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Sentimentality and Gender in Virginia Woolf and Laurence Sterne

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

by

Keri Diane Barber

June 2010

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The Dissertation of Keri Diane Barber is approved:

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sentimentality and Gender in Virginia Woolf and Laurence Sterne

by

Keri Diane Barber

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in English
University of California, Riverside, June 2010
Professor Kimberly J. Devlin, Chairperson

Virginia Woolf employs eighteenth-century sentimentality in her work and when she does, it has always been assumed that she perceived sentimentality in the same negative way as the Victorians. Woolf, however, adopts Laurence Sterne's playfulness with sentimentality. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Sterne exposes the ravages of war and the topsy-turvy nature of culture when it is built on empire. Sentimentality is expressed for the weak and abject, but Sterne understands that these abject characters are soldiers that previously served the nation. In *Jacob's Room*, Woolf exposes the same with Betty Flanders expressing sentiment for fallen soldiers. In addition to this sentimentality is a false sentimentality that men learn at institutions like Cambridge, even though sentimentality is associated with feminine weakness. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf is the most ambivalent about sentimentality and hoping to find a sense of true feeling. Clarissa Dalloway, Peter Walsh, and Septimus Warren Smith, all display a sense of true of feeling

in addition to the false sentimentality. Because of rigid class differences, Septimus is the most natural without having learned sentimentality at Cambridge. His lack of learning and his true feeling make him an outsider, and he must escape society. In *The Waves*, the men all adopt false sentimentality. The women are outside because they are not allowed to attend Cambridge, but like Betty Flanders, Jinny is able to learn sentimentality. The most natural and wild character who is outside this false sentimentality is Rhoda, and she too must escape society.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AROO</i>	<i>A Room of One's Own</i>
<i>AWD</i>	<i>A Writer's Diary</i>
<i>BTA</i>	<i>Between the Acts</i>
<i>CDB</i>	<i>The Captain's Death Bed and Other Essays</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Collected Essays (4 vols.)</i>
<i>CR1</i>	<i>The Common Reader Vol. 1</i>
<i>CR2</i>	<i>The Common Reader Vol. 2</i>
<i>CSF</i>	<i>The Complete Shorter Fiction</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>The Diary of Virginia Woolf (5 vols.)</i>
<i>DM</i>	<i>The Death of the Moth and Other Essays</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>The Essays of Virginia Woolf (6 vols.)</i>
<i>F</i>	<i>Flush</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Jacob's Room</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>Letters of Virginia Woolf</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>The Moment and Other Essays</i>
<i>MOB</i>	<i>Moments of Being</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>Monday or Tuesday</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Mrs. Dalloway</i>
<i>ND</i>	<i>Night and Day</i>
<i>O</i>	<i>Orlando</i>
<i>RF</i>	<i>Roger Fry: A Biography</i>
<i>TG</i>	<i>Three Guineas</i>
<i>TTL</i>	<i>To the Lighthouse</i>
<i>TW</i>	<i>The Waves</i>

TY *The Years*

TVO *The Voyage Out*

Sterne

ASJ *A Sentimental Journey*

LS *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*

TS *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, a Gentleman*

Introduction: The Sentiment of Virginia Woolf and Laurence Sterne

Prior to the 1970s, scholarship on Virginia Woolf focused upon Woolf's aesthetic quality and experimentation, in lieu of her politics. The work of Leonard Woolf and Quentin Bell privileged Woolf's aesthetics over her politics and this influenced the scholarship for many years. Leonard Woolf called her the most apolitical animal he ever knew, and Bell's biography worked from that assumption. Because most of the scholarship done on Woolf was based on Bell's biography, this assumption was generally adopted. This perception is also reinforced by her upbringing. She was raised by a Victorian "angel" in the house and still bound by social convention (*Professions for Women* 1931). The political sphere was public and therefore masculine, and to be involved in politics was unladylike. Women were outside the public sphere and to illustrate this, when Woolf participated in the Dreadnought Hoax, she had to disguise herself as a man. In 1910, Virginia Woolf (nee Stephen), Adrian Stephen, Duncan Grant, Guy Ridley, Anthony Buxton and Horace de Vere Cole, disguised themselves as Abyssinian Princes and boarded the HMS Dreadnought Navy Ship. This Hoax was so offensive to the Royal Navy that they wanted to publicly flog the men who participated, and then they learned that a woman was involved. The Navy was outraged. It is one thing to be duped, and apparently it is another to be duped by a woman. Due to the Navy's outrage, Woolf's family was genuinely concerned about the punishment the hoaxsters would receive. This Hoax is one of many experiences that solidified Woolf's belief against a patriarchal culture.

From the assumption that Woolf is apolitical, critics focused upon her aesthetic quality and failed to see her politics. David Daiches examines how Woolf contributed to modernism through her experimentation (1940). Avrom Fleishman studies Woolf's use of symbol and image. Lucio Ruotolo explores Woolf's "interrupted moment" embedded in human interaction. Nicholas Marsh finds that Woolf's style is not that distinct or difficult, but that everything in the novel adds up to create a distinct impression of the novel as a whole. These critics focused upon Woolf's aesthetics at the expense of any political statement she was making. Linden Peach was recognized as one of the first critics to notice Woolf's politics but that was as late as 2000, years after some feminist critics had taken note. Julia Briggs suggests that by viewing Woolf politically, critics ignore her art. This position has been adopted by many with few scholars considering Woolf's art and politics together. Natania Rosenfeld argues that Woolf uses "politics through an aesthetic practice" (7). In *The Feminist Aesthetics of Virginia Woolf*, Jane Goldman reveals Woolf's ability to combine aesthetics and politics.

In early twentieth-century London, females were outside politics and made to feel so. Despite this, Woolf had clear ideas about war, patriarchy, and feminism. She was appropriated by the feminist movement in the 1970s and became an icon despite her claim that she was not a feminist. Many first-wave feminists found in her things worth emulating, such as Sandra M. Gilbert, Susan Gubar, Jane Marcus, Elaine Showalter, Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, and Toril Moi. Marcus points out that feminists were trying to "revive [Woolf's] reputation as a political thinker" during the 70s and 80s (xi). In Brenda R. Silver's *Virginia Woolf Icon*, Silver traces the story of

Woolf as icon after publishing *The Years* in 1937. From then, the image of Woolf has been sold on postcards, tote bags, calendars, post-it notes, cards, magnets, mugs, etc. Studies celebrating Woolf's feminism dominated the field and after the 70s, Woolf scholarship branched out to include studies on trauma, queer studies, essays, biography, memoir, and journalism. Jane Garrity and Laura Doan examine images of Sapphism throughout modernist novels and find that Woolf is at the forefront of such a representation because of her study of Greek. For the first time, Woolf's aesthetics were not the only thing being studied.

With the increase in political scholarship, critics began to notice a critique of war throughout all of her writing. As of 1995, very few scholars had contributed to war studies regarding Woolf. In 1991, Mark Hussey opened the field with a collection of essays in *Virginia Woolf and War*. Karen Levenback then explored the dominance of the Great War and how it affected civilians on the home front. Vara Neverow has pointed out the rampant presence of war in *Jacob's Room*, Woolf's first experimental novel. Naomi Black foregrounds the war in Woolf's feminism. Since 1995, the scene has changed from a few writers to many who recognize Woolf's contribution to war writing. Karen DeMeester declares that all "modernist literature is a literature of trauma," and it is because of these world wars (77). While *Jacob's Room*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, and *Between the Acts* are rightfully recognized as major war novels, *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves* are still considered more for their poetic achievement than for their contribution to the critique of Empire. Briggs' recent study, *Woolf: An Inner Life*, also emphasizes that *The Waves* is poetic and not political.

The twentieth century was rife with war and Woolf includes the war in every work. Even in *Night and Day*, where Katherine Mansfield criticized Woolf for pretending the war had never happened, Woolf characterizes Miss Mary Datchet as someone who looks older because she had “taken on that of the private in the army of workers” (36). This characterization reveals that the war was on Woolf’s mind even if she used the pre-war Victorian period as the setting. Woolf endured World War I and World War II. Woolf’s politics regarding war were ignored because war was a masculine enterprise with only men participating and only they had firsthand experience. This of course negates the many women who served as nurses even in the eighteenth century. Woolf rejected the notion that war is only experienced by men, and changed the cultural perception of war. Margot Norris writes that in *Mrs. Dalloway*, “war invades the home front both at the time of its duration and in its aftermath, as veterans carry their wounds and their trauma home and infect their families, communities, and institutions by whatever invisible or dramatic forms their symptoms take” (32). This perception of war was groundbreaking. Woolf and Rebecca West illustrate how the war permeates the private lives of women and family.

This critique was also noticed well before the 70s. Winifred Holtby recognizes *Jacob’s Room* as a war book as early as 1930, the earliest instance of Woolf being associated with politics of any kind. Ruth Gruber wrote the first dissertation on Woolf in 1935, and her study led to the iconic representation of Woolf as a feminist. *Jacob’s Room* is considered a war book by most, but in addition to *Jacob’s Room*, war is present in *Mrs. Dalloway*, where Woolf characterizes Septimus Warren Smith who has returned from war and cannot cope with society because he is suffering from post traumatic stress

disorder. In *To the Lighthouse*, a young man, Andrew Ramsay, dies in the war; in *Orlando*, Orlando goes to Constantinople as an Ambassador and a type of soldier (this type of journey was a rite of passage for “Oxbridge” men); in *The Waves* a central character, Percival, is an absent soldier who dies falling off his horse; in *The Years*, North Pargiter joins a long ancestral line of soldiers; and in *Between the Acts*, Woolf illustrates the pause between World War I and World War II. In each book, Woolf foregrounds death and the sounds of men marching. These men bring the war home with stress and death. As a proponent of education, Woolf wonders why men participate in war so easily and women do not. Woolf realizes that institutions such as Cambridge are at fault and women are excluded from such institutions.

With Mark Hussey’s collection, *Virginia Woolf and War: Fiction, Reality, and Myth*, the myth of Woolf as apolitical begins to fall apart. In “Living in a War Zone,” Hussey concedes that women have always participated in war, especially with the involvement of Margaret Thatcher. Even Woolf conceded that women participated in war by supporting their fathers, brothers, and husbands while fighting. Mrs. Flanders and Mrs. Ramsay are proud of their sons who join the military. Mrs. Flanders’ husband was a soldier and once he dies, she dates another soldier. Woolf’s characterizations of Miss Mary Datchet and Rose Pargiter also reveal that Woolf believed that women could be as militant as men. In *The Years*, Rose Pargiter was a suffragist who was jailed after she threw bricks through a window. She is characterized as infinitely more masculine than her brother, questioning society’s assumption that only men make good soldiers. Despite the participation of some women, Hussey writes, “The social institution of war, the ideals

of valor and honor, are even now, as they have been since Homer, inextricably bound up with cultural notions of manhood and masculinity” (2). This manhood and masculinity are learned at Cambridge. Woolf recognized that even when women did participate, they were outsiders with Rose Pargiter and Mary Datchet as anomalies. Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory* has been a seminal text on war writing, but Levenback points out how women writers do not figure themselves into his argument. Levenback replaces the construction of Woolf as apolitical with Woolf as a great political mind analyzing war and its effects.

Despite the scholarship on Woolf and war, few have focused on the primary presence of the soldier. Like war itself, soldiers are inextricably bound up with cultural notions of manhood and masculinity. Silver tells the story of how Woolf the icon, replaces the actual Woolf. Woolf was aware of this phenomenon with Shakespeare as a construction, and more than the man. Likewise, the soldier is a myth of masculinity and the construction of the soldier replaces the actual man. This lack of identity is the ultimate sacrifice and it paves the way for enlistment to continue. Peach argues, “Some histories are privileged over others” (3). The history of men is privileged over the history of women, as seen in *A Room of One’s Own*, but also certain histories of men are also privileged over others. The history of the soldier is completely constructed and fabricated and the constructed history is privileged over the actual story. This is especially seen with Rupert Brooke, who died as a soldier, but not in battle. After his death, he was re-constructed as a great poet and a glorious hero.

New scholarship on *Three Guineas* has also contributed to the perception of Woolf as political. *Three Guineas* is considered Woolf's most political book and her least successful and most critics have suggested that politics and failure go together. E. M. Forster dismisses the book as "feminist" and says nothing else about it (19). In *Three Guineas*, Woolf clearly exposes and satirizes social institutions, especially those which lead to war. Woolf calls the loyalty that people pledge to their country "false," because the country never holds the individual's interest at heart (*TG* 9). Woolf also exposes how men, once soldiers, become pawns of the state that simply obey orders without thought. In "Exposing Masculine Spectacle," Merry Pawlowski points out how Woolf notices that men, as soldiers, lack an identity. Pawlowski quotes Woolf, "It is the figure of a man; some say, others deny, that he is Man himself, the quintessence of virility" (117). Pawlowski exposes how Woolf thought that soldiers were representations of men and constructions of virility.

These men lack individual identities and instead represent *Man*. The individual identity is sacrificed for the collective identity and for the glory to participate in war. This collective identity is further perpetuated by his uniform. Celia Marshik notes how the use of the Burberry trenchcoat by every soldier universalizes him. Fussell argues that the uniform of a soldier emphasizes his broad shoulders and strength and that the modern uniform was upheld by Adolf Hitler to promote his perceptions of male virility. In *Three Guineas*, Woolf critiques the writing of soldiers and their excitement about fighting. They fight to attain glory and some even go to war so they can become writers. Philip Caputo admits as much in *A Rumor of War*, and surely he is not the only instance. Caputo claims

to have signed up for the military so he can have glorious stories to write about because most stories were about epic battles. Caputo then blames his country for making him believe that war is glorious. Woolf too blames the country and its institutions for perpetuating such stories. She examines the biographies of soldiers and one biographer suggests that a soldier has finally “found his true calling” (*TG* 9). Men are made to believe that being a soldier will make them better men.

Many critics have pointed out Woolf’s critique of social institutions in *Three Guineas*. Kathy Phillips argues that “Woolf consistently satirizes social institutions,” and war is an institution (vii). Michael Whitworth notes that “the early twentieth century saw increasing acceptance of the idea that the state should restrict individual liberty for the benefit of the whole nation” (30). Marcus points out that Woolf is hypercritical of patriarchy and how male ownership is ingrained in English culture. According to Woolf, the status of women’s rights had not changed since the eighteenth century. Mary Wollstonecraft argued that women should have the right to an education and a vote, and Woolf had to participate in the same fight more than one hundred years later.

The French Revolution promised change and women believed they would finally earn their freedom. Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and John Stuart Mill published materials on women’s rights and the century was dominated by “The Woman Question,” *New Women*, and *Odd Women*. In France, women walked around wearing red liberty caps. The men became so anxious about it that they responded by suggesting that women would next wear a belt and a gun. The liberty cap being associated with women carrying guns exposes the threat that women posed to men if they earned their liberty. With the

end of the French Revolution, all these hopes were lost and the nineteenth century was noted for making the division between public and private, male and female, more pronounced than ever. Unfortunately, the many wars sidetracked people's energy. The Woman Question was brought up again sixty years later, but no progress had been made. Leslie and Julia Stephen discussed The Woman Question and decided that women are better off relegated to the home. Marcus calls *Three Guineas* "despairing," but she also points out that Woolf uses the language of rape to describe everyday social situations such as conversation between men and women (1-3). Characterizing conversation this way emphasizes how the same behavior that leads to war is brought inside the home invading the private space relegated to women. Georgia Johnston argues that Woolf's Rodmell Lecture on the Dreadnought Hoax critiques the English desire to promote nationalism at the cost of others' lives. Alex Zwerdling focuses on Woolf's "social vision" of the world and the influence of "invisible presences" such as institutions like Cambridge (1).

The moderns were known for making something new, but Woolf relies on the past, especially the eighteenth century and Laurence Sterne. Previous scholarship has noticed that Woolf "is a creature of books" with a "literary sensibility" (Fleishman x). Jane de Gay notes that the "literary past had a profound impact on the content of her novels, on her philosophies of fiction and on certain aspects of her fictional method" (1). De Gay examines the entire literary past and illustrates how Woolf uses the literary past to demonstrate her Englishness and also as a critique of other writers who use the literary past for nationalistic purposes. Sally Greene studied how Woolf was influenced by

English Renaissance writers, Emily Blair examined Woolf and the nineteenth century, and Steve Ellis examined Woolf and the Victorians. As a creature of books, Woolf is well-versed in the tradition of English literature, but she is exceptionally interested in the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century authors including Jonathan Swift, Henry Fielding, and Sir Walter Scott were the favorites of Woolf's father, Sir Leslie Stephen. In "Tradition and the Individual Talent," T. S. Eliot argues that genius relies upon the tradition that preceded it. In *Aspects of the Novel*, Forster delineated the difference between character and type, and how plot moves in a linear fashion like the flow of a river (10).

Periphery connections between Sterne and Woolf have been made by Ian Jack, Harold Bloom, Melvyn New, Lili Hsieh, and Jane Garrity. Woolf and Sterne are often compared for their technique with time and stream of consciousness. Connections between modernism and postmodernism have also been made. Woolf calls Sterne a "forerunner of the moderns" and notices modernist tendencies such as the journey through his own mind and the lack of focus on the sights (*CR* 80-81). Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* has been argued to be "modern" and even "postmodern" because he included "parody and pastiche" (McCaffery; Watts 26). Joyce and Sterne are frequently linked through sentimentality and the Ulysses voyage as in *Literature and Travel* (Moloney). Michael Bell notes Sterne's ability to separate two strands of narrative to emphasize both the sentiment and the narrative technique (42). Josephine O'Brien Schaefer linked *Jacob's Room* to *A Sentimental Journey* and compared the similarities between Yorick and Jacob Flanders. Both are travel books that belong to the "same tradition" of novels

which use humor and irony to discuss sex (189). Despite these mentions of Woolf and Sterne together, Miriam Wallace is the only one who has completed a full-length study connecting *Tristram Shandy* with *The Waves*. Wallace argues that both authors challenged gender and how it is constructed by society. Wallace finds that *The Waves* recalls Sterne the most because of its combination of prose and poetry, which Woolf noted in *Tristram Shandy* (“Resisting” 198).

Another comparison between Woolf and Sterne is the use of the sentimental tradition. In *Tender Consciousness*, Laura Jane Ress notes that the eighteenth century is seldom connected with twentieth-century modernism and this is a loss because the eighteenth century has so much to offer. On the other hand, Martha Bowden laments the constant use of Sterne as a modern writer, saying that readers do Sterne a “disservice” (22). Despite this disservice, the sentimental is used by many modern writers such as Joyce, Forster, and Woolf. While the sentimental is a tradition of eighteenth-century literature, the sentimental traveler can be traced back to Homer. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf refers to Peter Walsh as a “solitary traveler,” linking him with the sentimental traveler (56-58). In 1909, Woolf wrote the review of Vernon Lee’s “The Sentimental Traveller” (1908). Woolf didn’t particularly like Lee, but she notes that Lee’s book is “impressionist,” which is what critics say about Woolf’s work (*CR* 157). Lee’s title looks back to Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey*, written in 1768. Lee’s book is a compilation of her impressions while riding on a train, a method adopted for Woolf’s “Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown.” Barbara Benedict writes, “The frame of the travelogue form, the fragments of La Fleur and the Notary, and the confessional and conversational sections all vaunt

impressionism” (89). Ann Banfield notes that Woolf was influenced by the philosophy group of Bertrand Russell and Cambridge where objects are reduced to sense data. Her method is similar to Sterne’s use of John Locke’s associationist method.

Forster compares Woolf and Sterne and calls both “fantasists” (19). He attributes the novel with characters and plots but then wonders where *Tristram Shandy* fits in. Bloom points out that Sterne said *Tristram Shandy* “was made and formed to baffle all criticism” (33). Of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce said he wrote it “to keep the critics busy for three hundred years” (McLuhan). Forster connects Sterne, Joyce, Swift, and Woolf, saying that if the “fantastic-prophetical axis” was taken away from any one of these novels, “nothing is left at all” (107). Bloom also acknowledges Woolf and Sterne as fantasy writers and points out that most fantasy writers see themselves as realists (33). Woolf appreciated Sterne for characterizing the moment as “true to life” and she attempts to do the same (CR 80). S. P. Rosenbaum calls Woolf a philosophical realist. They begin with an object but they use it to illustrate the beauty of life (Forster 20). While Forster calls them fantasists, their focus upon the minutiae is more realistic than anything else and Woolf calls Sterne a “realist” (CR 82). Regarding Sterne, Forster writes, “Uncle Toby’s drawbridge should lead into Lilliput” (111). Though fantastical, Sterne and Swift are satirical writers using fantasy to expose a real problem. Forster writes:

The more the characters do the less gets done, the less they have to say the more they talk, the harder they think the softer they get, facts have an unholy tendency to unwind and trip up the past instead of begetting the

future ... and the obstinacy of inanimate objects, like Dr. Slop's bag, is most suspicious (111).

The characters certainly do not get anything done and that is not realism, but fantasy. Despite this, these characters' inaction is critiqued but Sterne and Swift were purposely characterizing a world where individual subjects were powerless.

Sterne and Woolf also illustrate their fantastical nature with their ability to jump through time. *Orlando* has also been connected to both *A Sentimental Journey* and *Tristram Shandy* for its fantastical use of time and gender shifting. As A. A. Mendilow notes, time was something that needed to be considered for the "technique of the novel" (16). Sterne dwells upon the difference between the time it takes for something to happen as opposed to the time it takes to write about it. He writes *Tristram Shandy* about Tristram's birth, but the reader gets more than halfway through the novel before his birth even takes place. Bell says that he "disrupts linear time" (44). This obsession with time is adopted by the modernists with Henri Bergson's *durée*, especially in Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*. Of Sterne, Woolf notes, "no realist could be more brilliantly successful in rendering the impression of the moment" (CR 82). Sterne makes the reader aware of time's inability to be linear and Woolf compacts one moment with the past, present, and future. Clarissa Dalloway introduces the novel with a walk through London and a memory of Peter Walsh that conflates with the present moment (3). In *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick is already in Paris and happily wandering around before he realizes that he left without his passport. He writes the "Preface" to the book in the middle of it and he is in the back of a carriage while writing it.

The disruption of time is also extended to the plot. Mendilow argues, “Sterne, rebelling against plot, sequence and causal selection with fine impartiality, practices ... associationist impression” (160). Most Woolf scholars point out her use of the impressionist technique where Woolf paints a picture with words and uses scenes. These scenes do not need to be linear, but as true to life as possible. Mendilow points out that “the great aim of Sterne was to give as true a picture as possible of real human beings as they are in themselves, not as they imagine themselves to be, nor as others judge them to be by their actions and outward behaviour alone” (166). Readers are either “thrilled” by the method or they put the book down (Forster 108). Also according to Mendilow, Sterne and Woolf move from the outer world to characterize the inner world and the inner workings of consciousness of human beings. For Sterne and Woolf, the linear novel would not display the inner workings of a mind. Joyce too adopts this form as argued by Lodwick Hartley in “‘Swiftly-Sterneward’: The Question of Sterne’s Influence on Joyce.”

Woolf has now been appreciated as a war scholar, but Sterne has not. He read military engineering books and grew up around men in the military because of his father. On one hand, Woolf’s modernism relies upon what she perceives as the modernism of eighteenth-century writers, especially with their critique of empire. On the other hand, the eighteenth century represents a lack of progress. In “A Portrait of a Londoner,” Woolf characterizes Mr. Graham who stands with the eighteenth-century furniture as if he is a fixture of the time period itself. This characterization is also used in *Jacob’s Room*. For Woolf, “the eighteenth century has its distinction” because it is a marker of the lack of

change (*JR* 71; 186). Woolf uses the phrase to refer to eighteenth-century architecture and how its ornamentation serves to further glorify the state of England. The narrator notes, “The eighteenth century has its distinction. These houses were built, say, one hundred and fifty years ago ... even the panels ... have their distinction” (186). The state of this architecture represents no change and Mr. Graham is a physical embodiment of that lack of change. This lack of change is then transferred to Jacob himself. Immediately following the comment about the distinct architecture, the narrator wonders what Mrs. Durrant thinks of Jacob, and she decides that Mrs. Durrant feels that he is “distinguished” (71). The nation and the eighteenth century are distinct and Jacob is “distinguished,” thus making Jacob and the nation as one. Jacob then becomes an extension of the distinction of the British state and how it represents itself to its public, via architecture.

Woolf’s Mrs. Brown, from “Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown,” is a traveller who travels “not from Richmond to Waterloo, but from one age of English literature to the next” (109-10). Woolf is a comprehensive writer who refers to an entire tradition, but she also remarks upon the eighteenth century as especially significant to English culture, and this is no surprise. The eighteenth century saw the rise of the novel and the public marketplace (Fernald). It was also a great point of interest for Leslie Stephen, with his two volumes on *The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*. Woolf mentions eighteenth-century architecture and creates a fabric within her fiction of a glorified London as the center of an empire. In *Jacob’s Room*, the references to the eighteenth century range from Napoleon, the Battle of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington, eighteenth century architecture, and the glorification of Great Britain as a military state.

Woolf connects Jacob to Napoleon and Ulysses repeatedly, making him a kind of everyman character but more importantly, an everyman soldier.

The glorified center of the empire, London, was soon to fall. The formation of empire led to the building of various monuments to celebrate and reinforce the power and glory of the nation, such as Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. This column is mentioned throughout Woolf's canon but most specifically in *Jacob's Room* and *The Waves*. In *The Waves*, the center of London, such as Trafalgar Square, becomes the center for Bernard to grieve the loss of Percival, the absent center. Additionally, Woolf repeatedly refers to the French Revolution, especially the Battle of Waterloo, as a historical turning point for England because it was the rise of empire. By mentioning eighteenth-century architecture and monuments in novels with a twentieth-century setting, Woolf mingles the past and the present together as if there has been no change from one age to the next.

Most scholars agree that something was happening in the eighteenth century that led to the "rise" of the novel. When the novel was beginning, the novel was free and more open to experimentation. In *The Rise of the Novel*, Ian Watt argues that Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson, and Henry Fielding defined the parameters of the novel. Watt notes that formal realism was practiced by Homer, but Defoe and Richardson "applied it much more completely" (33). Watt points out the construction of the reading public and the literary marketplace as other contributing factors. Watt wrote his book in the twentieth century, and the true parameters of what was and was not a novel, was determined by twentieth-century scholars. Writers such as Swift, Aphra Behn, Defoe,

Fielding, Frances Burney, and Eliza Haywood all contributed to the creation of the novel as a separate prose genre but rarely is Swift, Behn, Burney, or Haywood mentioned as contributors. Likewise, Sarah Fielding wrote *David Simple* and it was assumed that Henry Fielding wrote it. When it was discovered that he hadn't written it, it lost popularity and she did not receive any credit for contributing to the novel.

Michael McKeon, in *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740*, argues that authors strive to teach the public how to think by making them feel. He pits Richardson against Fielding and suggests that Richardson constructs morality while Fielding emphasizes naturalness (603). In the *Colonial Rise of the Novel*, Firdous Azim places the rise of the novel with colonialism and cites Behn as one of the most important contributors. Margaret Doody argues that the novel has always existed and that "A certain chauvinism leads English-speaking critics to treat the Novel as if it were somehow essentially English" (1). Additionally, chauvinism leads them to believe that the novel began in the eighteenth century. Doody's criticism leaves room for female contributors to the novel and to a much wider history of the novel beyond the eighteenth century. For Woolf, the eighteenth century was a turning point for the novel and the novelists' focus on interiority represented a modern change.

Richardson is attributed with establishing the epistolary form, as well as helping establish a focus upon interiority. Though he contributes to the genre later, Sterne combines the epistolary form with a traditional linear narrative in *Tristram Shandy*. He manipulates chapter division and experiments with the typesetting of the page by including a blank page, a black page, a squiggly line, and a marbled page. Sterne mimics

and parodies cultural perceptions of how the human being forms his own perceptions by *remembering* the scene of his own birth. By *remembering* his own birth, Sterne satirizes the perception that one's ancestry and lineage determines one's personality and success in life. In *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, the cultural perception of ancestry is critiqued. Cornelius, Martinus's father, has collected every superstition he has ever heard and utilizes them in order to make his son a genius. He has someone customize a shield of an ancient hero as a crib for his son to sleep in. In addition to critiquing perceptions of ancestry, Sterne mocks the traditional linear narrative by beginning with a birth but then including a digression that is so long that there are multiple volumes written before he is actually born. Sterne wonders what really makes a person who he is if details before his birth are included. By the constant jump back and forth in time, Sterne captures the essence of how the human mind works. Henry Fielding, on the other hand, uses an almanac of England when writing *Tom Jones* to space out the travel of his protagonist with the exact time it would actually take to travel from the countryside to London. In this way, Fielding uses the novel to reflect actual time and space and captures it in the space of a page. Fielding's linear trajectory of travel is rarely interrupted, but the narrator does include random digressions on culture, literature, and history. This disruption of time is now a trademark of modernism.

Woolf herself is credited with establishing modernism as a form with her essays, "Modern Fiction" and "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown." Woolf famously states that "human character changed on or about 1910," and this coincides with her ideas on modernism and the rebellion against Victorian values. While Woolf strove to make

something new, she relied upon the eighteenth century to help formulate the new, and she recognized a lack of progress or stasis. In “Modern Fiction,” Woolf mockingly points out that while progress has been constant, the novel has not been improved upon since it was created. Woolf writes, “It is difficult not to take it for granted that the modern practice of the art is somehow an improvement upon the old” (146). Despite the technology, novels are written in precisely the same manner as they were in the eighteenth century. Contemporary writers have not made any improvements on the styles of their predecessors. She also suggests that Fielding had to work with “simple tools and primitive materials,” yet, he writes better than the contemporaries (146). The technological progress of the twentieth century, then, has actually stifled genius. Woolf writes that fiction is like “a spider’s web” and each strand is interrelated to, and interdependent on, the next one and that all fiction relies upon a tradition (*AROO* 2455). Woolf’s modernism is dependent upon her perception of Sterne as modern.

Woolf suggests that a tenet of modern fiction is to prize “spiritualism” over “materialism.” Woolf acclaims Joyce as a “spiritual” writer who does away with the purposeless material details which Edwardian or Georgian writers focus on, such as Mr. Wells, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Galsworthy (*CR* 148). These writers “take too much delight in the solidity of [their] fabric” and that they “[catch] life just an inch or two on the wrong side” (*CR* 148-9). Unlike the Georgian writers, Woolf takes delight in the *spiritual* nature of her fabric, thereby displacing the importance of ornament or material. Woolf also writes that “we do not come to write better ... [and that we move] with a circular tendency” (*CR* 146). While this “circular tendency” can be associated with Yeats’ gyre

and Joyce's reliance upon Vico and his cycles, Woolf's mention of a "circular tendency" is different and she sees more affinities between the twentieth century and the eighteenth century than any other age. Woolf's sense of circularity brings her back to Sterne and her sense of how much his writing is similar to what she wants to write. In her review of Sterne, Woolf emphasizes Sterne's modernism and says that he is a man from the twentieth century (CR 81). Wayne Booth asserts that because *Tristram Shandy* is the "fountainhead of all modern literature," it is also the "'Final Cause' of all Western literature" (25). While Booth is playfully pointing out a perception of Sterne's work, the comment does attest to the importance of Sterne on the modern literary imagination. If one is to take Booth seriously, then the literature produced by Woolf and Joyce was actually caused by Sterne. With Woolf helping create the tenets of modernism, it is clear that she uses Sterne as a model for her creation. In her essay, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown," Woolf calls out to modern writers to do away with the old tools and to acquire new ones, but she also suggests that the "old" tools are the ones from the nineteenth century and not the eighteenth.

Woolf greatly respects the eighteenth century and she sees her literary market place as very similar to the one constructed in the eighteenth century. She credits Behn as the first female professional writer making a living with her pen. Anne Fernald also points out the many similarities between the literary marketplace both Woolf and Behn had to negotiate. Fernald suggests that Woolf named the Hogarth Press after William Hogarth, the famous satirical painter of the eighteenth century. By naming her press Hogarth, Woolf uses the eighteenth century as a point of reference and she also clearly

privileges the works of satire and exposure rather than popular works. Fernald also argues that Woolf revises her father's perception of the eighteenth century by including women writers, especially Behn (90). In Stephen's works on the eighteenth century, he equated the word *man* with citizen. Woolf therefore, felt left out as a woman. In *Three Guineas*, Woolf declares that "as a woman I have no country," because she is not recognized by her own government as a citizen (90). In *Orlando*, Woolf creates the rise of the literary marketplace and exposes how what Stephen characterized as a "land of free speech" was "not especially suited to ladies" (Fernald 90). Even though she was the daughter of an educated man, her educated father did not believe that a woman belonged in a university or in a profession.

The respect that her father held for the eighteenth century excluded women. Laura Brown argues, "Until very recently, literary criticism of the [eighteenth century] has stressed stability and humanism, the cultural authority of a man of letters, the establishment of the canon, the codification of language, and the institutionalization of literary criticism itself" (6). The literature of the eighteenth century is about great men. Leslie Stephen's job was to detail the lives of great men for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Once he chose the men to be included, the men would be remembered as great. Woolf recognizes some of these writers as great, such as Fielding, but Woolf despises that men become great simply by inclusion. Women have no chance at greatness because they are not included. In *Tom Jones*, Fielding chronicles the lives of great men just as Leslie Stephen would do with his research. Fielding, however, subverts the status quo by chronicling the life of a "foundling" and not a "great" man. In *Jacob's Room* and

throughout Woolf's canon, she questions the construction of great men. Jacob writes an essay, "Does History Consist of the Lives of Great Men?" This question dominates Woolf's mind but she realizes that history only consists of the lives of great men because men write history. Though Jacob will not appreciate his own construction of greatness, Woolf knows that Jacob's essay will be one of many confirming and reaffirming the connection between greatness and masculinity.

Woolf sees that despite the presence of female writers in the eighteenth century, it was not recommended for these women to develop and nourish their talents. The humanism of the eighteenth century, like everything else, was reserved for men only. Woolf's praising of Behn illustrates Woolf's desire to re-write that bit of history. Because of Behn, Woolf notes, "we leave behind ... those solitary great ladies who wrote without audience or criticism, for their own delight alone" (*AROO* 2467). After Behn the "empty shelves" in the library where the works of women should be, can begin to fill (*AROO* 2461). After Woolf's writing, those shelves have filled and the some of the women mentioned in *A Room* have been canonized. Woolf even points out that Behn had to tolerate being perceived as a "public" woman because she was a commodity of the literary marketplace. Public women were prostitutes and Behn's act of writing put her in a dangerous position where she was associated with selling her body as well as her writing. Marshik finds that Woolf associates selling her books with selling her body. According to Brown, Behn's *Oroonoko* illustrates that "the female figure provides the novella with an access to history, so that the slave can be seen, finally, as an historical presence in his own right and his own body" (13). Brown argues that women and the

native Other, were equal threats to the English social order, which is why Behn had to face such hardship as a “public” woman.

Despite the lack of nourishment these women were given, Woolf recognizes the eighteenth century as a period where many female writers entered the scene. In “Women Novelists,” Woolf wonders: “What, for example was the origin of the extraordinary outburst in the eighteenth century of novel writing by women?” (314). For Woolf, the eighteenth century is also “distinct” because of so many women writers: Behn, Frances Burney, Charlotte Lennox, Sarah Scott, Lady Elizabeth Montagu, Sarah Fielding, Eliza Haywood, Wollstonecraft, Charlotte Dacre, among others. Woolf refers directly to Behn, she calls Frances Burney the “Mother of Fiction” (*Essays 2*: 314), and she writes about Wollstonecraft’s great experiment of trying to live without a husband (*CR* 158). Woolf also praised Jane Austen, who is at the tail end of the eighteenth century. Austen had to hide her manuscripts and Woolf celebrates Austen’s ability to create anything in such an atmosphere. The female writers were excluded from the literary marketplace, such as the Salons, and yet they were still able to publish and flourish. Felicity Nussbaum elucidates the female Salon, the Bluestockings, and points out how groundbreaking it was for this woman’s group to create an intellectual female space (85). Behn and Austen are both insiders and outsiders; they are insiders because of their ability to maneuver within the marketplace but outsiders because of their status as women. Woolf perceives herself in the same way. She is an insider because of her father, but she is an outsider because she is not recognized as a citizen. Reinforcing her outsider status is Forster, who actually asked

Woolf if she believed women should be allowed in the British Library; when Woolf recorded the incident, she remarked that she “flew into a passion” (*Diary 4*: 297).

While Sterne is not celebrated as a war writer, Woolf recognizes him as one. In Chapter One, Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey* is fully examined in relation to how the sentimental man of feeling expresses sentiment for broken down soldiers and their widows. The book is about national identity and a testament to how the world is affected by war. In the eighteenth century, a conscription or enlistment army was formed. This army was different from earlier armies that relied upon men from the village or small community. Enlistment was less communal and it was also publicly acknowledged that the men who chose to enlist were not the best pool of men. Men enlisted out of financial necessity. In Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews*, there are two characters, Leonard and Paul; the former joins the army and becomes rich. Paul, on the other hand, does not and he remains poor. Leonard’s story suggests the fantasy of upward mobility if a man enlisted and it also suggests the public’s preoccupation with enlistment. War was considered a sport similar to foxhunting, and the eighteenth century saw a rise in gambling as a gentlemanly pursuit, linking soldiers and gambling. In *Joseph Andrews*, Joseph Andrews is taken to court but rather than being punished, the judge and lawyers are so focused on horse racing that they cannot focus on the trial. Gambling, foxhunting, and the military become conflated as one institution.

The critique of war in *A Sentimental Journey* cannot be ignored. The text is filled with soldiers who cannot move on with their lives after the war. Yorick’s heightened sensations are primarily for these broken down soldiers or the widows other soldiers left

behind. One widow is only 26 years old, which reveals a state of chaos in France. The average age of a widow during the time period was 47, but the widows that Yorick meets are much younger. Their presence reveals the inadequacy of social institutions constructed to protect these women. In addition to the soldiers are ambassadors or other men forced to travel in order to make a living. Yorick characterizes types of travelers and one is a traveler of necessity or a man sanctioned by the government as an ambassador to another country in order to make a living (12). These men were born into a gentleman class but were unable to maintain the position financially and so they were often sent to other countries. This tradition remained constant through the twentieth century as Woolf's husband, Leonard Woolf, and George Orwell, had to perform the same duty. In addition to these ambassadors are the men who were forced to enlist without a commission, such as Sterne's father. Yorick even speculates that Father Lorenzo is a monk because he tried to avoid the draft (21). Sterne would see the wisdom in avoiding the draft because his father abandoned his family to serve in the military only to die a senseless death for the pursuit of glory. Yorick's servant, La Fleur, is also a former military man whose life has no meaning now that the war is over. Sterne critiques the institution of war for making these military men, who were once glorified, so useless once the war is over. Woolf explores the same issue of whether a soldier can return to civilian life with Septimus Smith in *Mrs. Dalloway*.

While the eighteenth century is an important literary period, it is also an important political and historical period. In this way, the eighteenth century provides a real space for twentieth-century fiction in light of its own history and political conflict. It is rife with

political conflicts and turning points: 1660 is the fall of the monarchy and the rise of Parliament; monarchs are overthrown and restored within a few years; religious persecution is affecting Catholics, Protestants, and Covenanters. The English fancied themselves as true Christians and Catholics, and the French were considered despots. The English did not gain power until after the Seven Years' War so the century sees a constant back and forth between which religion, or country, is dominating. At one moment in time, the Catholics are in power and at another, the Protestants are in power.

With such religious persecution comes a greater separation of church and state as well. Once William of Orange takes over, he lets Parliament do whatever it wants and grants Parliament greater freedom. Also with his takeover, Parliament had William and Mary sign the Declaration of Rights which grants greater power to the government and lessens the power of the monarchy. This Declaration then became the Bill of Rights and it is the beginning of the modern monarchy now seen in England (Ashley 146). With the overthrow of James II comes the Jacobite Rebellions (1715 and 1745). The Act of Union connecting England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales takes place in 1707, and gives the area a firm national identity as *Great Britain*. This national identity is also connected with various studies of the novel as some have argued that the creation of the national identity led to the creation of the novel as a genre, such as Azim. Throughout the seventeenth century is a Hundred Years' War between France and England and the eighteenth century was later dubbed the Second Hundred Years' War. Various countries are forming alliances with each other and trying to gain greater control of the world but with the establishment of the East India Trading Company, Great Britain is at its greatest financial

and imperial power controlling seventy-five percent of the world's population. Because of its reach across the world, England was glorified as a state akin to Rome at the height of its power. This elevation of British power can be seen throughout the various architecture and monuments riddled throughout the city.

The prominence of war during the period is reflected in the literature. In *Tom Jones*, Fielding characterizes the battle of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* includes the soldier Uncle Toby and the Siege of Namur. In *Clarissa*, John Cardwell argues that the rake, or sexual perpetrator of Clarissa, is a military strategist. Cardwell notes that Richardson makes a connection between the language of rape and the language of war and this is what Jane Marcus attributes to Woolf as well. Likewise, in *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding reverses the role of predator and prey with Joseph Andrews having to change his entire life to escape the predatory advances of a widow, Lady Booby. In Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, the Treaty of Utrecht is satirized and Swift mocks the English as pirates who "rob and plunder" (275). The women in these books find themselves alone because the period is "torn asunder" by war and many young women are left without any protection at all. In Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, Fanny Hill and her friend easily pose as widows because of the many men lost at war. Charles is a poor young man whose father has provided him with no other education than "purchasing him an ensign's commission" (47). *Moll Flanders* poses as a soldier's widow in order to steal. Such posing reveals just how many young men died. The living soldiers would also create special funds if one of them had died and left behind his family.

Woolf is considered a sensitive writer and her sensitivity is transferred to her characters. She admires sentimental literature but she also recognizes Sterne's critique of war coupled with the sentimentality. Yorick expresses sentiment for soldiers, exposing the distressed and debased condition soldiers faced after war. Critics have exposed how sentimentality was used to assert superiority over others. As a man of feeling, Yorick is able to express sentiment for those less fortunate than him. Unfortunately, those less fortunate than him are soldiers and these subjects are not typically considered those in dire need of someone else's charity. Woolf adopts the qualities of the sentimental man of feeling to her soldiers. Chapter Two connects *Jacob's Room* with *A Sentimental Journey* both through the critique of war and the use of sentimentality. The ideals of institutions such as Cambridge perpetuate a sensibility that glorifies war despite its reality. Sterne's sentiment for lost soldiers is comparable to Woolf's sentiment for the lost Jacob. According to Wallace, "Woolf's characters concentrate on their sensations and impressions rather than on their problems of contact" (28). The concentration on sensations is linked to Locke's association of ideas. Wallace also argues, "As a sensibility, Jacob remains the same throughout" (31). Jacob's sensibility, however, does not remain the same. Because he is impressionable, he adapts the ideals of the institution and becomes a statue or a myth of a soldier.

In Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, he notes how a person is destined to his life from birth. Sterne then details the conception of Tristram's birth and how that affects his life. Jacob, too, is destined to his life as a soldier. The eighteenth century glorified the myths of Roman and Greek culture and perpetuated the myths of

soldiers. Jacob inherits this tradition even two centuries later. He is creative and full of life as a young man, but this sensibility is eradicated by his introduction into Cambridge and its military values. Once the values of the military are transposed onto him, he is destroyed and lacks a unique and distinct sensibility. Woolf then suggests that sensibility is a mark of the upper class and that persons joining the military cannot afford a sensibility. Sterne also characterizes the man of feeling as a victim and Woolf begins to characterize Jacob as a victim, but determines that he chooses to join the military. In Sterne's age, an excess of emotions, or sensibility, was linked to melancholia and considered an aristocratic English disease. Sterne does not use the excess of emotion as a disease, but as a way to connect with the people around him. Woolf, on the other hand, exposes how sentimentality is a liability for a soldier. Woolf notes, "Yet there are moments ... where the hobby-horse is ridden to death, and Mr. Shandy's invariable eccentricity tries our patience" (*CR* 284). As Sterne rides his hobby horse to death, Jacob also rides his hobby horse to death.

For Woolf, identity is always being constructed by the self and others and the identity of a soldier is a construct. The soldier may have a separate identity such as a father, an educated man, or a clerk, but the construction of the soldier's identity is that he is a soldier first. Because of this construct, Woolf reveals that the soldier is unidentifiable because he sacrifices his individual identity for a collective one. He replaces his human qualities with ideals of God and country. He begins with intelligence, but he also has privilege. Once he enters Cambridge, he takes his place in a long line of men who have thought and behaved exactly like him and he becomes a statue, likened to Achilles.

Phillips finds that “Popular culture in England was actively invoking the *Iliad* to glorify militarism” (ix). Phillips also argues that Woolf “investigates how elementary schools, universities, [and] the Christian church ... function to train warriors,” citing Jacob and Percival as examples (x). According to de Gay, “Woolf suggests that Jacob’s reading of English philhellenes may also have prepared him for death in war” (71). Jacob learns masculinity at Cambridge and it allows him to sacrifice himself.

In Chapter Three, I examine Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* in light of four sentimental characters: Clarissa Dalloway, Hugh Whitbread, Peter Walsh, and Septimus Warren Smith. Clarissa, Peter, and Septimus weep. Clarissa, Hugh, and Peter exhibit signs of sentimentality which exposes insincerity and class privilege. Hugh is truly insincere and he uses a “programmed sentimentality” that displays his privilege and his nostalgia for a great England (Searles 113). He displays sentiment for others so they will think better of him. While Clarissa and Peter participate in this kind of sentimentality, they also display true sentimentality and show a heightened sensitivity to the environment around them. As a woman, Clarissa’s sentimentality is acceptable behavior. For Peter, his sentimentality is a liability and he is considered a failure. The narrator notes, “This susceptibility to impressions had been his undoing no doubt” (71). His class status is above Septimus’s because he is an Ambassador but it is below Richard. His sentimentality reinforces his tenuous class position as well. Richard has no sentimentality and his class position is never threatened.

Septimus reinforces the eighteenth-century association between class privilege and sentimentality. Septimus is a creative man who enjoys Shakespeare and love, until he

joins the military. Claudia Johnson argues that sentimental writers used sentiment as a way to expose anxiety over class mobility and readers have read Sterne and Woolf in this way. Neither writer exposes the dangers of class mobility but the dangers of sentimentality associated with masculinity and class. Septimus is working class and forced to join the military due to finances. This decision leads to an inevitable eradication of sensibility and ability to feel. Septimus is named after Septimus Severus, a famous Emperor of the Roman Empire, attesting to expectations of masculinity and bravery. Septimus is ravaged by guilt and cannot deal with reality. He is haunted by Evans' death and he internalizes it as his fault. He marries as an attempt to reintegrate into society and to feel, but his marriage only exposes his inability. He is like the many subjects Yorick encounters. His choice to marry a foreign woman, Rezia, suggests his need to hold onto the past because she is a part of the space where Evans died. It is suggested that it is his sentimentality that makes him unable to reintegrate into society. Septimus is human and fallible and his inability to give up or replace his identity is what kills him. Before he joins the war, Mr. Brewer thinks the military is exactly what he needs in order to learn masculinity. After war, he cannot feel and he jumps out the window to escape the world.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I examine Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*. Unlike *Jacob's Room* and *Mrs. Dalloway*, the sentimentality seen in *The Waves* is the "programmed sentimentality" that Woolf critiqued. The central character, Percival, is not central at all. He is voiceless, nameless, nonexistent, non-human, and interchangeable. He is an epitome of the ideals of the institution of empire, rather than a foolish young man making a mistake. He is a composite of various soldiers throughout time from Ajax to Napoleon.

In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf notes that history repeats itself and with Percival, sensibility is eradicated in order for history to repeat itself. Susan notes, "change is no longer possible" (213). He is considered the "absent center" of the novel where the six characters revolve around his presence whether he is alive or dead. He is a soldier first and foremost. Because he has no voice, Woolf reveals that he does not really exist.

Percival is an embodiment of what institutions such as "Oxbridge" create and perpetuate. The six "characters" are "creators" who construct Percival as a grand soldier and a great man, but they acknowledge that the fact of his death nullifies their construction of him (146). In this book, Bernard is the man of feeling and the soldier, Percival, is shown to display no feeling at all, like Septimus. In contrast to her work in *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf retreats back to the ideas of *Jacob's Room* and constructs a character without any feeling and no ambivalence toward having no feeling. Percival is destined to die but he is also destined to be a composite representation of the ideals of Empire. Woolf displays programmed sentimentality throughout *The Waves* and constructs each character as creating false ideals. Throughout her canon, Woolf complicates the gender coding of sentimentality and suggests that sentimentality is a personality trait and not a gender trait.

Chapter One: Laurence Sterne's Sentiment for the Soldier in *A Sentimental Journey*: The Loss of a Country

Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* is a key text of sensibility literature. Barbara Benedict writes that "Sterne is typically considered the foremost sentimental novelist" (69). Published in 1768, Laurence Sterne's text is at the end of what Janet Todd calls the "cult of sensibility," the period between 1740 and 1770 (4). Northrop Frye calls it the "Age of Sensibility" and dates it from 1750-1800 (144). For Todd, the Age of Sensibility begins with Samuel Richardson's *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, published in 1740. *Pamela* is widely recognized as a sentimental and psychological novel. Todd even credits Richardson for making sentimental literature "serious" (66). Richardson's novel focused on what is in the mind rather than epic adventures of heroes and this is also what Sterne focuses on. According to Ian Jack, "What Sterne is concerned with is not what happens in the external world of actions and things, but what happens in the minds of his characters" (311). Focusing on what goes on in the mind became central to sentimental fiction. While aspects of sentimentality may permeate all literature, sentimentality itself became central to this type of fiction.

Todd also notes that "The arousal of pathos ... is the mark of sentimental literature" foregrounding Sterne within the tradition (2). Sterne's central character of *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick, constantly arouses pathos with the "ebbs and flows" of his blood and pulse (7). What he thinks and feels is more important than his actual journey, making him an iconic figure of the cult of sensibility. His heart bleeds and he "burst[s] into tears" when he sees another person experiencing misfortune (71). When he

encounters Maria, Yorick calls her the “martyr” of sensibility, emphasizing his ability to feel greatly for others (111). Sentimentality was instructional and useful to religion and Sterne is able to exploit the genre as a Minister. Todd finds that there are basically two types of sentimental fiction: the “titillating” tale and the “didactic” tale, but Sterne combines both (65). Yorick declares, “Great Sensorium of the World,” addressing God directly and asking for an ability to lead him on a path of feeling for others (111). Sterne uses Maria as an exemplum of pathos as she has been abandoned by both her husband (due to his death) and her goat. Despite the pathos surrounding her tale, Sterne sees every woman in relation to what she can do for him and his blushing makes it a titillating tale. The call to the Great Sensorium is central to the argument regarding Sterne’s sincerity. Sterne’s purpose is instructional and he hopes to help others realize the importance of treating people with respect. However, Todd shows that sentimentality came to be seen as a “debased and effected feeling” (8). Depending on the time, one audience may cry in response to the story while another audience may laugh. Virginia Woolf writes that Sterne was too concerned that the reader be aware of how much he felt and this perception was widely held and it contributed to the further debasement of sentimental literature.

According to John Dussinger, Yorick’s declaration, “Great Sensorium,” is the key to the entire text. Dussinger argues that Yorick’s declaration is an “exalted expression of feeling” that is individual and cosmic simultaneously (4). Dussinger points out that Sterne “celebrat[es] the human spirit” and characterizes Yorick as “inherently sympathetic with the Other” (6, 4). Sterne did not believe that the mind was superior to

the body but that the two worked in tandem and Yorick's address is meant to illustrate how Yorick tries to invoke sympathy for himself and to teach others how to do the same. Robert Markley agrees with Dussinger, but Markley sees Sterne's exalted expression of feeling as a means of asserting moral benevolence over his public. Both Markley and Dussinger are correct. By wearing his benevolence on the outside, Yorick is able to display his superiority. Todd asserts that the perfect subjects for sensibility are "defenceless women" and the first woman he encounters is an example of this because she is a widow (*sic* 3). Most of the women he encounters are either widows or servants and therefore, in need of his protection.

Paul Goring argues that "there grew up around sentimental novels a culture in which bodily responses were widely lauded as signs of moral status" (142). Goring posits that there is a *Rhetoric of Sensibility* where eighteenth-century aristocrats could adopt a language of feeling to display their good upbringing. The *Rhetoric* establishes a set of bodily responses to perform good sensibility. Yorick abides by the set of bodily responses with the ebbs and flows of his blood and pulse. Goring notes that sentimentality is a "performance" of feeling, while Mullan argues that sentimentality is "a physical language of feeling" and not a "performance" (Goring 14; Mullan 14). Sterne uses sentimentality as both a performance and a physical response. His blushing is often a physical response and he characterizes it as something he cannot control. On the other hand, it is also a performance to incite sympathy. Because Sterne deliberately calls attention to the performance, readers question his sincerity. Yorick notes, "The French expression

professes more than it performs” (43). Sterne mocks the French for flattery here, but he recognizes that pathos is a performance and he lauds the French for doing it well.

Sterne’s humor also makes it difficult for the reader to accept his sincerity. In *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne says that Yorick “declared open war against” seriousness (25). In *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick recalls Bevoriskius who writes about “the generations from Adam,” but then interrupts his own train of thought by commenting on sparrows outside his window (85). Yorick declares, “Ill fated Yorick! that the gravest of thy brethren should be able to write that to the world” (*sic* 85). Yorick suggests that the serious writer Bevoriskius cannot remain serious or on task and if he cannot, what chance does Yorick have? James Kim notes that sentimental literature employed satire and sentimentality together, and that separating the two invalidates much of the period’s literature. Norman Holland laments the fact that Sterne is only seen as a sentimentalist and suggests that Sterne’s comedy serves to mock life and to make insignificant things more significant, and vice versa (422). Harold Bloom argues that Sterne, like Jonathan Swift, “is a great ironist and parodist” and that his ideas are difficult to sum up as a result (34).

Bloom suggests that “Swift is ferocious, yet Sterne is uncanny” (34). Sterne’s uncanniness is his ability to include rampant sexuality with the pathos and remain sincere. Sensationalist writing is seductive and Sterne seduces the reader as Yorick seduces his chance encounters with various women. Bloom has difficulty summing up Sterne because of his ability to be sincere and insincere simultaneously. Sterne satirizes the notion of sentimentality as giving charity to others as a means to express one’s own

superiority. Sterne is sentimental for the sake of being sentimental and when he uses it this way, he is being didactic. Sterne rebels against notions of masculinity, however, and uses sentimentality to assert his benevolence. His posing as an emasculated man may be anxiety over his class status and not an appropriation of female space. Though he attended Cambridge, he is an outsider because he attended on scholarship and only through extended family connections. His father may have been a “gentleman,” but he was “penniless” and “his rank was the lowest in the army” (Cash 1).

With all the attention being paid to the sincerity of the text, critics pay little attention to Sterne’s critique of war. The book is disproportionately filled with references to soldiers and the widows they left behind. Sentimental literature focuses upon distressed subjects and while widows may fit this type, stereotypically, soldiers do not. Sterne, however, knows that soldiers fit despite preconceived notions of them. Rather than create war heroes, Sterne characterizes the soldier as a subject needing sentiment. Sterne exposes a system responsible for creating the distressed out of able-bodied young men. Later critiques of sentimentality suggested that men of feeling lacked masculine responsibility. As subjects needing sentimentality, the soldier can also be characterized as lacking masculine responsibility. A soldier is the epitome of masculine responsibility, but it is a paradox because he is expected to be brave and heroic yet obedient. Once the soldier has fulfilled his duty, the system abandons him. Likewise, in a system that sees marriage as a woman’s only means of protection, the system of war leaves these women defenseless. The average age of a widow in the eighteenth century was 47, but in war time these widows were much younger. Ann Jessie Van Sant points out that

sentimentality illustrates benevolence toward the poor people of a society. Soldiers and their widows are not assumed to be poor, but Sterne illustrates their precarious position. Sterne is less invested in showing his superiority over these people than in exposing that these people need the sympathy of others. Yorick notes, “I have a predilection for the whole corps of veterans,” making them the martyrs of sentimentality (54). Sterne then associates widows and servant girls with soldiers.

While Sterne may not be read as anti-war, many eighteenth-century writers are. Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones* critiques the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, where the Scottish tried to replace the British King by restoring the Stuarts to the throne (Watt 25). There were two major rebellions, one in 1715 and another in 1745. With the Act of Union in 1707, Great Britain had one monarch to control England, Ireland, and Scotland. England was Protestant and Scotland and Ireland were primarily Catholic. The British monarch was a foreigner and the Jacobites hoped to restore a Catholic monarch. In 1745, Britain was anxious as the Jacobites got within 100 miles of London. The split in religion made each territory feel more isolated and it weakened the power of Britain’s empire. Further weakening Britain’s empire was the perception that Britain could not control animosity within its own territory.

The Jacobites were a real threat and there was plenty of anxiety. The Duke of Marlborough, a “soldiers’ hero” “who neither lost a battle nor failed to take a city he besieged,” undermined the success of the Sun King, or Louis XIV, but he was still replaced by a Jacobite, the Duke of Ormonde (1748) (Cash 2; Blanning 194). This replacement just made things worse and the Duke of Ormonde was perceived as spending

more time trying to undermine the power of the English army by eliminating Whigs than he did fighting the French. As a Minister in York, Sterne would know that 2,000 York soldiers had joined the rebellion. The townspeople also worried that the soldiers had to go through York in order to get to England (Cash 151-4). According to Arthur Cash, Sterne would have been intimately involved with fighting off the rebellion. Cash says, “Sterne may have known more about military matters than anyone else in Sutton” (Cash 157). According to Elizabeth Montague’s husband, Edward, the meeting in York may have been “the greatest Meeting of people of all Ranks and degrees that I believe was ever known upon any occasion” (Cash *sic* 156). Sterne failed as a farmer and Cash asserts that the Jacobite Rebellion was the cause of his failure (149).

In addition to Fielding is Jonathan Swift who satirizes the many conflicts and wars occurring throughout the period including the Treaty of Utrecht (1711) in *Gulliver’s Travels*. Sterne was so well read in Swift that he is accused of copying Swift’s sermons (Ross 182). Cash also points out that Sterne “would have been aware that he was conceived at Dunkirk and was there in utero during the signing of the ignominious Treaty of Utrecht” (2). Though dubbed the Second Hundred Years’ War after Sterne died, the moniker attests to the prevalence of conflict during this period (Blanning 2). The Treaty of Utrecht ended Queen Anne’s War, which Roger Sterne, Laurence’s father, fought in. Each country was fighting for territory and France was gaining ground. If France united with Spain and Portugal, Britain feared the “Catholic” World. Britain was victorious and the French lost territory as well as halted all plans to further expand its territory. Yorick also notes that there should be “good faith on both sides, as in any treaty” while referring

to the women in his bedchamber (116). Yorick hopes to convince the women that there is good faith on both sides but he will likely take advantage of that faith as soon as he can.

The language used to describe the scene in his bedchamber reveals that the relations between men and women are characterized as battle. M. John Cardwell argues that in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*, Lovelace employs military strategy when he attempts to "acquire" Clarissa in "The Rake as Military Strategist: *Clarissa* and Eighteenth-Century Warfare" (153). Also according to Cardwell, Sterne, Daniel Defoe, Tobias Smollett, and John Cleland all employ war imagery in their works (161). Sterne's references to prison, slavery, and shields, all suggest a focus upon war. When the woman enters his hotel room, Yorick says he is preparing for "combat" and "battle" (89). On one hand, Sterne suggests that women are the enemy and if so, they are likely participating in battle. On the other hand, Sterne constantly characterizes these women as innocent and in need of protection. If Yorick has waged war against them, they certainly do need protection. Sterne instead suggests that these women are complicit in the role in the economy with an emphasis on buying and selling. Regarding Madame de Q****, Yorick notes, "I could not conceive how such a citadel as hers could be defended" (107). Sterne emphasizes relations as a battle. She is characterized as a castle guarding her sexuality. Sterne jokes about penetrating the castle, but in economic terms, Madame de Q**** is too old to be worth anything, according to men. Yorick says that there is an "empire of the French woman," emphasizing the rise and fall of woman based on her sexual availability and desirability (105). These images reinforce the constant presence of war.

Interestingly, Woolf is accused of not even getting Sterne, because she is a woman and because she chooses not to comment on all the sexual jokes in her introduction to *A Sentimental Journey*. To illustrate Sterne's "pure poetry," Woolf examines the Paris scene including a description of "running at the ring of pleasure" (CR 82; ASJ 47). In his introduction, Goring writes that "Woolf ... seems not to have picked up on other of its possible effects" referring to the same scene (xxix). Goring further notes, "Such associations are clearly not what Woolf expected or wanted to find in good literature" (xxix). Goring stereotypes Woolf as a frigid and proper Englishwoman who would be shocked at a sexual joke. He does not see her as the woman who participated in Bloomsbury meetings where Lytton Strachey commented on the "deformity of Swift's penis" (*Diary I*: 110). Woolf notes, "Lytton at different points exclaimed *Penis*: his contribution to the openness of the debate" (*Diary I*: 110-111). Woolf credits Strachey with breaking a taboo and allowing people of both sexes to converse openly. Sterne laments the fact that the sexes cannot be honest with each other when he encounters the glove shop owner. Woolf admired Sterne the more because her father was shocked at finding such jokes in "good" literature. Woolf writes, "Even his indecency impresses one as an odd kind of honesty" (CR 284).

Many critics examine the relationship between Yorick and La Fleur, but few focus upon La Fleur's role as a former soldier. In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argues that the relationship between Yorick and La Fleur is the most important in the novel and that Yorick treats La Fleur like a child because of his simplicity (69). If La Fleur is infantile, he is *because of his*

training as a soldier (69). While Sedgwick points out that Yorick treats La Fleur like a child, Yorick deliberately calls attention to the fact that he treats La Fleur like a slave. The dynamic of Yorick and La Fleur as master-slave has not gone unnoticed. Markman Ellis points out that Sterne is located within a debate of whether or not the Romantic Sentimentalists were against slavery and Todd confers that sentimental literature became a forum to argue for the abolition of slavery (50).

When Yorick first acquires La Fleur, Yorick boasts proudly of his “empire” (32). Yorick refers to La Fleur as a “person [he is] to govern” (31) and a “slave” (96). Yorick treats La Fleur in a way to reflect ownership and their relationship is a microcosm of England’s desired relationship with France. Yorick, an Englishman, now owns La Fleur, a Frenchman. Yorick achieves what England could not. Yorick relates, “I was satisfied to my heart’s content with my empire; and if monarchs knew what they would be at, they might be as satisfied as I was” (32). This last comment alludes to the behavior of monarchs and their insatiable desire for acquisitions. As Ellis points out, “Slavery was thus the normal relation of the citizen to the state” (52). Yorick treats La Fleur as a slave just as most people are treated as the slaves of the monarch. Srinivas Aravamudan notes that “petkeeping” became very popular but also that many aristocrats would pose with the colonial subject as his or her pet (33). When Yorick notes the acquisition of his empire, he also says that he has La Fleur and an English spaniel, emphasizing his ownership of both (32). As his slave, La Fleur is Yorick’s pet and this relationship mirrors most of the relationships throughout the novel.

The master-slave relationship exemplifies anxiety over class and Sterne exposes this class superiority rather than participates in it. Todd emphasizes that the relationship between Yorick and La Fleur reveals a “fantasy of service as familial and feudal” (13). This supports Sedgwick’s analysis as well with her emphasis on their homosocial bond. The bond between Yorick and La Fleur cannot be denied. Yorick does emphasize that La Fleur is his family but he also exposes the fantasy of familial service. The servant’s job is to serve and he is often compromised or forced to do anything to keep his job. The familial bond between them is Yorick’s fantasy. He notes how much he likes him before he knows anything about him, certainly calling into question his judgment. Yorick also notes that it was *like* La Fleur “served [him] with fidelity for seven years” (67). Yorick has barely known La Fleur a couple days and he says it has been like seven years. La Fleur has no loyalty to Yorick, but he imagines that he does. Yorick mistreats La Fleur just as he mistreats the vulnerable servant girls he encounters. Sterne exposes this fantasy of familial service by having La Fleur and Yorick foil each other more than anything else. Stephen Ahern notes that La Fleur is the “quintessence of gallantry and that he has a ‘noble nature’” (98-99). All of his gallantry and nobility is undermined by his servile position because his only purpose is to serve, emphasizing his obedience but not bravery.

Continuing to mock the dynamic of this relationship, Sterne emphasizes how the King has responsibility for his subjects and as a King, Yorick does not take responsibility. This exposes the King’s abuse of power. Yorick is recommended La Fleur because of his willingness to serve an Englishman and Sterne emphasizes “*serve*” (31). La Fleur’s willingness to serve an Englishman reveals England’s superiority in the

cultural war at the time. Yorick's landlord says, "There is a clever young fellow, who would be very proud of the honour to serve an Englishman ... [because] they are so generous" (30). The landlord, hoping to win favor with the English, flatters Yorick by calling him generous. Both the French landlord and La Fleur are conscientious and willing to serve Yorick, and this creates a contrast between them and Yorick. Yorick reveals his insensitivity and unwillingness to serve France. Yorick neglects to take responsibility for his subject just as La Fleur's King has cast him aside to make his living as a servant. The relationship also mirrors the relationship between the English King and its colonies. Just one example of the mistreatment of colonies is the South Sea Bubble which occurred in 1720. The King sold stock in a company, headquartered in the South Seas, to finance a war with France. The war continued and the stock ran out, but the King continued to sell it. The fraudulent sale of the stock crashed England's stock market. The public had to fix the problem and pay for the King's actions, calling attention to the need for a balance of power. Aravamudan argues that *Gulliver's Travels* is Swift's response to the South Sea Bubble (135).

La Fleur's simplicity allows the construction of their relationship as master and slave and makes him a better soldier. La Fleur is described as "simple and faithful," and only able to beat a drum (32). Yorick informs us that "La Fleur had set out early in life, as gallantly as most Frenchmen do, with *servin*g for a few years ... That the honour of beating a drum was likely to be its own reward, as it open'd no further track of glory to him" (31). Regarding his ability to beat a drum, Yorick relates, "his talents ... happen'd to be of no great service to me" (*sic* 32). Sterne's father was at one point in charge of

“corporals and drummers” because his army was downsized (Cash 14). Downsizing Sterne’s army and leaving him with only corporals and drummers suggests that the army is useless for fighting, but it also illustrates the uselessness of the soldiers themselves. Once the war is over, La Fleur’s skill offers him “no glory” and is useless (31). His gallantry and nobility gets him nowhere. He must rely upon the good nature of Yorick in order to survive. Sterne mocks La Fleur’s skill as ridiculous but he also notes that “one half of our gentry” are led by music (32). Uncle Toby, from *Tristram Shandy*, could “whistle” a tune (TS 147). Woolf notes the same in *Jacob’s Room*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, and *The Waves*.

When Yorick finds that he did not bring his passport, he is now in the dubious position of being at the whim of the French King. Yorick is now the slave and his control of La Fleur is undermined by his lack of control with the French King. The opening line of the book, “They order, said I, this matter better in France” sets the tone for the novel and emphasizes the cultural differences between England and France (5). Yorick then says that the cultural difference is arbitrary because the distance between these two nations is merely “one and twenty miles” (5). Sterne exposes the arbitrariness of boundary lines and emphasizes the closeness of these two territories, suggesting similarity. Yorick says, “Strange ... that one and twenty miles should give a man these rights” (5). Without his passport, Yorick is now subject to the mercy of the French King. Yorick also mentions a law that allows the French monarch to take whatever belongs to a person who has died on French soil, and he wonders what the French will do with his body.

Though Yorick notes, “it never enter’d [his] mind that [they] were at war with France,” Yorick protests too much (66). Yorick’s fear of the Bastille shows that Sterne is completely aware of his dubious position. Yorick emphasizes the power of France in the English mind and the English anxiety regarding French control. Sterne visits France in 1762, during the Seven Years’ War (1755-1763). Sterne wrote in his letters that he visited France “before the peace was concluded,” pointing out that Sterne absolutely knew about the tension between the two countries even if he has Yorick say he did not (*Memoir ix*). The influence of the Seven Years’ War on Sterne should not be taken lightly. Carol Watts defines the importance of the War on England in *The Cultural Work of Empire* (2007). Felicity Nussbaum points out that it was “the most successful military venture” for Britain and that “Pitt’s greatest victories began in 1759” (84). The Seven Years’ War was hardly the only conflict. The War of Austrian Succession ended in 1748 with both England and France fighting for overseas territory.

When Sterne visited France, King Louis XV (1715-1774) was the monarch. He was the great grandson of Louis XIV (1638-1715) and the only surviving member of the family. Under King Louis XIV (1638-1715), France is at the height of its colonial power leading in literature, visual arts, and opera. He is referred to as Louis the Great and the Sun King, emphasizing the Divine Right of the monarch. Molière and Racine are central figures. Louis XIV helps improve the Louvre. Yorick alludes to Molière when speaking with the French officer and he visits the French comic opera (59). To solidify the contribution Louis XIV made to France and the world, an equestrian statue was built of him in front of Château of Versailles, Louis XIV’s hunting lodge. The statue is of a

strong man in control of a wild bucking horse. He is also painted on his horse at the Siege of Namur, the very battle where Tobias Shandy, from *Tristram Shandy*, loses his manhood. Louis XV, also known as the Beloved or the Duke of Anjou, came to the throne when he was just two years old so many of the conflicts that Louis XIV stirred up were put on hold until he was old enough to handle them (Tombs 3). Though he was not as powerful as Louis XIV, he reigned for fifty-four years and for thirty-three of those years, the country was at war (Tombs 3). Under Louis XIV, France excelled culturally, but when Louis XV came to power, Britain surpassed France. The English detested the French King saying, “Neither do I pretend to make here a long Recapitulation of military Exploits, or represent Princes, possessed with a monstrous Ambition, and little satisfy’d of the Dominions allotted to them by the Divine providence” (*sic* De Coetlogon 4).

Sterne began writing in 1767, in the midst of cultural conflict that had been going on for at least sixty years. Sterne grants Yorick the ability to express his naïveté about the world by traveling to a country without knowing anything about the conflict. In order to not know, he would have to be dead, and ironically, Yorick was. As a character from Shakespeare, Yorick is dead in *Hamlet*. Additionally, when he is introduced in *Tristram Shandy*, he has already died (*TS* 23-24; Goring *xiv*). Since *A Sentimental Journey* was written after *Tristram Shandy*, the main character of *A Sentimental Journey* is dead throughout. He is also referred to as a skeleton with a head without flesh or blood. In *Tristram Shandy*, it is noted that “he never carried one single ounce of flesh upon his bones” (19). This is a negotiation that the reader has to account for because Yorick’s sentimentality pulses through his blood, but in *Tristram Shandy*, he was bloodless. In *A*

Sentimental Journey, he “looked a little pale and sickly,” also contradicting the pulse of his blood (80). When Count de B**** asks his name, Yorick opens *Hamlet* and points to the scene with Yorick, emphasizing his lack of existence (82). Yorick leaves without a passport to rebel against both England and France. Refusing to acknowledge the importance of the war, he does not recognize the arbitrary lines demarcating one country from another. Because Yorick is dead, he is able to transcend time and travel wherever he wants without a passport, breaking the law created by nations, but perhaps not God, according to Sterne.

As a visitor to a foreign country, the visitor is supposed to notice the splendor of grand sites and Yorick alludes to the great architecture of France, such as the Pont Neuf, the Louvre, and Palais Royal, but only peripherally. In the eighteenth century, France was the cultural center of the world and travel literature became a way for the masses to visit these many places while reading. Sterne chooses not to do so, and he focuses on people and the encounters with them. Pont Neuf was recently built and it was a means to portray the grandiosity of France and its culture. It was replete with a statue of King Henry IV on his horse aggrandizing military might. Rather than visit Pont Neuf, Yorick just happens to find a newspaper and then reads about it. He translates that Pont Neuf is one of “the noblest—the finest—the grandest” bridges in Paris (98). Yorick chooses not to visit the monument and then to mock the newspaper writer: “it seems, as if the author of the fragment has not been a Frenchman” (98). Yorick also mocks the construction of the bridge itself pointing out that the great wind the pedestrian has to endure while crossing the bridge.

While the Pont Neuf is treated lightly, Yorick dwells upon the Bastille. Since he is English, he is an “enemy” of France and a likely candidate for the prison (74). Yorick says, “before I have been three days in Paris, I shall take care to say or do something or other for which I shall get clapp’d up into the Bastile, and that I shall live there a couple of months entirely at the King of France’s expence” (*sic* 68). Yorick exposes that the average person needs protection *from* the monarch. He knows that a tower is a place “you can’t get out of” and he associates the word Bastille with “terror” well before Edmund Burke publishes his thoughts on the sublime (68). The original purpose of the Castle was to keep the English out, but it became a prison. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink argues that the Bastille prison is primary in the imaginations of everyone including the French, English, and any foreigner seeking to visit Paris. The mystique of the Bastille intensified after the French Revolution. This is after Sterne’s writing but prior to its infamous reputation during the French Revolution. The tyranny it became known for began in Sterne’s time. Louis XIV would imprison anyone who “provoked” him and Louis XV imprisoned writers (Lüsebrink 6). Writers were imprisoned for violating obscenity laws but also for being on the wrong side of who is in power at a particular time. People were imprisoned with no recourse and the prison became the symbol of tyranny. Despite a fledgling legal system, people were imprisoned based on the whim of a monarch and though people had a right to a trial, those rights were violated without question. Yorick makes light of his anxiety over the Bastille by joking that he would have plenty of free time to write if he was imprisoned.

Comparable to the Bastille was the Tower of London, another fascinating site of terror exposing the tyranny of monarchs. During the Middle Ages, heretics were burned alive outside the prison walls. In 1356 it held King John, the King of France (43). It was a prison since its construction, but Henry VIII made it famous. He has seven people beheaded in the tower; Lord Hastings and the Earl of Essex were both executed for “rebellion against a monarch” (Chamberlin 49). Sir Thomas More and Anne Boleyn were both executed there for their failure to appease the King. Anne Boleyn was one of his wives and he wanted a divorce. Sir Thomas More was unable to recognize King Henry VIII as the head of the Church and because he could not make this oath, he was also killed. Hundreds were imprisoned for believing in the wrong religion from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and it was the site of torture. Though there was no specific location for a Torture Chamber, there was a makeshift chamber held in the White Tower and the prisoner would be led down into a dungeon and shown the instruments that would be used to torture him (Abbott). To avoid having a torture chamber, the instrument of torture would be transported to each prisoner’s quarters. To be executed required the justice system finding the perpetrator guilty, but the monarch could hold any prisoner for as long as he or she wanted without any legal judgment being passed.

Though it became a museum in 1603, it was still used as a prison and torture chamber during Sterne’s time. Horace Walpole was locked up there and later released. Men involved in the Jacobite Rebellion were executed there (1745). By focusing upon these towers of torture, Yorick exposes that the terror associated with them is due to the monarchs that rule them. Yorick suggests that he will be imprisoned just for the sake of

being Yorick. Sterne also feared the Bastille because of his family's personal experiences with the Tower of London. Dr. Richard Sterne (his great grandfather) was imprisoned there by Oliver Cromwell. Oliver Cromwell was a descendant of Thomas Cromwell, executed in the Tower in 1540. Richard Sterne was the Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and the reason Sterne was able to attend Cambridge. In 1642, Richard Sterne was imprisoned for bringing gifts to the British King, Charles I, soon to be executed (Cash 4). Oliver Cromwell was creating a Parliament and trying to establish the power of the Parliament over the monarch. Charles I was executed in 1649 and Oliver Cromwell took over. By 1660, Charles II came to power and restored the English monarchy. With power constantly changing hands, no one is safe.

Dr. Richard Burton, a local physician, was imprisoned by Sterne's uncle, Jaques Sterne, because he drank a toast to the Pretender (Cash 172). Burton was imprisoned, in line to be executed, and his estate was to be forfeited. He was held there without trial and without being formally charged (Cash 177). Sterne characterizes him as Doctor Slop in *Tristram Shandy*. According to Cash, Sterne is unreasonably unfair to Dr. Burton and his characterization of prison may be atonement. Though Sterne did not actively participate in Burton's imprisonment, he was not against it. Sterne was, however, later disowned by the same uncle who imprisoned Burton. Yorick's fear of punishment alludes to the imprisonment of these men and calls to question the justness of the punishment when compared with the crime. This constant back and forth would make anyone worry that he was on the wrong side. Yorick also berates the French for possibly imprisoning an "invalid," referring to his poor health (80).

Richard Sterne's actions parallel the actions Yorick takes when drinking to the King's health. When Charles the Second was restored, Richard Sterne was given a bishopric for his heroism (Cash 4). According to one ruler, Richard Sterne is a traitor and according to another, he is a hero. Ahern says that Sterne's fear of the Bastille is unfounded because being locked up would have been "unlikely" based on his class (98). This may be true but the myths surrounding both the Bastille and the English Towers overpowered the imagination of Europe, not just Yorick. Yorick understands that the tower itself embodies the terror within. Yorick says, "Strip it of its towers ... and the evil half vanishes" (69). Sterne understands too that the title "enemy," is arbitrarily given to anyone based on the monarch. Like alliances between countries, who is considered an "enemy" is constantly changing. Voltaire was proclaimed an enemy of France and thrown in the Bastille when he refused to give up his seat at the opera (54). Voltaire then chose self exile in London where thinkers were allowed to roam free (Tombs 55). Voltaire's portrayal of the Englishman is *Candide*, the candid and honest man who is easily taken advantage of by others. Yorick drinks to the King's health and emphasizes the need for peace between France and England.

Thinking of the Bastille, Yorick works himself into a terror and then decides to go for a walk where he hears a starling cry for help. Through Locke's association of ideas, Sterne illustrates the terror of the Bastille and being imprisoned. As Todd notes, sentimental literature became a common space to argue against slavery. The bird cries, "I can't get out" (69). Yorick tries to free the bird, but the cage is fastened so tightly that he cannot. Seeing the bird in its cage affects Yorick and he invokes pathos in the reader.

While he writes about the ills of slavery and tries to rescue the bird, Yorick leaves the bird in its cage. Sterne invokes pathos in the reader but he does not act, and it is this lack of masculine responsibility that men of feeling are critiqued for. He is a man of no action and without power. Sterne exposes the inaction of man and the likelihood of him to talk about problems with the world but the unwillingness to do anything about it.

The caged bird exemplifies the state of slavery and colonization. In Lilliput of *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver wants to return home with a Lilliputian as a pet, caged up. Gulliver is a naïve narrator who cannot learn from his experiences. As a typical traveler to foreign lands, Gulliver is so enthralled by what he sees that he wants to return home with a piece of it without acknowledging that he desires to return home with a human being as a pet. Gulliver's excitement about bringing home the Lilliputian mirrors Yorick's excitement at building an "empire" when he acquires La Fleur. In his "Voyage to Brobdingnag" the tables are turned, and Gulliver becomes the pet; he is locked in a box and carried around (102). His box becomes his cage and he says that he hopes to regain his "Liberty" (128). Sterne exposes the capriciousness of monarchs and the dynamic of the relationship. At one point, Yorick is the King of La Fleur and at another he is the slave of the French King. Likewise, Gulliver is the master in Lilliput because of his size and in Brobdingnag, he is the slave. He refers to his keeper as "master," also as a result of his size (86). Gulliver only acknowledges the feelings of the trapped bird when he is caged like a bird, but Yorick sees a trapped bird and he immediately understands the bird's plight.

Sterne uses the Bastille to expose how the prisoners have violated an arbitrary rule like Yorick's failure to bring his passport. By not bringing his passport, Yorick illustrates a lack of respect for the country he visits telling Count de B***** that he came "laughing all the way from London to Paris" (80). With the Divine Right of the Monarch in question, Sterne perhaps critiques the right of the monarch even further and suggests that these boundaries should be created by God, not a capricious monarch, whether French or English. In addition to the Bastille, the French created the Guillotine as a response to fairness and equality. In England, common criminals would be hanged, but criminals of noble birth would be beheaded. The beheading was not quick or clean. In France, they decided that all criminals would be treated as criminals and they would be beheaded. The problem was that the knives used to behead would not be sharp enough to execute as many people as needed and thus the invention of the guillotine. In the imagination, the inhabitant of each country thinks the other country is secretly developing great instruments of torture.

Because of all the war and cultural conflict, Yorick is doomed before he even begins his journey. Drinking to the King's health is a harmless act and a way for Yorick to demonstrate that he "bore [the King] no spleen" (6). It is also a means for Yorick to assert his superiority as he grows an inch taller. As a guest, Yorick should adapt to the customs of that country in order to be polite, but in times of national conflict, Yorick knows he must be a true "patriot" (84). La Fleur makes it clear "That no body could oppose the King of France" (67). Sterne exposes that Yorick cannot win no matter what actions he takes and he reveals how temperamental, and tyrannous, these monarchs can

be. People were thrown in prison for speech and writing, and officers on both sides were accused of being traitors (Tombs 124). If he drinks to the King's health, he insults the English King and risks being thrown in the Tower of London. If he does not, he insults the French King and risks being thrown in the Bastille. Yorick drinks to the King's health and by doing so, he feels superior: "he rose up an inch taller" (6). His position is often reflected using height where La Fleur bows too low, reflecting his servile position (94).

In addition to the Bastille, Sterne illustrates the tension between England and France through Shakespeare. Both Shakespeare and Sterne demonstrate excess. Shakespeare illustrates the excess of feeling through Hamlet's madness and Sterne also displays excess with feeling. Despite the excess of feeling, Shakespeare's jester is honest and comedic, but no one believes him. In *Tristram Shandy*, where Yorick is first introduced, it is noted that Yorick "loved a jest in his heart" (19). Sterne mocks his sincerity by choosing to create his persona with Yorick. In *Hamlet*, the jester, Yorick, offers Hamlet a chance to meditate on the meaning of life and the mortality of man. Hamlet is faced with his own death through the death of his father, Ophelia, and then of course the jester, Yorick. Likewise, Sterne's Yorick is facing his own death because of Sterne's illness.

Shakespeare is a part of any English person's national identity and his superiority positions Britain in first place in the cultural war. Voltaire introduced Shakespeare to the French public in 1734 with *Lettres Philosophiques* and the French public responded favorably. Just a few years later, however, the French assumed that Shakespeare signified the coarseness of the English (Tombs 56). With print culture, Shakespeare became

especially prominent in eighteenth-century English bookstores. Woolf credits the eighteenth century with the creation of the construction of Shakespeare as more than the man and his availability in bookstores contributed to that construction. Meanwhile, English writers would read French authors: Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, and Aphra Behn read mostly French works and Sterne's favorite writers were Montaigne and Rabelais (he also loved Cervantes) (*CR* 283). Sentimental writing as a genre began in France and was made especially popular by Rousseau. Despite this, English writers expanded upon the genre and made it even more popular. By the time of Louis XV, Britain's "new way of feeling" and sentimental writing was more popular than anything that France had to offer (Tombs 82).

The conflict between the two countries continued to its literature with Smelfungus, or Tobias Smollett, writing of the Grand Tour but undermining the importance of anything French. According to John Butt, the eighteenth century "was the age of the Grand Tour undertaken to initiate young men of fashion into the polished society and the fine art of Europe" (244). French travel books of England included "sights, smells, bad food, drunkenness, rough pastimes and eccentricities of England" (Tombs 55). England would retaliate and publish tales about France being filthy and too class conscious. The French were considered slaves to sentiments and flattery. More people from England traveled to France than the other way around so the French suggested that England was so terrible that the English always needed an escape. With all its fog and rain, the French suggested it made the English suicidal.

According to Tombs, Sterne's depiction of the French travel guide is exactly what the *English* wanted: "good food, good manners, and a hint of erotic adventure" (96). Sterne was able to negotiate for himself a space within travel and sentimental literature even while exposing the faults of both genres. Sterne notes that the traveler can only experience what is within, emphasizing that Smelfungus had bad experiences in France because he has bad experiences everywhere (12; 28). To counter, Shakespeare was readily available everywhere by the 1750s, but the French refused to stock him in bookstores. Through Shakespeare, England is again able to assert its superiority over France. Bloom notes that England has Shakespeare and Spain has Cervantes, but France has no singular author. By naming his protagonist Yorick, Sterne reinforces the perceived superiority of the English over the French. Yorick experiences the French boycott of Shakespeare when he cannot find the works of Shakespeare sold in the local bookshop. In another irony, by refusing to stock Shakespeare, the French refuse to acknowledge Yorick himself.

Yorick's inability to communicate with the French is reinforced by his experiences with Count de B***. When Yorick visits the bookstore and sees Shakespeare, he finds out that it belongs to Count de B****. Shakespeare offers the two of these men a chance to connect. After Yorick receives his passport, Count de B wants to know Yorick's opinion of French people. When traveling, the people of the host country often want the tourists to have a good impression and Count de B****'s questioning reveals his desire to know whether or not the French left a good impression on Yorick. Count de B**** wants Yorick to flatter him. Unfortunately, Yorick is an

honest Englishman who will not be able to flatter him because of his Englishness. Their conversation then is a microcosm of the communication problems between England and France. Count de B**** asks, “And how do you find the French?” (86). Yorick hesitates because he must answer honestly. Count de B**** then encourages him to speak the truth by saying, “speak frankly” (86). Though Count de B**** encourages him to “speak frankly,” he does not mean it. Count de B**** *leads* the question with the answer he is expecting, “do you find all the urbanity in the French which the world give us the honour of?” (86). Expecting to hear how much the French live up to their reputation, Count de B**** is surprised by Yorick’s reply, “To an excess” (86). Yorick answers honestly and he thinks that he is pleasing Count de B****, but excess turns the compliment into an insult. Yorick is simply an honest Englishman who can answer no other way. Aware of the stereotype, Yorick tried his best to be flattering and honest at the same time and is mystified by Count de B****’s unhappiness.

Noticing the man’s disappointment, Yorick tries to appease him and only makes matters worse. Yorick asserts his pride in his national identity by saying, “A polish’d nation ... makes every one its debtor” (86). This is why Count de B**** has asked the question, so he can hear that his nation is polished. Yorick reveals that he understands why Count de B**** is asking with this response, but Yorick is always English. After Yorick says that a polished nation makes every one its debtor, he says that the English are more inclined to “human actions than courteous ones” (86). Yorick continues with the English stereotype and suggests that the English are more human while the French are always courteous. The French are courteous to a fault, or an excess, and being courteous

loses its humanity. Yorick is trying to pacify Count de B and make him understand his answer, but the reader knows that Yorick is only exasperating him further. To explain, Yorick pulls out the coins in his pocket and relates, “I had a few king William’s shillings as smooth as glass in my pocket; and foreseeing they would be of use in the illustration of my hypothesis, I had got them into my hand” (87). Yorick then says, “The English, like antient medals, kept more apart, and passing but few peoples hands, preserve the first sharpness which the fine hand of nature has given them—they are not so pleasant to feel—but in return, the legend is so visible, that at the first look you see whose image and superscription they bear” (*sic* 87). Yorick suggests that without outside contact, the English remain sharply English. It is only with outside contact that they can learn to accept difference. Yorick suggests that it is necessary to accept difference to make the English more “pleasant” to the feel. Yorick tries to explain and excuse his behavior because he has not had outside contact. Yorick also reveals that the English have remained more pure than the French because of the lack of contact.

Recalling Shakespeare, Sterne compares the tyranny of Shakespeare’s monarch with his own. As a member of the court, Yorick’s dedication to the monarch is directly connected to his personal well being. While speaking with Mons. Le Compte, Yorick says, “We have no jester at court . . . the last we had was in the licentious reign of Charles the IId” (*sic* 84). Charles the Second replaced Oliver Cromwell, after Charles the First was beheaded. The supporters of Charles were “royalists” who believed in the divine right of the monarch, but Yorick complicates the simplicity of the royalists by calling Charles’ reign “licentious” (84). Charles II was well known for having Catholic

sympathies and being a friend to France. Yorick brings up the difference between Shakespeare's court and the current court to suggest that the divine right of the monarch was taken for granted during Shakespeare's time suggesting that there has been no progress. Hamlet's father may not have been corrupt, but certainly Claudius was. Shakespeare complicates the Divine Right of the Monarch by exposing Claudius's lust for ambition. Hamlet must choose between obeying the previous, and now dead, monarch, and the current monarch, and murderer of the previous one. Hamlet's internal struggle is because his obedience and devotion to the monarch, and his father, requires him to be a murderer of a man who is also a monarch.

Like so many, Sterne was not immune to the negative sentiment toward Catholics at the time and he succumbs to insensitivity. Though Sterne was born in Ireland, he, like Swift, identified with England and was a Protestant. Swift perceived himself as an Englishman exiled to Ireland and this was because of the consistent poor treatment of the Irish (Williams 60). Sterne's prejudice is also influenced by his uncle, Jacques, who was notoriously against Catholics. Sterne's prejudice against the Rebellion and Catholics in general is revealed by a public letter he wrote accusing the author of an article of being "a Zealous, Bigotted *Irish* Papist" (Cash 100). While Cash notes this prejudice, he also asserts that in *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick "transcends" this prejudice and shows "sympathy" (101). Yorick may reveal prejudice against Catholics when he encounters the old Catholic soldier who fought for Louis XIV but this soldier is like all the other soldiers who have been reduced to beggars because of their country (77). This Catholic soldier

was once glorified and worshipped, and now he has to beg for a living. These soldiers were treated poorly regardless of what country they fought for.

Sterne reinforces the idea of the corrupt monarch to support the division of power. In the Age of Enlightenment, both England and France believed in the division of power but both countries continued to suffer drawbacks. If Claudius is meant to represent Charles I, he is criticized for pledging allegiance to France as the monarch of England. Sterne too criticizes both French and English monarchs for being capricious and changing sides. Though Sterne says that there is a difference between Shakespeare's time and his own, when Yorick receives his passport, it is made out to "Mr. Yorick, the King's jester," nullifying the difference between these time periods (85). Sterne is a Tory and may be in favor of the monarch, but he realizes that his loyalty is not a simple matter. Louis XV, referred to by Sterne as an "ambitious tyrant," deserves none of Sterne's loyalty, yet he serves the same God (Cash 191). Because the King is chosen by God, the public believes that he has the public's best interest at heart. The structure of the kingdom is then extended to the general public with every man being King of his Castle, but this dynamic is dismantled by Yorick's unwillingness to protect La Fleur. Like much of England, Sterne accepts reducing the power of the monarch.

Sterne also alludes to an obscure law, the Salique Law (fourteenth century). According to Salique Law, women cannot inherit land (Fraser 4). The law also prevents women from being advanced to the throne. The law was a matter of importance and conversation amongst the English because it represented the inferiority of the French, especially in light of the Age of Reason. Elizabeth Montague comments on this law in a

letter to a friend, “you see Madam the Salique law is not of divine institution, for only monarchy establish’d by divine Law is govern’d by the Female” (*sic* “Letter” MS 386). For Elizabeth Montague and the other bluestockings, the Salique Law is against God. Furthermore, Montague mocks the law and says that only a female monarch is established by divine law and that France’s monarch has not been chosen by God. Yorick brings up the Salique Law as another instance of a difference between England and France. Yorick notes, “The genius of a people where nothing but the monarchy is *salique*” (*his emphasis* 52). Yorick finds that women have power in France and is surprised by the antiquated law based on the women he encounters. Though Yorick says these women enjoy too much liberty, he contradicts himself and exposes the subject position women must endure. In the glove-maker’s shop, he is able to get the female owner in a compromising position and he says he is able to do this because she is French. He feels her pulse and then blushes when her husband walks in. He blushes because he is ashamed of taking advantage of her, especially when her husband enters. She is nonchalant about it because she does not realize what he is doing. Yorick, however, assumes that she has no shame. She does not realize what he is doing even though she suggests that he is distracted by her beauty. Yorick notes that in England, the wife of a shopkeeper is one with her husband but in France, the woman has too much liberty.

The Salique Law negates the liberty these French women enjoy. This poor woman is in Yorick’s power and he knows it comparing his “unprotected look of distress” with hers, and calling attention to his “true feminine heart” (20). Yorick again focuses on a woman’s need for protection and then he undermines it. With the chambermaid, he pays

her for her “innocence” and gives her “the protection of [his] company” (65). By paying for her innocence, he takes it away, suggesting that she is a prostitute. He also mocks the manager of the hotel by allowing the woman in his room *only* if she is selling something (93). Sterne may have been in an unhappy marriage but he was sympathetic to women who were taken advantage of. His sister Mary died very young due to maltreatment by her husband and his mother certainly did not have it easy (Cash 39). On the other hand, Sterne may be bitter about laws regarding a woman’s right to inherit because of his Uncle Jaques. Though they had a hostile relationship, Sterne still expected to inherit. To his surprise, Jaques left his money to his mistress when he died, something he would not have been able to do in France (Cash 285). His bitterness seems unlikely and he seems to be contrasting England and France by how they treat their women. The perception was that France allowed their women more liberty, but Yorick reveals that France is antiquated.

The women occupy a position as a slave or a prostitute to mirror the other relationships throughout the novel. People began to own people and this was seen as a mark of civilization. The English (and/or French) saw themselves as superior to the “savages” of other nations, especially the ones they were colonizing. Writers of the eighteenth century referred to the Other as savages even if some constructed them as “noble” savages. Behn’s *Oroonoko*, for example, illustrates that the savage is much nobler than the Englishman and that he is betrayed *by* his nobility, paralleling the portrayal of *Candide*. Likewise, in Montaigne’s “On Cannibals” he argues that “there is nothing barbarous and savage in this nation” and that “we have made things savage,”

placing blame on the colonizer for disrupting the lives of other people (105). Sterne mocks this dynamic by having his Englishman acquire a soldier, rather than a savage, and thus linking the soldier with the savage. Yorick's ability to acquire a soldier illustrates how easily taken advantage of these soldiers are. Sterne is well aware that this critique is not just of France. He focuses on ownership; La Fleur owns a horse, Maria owns a dog, and Yorick owns La Fleur.

Both Sterne and Swift afforded some privilege of class and were able to afford servants, but both also critique the upper class for their treatment of servants. As a judge, Sterne has first-hand knowledge of the behavior that happens behind closed doors. Sterne mocks Yorick and Madame de L**** for expecting their servants to lack human qualities. La Fleur, as Yorick's servant, is supposed to elevate others' opinions of Yorick, but he is not supposed to have any interests of his own, and if he does, he is to suppress them. His visit to Madame de L**** and his playing music directly violates that rule. In "Directions to the Chamber-Maid," Swift mockingly informs the Chamber Maid to allow advances from the "coachman" and if the maid is "under twenty and tolerably handsome," the "footman" may pay attention to her (99). Swift reveals what actually happens with the servants. Paying attention means using her for sex with an emphasis on *pay*. These women would end up pregnant without any claim to the father of their children. When she became pregnant, rather than the master being accused of impropriety, she was accused of seducing the master. Sterne exposes the abject position the servants are relegated to.

Women are also expected to be controlled. The most common stereotype of a woman was of the virginal preserver of culture, and Sterne's women reflect that stereotype. The first young woman Yorick meets is assumed to be 26 and Yorick notes that she "wore the characters of a widow'd look ... [with] a state of declension" (18). The woman's "widow'd look" and her "state of declension" make her a perfect target for Yorick. Yorick holds her hand and takes advantage of what he calls her "good education" and "good sense" (18). A 26-year-old widow denotes a tragedy because she is so young and presumably her husband was young. The presence of very young widows needing the protection of men is a testament to the ravages of war and the helpless position women faced as a result of it. Because she is female and does not really notice that he is taking advantage of her, Yorick interprets her to be what he calls an "innocent" traveler (12). As an innocent traveler, she is better prey for Yorick, and men like him. Yorick, however, notes that people need to protect themselves and not trust someone else to protect them. When thinking of the Bastille, he says, "I generally endeavour to protect myself" (*sic* 74). Sterne reveals that the war affects the home front.

The woman completely accepts this standard and assumes that men are there to protect her. As a result of her "good education" and "good sense," she assumes that Yorick will assume the role of protector and not take advantage of her. Yorick then mocks the good sense and good education of women to allow strange men to protect them. Sterne satirizes the social system for placing these women at the mercy of men. Sterne's mother, Agnes, was a soldier's widow before she married Roger Sterne, and became a widow again in 1731 (Cash 10). She lost both her husbands to war. She tried to

move back to England and get her pension there, but no one in Sterne's family would advocate for her, so she had to continue living in Ireland. Yorick begins the section by discussing buying and selling property, referring to the chaise he hopes to rent, but he characterizes the business world as "hostile" (16). He then makes a reference to "seducing sluts," suggesting that Yorick is attempting to buy the woman as property and that she is seducing him rather than him taking advantage of her. Yorick assumes the role of protector only to take advantage. Yorick does this also with the young chambermaid who "listened with a submissive attention" (64). Because of her "submissive attention," Yorick decides that he "will give [her] the protection of [his] company" (65). Yorick repeatedly gives women the protection of his company and in his protection, these women find themselves *needing* protection. Yorick also reveals to Count de B**** that he is here to see the "nakedness" of Frenchwomen and that he is always inspired by what is "*weak* about them" (Sterne's emphasis 81). By referring to the business world as hostile, Sterne suggests that this world is beyond the realm of women but he locates them centrally in the marketplace buying and selling goods.

These women are comparable to the women in Swift's "Directions to the Chamber-Maid." Swift exposes that servant women are also in danger because of their job and the expectation of them to serve. Sterne suggests that all these women are placed in a servile position and this condition places them in danger. The condition of these abandoned women is reflected throughout literature, as in Defoe's *Moll Flanders* who poses as a soldier's widow in order to go unnoticed in a small town. Fanny Hill and her friend, from John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, also pose as soldiers'

widows to maneuver within society unharmed. Moll Flanders and Fanny are predatory and able to transcend class boundaries, revealing an anxiety about their ability to do so. Though Moll Flanders and Cleland's women are predatory, these women are still victimized by a society that chooses to use them and leave them without viable options to support themselves.

As with Sterne's sincerity, his attitudes toward women are in question. Nussbaum notes, "Sterne, like [Samuel] Johnson, was not notable for his enlightened attitudes toward women" (100). Yorick says, "our ladies are all so chaste, so spotless, so good, so devout—there is nothing for a jester to make a jest of" (84). According to Nussbaum, this was the standard belief of the English, including many writers, such as Johnson (86). He may invoke pathos, but he also characterizes many French women as prostitutes offering him something to purchase, in contrast to chaste Englishwomen. Sterne exposes the two types of women: French whore or English virgin. He judges every woman's beauty emphasizing his role as the gazer, and the woman as his object. He also focuses on a woman's age and determines her usefulness based on it. Frenchwomen are so experienced that Yorick is characterized as the innocent one who does not realize that he is conversing with prostitutes. Once he leaves the opera, he goes into an alley where two women are waiting. Yorick says he assumes they are waiting for a carriage, but the language he uses reveals their occupation to the reader (102). He observes their shape and age and that "there was no mark of wife or widow in any part of either of them" (102). Two women alone in a dark alley waiting for something are not likely waiting for a carriage. Yorick also emphasizes that these women do not occupy the position as wife or

widow. As an object, the prostitute holds power over the man by seducing him, even though this power is completely tenuous. Sterne, however, grants them power, only to subvert it by illustrating how a beggar man can dupe them with flattery. When Yorick is expected to flatter someone, he calls attention to what he calls a “*beggarly system*” where he has to “[prostitute] himself” (107). Wollstonecraft argues that women resorted to cunning because it was the only access to power they had. Fitting this stereotype are Fielding’s *Lady Booby*, Sterne’s *Widow Wadman*, the women in Cleland’s novel, and *Moll Flanders*. Sterne mocks the cunning of the prostitutes by characterizing a beggar who is able to take advantage of them.

Sterne’s persona is harmless and Yorick embodies that. Elizabeth Montague told her sister Sarah Scott that Sterne was “harmless” (qtd. in Nussbaum 102). Sterne’s harmlessness is transferred to Yorick, whom Nussbaum characterizes as “mangled.” Todd and Claudia Johnson argue that Sterne is attempting to appropriate feminine virtues and therefore taking what little power women have. While some may romanticize the position of the prostitute as an independent woman, Sterne blatantly reveals how subjugated they are. Though most sentimental works were written by men, Suzanne Clark notes that “women writers were entangled in sensibility,” revealing the association of the female with sentimentality (2). In contrast to this perception, Benedict sees Sterne’s character, *Widow Wadman*, as a “powerful female type” (73). Cohen argues that the eighteenth century “opened [a space] for women’s voice” (44). Nussbaum argues the direct opposite and says that Sterne marginalizes the female characters throughout and that especially in the domestic sphere, the sphere of the woman, the woman is excluded.

When the woman is included, she is included for her sexuality. Widow Wadman is hypersexualized with her obsession on the workings of Toby's equipment. Yorick uses his harmlessness in order to get women in compromising positions but he also exposes how easily he is able to do so.

These powerless women parallel powerless soldiers. Yorick is constantly expressing sentiment for broken down soldiers and he associates these men as noble savages duped by a system. Yorick meets a man who is an "old soldier ... worn out to death in the service" (36). Yorick assumes that the monk, Father Lorenzo, chooses the Church after he served his time in the military (21). Sterne also mocks the institution by expressing sentiment for the monk, sharing a snuff box, and suddenly the poor monk is dead (22). At the opera, Yorick meets an "old French officer" (54). The wandering notary, a man from "The Fragment," is welcomed by a gentleman and a former soldier (97-100). These soldiers have all transformed from respectable men to men who are destitute and worn out. The French officer at the opera may be the exception, but this officer helps expose the plight of other soldiers. Because these men are so helpless, Yorick then expresses his sentiment for them. In France, Louis XIV helped create a *Hôtel des Invalides* for all his loyal soldiers who were no longer able to serve. These men were then placed in a hospital after they served their duty.

Sterne emphasizes how these men are used by a system and it relates directly to Sterne's father. Roger Sterne was constantly moving to serve the military. He would have to uproot his entire family based on where the military was sending him and many of his children died. Sterne also notes that by nature, his father was "innocent" and "suspected

no one” (*Memoir* vii). As the son of a military man, Sterne endured constant moving and the only stability he experienced was after his father left him. In 1723, Roger Sterne settled his son at school and Roger was then sent to Ireland. Sterne never saw him again. Once Sterne was settled, Roger was sent to Gibraltar and then to Jamaica. He argued with an officer about a goose and they settled the argument with a duel. Roger lost, and was stabbed but he did not die. For his whole military career, Roger struggled financially and worked to earn a commission. Ian Jack calls him “improvident” (305). In 1731, he finally earned his commission. He was granted the commission in March but did not hear about it until May, and Sterne notes that by that time Roger was a “child” and probably could not even understand that he had earned his commission. By July 1731, he was dead (Cash 37-40).

The predilection that Sterne has for soldiers is also seen in *Tristram and Yorick*. When facing the old French officer, Yorick admits that he has a “predilection” for all soldiers because of Tobias Shandy (54). Prior to 1723, Sterne grew up around military men. The military command moved in groups and it would remain an insulated community wherever it went. Roger served in Queen Anne’s war in 1711 and in Flanders and so does Uncle Toby of *Tristram Shandy*. When reminded of Tobias, Yorick relates, “I love the character, not only because I honour the man whose manners are softened by a profession which makes bad men worse” (54). The profession of the soldier is contingent upon war and the only soldiers with any status are officers. The men hang out together in groups and are likely to drink and gamble and this may make them worse. It is also the soldier’s job to kill, and that may certainly make a bad man worse. Roger’s duel over the

goose is an example of how the profession makes a bad man worse because of his stubbornness. Sterne must have found this disheartening and hilarious at the same time. It sounds like theater of the absurd, and Woolf notes, “[Sterne’s] world is an absurd place” (CR 283). Like Roger, Toby Shandy is characterized as an “innocent hero” “[having] no more ideas in his head than [had] his horse” (Jack 309). La Fleur is characterized similarly. The lack of his ideas is displayed especially in the duel and the paradox of an innocent man so eager to fight to the death. The distrust these men display is prevalent in many of Sterne’s characters including Walter Shandy (Cash 91).

La Fleur and the rest of these soldiers were at one point useful and respected. By the time Yorick encounters them, these men are reduced to begging on the streets and La Fleur is reduced to serving an Englishman. In the beginning of his travels, Yorick characterizes the different types of travelers and says one type is a traveler of “necessity” (12). These travelers of necessity are “peregrine martyrs” sent overseas in order to make a living (12). Though many may argue that joining the military is an option, it is more commonly an option for the lower and middle classes and the same was true in the eighteenth century when conscription was first implemented. Unlike the warrior tribes where the best warrior was the best servant of the King, armies were spread out and fewer and fewer educated people chose to join. People of means were able to purchase a commission and then they could be financially stable, but most enlistees barely survived. These martyrs have no control over what country they are sent to or how long their service will last. Once the war ends, some of these men do not return home either because they die or they choose to attempt to make a living where they were sent. Yorick

encounters one old soldier begging for money and Yorick condescends to be charitable to him. The old soldier replies, “Vive le Roi” (36). The soldier celebrates the very King that has reduced him to begging. The old man also thanks the King as if someone would thank God, further illustrating the corruption of the monarch who would leave the man destitute after he dedicates his life to serving him.

The military promises a skill, glory, and a paycheck. The men encountered by Yorick no longer benefit from those privileges. La Fleur’s servile position strips him of his masculinity. Yorick notes that his position “open’d no further track of glory” (31). Sterne emphasizes the need for obedience in a soldier and mocks the glory associated with him. Because he is so used to being obedient, the servant role is perfect for him. Like the woman who transfers her well being from her father to her husband, the soldier transfers his to the man he serves. Yorick points out that La Fleur “serve[s]” the military and then he serves a master (31). His simplicity makes him more obedient and therefore a better soldier. Paralleling the honest Englishman, Sterne exposes the soldier as someone easily taken advantage of, just like the women Yorick encounters. These men need protection from the men they serve. While the military fulfills its promise of a paycheck, it does so only in time of war. Sterne exposes that the promise of glory is a complete farce. By having to express sentiment for so many soldiers, Sterne characterizes a country completely ravaged by war. Sterne exposes these men as being used by a system and Woolf finds the same in the twentieth century. La Fleur’s skill is to play music and that is seen as useless, he no longer receives a paycheck, and he has no glory.

Yorick finds commonality between the French soldiers and English soldiers more than difference, negating the cultural separation. At the opera with the French officer, Yorick notes that the officer reminds him of Toby Shandy. Melvyn New and Carol Watts, among others, have noted the paradox regarding Toby with his tendency for both militarism and sentiment. Toby's bad manners are certainly his tendency to tell stories over and over. His tendency to re-tell his story, or his hobbyhorse, was a result of his service in the military. He was beaten at the Siege of Namur, never recovered, and never reintegrated into society. When he does attempt to re-integrate, he completely marginalizes himself by constantly exposing his wounds and retelling his battle story. Like La Fleur, Toby is gentle and faithful in spite of being a soldier. He is gallant but his gallantry is undermined by his inability to master anything, like La Fleur.

Though Tobias is a comic figure repeating his story endlessly, he is also tragic. He builds a miniature city in his yard and constantly re-enacts the battles under the Duke of Marlborough during the Spanish Succession (1700-1713), paralleling Roger Sterne's service (Cash 9). According to Jonathan Lamb, Tobias reconstructs the war in the garden into a "delicious paradise" (31). Lamb argues that the "irrational incremental logic of sieges ... is perfectly represented by Sterne's Uncle Toby" (35). Sterne illustrates the uselessness of the battle by Toby's constant reproduction of it. Sterne focuses upon Toby's inability to re-integrate into society and how the service threw him away. Tristram notes, "The wound in my Uncle *Toby's* groin, which he received at *Namur*, rendering him unfit for the service, it was thought expedient he should return to *England*, in order, if possible, to be set to rights" (68). The wound castrates Toby in multiple ways.

He is literally castrated because he suffered the wound in his groin and his castration is reinforced by Widow Wadman's concerns about his *equipment*. Tristram also notes it since he must be sent back to England "to be set to rights" "if possible." Once in England, it is unclear whether anyone or anything can set him to rights. Toby is further marginalized and useless. Ian Jack points out that "practically every male character is accompanied by an unmistakable suggestion of impotence" (307). Toby's castration is linked to both Yorick's and La Fleur's. Toby is certainly made worse after the military.

Despite his military training, Toby is most remembered for his inability to hurt a fly (*TS* 100). Though Toby is unable to hurt a fly, at war, he must. He is characterized as mild-mannered and good natured, yet "an expert on military affairs" (Jack 309). He is remembered for his "philanthropy" (*ASJ* 54). The French Officer, who reminds Yorick of Tobias, is also good natured. He must tell his story and he tells it to the notary. The French officer declares, "Every nation, continued he, have their refinements and grossiertes, in which they take the lead, and lose it of one another by turns—that he had been in most countries, but never in one where he found not some delicacies, which others seemed to want ... there is a balance, said he, of good and bad every where" (59). The French officer is profound in his understanding that people are the same everywhere. He has learned this by traveling and Yorick acknowledges his good sense despite the public rivalries between England and France. Yorick relates, "The old French officer delivered this with an air of such candour and good sense ... 'twas my own way of thinking" (59-60). Yorick's agreement with the French officer suggests that the rivalry

between the two countries is shallow. Both men agree that people are the same everywhere and they come together despite cultural differences.

The soldiers throughout *A Sentimental Journey* and *Tristram Shandy* are comic versions of Woolf's Septimus Warren Smith in *Mrs. Dalloway*. Septimus is so worn down by society that he cannot re-assimilate and plunges to his death. He is also characterized as a man of feeling who would not hurt a fly. Benedict suggests that Walter Shandy, Toby, and Trim are all men of feeling. Of the three, two are soldiers linking the man of feeling with soldiers. Likewise, Septimus and Peter are men of feeling. While Sterne chooses to illustrate how these soldiers have been tossed aside and now need sentimentality, Woolf shows that the sentimentality of the soldier himself is his downfall. The soldier cannot re-assimilate into society *because* he is sentimental, or could not hurt a fly. Septimus's downfall is that he obsesses about the death of Evans and he considers it his fault. The sentimentality of the soldier is at odds with his profession and he is therefore castrated and tossed aside. While Peter is not a soldier, he is a traveler of "necessity" who goes abroad to serve as an Ambassador for England. His sentimentality interferes with his ability to do his job and he is perceived as unsuccessful by his peers. The soldiers in *A Sentimental Journey* are reduced to begging while Toby is reduced to repeating his story endlessly. Either way, these men are marginalized and ostracized by the same system that needed and trained them. Woolf and Sterne may wonder where the *Hotel des Invalides* is for these men.

When Yorick sees the Catholic soldier who loyally served Louis XV, he is selling *patès* on the street (76). Yorick is dismayed by the "reverse in [the] man's life" (76).

Yorick notes how the man has been used up and that “the best part of his life had pass’d in the service” (77). Yorick is able to express his sentiment because the soldiers he meets are so beaten down. The demise of this Catholic soldier is a triumph for Protestant Britain and its national subjects. For the most part, Yorick is dismayed by the position these soldiers occupy once the war is over. Yorick notes that he has been “left without any provision” (77). Yorick refers to people as “miserables,” and the miserables are mostly the martyrs of sentimentality, soldiers and the widows of soldiers. When Yorick leaves the inn, he notes that he has to face a “few miserables” and decide who to give money (35). When Yorick encounters the dwarves, he says, “to see so many miserables, by force of accidents driven out of their own proper class into the very verge of another” (56). Yorick refers to these men as being “driven out” of a respectable position and forced into another class of people and though he is referring to the dwarves, he refers to anyone begging as a miserable and the soldiers are begging. Yorick notes that if the King treats the soldier this way, Yorick may fare no better. Despite the tragic story of this soldier, it ends well. The soldier tells his story and despite being down and out as a result of the King, the soldier praises the King and his story reaches the King’s ears until the King decides to pay the soldier a pension.

Sterne exposes the soldier as powerless when he is reduced to begging or working as a servant. This reduction is a castration and not the only castration the soldier endures. Sterne further castrates the soldier by revealing that he has no command over his horse. Sterne was good friends with John Hall-Stevenson, a coordinator of the Royal Hunters, a group of military fighters on horseback, during the Jacobite Rebellion (Cash 157). A

soldier atop his horse is an idealized image. Throughout France and England are the images of great soldiers, and even Kings, erected atop their horses in front of buildings (Louis XIII, Louis XIV, Henry IV, Charles III, Duke of Marlborough, Admiral Nelson, and Napoleon). The image elevates the soldier and suggests his power to command. In *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne calls it a “HERO’S Horse,” and notices the anagram certainly conflating hero’s and horse as the same thing (18). Sterne inverts this image and illustrates La Fleur’s absurdity. Yorick suggests that La Fleur is a ladies’ man but this is a paradox because of his inability to control his horse (32). When La Fleur gets ready for his journey with Yorick, women flock to say goodbye to him (33). Yorick notes that “half a dozen wenches . . . were most kindly taking their leave of him” (33). Ironically, the women gathering around La Fleur lead Yorick to interpret that La Fleur is “no coxcomb” (33). Because women are attracted to La Fleur, they are supposedly attracted to his power. However, La Fleur exposes his powerlessness when he cannot control his horse, allowing Sterne to mock the idealization of the soldier on his horse. When Yorick and La Fleur come upon the man lamenting his donkey, La Fleur’s horse gets spooked and La Fleur cannot handle him. La Fleur’s lack of mastery over his horse suggests a lack of mastery over his life and affirms his role as a servant; it also negates him being a ladies’ man. When he is absurdly thrown from his horse, Yorick calls this “cuckoldom” (38). Showing mastery over his “beast” is a cultural sign of masculinity and La Fleur is unable to do so (60). La Fleur is “unsuccessful in feats of chivalry” (43). Yorick reinforces La Fleur being a cuckold by telling the story of the *demoiselle* in Paris whom La Fleur can

profess his love to, but “his faithless mistress had given his *gage d’amour* (token of love) to one of the Count’s footman” (101).

Mankind was seen as superior to animals because of man’s ability to reason and the typical assumption was that a man should, and could, wield authority over nature because of his ability to reason. Swift inverts that assumption in *Gulliver’s Travels* and so does Sterne since Toby has no more sense than his horse. In the twentieth century, nature and its beasts were less likely to test a man as much as industry would, but the dominance over beasts and nature translated into dominance over industry. The colonized is then subjected to dominance as if he or she is an animal. The man who could not perform this dominance was a weak one, both in and outside the home. In *Women in Love* (1921), D. H. Lawrence reveals an anxiety about the domination of industry with Gerald Crich. To demonstrate his power over nature, Gerald Crich forces his horse to be still while a train goes by. Trains had been recently introduced so the horse is completely terrified of the train because it is unknown. Despite its terror, Gerald displays his dominance of the horse by making the horse bleed as it stands still in front of the rapidly moving train. Gerald’s mastery of his horse transcends onto his business and personal life. The display also suggests a difference between the nature of men and women as Gudrun watches Gerald torture his horse on the other side of the track. Though she is sickened by the display, she later develops an attraction to him.

The importance of masculinity and dominance over beasts is no different in the eighteenth century. Yorick even refers to himself and the French officer as “rider and beast,” suggesting his superiority (60). Sterne calls Yorick the “master” of his saddle

(18). Lacking masculinity, La Fleur cannot control his bidet, or post-horse, in the road. La Fleur gets his bidet going but before they get anywhere, he is “kick’d out of his jack-boots” (37). La Fleur falls down because there is a donkey in the road and his bidet will not go around it. La Fleur cannot control the donkey in the road nor can he control his horse’s response to it and, therefore, La Fleur shows no mastery of the beasts. Yorick relates, “La Fleur insisted upon the thing—and the bidet threw him” (37). Yorick also relates that La Fleur “bore [it] like a French christian” by saying “Diable” (37). Instead of La Fleur doing anything about being kicked around, he curses. He is clearly not in control of anything and the animals are in control of him. To reinforce La Fleur’s lack of power, Yorick asks him, “what’s the matter ... with this bidet of thine?” (37). La Fleur responds by saying his horse is stubborn. Yorick informs him that if his horse is too “conceited,” then La Fleur should give him up (37). La Fleur is unable to command his horse and Yorick even suggests that La Fleur’s horse has more will than he does by calling it “conceited.” These horses having a mind of their own is a reference to Swift’s Houyhnhms where the horse has more reason than the Yahoo. Nussbaum argues that the women emasculate Sterne’s men but La Fleur is emasculated by an animal and his lack of control.

Ironically, in *Tristram Shandy*, Yorick is only able to control his horse because it was barely alive. When Yorick is first introduced in *Tristram Shandy*, the reader does not know his name, only that he is a parson, and Tristram notes the condition of the Parson’s horse, calling it a “hero’s horse.” Yorick’s horse is contrasted with Don Quixote’s muscular horse. Yorick’s horse “was as lean, and as lank, and as sorry a jade, as

HUMILITY herself could have bestrided” (18). The narrator notes, “the horse was as good as the rider deserved” (19). This scene emphasizes the phantom nature of Yorick and therefore his horse is comparable. What does not change is the importance of a man being able to master the beast and the inability of Sterne’s men to do so. La Fleur’s powerlessness in his public and private life suggests his castration, like Toby. Sterne then suggests that soldiers in general are castrated. Nussbaum notes that *Tristram Shandy* “depicts an imperiled English masculinity in Toby’s and Trim’s obsession with virility through their military past” and the same can be said of the soldiers in *A Sentimental Journey* (103). Sterne points out that the monk, Father Lorenzo, only became a monk when he gave up being a soldier. Yorick refers to him giving up being a soldier as a form of castration: “he abandon’d the sword and the sex together, and took sanctuary” (21). By giving up his sword, the soldier is no longer a man.

According to William Mottolese, the men in Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* use the hobbyhorse “to help them cope with frailties” (680). Mottolese finds that the world of *Tristram Shandy* is filled with “sexual impotence, castration anxiety, ... [and] war wounds” (*sic* 680). A hobby would be a good way to get the mind off anxiety. Unlike *Clarissa* and *Tom Jones*, *Tristram Shandy* reveals a world where the mind is at odds with the body. In a book where the sexuality of Yorick is at the forefront, it is important that all the other men, the soldiers, have suffered wounds stripping them of their sexuality. Woolf points out that “the hobby-horse is ridden to death” and this illustrates the lack of power that these men endure (284). Nussbaum argues that Sterne’s characters “enact their impotence by forwarding eccentric hypotheses as intellectual and sexual hobbyhorses”

(85). Nussbaum critiques Sterne for the inclusion of the sentimental and the removal of women from the domestic. Sterne, however, is constantly pitting master and servant. Nussbaum finds that the men in *Tristram Shandy* become eunuchs as a result of the women. These men are emasculated by society, not women.

England is master and France is servant, and Sterne hopes to expose the fleetingness of the position and the willingness of one to dominate the other even when the tables can turn so quickly. Though Yorick embodies the honest Englishman trope, he also poses as a French “flattering sycophant” (Goldsmith 229). Yorick had just seen a man begging women for money and he realizes that the man got more money because he flattered them (“The Riddle” 104). Because this man succeeded by preying upon the sympathy of women, Yorick tries to do the same. However, when Yorick flatters a woman to get what he wants, he feels dishonest and like a “slave” for following such a “beggarly system” (107). Yorick, as an Englishman, feels like he has the right to superiority and should not be in the position of La Fleur, a servant. Yorick is unable to condescend to using flattery to get what he wants and he refuses to abandon his position as the “master.” Sterne uses this master-servant relationship to expose its dysfunctional nature. Though Yorick poses as a Frenchman to flatter, when he says he feels like a slave he critiques the French for having servile tendencies. Whenever Dessein pays him a compliment, Yorick notes that he owes him another “livre” (30). While conversing with Madame de Q***, Yorick points out that his flattery is only “the gain of a slave” and that he has prostituted himself (107).

While Yorick critiques the French for having a servile nature, he then asks Eugenius for help, placing himself in a servile position. Eugenius tells Yorick that he has not brought enough money with him. Eugenius is an ancient Roman Emperor who was later executed by Theodosius for being a traitor (Buchanan 191). He is a character in *Tristram Shandy* and he represents someone who is good natured. Cash notes that he may refer back to Sterne's good friend John Hall Stevenson who was good natured but a "bad" man. When Eugenius tells Yorick he does not have enough money, Yorick mockingly responds that when he gets locked up in the Bastille, "[he] shall live there a couple of months entirely at the king of France's expense" (*sic* 68). The King then will solve Yorick's money problem.

As Swift uses size to illustrate mastery, Sterne does the same with the dwarf. Focusing upon difference, Yorick is suddenly consumed by the feeling that Paris is overrun with dwarves. Yorick attempts to determine what it is about France that has led to such a development and notes, "A medical traveler might say, 'tis owing to undue bandages—a splenetic one, to want of air" (56). Though Yorick critiques France, the dwarf makes Yorick recall Walter Shandy who is unusually short (57). Yorick reveals Sterne's satire by accusing France, and then thinking of deformity in England. If crowded conditions are the sole cause, one cannot help but wonder what caused it in England. The master-slave dynamic is revealed by the dwarf's seeming helplessness. As the voyeur he is, Yorick watches the dwarf suffer and though he is obviously suffering, no one, including Yorick, chooses to help him. Another *voyeur*, the French Officer, watches Yorick watch the dwarf, and all the while everyone is supposed to be watching the opera.

The dwarf is in a standing-room only area and his view is completely blocked by a “corpulent German” “near seven feet high” (57). The dwarf asks the German to move and he scoffs, and then a security guard comes to save the day and places the dwarf in front of the German. The French officer recognizes Yorick’s empathy for the dwarf and he points out that if they were in England, no one would have done anything for the “poor” dwarf (58). By referring to him as a “poor” dwarf, Sterne invokes sentiment. The dwarf, like so many others in this novel, is placed in a position where he is at the whim of others.

Kathleen Williams writes that Swift’s use of size shows “how contemptible a Thing was human Grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive Insects as I” (Williams 87). The dwarf illustrates that grandeur is contemptible by the German’s refusal to help and by Yorick’s and the French officer’s watching the dwarf rather than helping. Sterne’s dwarf parallels Gulliver’s experience going from Lilliput to Brobdingnag where he experiences both being a giant and a dwarf.

Sterne, Yorick, and La Fleur oscillate between what Nussbaum calls the “effeminate macaroni” and the “manly John Bull” (84). Nussbaum notes, “within the English nation struggles to determine normalized sexual differences in conjunction with modern nationalisms are negotiated between effeminate macaronis and a manly John Bull” (84). Yorick’s inability to control La Fleur and his excessive sentiment classify him as an effeminate macaroni while his encounters with other Frenchmen, such as the French officer, classify him as a manly John Bull. Yorick’s refusal to flatter the French officer or to acknowledge something good in the French character, positions him as the manly John Bull. Nussbaum also argues that within this struggle is the “fiction of the deformed” (84).

Bluestocking women, and the dwarf, represent anomaly and are classified outside the norm. Nussbaum then argues that “social changes contributed to an increasing distinction between the sexes after midcentury” (84). Sterne’s dwarf fits right in representing the male anxiety of being an anomaly and outside the manly John Bull.

Sterne’s willingness to have all these characters oscillate between these two roles suggests gender play and his mockery of the rigidity of these roles. The heroic soldier is absurdly thrown from his horse. Nussbaum points out that *A Sentimental Journey* was critiqued for its “wimpishness, apparent effeminacy, and failed masculinity” (86). Nussbaum examines writers like the Earl of Shaftesbury for “connecting monstrosity to effeminacy and to a perverse femininity” (3). The characterization of a failed masculinity exposes the master-servant relationship and how most relationships are founded upon this dynamic. If the woman is not the object being coveted, she is coveting. Women are in a position where they are buying and selling. When the man cannot control the woman, he controls the horse. Sterne oscillates between these rigid roles. If a soldier cannot hurt a fly, then he is a man of feeling and Sterne does not suggest that this is wrong, but that the association of the soldier without sentiment is wrong. The inability to hurt an animal exposes the man’s inability to be in control at all times. Nussbaum notes that in Sterne, “purity of sexual identification is deeply suspect” (89). Sterne is mocking the idea that sexual identification can be so clearly delineated.

The mastery of a slave, or servant, then becomes compromised by the slave’s unwillingness to behave. As La Fleur cannot control his beasts, Yorick is unable to control his servant. In England and France, propriety is necessary for daily

communication. La Fleur is so anxious to be a good servant and to follow propriety, that he actually violates it and is, as a result, a poor servant. La Fleur ends up getting Yorick in more trouble than he would get in on his own. In *Directions to Servants*, Swift gives servants suggestions for how to maintain the happiness of their masters at all times. In “Directions to the Groom,” Swift writes that the servant who travels with his master is in sole charge of his master’s reputation. Swift relates, “every dram of brandy, every pot of ale extraordinary that you drink, raiseth his character; and therefore, his reputation ought to be dear to you” (88). Yorick’s reputation ought to be dear to La Fleur, but his eagerness to please ends up tarnishing Yorick’s reputation. Swift had an interesting relationship with servants and he did not believe that the servant’s sole purpose in life is to please the master. Though Swift fell in love with more than one daughter of a servant, he was dedicated to tutoring these young women to help them be more independent (Williams 87). Swift pairs a direction to a servant with an illustration of a young female servant being sexually used by her master and another servant doing his best to get inebriated. The servant trying to get drunk illustrates that the servant has wants or needs of his own, and cannot be someone else’s servant at all times.

La Fleur displays his humanity and his inability to please his master all the time. Count de L****’s servant comes to Yorick’s house with a letter and La Fleur “burns with impatience” to give it to Yorick (*sic* 43). To “honour” Yorick and build up his reputation, La Fleur treats Count de L****’s servant like a King (43). To reciprocate, Count de L****’s servant wants to impress La Fleur, and he invites him to his master’s house. La Fleur’s worthless music training has already been emphasized by Yorick and here the

training becomes a liability. When La Fleur goes to Count de L****'s house, he entertains all the servants with his music. There is so much festivity that Madame de L**** notices a commotion and she learns that La Fleur is there. Because La Fleur is there, Madame de L**** assumes that he has a letter for her, but she is sadly mistaken. La Fleur, as a servant, has a job to do and him being at the house without the required response illustrates a grave impropriety. In order to cover up such an indiscretion, La Fleur runs back to Yorick to get a response for Madame de L****. This makes things worse. Yorick never gave a response, and he is now forced to respond immediately to hide La Fleur's indiscretion. Sterne satirizes the master-slave dynamic and turns it upside down with the fate of La Fleur in Yorick's hands and Yorick performing at the request of La Fleur. When La Fleur gets to Yorick, of course Yorick is livid and he refuses to give a response to maintain control of his servant in some way. However, Yorick is a man of feeling and he feels empathy for La Fleur and decides to respond to please La Fleur, who is eagerly anticipating the response. La Fleur, in his eagerness to help, offers Yorick an old love letter written by a soldier. This act amplifies the indiscretion. Sterne points out that La Fleur's usefulness is because of his military training, his music. La Fleur is caught at the house because of the music he played for all the servants. Sterne then mocks La Fleur for being useless all the while mocking the military for creating uselessness.

Throughout his travels, Yorick promises to learn better manners while in France. Though he says he will learn better manners, in order to point out the faults of obsessing on difference, he obsesses on difference. At the end of the book, Yorick is still doing what he was doing in the beginning. Yorick calls it: "*translating* French looks and

attitudes into plain English” (Sterne’s emphasis 105). Yorick translates French into plain English and something he can understand. His choice of words reveals how he still prizes his own national identity over the identity of others. Yorick also satirizes problems that occur because of the language barrier. Then Yorick focuses upon differences in language and says that he is unable to understand the newspaper because it is in “the old French of Rabelais’s time” (97). Yorick spends “infinite time” trying to make sense of the newspaper headline (97). His inability to read the newspaper is an indication of the two countries being unable, or unwilling, to communicate with each other. The only way Yorick can make sense of the newspaper is to translate it, or “to turn it into English” (98). Each country is guilty of national pride and as a result of this pride, the inhabitants prize their language.

The French believed that any tourist traveling to France should have to learn French, and the English believed that everyone should have to know English (Tombs 65). French was, and still is, the language of culture, and many people strove to learn French to illustrate their knowledge of the world. French was also the language of the continent, and if England wanted to converse with the continent, they usually did it through French. Louis XV even opposed English being taught to the French public (Tombs 147). The necessity for Yorick to translate then emphasizes the difference between the countries and Yorick’s need to turn something French into “plain English” emphasizes the feelings of superiority of one culture over another. Through Smollett, Sterne is able to expose the focus upon incessant difference between the two cultures rather than acceptance.

According to Goldsmith, the eighteenth-century stereotype of a Frenchman is a “flattering sycophant” (229).

Yorick displays his Englishness by believing this negative stereotype of the French and referring to La Fleur’s “prevenancy” (43). In contrast, the Englishman is an honest and simple-minded creature easily taken advantage of. Michèle Cohen argues that sincerity replaces politeness (46). Yorick writes, “In honest truth, and upon a more candid revision of the matter, *The French expression professes more than it performs*” (48). Yorick suggests that the French are all talk and prone to flatter, rather than actually doing something. Yorick then assumes he can “see the precise and distinguishing marks of national characters more in these nonsensical minutiae, than in the most important matters of state” (48). Yorick declares that he can sense a difference between English and French people when they talk about little things, but when any person talks about matters of the state, they all sound the same. Sterne illustrates the baselessness of each stereotype since the leaders of each country go about colonization in the same way.

Yorick reveals that in “important matters of state . . . great men of all nations talk and stalk so much alike, that I would not give nine-pence to chuse amongst them” (*sic* 48). Despite all these stereotypes, Yorick, and Sterne, make it clear that the politicians of each of these countries have the same goal and that is colonization. Yorick’s emphasis on national boundaries being meaningless allows the reader to focus on the humanity of the people regardless of the place. Yorick’s role as the traditional honest Englishman exposes the English xenophobia of the time. The honest Englishman is in direct contrast to the French flatterer who will not tell the truth to keep things even. Voltaire calls the ability to

flatter “the art of pleasing,” and because it avoids conflict, it is perceived as effeminate (133). Nussbaum points out that the English saw effeminacy in the French and their ability to flatter. By extension then, behaving with sensibility is also effeminate and against the English stereotype. She notes, “Seeming to be another species, these macaronic men define the limits of the human for [Elizabeth] Carter, and they represent the least desirable aspects of foreign peoples” (103). The English men of sensibility then were critiqued by the English as representing foreign, and undesirable, traits. Cohen points out that “politeness and conversation, though necessary to the fashioning of the gentleman, were thought to be effeminating ... because they were modeled on the French” (47). Despite this, Cohen also points out that the English were notorious for being too honest, and therefore simple minded. Sensibility then became a way for the English to practice the art of conversation and pleasing others.

When Yorick assumes the French air of flattery, the reader may assume that he has learned better manners. Yorick says, “the French, ... wishing to soften what I had said, have so many excellencies, they can the better spare this—they are a loyal, a gallant, a generous, an ingenious, and good temper’d people as is under heaven—if they have a fault—they are too serious” (87). When conversing with Count de B****, Yorick explains that the French are so good that they can tolerate the foibles of the English character but true to form, Yorick ends his compliment with an insult by saying that the French are too serious. Yorick also acknowledges his need to “soften” what he says. The inability for these two to communicate is the inability for England and France to communicate. Because each believes in his own superiority, each cannot communicate

with one another and the tension cannot be resolved. Rather than acknowledge and accept cultural differences, the two magnify the differences. Yorick ends with, “The Count said he was mortified” (87). Sterne’s choice of language is an allusion to death and the many people dying because of the conflict between these countries. Sterne also alludes to the conflict when Count de B**** answers Yorick with, “you have the whole world against you” (87). On one hand, the Count’s answer suggests his naïveté and his unwillingness to accept that England is gaining dominance. On the other hand, it illustrates how both parties believe in the superiority of their nation.

Sterne’s travel book is different because of this exposure and because he focuses on the people rather than the sights. Yorick is not in France to see the “Palais royal—nor the Luxembourg—nor the Façade of the Louvre” (81). At the opera, Yorick wishes that the soldier remove his glasses so Yorick can see him but if he were to remove his glasses, the soldier would not be able to see the opera. The officer relates, “Here’s a poor stranger come in to the box—he seems as if he knew no body ... and is never likely ... if every man he comes near keeps his spectacles upon his nose” (54). Rather than the grand opera, the interaction between Yorick and this man is the most important adventure. When Yorick finds himself talking to Englishmen, Yorick says, “*As an English man does not travel to see English men, I retired to my room*” (*sic* 14). The narrator in Goldsmith’s “On National Prejudices,” finds himself in the same predicament when he is surrounded by Englishmen who desire that he support their stereotypes of others. Goldsmith warns about the tendency for people to see themselves as citizens of one nation rather than citizens of the world and Yorick’s focus upon difference exposes the same mentality as

the drunken Englishmen Goldsmith's narrator faces. Yorick says that the French officer in the Opera box speaks to him, so as not to "use him like a German" (54). Yorick also critiques the monk for being in France, and not in Indostan, where he presumably belongs (8).

Through Yorick's behavior, stereotypes are exposed. Yorick assumes that Monsieur Dessein is a Turk or a Jew because Yorick feels threatened by him (16). Yorick relates, "I looked at Monsieur *Dessein* through and through" and after thinking he was a Turk or Jew, "wished him at the devil" (*sic* 16). Yorick also begins the section with, "I perceived that something darken'd the passage more than myself" (15). Yorick feels threatened by Dessein so he assumes cultural superiority over him. A Turk or a Jew was supposedly culturally inferior to a European. Though one culture constantly claims superiority, the perception changes depending upon which culture one is from. This xenophobia appears in much of the period's literature including Goldsmith's "On National Prejudices." While the French may be sycophants, they maintain decorum. The English may be honest to a fault. While Yorick is prejudiced, like so many narrators, he illustrates his prejudice in order to teach the audience. According to Todd, "[Sentimental] fiction showed people how to behave" (4). Though he may not learn better manners, his reader should. Just as a man has no control over what his parents were doing when he was conceived, a man has no control over what country he was born in.

Yorick warns the reader even if he does not pay attention. Learning better manners is something that Polonius hopes to instruct Laertes, and Yorick alludes to his warning in the "Fille de Chambre." Polonius tells Laertes, "Give thy thoughts no tongue"

(1.3.59). Polonius instructs Laertes to think before he speaks and not to offend people. Polonius also tells Laertes, “Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar” (1.3.61). When the women are in Yorick’s room, Yorick certainly follows Polonius’s advice where he is familiar with the women. He does, however, transgress a boundary and his behavior could be called vulgar. Polonius also exposes that he is judgmental because he instructs his son to judge others by what they wear. Though Polonius attempts to instruct Laertes the importance of accepting other people, he also reveals that he speaks only to hear himself speak. Polonius is like the jester and Yorick is his double. The speech precludes the Chambermaid but it also shifts back to the scene in the opera with the French Officer and the Dwarf. The French Officer and Yorick banter over which country is the best, and this again makes Yorick recall Shakespeare to assume superiority. Yorick relates, “What the old French officer had deliver’d upon travelling, bring Polonius’s advice to his son upon the same subject into my head—and that bringing in Hamlet; and Hamlet, the rest of Shakespeare’s works, I stopp’d at the Quai de Conti in my return home, to purchase the whole set” (*sic* 63).

In Shakespeare, the trope of the jester is used to fool people. Because the jester is dressed as a fool, what he says is expected to be foolish. Like most things in Shakespeare, this is turned on its head and the jester delivers the most profound speeches of anyone in the play. John M. Stedmond says that Sterne is an accomplished satirist and uses the jester as the rhetor. The jester offers Hamlet the opportunity to lament his mortality and in Sterne, he recalls the speech between Polonius and Hamlet. Yorick too critiques the Empire in “The Fragment.” Yorick says, “’Twas only in the power, says the Fragment, of

the God whose empire extendeth from heaven to earth” (35). “The Fragment” begins with Yorick referring to Democritus, a “laughing philosopher” who laughed at all “mankind’s foibles” (34; note 64). The “Empire” Fragment is inserted in the middle of Volume I, while Yorick is in Monriul and hiring La Fleur. As Yorick calls La Fleur his servant and focuses upon his Frenchness, Sterne is commenting upon the Empire of England lording itself over France. The Fragment then is a comment upon England’s Empire and Sterne is suggesting that only God has power over the Empire. Sterne’s emphasis on servile and beggarly systems, exposes the empire for using people and then throwing them away. While women are supposed to be protected, the system of war leaves them defenseless and they must rely upon the good nature of man in order to be safe. Soldiers are supposed to be glorious, but in Sterne’s world they are reduced to begging in order to eat. His playful sentimentality is seriously employed to expose these wrongs.

Chapter Two: The Mark of Sentimentality: The Death of the
Soldier in *Jacob's Room*

If tears are the mark of sentimental literature, then *Jacob's Room* is a sentimental novel. *Jacob's Room* is framed by the widow, Betty Flanders, who begins and ends the novel with tears: "Slowly welling from the point of her gold nib, pale blue ink dissolved the full stop; for there her pen stuck; her eyes fixed, and tears slowly filled them" (3). The tears streaming at the end may be the reader's, but Vara Neverow points out that the Holograph version also included Betty Flanders's tears at the end (*lvii*; "The Return" 203). The tears reflect Betty's loss; at the beginning she has lost her husband, Captain Seabrook, and at the end, she loses her son, Jacob Flanders. Reflecting this loss, Betty thinks, "Accidents were terrible things" (3). The narrator also notes that Betty cries "three times a day" (12). In addition to Betty, Florinda, Clara, and Fanny weep, and they all weep for Jacob (79; 87, 177; 124, 180). Woolf uses sentimentality to arouse public sentiment, or pathos, for a lost soldier. According to Janet Todd, the "arousal of pathos" is the mark of sentimental literature (2). When the novel ends, Betty holds up Jacob's empty shoes to arouse pathos for her loss. Woolf questions traditional gender roles throughout the novel and sets up men as responsible for creating history, while women create life. Despite this polarity, Woolf also finds that women are complicit in the act of war. Sandra Wentworth Williams finds herself thinking "what for?"; Woolf wonders the same thing (170).

The narrator points out that Jacob never bothered to ask himself such a question but Sandra's question reverberates throughout the novel and the reader wonders what

Betty did it for (170). Margot Norris argues, “War depends on a tortured logic of relations between ends and means” (4). Based on this, Betty can never ask herself, what for? Woolf can find no answer and many scholars focus on Woolf’s critique of the war throughout her canon. For Naomi Black, Woolf’s feminism is a resistance to war. Walter Allen, Margot Norris, and Paul Fussell all formulate modernism as a response to war. Written in 1922, according to some the pinnacle of modernism, *Jacob’s Room* fits within this tradition. Though a modernist writer, Woolf’s critique of the war illustrates just how little had changed between the eighteenth and the twentieth century. Modernism is often assumed as a rebellion against old Victorian values and critics have argued that Woolf is using a Victorian past as well as making room for the new. Walter Allen notes that the men of Woolf’s time are a “new generation” and this new generation questions everything about the past (3). Woolf’s critique of war would suggest the opposite. Judith Hattaway finds that *Jacob’s Room* does not “see the whole significance of the War” (14). *Jacob’s Room* is both Woolf’s first experimental novel and an indictment of war. Christine Froula argues that *Jacob’s Room* “foregrounds the dangers” of living in an illusion (281).

In sentimental literature, pathos is aroused by expressing pity for others. In Laurence Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey*, the protagonist, Yorick, travels through France and Italy expressing pity for various soldiers and their widows. The tears in *Jacob’s Room* recall those in *A Sentimental Journey* but there are also numerous references to sentimentality. In *Jacob’s Room*, the narrator asks of Betty, “who shall deny that this blankness of mind, when combined with profusion, mother wit, old wives’ tales,

haphazard ways, moments of astonishing daring, humour, and sentimentality—who shall deny that in these respects every woman is nicer than any man?” (8). Betty immediately disagrees and denies her sentimentality, despite her crying. Betty’s denial exposes the negative connotations associated with sentimentality. The narrator suggests that sentimentality is a gender trait, but that is inverted. The narrator also says, "Either we are men, or we are women. Either we are cold, or we are sentimental" (72). Men are cold and women are sentimental but Woolf, and the narrator, exposes sentimentality as a personality trait rather than a gender trait. Bonamy, Jacob’s friend, is characterized as having “sentimental devotions” (156). The narrator thinks, “How acquit Bonamy of sentimentality of the grossest sort; of having no steady insight into character; of being unsupported by reason” (174). In the age of sentimental literature, reason is the antithesis of sentimentality, but men are supposed to be reasonable while women are sentimental. Ironically, Woolf was accused of lacking reason in *Three Guineas* because of its feminist stance. Wollstonecraft too was accused of lacking reason. Bonamy’s sentimentality and lack of reason complicates this gender coding.

In addition to his own sentimentality, Bonamy characterizes Jacob as sentimental. Bonamy notes that Jacob has a “romantic vein” mixed with stupidity (148). Bonamy and the narrator note that Jacob is the most likely to fall in love, even “headlong” in love (147; 163). Supporting the theme that no one can really know someone else, Bonamy’s characterization of Jacob is a reflection of Bonamy. Rather than know Jacob, the reader is given impressions of him by others. A. A. Mendilow points out that for Woolf, “each character is a projection of the others who see him” (224). Despite this being Bonamy’s

projection, the narrator also characterizes Jacob as sentimental, referring to the “ebb and flow in our veins” (146). The ebb and flow in our veins is a direct reference to Yorick and the “ebbs and flows” of his blood and pulse (*ASJ* 7). Like Yorick, Jacob is full of life as the blood courses through his veins and he is also privileged because he is male. The narrator notes, “A young man has nothing to fear” (117). Because he has nothing to fear, Jacob feels “well-disposed” toward the “street scavengers” and others (117).

Feeling well disposed toward others is an outward performance of the arousal of pathos. For this very reason, sentimentality was critiqued. Only the people of privilege could afford to feel well disposed toward others. According to Stephen Ahern, “Sterne shows how easily an ethical system predicated on the demonstrative display of virtue can become problematic” (95). Bonamy’s and Jacob’s sentimentality refutes the narrator’s claim that either we are men and cold, or we are women and sentimental. Even so, Bonamy and Jacob do not weep. In contrast, the women, Betty, Fanny, Clara, and Florinda, are characterized as sentimental and they weep. Jacob notes that Fanny Elmer is “all sentiment and sensation” (162). Clara is in love with Jacob and her “sentiment” is referred to when she feels like a fool for having loved and lost (180). Regarding Florinda, Jacob thinks “her sentiments infantile,” but he also notes that she could not pretend a sentiment (97).

According to the debate regarding sentimentality, men are reasonable and women are sentimental. Contrasting the weeping women are the sensible, even though they are sentimental, men. Woolf, however, characterizes the men as sentimental and lacking reason. Mr. Sopwith, a Cambridge Professor, is referred to as “sentimental” (72). His

sentimentality is coupled with his love of talking for the sake of talking. For men, sentimentality is associated with nostalgia, especially nostalgia for the great Empire of England. There are numerous references to being out to sea and there are also references in *The Waves*. While out to sea, the narrator suggests that people have “sentimental regrets” (164). When in Greece, Jacob refers to the “sentiment of Athens” (78). For women, sentimentality is associated with crying and being sensitive. Because they all weep for Jacob, it is an indictment of war. Though written after *Jacob’s Room*, Woolf’s essay, “Women Must Weep,” is a response against the war and an attempt to formulate a woman’s society to prevent war. Because the men do not cry, they believe in the ideals of war. Men are taught to speak politely and to express good feeling toward others.

According to Maureen Harkin, sentiment became a bad word by the time Jane Austen was writing. Todd notes that sentimentality came to be associated with Jacobin sentiments and blamed for the onset of the French Revolution (130-1). Sentiment also came to be associated with an avoidance of *manly* responsibility. The French Revolution was a time of great promise for women with the right to vote. Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and John Stuart Mill began the debate and people thought women would win the right in the eighteenth century. Annan points out that Leslie Stephen and his family discussed the “woman question” amongst themselves and both Leslie and Julia believed that women belonged in the home. The fight being lost provides another opportunity to re-construct sentimentality and its association with weak women.

By the time of Jane Austen, writers who engaged in sentimentality were seen as especially effeminate. Todd dates the association of its femininity even earlier, 1770 (7).

When Bonamy, Mr. Sopwith, and Jacob are characterized as sentimental, they are also characterized as lacking reason. Edmund Burke wrote his *Reflections* in 1790 and Wollstonecraft immediately launched an attack on his *Reflections* attacking his masculinity and accusing him of being effeminate. Because of her attack, Todd says that Wollstonecraft is “anti-sentimental” (132). Todd points out that Burke thought he was being rational and reasonable. By characterizing Sopwith and Bonamy as sentimental, Woolf attacks their masculinity. However, Wollstonecraft is not anti-sentimental and neither is Woolf. For Wollstonecraft, sentimentality is very complicated because women are encouraged to display emotions and yet those emotions are often used against them. Wollstonecraft was completely aware of this as can be seen in *Mary, A Fiction*. Woolf notes that both genders are taught to display emotion, but they are taught differently. Woolf finds more evidence to clearly demonstrate that these are learned and not natural behaviors and Woolf is angry that she has to fight the same fight Wollstonecraft did.

Leslie Stephen resented being perceived as sentimental and his resentment reveals the gender assumptions associated with sentimentality. Despite Stephen’s fight against sentimentality, S. P. Rosenbaum confirms, and many agree, “Stephen was a sentimentalist” (48). His indulgence in sentimentality is partly the reason for his negative attitude toward it. In *The History of Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Stephen writes that sentimentality is “the name of the mood in which we make a luxury of grief” (436). Most of Stephen’s family is described as sensitive and even neurotic, and these words were associated with sentimentality. Ironically, Woolf perceived her father to be unfeeling in his writing. Woolf refers to him as “puritanical” and without “the sense of

the sound of words” (*MOB* 68). Additionally, Stephen berated authors for using sentimentality; Rosenbaum notes, “twice in his criticism Stephen expresses desire to horsewhip his authors—Laurence Sterne for his behaviour and Jonathan Edwards for his sermons” (47). Sterne was ridiculed by most nineteenth-century authors and critics as creating an archetypal man of feeling and therefore, emasculating men (Todd 145-6). Todd points out that Hazlitt, Thackeray, F. R. Leavis, and Coleridge, all criticize Sterne and all are very important men to Stephen. Stephen was known as being especially moral and the nineteenth-century critique of Sterne would have certainly influenced his own. As a result of nineteenth-century criticism, the link of sentimentality with effeminacy cannot be severed, even when unintentional. Rosenbaum notes, “Bloomsbury were aware they lacked the awesome energies of the Victorians, but at least they were able to accept death without the sentimental excesses of nineteenth century grief” and Stephen’s *Mausoleum Book* is seen as a direct example of sentimental excess (39). Todd points out that sentimentality was perceived as decadent and Rosenbaum’s use of the word *excess* emphasizes this. Because effeminacy is perceived as weakness, Woolf too fought against being perceived as sentimental. Though Rosenbaum suggests that Bloomsbury lacked excess of grief, Woolf is often noted of using precisely that kind of grief. In “*Jacob’s Room* and Roger Fry,” Robert Kiely argues that Woolf had “a genius for” “dispersal of emotion into a landscape transformed by an atmosphere of nostalgia and melancholy” (148).

Following 1770, sentimentality became increasingly associated with only women and because of that association, it was also associated with a lack of education (Todd

133). The lack of education associated with sentimentality supports the polarity of reasonable men and sentimental women. Woolf illustrates how what is perceived as sensible in men is sentimentality and that it is taught at Oxbridge. Though the men do not cry in *Jacob's Room*, in *Mrs. Dalloway*, Peter Walsh cries, and in *The Hours*, he also cries. But in the movie adaptation of *The Hours*, only Clarissa cries. When Peter comes to visit Clarissa, he breaks down into tears and the scene is awkward for both because it is described as a battle. With one ex visiting another, each wants to display superiority over the other and Peter's display of emotion does not show his superiority. At the end of the day, Clarissa cries over the stress of throwing the party. In the movie version, only Clarissa's tears are included. Choosing to omit Peter's tears reflects American society's perception of sentimental men. Todd argues that sentimentality was seen as responsible for making the entire nation effeminate (134). This fear was present in the twentieth century and continues today. In George Orwell's "Politics and the English Language," he chooses an excerpt from the *Tribune* where the writer blatantly accuses all of England of being too effeminate calling them "blameless bashful mewling maidens" (156). Because of this, no writer wanted to be accused of sentimentality, even Woolf.

After reading at the Memoir Club, Woolf writes in her diary, "Why did I read this egotistic sentimental trash!" (*Diary 2*: 26). A writer of the *Times* also accuses her of being "sentimental" (*Diary 2*: 29). Based on her own accusation, Woolf associates sentimentality with nostalgia and a "lay[ing] bare [of her] soul" (*Diary 2*: 26). Through the nineteenth century, sentimentality came to mean a nostalgic look at the past and Woolf associates sentimentality with an uncritical view of the past and nostalgia for the

grandiosity of the nation. Sentimentality, therefore, is connected to patriotism. In “Reminiscences,” Woolf accuses her father of “Tennysonian sentiment” (*MOB* 32). The twentieth century saw the fall of an empire while the eighteenth century saw the rise. For Jacob and Sopwith, their sentimentality is being English and reflecting on the past. Everything in *Jacob’s Room* is “all very English” and Jacob himself is very English and this perception suggests a Tennysonian sentiment for the grandeur of England (38).

Despite this negative association, Woolf also writes, “I rather believe that the nice people feel more temperately and universally than we do—& with none of our passion” (23). These diary entries were recorded in the same year and in one, Woolf accuses herself of egotism and sentimentality, and in the other, Woolf praises herself for the great ability to feel. Woolf knew that she was able to feel in the same way that Sterne characterizes. Nostalgic or not, Woolf uses sentimentality throughout *Jacob’s Room* and critiques the perception of sentimentality as being effeminate. While Woolf acknowledges sentimentality as nostalgic, she does not support that it is effeminate. It is not clear if Woolf is accusing Leslie or Julia Stephen of Tennysonian sentiment, whether it is Julia deliberately seducing Leslie with this, or whether Leslie is seduced by the Tennysonian sentiment he sees in Julia. Either way, Woolf recognizes that her mother is “practical” and is “free from all illusion or sentiment” (*MOB* 34; 33). Woolf acknowledges the delineation of male sentimentality as “sensibility” and female sentimentality as weeping. This is in contrast to Austen’s delineation between “sense” and “sensibility.” Because women lack an education, women are more likely to weep, but

a man's sentimentality is learned and mixed up with patriotism. Either way, both genders are clouded by sentiment.

Woolf locates the novel in the eighteenth century through deliberate references to the century itself and through the sentimentality debate. The narrator notes, "The eighteenth century has its distinction" (71; 186). These references connect her with many eighteenth-century writers, including Sterne. Roger Moss reflects on *Jacob's Room*, "Its hero is a mock-picaro for whom Woolf had greater overt sympathy in her own critical writings than Fielding's—Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. The closeness to the texture of life, the concomitant distance from the prescriptions of 'art,' and the modernity, which she celebrated in Sterne, she practices in *Jacob's Room*" (51). Allen connects *Tristram Shandy* to *Ulysses* and then to *Mrs. Dalloway*, comparing their streams of consciousness style (9; 18). E.M. Forster defines the parameters that make up a novel and when he does, he realizes that Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* do not fit. Forster notes the same of Woolf and calls Sterne, Joyce, and Woolf fantasists, because they do not use a traditional plot or characters. Harold Bloom notes that these writers are indeed realists, but they are characterized as fantasists for their ability to conceptualize reality. Woolf's *Jacob's Room* follows a traditional *bildungsroman* and Allen notes that most of English literature deals with the "education of men" (xiii). Judy Little argues that *Jacob's Room* is a parody of the traditional *bildungsroman* because rather than obtain an education, go on a journey, learn a life lesson, get a job, and get married, Jacob dies. If most of English literature deals with the education of men, Woolf wonders, what for? She wonders this especially when the men are sent to their death in war.

Jacob's Room has been criticized for its lack of well-rounded characters, including Jacob. Most of what the reader learns about him is through the eyes of others and the narrator notes that it is impossible to know another person. Winifred Holtby notes that characters are usually "rounded, complete, flesh-and-blood human beings but character can, after all, be considered by the novelist in several quite different ways" (64). Holtby suggests that Woolf sees character in a different way and one of her points is that it is impossible to know another person. Jean Guiguet argues that the characters in *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day* are more rounded than characters in any of Woolf's later novels, but cites Jacob's "limitedness" as his strength (40). Because Jacob is not rounded, he is an everyman type. Avrom Fleishman argues that Jacob's death becomes "a general symbol of man's fate" (54). Julia Briggs says that Jacob is "unknowing and unknowable" (93). Neverow calls him "a representative composite" of men his age (1). This everyman fate is the perfect characterization for a soldier because a soldier replaces his individual identity for a collective one. Emphasizing Jacob's lack of individual identity, Mrs. Papworth cannot even keep his name straight and calls him Sanders (106).

In addition to the eighteenth century debate regarding sentimentality, both *A Sentimental Journey* and *Jacob's Room* are travel books where the traveler expresses sentiment for the people he encounters. In *Jacob's Room*, various characters, including Jacob, fulfill the function of Yorick. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick goes through France and Italy and expresses sentiment for broken down soldiers. Jacob also travels to France and Italy though he continues his journey to Greece and Constantinople. Sterne exposes a country ravaged by war full of men who were once upheld and are now

begging and selling *patès* in the streets. In *Common Ground*, Judith Frank points out that Sterne exposes the possibility of people posing as gentleman. Frank argues that Sterne allows Yorick to “constitute himself as a gentleman” (66). Likewise, Yorick’s servant, La Fleur, also attempts to constitute himself as a gentleman but he is poor because he was a servant of the state. If La Fleur is able to constitute himself as a gentleman, it upsets the ideal order of aristocracy and the classes below them. Sterne did not feel anxiety about this class movement, but felt alienated by the lack of class movement regarding his own situation. Christine Darrohn argues that Woolf displays anxiety over class mobility as a result of war. In *Jacob’s Room*, Woolf inverts the sentimental journey and illustrates how the sentimental man of feeling becomes transformed by institutions such as Cambridge and the military. Jacob’s transformation parallels the transformation of the soldiers that Yorick encounters. Once the government has used the soldier for service, he is discarded. Prior to being discarded, Jacob is in a privileged position where he constitutes himself as a gentleman by treating others poorly.

Similarly, *A Sentimental Journey* and *Jacob’s Room* are anti-travel books where the journey is internal rather than external. Todd even notes that Sterne’s popularity is due solely to his ability to characterize the inward voyage. Though both Yorick and Jacob travel, their experiences with other people are the focus rather than the great sights. Jacob lives in London and visits Greece, but in both places he is more mesmerized by the people than the sights. In Woolf’s diary, she records attending the Bach festival and writes, “Bach was very beautiful, though the human element in the choir always distracts me” (*Diary 2*: 31). Woolf’s feeling parallels Sterne’s own when he characterizes Yorick

at the opera and all Yorick can pay attention to are the people in the crowd. One important location in both texts is the *Gare des Invalides*. In France, Jacob takes the train to Versailles and the station is next to the *Gare des Invalides* (136). The *Gare des Invalides* is a group of buildings near a central train station in Paris dedicated to commemorate war. It recalls Yorick's reference to the *hopital des Invalides*, a hospital for sick and retired soldiers among the *Gare des Invalides*, built by Louis XIV. Napoleon's body was buried there (Herold 441). This place is a symbol of war. Additionally, each book is an anti-travel book because the main characters are dead when they begin their journey. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick is dead, having died both in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. In *Jacob's Room*, Jacob is not dead yet but the entire novel focuses on death and his being enclosed in a coffin or a room. Woolf critiques the notion of a journey when it leads to death.

Most critics have made peripheral comparisons between Woolf and Sterne regarding time and stream-of-consciousness style. The time scheme between *Tristram Shandy* and *Orlando* can be compared where the idea of origin can never be pinpointed. In *Time and the Novel*, Mendilow argues that the twentieth century was obsessed with time. Mendilow calls Sterne's treatment of time a time shift, because he constantly jumps backwards and forwards in time. Mendilow also points out that Sterne pokes fun at the difference between how long it takes to write a story rather than tell a story (70). Because of the constant time shift, Mendilow compares Woolf and Sterne and shows how both take a particular moment in time but infuse the past, present, and future within that moment. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, each moment embodies past, present, and future (Paul

Ricoeur notes the same). In *A Sentimental Journey*, Sterne oscillates between one moment and another by recalling earlier scenes. Though she does not make the comparison to Sterne, in Teresa Prudente's *A Specially Tender Piece of Eternity*, she calls Woolf's sense of time "a-linear" (ix). In *Aspects of Bloomsbury*, Rosenbaum notes that "The sequences [Woolf] represents in these novels and in her short stories owe more to Locke and Sterne" (8). Rosenbaum suggests that Woolf's consciousness is not in "streams" but in "states," using *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves* as examples (8).

Rosenbaum further connects *Tristram Shandy* to *Jacob's Room*:

Echoes of *Tristram Shandy* can be heard in the visits of Captain Barfoot to the widowed Mrs. Flanders. Jacob Flanders's name—Jacob Flanders means supplanter—alludes not only to the famous place where so many of his generation were buried but also to that celebrated heroine of another eighteenth-century novel that Virginia Woolf described in 1919 as 'indisputably great.' (Rosenbaum 10; qtd. in Woolf "Defoe" CR 87).

The famous eighteenth-century novel Woolf called "indisputably great" was *Moll Flanders*, and like Moll Flanders, Betty Flanders is a widow who now must depend upon society for her well being. Also like Moll Flanders, Betty Flanders emphasizes how depending upon the good of society to take care of her is not enough. Her affair with a married man, Captain Barfoot, may represent a lack of choice based on her finances. Though polite society knows about Betty's affair, they pretend not to know because if they acknowledge it, they have to shun Betty. Jacob is raised in an environment that only holds the woman responsible for an indiscretion and he inherits that tradition as well.

Jacob illustrates how much of these polite rules he has learned when Fanny Elmer drops a glove and he instinctively fulfills his duty and picks it up, just like Yorick (124). Sue Roe argues that dropping the glove is the offer of a prostitute. Unlike the women in *A Sentimental Journey*, Fanny is not pleased with Jacob's outward expression of sentimentality.

Woolf and Sterne are also often linked together because of Woolf's respect for Sterne; she calls him a "forerunner of the moderns" and Melvyn New, a foremost Sterne critic, calls Woolf a foremost Sterne critic ("Sterne" 280; New 123). According to Jean-Jacques Mayoux, "We hear [Sterne's] frequent echoes in those metaphysical writers of our own times, Virginia Woolf and James Joyce" (4). Robert Gorham Davis writes of Joyce, "By invoking Sterne ... Joyce was following what was itself an old and well established tradition" (21). Both Woolf and Sterne use the tradition of literature as a starting point for their own literature. Bernard Blackstone notes of Woolf that "she learned from others" (13). According to Blackstone, Woolf learned "from the older masters in whose work she discerned the same experimental quality, the same focusing on an interior world. There was Sterne, for instance, with his technique of disintegration, his flouting of the time sense and of the connecting link" (13). In *Orlando*, Woolf mirrors the typical eighteenth-century preface and acknowledges the importance of Sterne. While Woolf and Sterne are mentioned together, the only full-length study on the two is done by Miriam Wallace. Wallace writes of the "gendered subject" in *The Waves* and *Tristram Shandy*. Wallace argues that gender is in a constant state of flux with the man of feeling. The man of feeling, like Yorick, is unable to be pinned down and therefore cannot be

characterized as masculine or feminine. Wallace uses *The Waves* because everything is in flux. Though Jacob's gender may not be in flux, Jacob's identity is. The narrator notes, "It is no use trying to sum people up. One must follow hints" (29). Woolf is also suggesting that gender itself is fluid and that the labels of men as reasonable and women as sentimental are meaningless.

Jacob's Room is also well noted for its impressionist style and "painterly elements" (Neverow xxxiv). Woolf's characterization of a moment through impressions recalls Sterne. Kenneth MacLean argues that Sterne was interested in the way the human mind worked and perceived things (399). Sterne was reacting to Locke and his finding that the human mind is a blank slate building and acquiring impressions throughout life. Ahern notes that Sterne's Yorick displays how "knowledge is to be gained through sensory experience" (94). Most eighteenth-century writers focus on the separation between mind and body, but John Dussinger argues that Sterne was deliberately connecting the mind with the body. If the mind and body are totally separate, that confirms the idea that men are cold and women are sentimental, but Sterne and Woolf do not agree. The narrator notes, "The body is harnessed to a brain" (83). Other critics have focused upon Woolf's impressionism. Jack F. Stewart notes that Woolf sees herself as a painter and uses impressionism as a "motif" throughout *Jacob's Room*. The mind sees things as a series of impressions. Most critics have now recognized that Woolf's aesthetics are political and Jane Goldman argues for a new revisioning of Woolf's use of the sun, the earth and the influence the Post-Impressionism Exhibit of 1910 had on her work. Woolf is a visual writer and she often sees herself as painting a canvas. Allen

writes that the theme of Woolf's work is to "search for a pattern of meaning in the flux of myriad impressions" (18).

Jacob's Room is a war book and a critique of traditional gender roles, and many would argue that this distinguishes it from Sterne, but Sterne's play with ownership and flirting exposes a mistreatment of women. People naturally see a previous time as simpler, but Woolf recognizes this as a construct. The eighteenth century promised a change, especially for women, and then negated that change and went backward. In *Jacob's Room*, Neverow points out that the narrator exposes the restrictions imposed upon women by society, such as no access to an education. Woolf displays the differences between a female and male education. Mrs. Papworth is uneducated but she contributes to society through children, giving birth to nine total (106). In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf points out the difficulty women face contributing to society in ways other than birthing children. The narrator writes, "Making a fortune and bearing thirteen children—no human being could stand it" (2445). As Bonamy's servant, Mrs. Papworth listens to Jacob and Bonamy talk, but she does not understand anything they say. She thinks to herself, "Book learning does it" (106). She deliberately refers to a man's education and feels like an outsider because she lacks such an education. There is also Mrs. Lidgett who cleans the tombs in St. Paul's Cathedral though "the victories mean nothing to her, whose name she knows not" (66). Mrs. Lidgett is around greatness but she does not care. She does not recognize the name on the tomb that she cleans because of a lack of education and because it does not matter to her. Jacob, on the other hand, would be obsessed.

Fanny too illustrates her lack of education. She does not know how to read *Tom Jones* and thinks, “Good people like it” and “there is something ... which if I had been educated I could have liked” (128). Fanny makes a deliberate comparison between a man’s education and her lack of one. Woolf may be mocking Freud and pointing out what it is that women really lacked. Giving birth to nine children is great, but there is no statue glorifying Mrs. Papworth. Likewise, Florinda is so childish that she cannot write a single letter: “her spelling was abominable” (97). These women are all characterized as outsiders because of their lack of education. In contrast, Miss Umphelby has acquired an education and she is a lecturer at Cambridge. Unfortunately, no one attends (41). Black points out that women were not allowed to be Professors at Cambridge until after the thirties, so Miss Umphelby is most likely a lecturer and not a professor (162). It is not clear why no one attends her lectures but it could be because there are not enough women attending the college or it could be another reflection of Umphelby’s status as an outsider though she is inside the institution. Though Jacob is poor, education is available to him, reinforcing privilege based on his gender (Never *lxiii*). Unlike these women, “Jacob Flanders, therefore, went up to Cambridge” (27). The *therefore*, suggests that Jacob was always destined to go and his destiny is based upon his being male. Edward L. Bishop notes, “mind the gap in *Jacob’s Room*.” Woolf uses space on the page to convey more importance to a particular strain of thought and the statement of Jacob Flanders, therefore, attending Cambridge, is completely separated from all other text to add emphasis. Briggs notes that “[Jacob] shares in the illusions of his culture and enjoys its

privileges” (93). In the early twentieth century, no woman, therefore, attends Cambridge, not even the daughter of a scholar.

The narrator can hardly contain her resentment regarding Jacob’s privilege and this resentment is acknowledged as Woolf’s own. Holtby notes that Woolf felt herself “insecurely educated” and that is why she calls herself a Common Reader (40). When Jacob attends church, he thinks, “But this service in King’s College Chapel—why allow women to take part? ... No one would think of bringing a dog into church” (31). Jacob’s sentiment reflects the general attitude toward women in school as merely occupying space and being superficial. Jacob, however, reveals that he feels inferior and due to his inferiority, he has to demand superiority like Professor von X from *A Room*. The narrator then wonders whether the sky over Cambridge shines brighter because of the active minds below (30). Cambridge is characterized as an institution with the light shining brighter over it, yet Jacob learns nothing. Josephine O’Brien Schaefer argues that “the spacious halls of Cambridge enlighten [Jacob’s] mind” (192). Woolf was indirectly familiar with Cambridge through family: her father, brothers, and husband went there. Sterne also went to Cambridge on a scholarship because of a famous ancestor, Richard Sterne. According to Arthur Cash, Cambridge was notoriously lax when Sterne attended. Despite its lack of formal training, Cash points out that Cambridge taught specific authors consistently and Sterne was trained in Virgil, Cicero, Horace and Caesar, and he studied both Latin and Greek (34). Cambridge did promote a classical learning, but if a student learned it while attending during Sterne’s time, it was because he wanted to. Sterne’s reading of Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Rabelais was outside the curriculum. Like Jacob,

Yorick is granted privilege. Ahern notes, “[Yorick’s] assumption of superiority underwritten by class status and education is evident in Yorick’s attitudes and actions” (96).

When Sterne went to Cambridge, Cash notes that Cambridge was “archaic” and used the same methods as those used under Henry VIII (ruling England from 1509-1547) (42). Jacob pursues the same classical training that Jacob does and if Sterne thought it archaic, Jacob would think it more so. Jacob however, prefers the archaic because it is associated as superior. He revives the eighteenth century debate between the classics and the moderns. Jacob scorns Mr. Plumer for having Shaw and Wells and berates him for not reading Shakespeare, Homer, and the Elizabethans (34-35). Following Plato’s “Allegory of the Cave,” the light shining over Cambridge represents learning and enlightenment, but when Cambridge is characterized by light, Woolf characterizes the various professors as incapable of showing people the light. Sopwith talks to hear himself talk. Huxtable is old and miserly, and Cowan wants only to be around people of his own intelligence. Woolf compares the visit to Cambridge with a trip to the suburbs for a spectacular view and a piece of chocolate cake. Woolf calls the visitors “purveyors” of the chocolate cake, focusing on their consumption rather than enlightenment (40). According to Plato’s “Allegory,” the philosopher’s duty is to teach others and to show them the light and for Woolf, this is the duty of Cambridge. Universities were built to fulfill this goal. Despite its duty to show him the light, Jacob’s mind continues in “darkness” even after attending (115). Plato also asserts what the statesman should do and how he should represent his constituents. Reaching back to the eighteenth century,

Burke and Wollstonecraft were both concerned about who should lead the state and how. Jacob is constructed as great and Woolf critiques this construction and dwells upon his mediocrity; he is expected to be great because he is male and he attends Cambridge (112). Jane Marcus writes, “male superiority and the valorization of homosexual over heterosexual love, learned at Cambridge in the study of Greek and reinforced by the philosophy debated in the meetings of the Apostles, resulted in a subtler and more dangerous kind of woman-hating” (*Patriarchy* 76). Following Woolf’s allegory, Cambridge itself is the cave that keeps the men’s minds in darkness. In this passage, Woolf also describes insects being mindlessly drawn to the light despite their impending death (30).

Woolf complicates Jacob’s privilege by focusing on his lack of finances. He thinks, “There’s the cash difficulty” (36). Regardless of the cash difficulty, Jacob attends, and the price of the education is considered well worth it because of the prestige promised by attending. When the narrator describes the Cambridge scene, a father is there deciding whether he will send his son and he thinks, “He would save every penny to send his son there” (40). This father emphasizes the importance of sacrificing everything in order to send his son. Like this young man, Jacob is at Cambridge because of someone else’s sacrifice. He, like Sterne, is on scholarship and feels that the money, because it comes from someone else, limits his independence. Jacob relates, “I intend to preserve my economic independence” (36). Jacob is completely aware that a lack of money equals lack of power. The military is an option for men with little other options. After Cambridge, Jacob’s position between two classes and his fear of being a slave to

someone else's money may have influenced him to join the military. Considering Jacob's financial position and the glorification of soldiers he was exposed to at Cambridge, the decision does not seem so difficult. As Markman Ellis points out, "Slavery was thus the normal relation of the citizen to the state" (52). Cambridge expects the men who attend to be great and because Jacob reveals that he is a failed writer, the military would offer him that chance at greatness. His failure as a writer is suggested by the fact that he writes and is proud of what he has written, but his writings end up locked away in a box suggesting that others did not share Jacob's opinion (70). Reinforcing this, the narrator notes that Jacob "read incredibly dull essays upon Marlowe to [his] friends" (111). While Jacob may have some doorways open to him, Woolf criticizes a system that opens some doorways only to close others. Jacob is in "training to be a patriarch" but his training offers him up for sacrifice (Nelson-McDermott 84). Jacob's writing shut away in the box may also be a farewell to his youth and a "feminine" occupation, one not capable of greatness, another tip he learned at Cambridge.

Woolf and Sterne also share their reliance upon a tradition of literature. Unlike Jacob, both Woolf and Sterne appreciate writers within the canon and those outside. Ian Jack calls Sterne the "most original of writers" and yet he is steeped in tradition, especially the tradition of Shakespeare (312). Cash notes that Sterne read Shakespeare for fun and that Shakespeare was not a staple of a Cambridge education, but by the time Jacob attends Cambridge, Shakespeare is a class and Jacob leaves with a solid belief that the best writers are "Plato and Shakespeare" (113-4). By using Shakespeare, Sterne is able to contemplate mortality and the human condition. When Hamlet finds Yorick's

skull, he ponders death. Sterne uses Shakespeare's character two centuries later and jokingly emphasizes that his protagonist has no flesh and is all bone (*TS* xiv; 22). James Kim argues that Sterne plays with Yorick's death but that he also arouses pathos for his death by displaying the preceding page as the "black page." Kim notes that the black page is an instance of "sentimental irony" because it "deepens" the feeling the reader has toward Yorick's death (4). The black page both expresses great feeling for Yorick's death, but also exposes the inability of fiction to express this great feeling.

In *Jacob's Room*, Jacob walks along the beach and picks up a sheep's skull and brings it back to his room for display (11). Jacob finding the skull is a pivotal moment in his development and it is also a pivotal moment in Shakespeare. Despite Yorick's sentimentality, Sterne's great irony is mocking that Yorick can have any feeling at all considering he is all bone. In Woolf's diary regarding *Jacob's Room*, she writes: "Suppose one thing should open out of another . . . no scaffolding; scarcely a brick to be seen; all crepuscular, but the heart, the passion, humour, everything as bright as fire in the mist" (*Diary 2*: 13). Though Woolf critiques Sterne for being too much heart, this diary entry reveals that she wanted to do the same, and she uses sentimentality to express it. Woolf exposes that Jacob does not get Shakespeare. Though he reveres him, he does not contemplate his own death enough to not join the military.

Yorick and Jacob take a parallel journey, but they do not learn anything. Both lack consciousness and heart and are, therefore, identity-less. Despite all of Yorick's sentiment, he is only bone and therefore lacks heart. According to Davis, "fiction is lying" and "its very being is non-being" (24). Davis's argument emphasizes the lack of

being the characters embody. Woolf also emphasizes the men's lack of being with nothing corporeal under their gowns. Hamlet's famous speech regarding mortality, "To be or not to be," reinforces what it means to be human. When Hamlet finds the skull, he wonders if he has lived. Likewise, Woolf questions the point of Jacob's life if it is only to be sacrificed, but Jacob does not wonder if he has lived. Yorick is perceived as insincere because of his comedy, but like all Shakespearean jesters, Yorick teaches the reader. In *Hamlet*, the two clowns debate whether Ophelia should receive a proper burial because she committed suicide. Shakespeare's jester reveals the truth but only to those willing to see it. With his skull in hand, Hamlet calls Yorick "a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy" (5.1 184-5). It is through Yorick's imagination that Hamlet is able to see his own mortality. Jacob also faces mortality when he is exposed to the world of the "elderly" at lunch and shop rooms (34). Jacob is faced with age and the prospect of living his whole life without fulfilling one dream. Because Jacob is destined to die, Woolf questions his being, just as Sterne mocks being by choosing Yorick as his character.

Mortality is a major theme and Sandra Williams's repeated question, "What for?" sums up the novel. Jacob grows up and attends Cambridge and because of his death, everyone wonders what for? Though he is a soldier and he dies a soldier, the circumstances of his death are completely omitted. What is clear is that when Jacob attends Cambridge, many characterize him as distinguished and therefore worthy of his privilege. Various people think, "He is extraordinarily awkward ... Yet so distinguished-looking" (61; 153). Once men become soldiers, they are no longer anything else, but soldiers, and therefore indistinguishable. Judith Hicks Steihm writes that "soldiers are

substitutable” (224). Woolf has the narrator group all the Cambridge men together as one person, like an army with one collective identity. While in *Jacob’s Room*, the narrator notes, “Then Jacob was left there, in the shallow armchair, alone with Masham? Anderson? Simeon?” (44). Masham, Anderson, Simeon, and Flanders all represent the same thing and therefore have no individual identity, just as Flanders is mistaken for Sanders. Woolf also conflates Oxford and Cambridge, referring to it as Oxbridge because the two universities represent the same ideals (*AROO* 2435). Betty thinks, “Mr. Floyd was at Cambridge ... no, at Oxford ... well, at one or the other” (27). To an outsider like Betty, each institution is exactly the same. As Woolf points out in *A Room*, the ideals at either university are the same and as a result, the men who attend Oxbridge are as indistinguishable as the institution. Woolf argues that “The British Museum was another department of the factory” (*AROO* 2447). Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum, are the metaphorical factory that create and produce young men on an assembly line; Briggs refers to it as “the killing machine” (84). They have lights shining over them to draw in the insects. In the Reading Room, Jacob is inspired by the greatness of the men hovering above him and looking down.

The Cambridge factory produces men with a collective identity comparable to the military. The narrator notes that each man at Cambridge is a “gown” with “nothing dense and corporeal” within, but “great boots” that “march” in an “orderly procession” (30; 181; 183). These men are characterized as lifeless and as ghosts. Their gowns and boots move, but nothing fills them. Their lifelessness foreshadows Jacob’s death. Because there is nothing dense or corporeal within, these young men have no substance and follow the

orders set out before them. These institutions are male and are characterized as orderly, just as in *Mrs. Dalloway* where Richard Dalloway represents the masculine orderly world and Clarissa represents the opposite. Likewise, “the order; the discipline” of the dead at St. Paul’s Cathedral is remarked upon connecting orderliness with each male institution (66). The orderliness of these institutions is great preparation for obedient soldiers serving an empire. Though the light shines more brightly over Cambridge, the narrator also says, “if you stand a lantern under a tree every insect in the forest creeps up to it ... they seem to have no purpose—something senseless inspires them” (30). Woolf deliberately connects the senselessness and purposelessness of the insect drawn to the light with the actions of young men attending Cambridge. Judy Little argues that Woolf “mocks the conventions of the hero’s progress; and, by implication, she mocks the values behind those conventions” (105). Woolf is certainly mocking the values of Cambridge and she is suggesting that Cambridge has gone against Plato’s teachings though they uphold Plato as a great.

To Woolf, war is male, but women are still complicit in the loss of young men. Mark Hussey begins his discussion of Woolf and war with a summary of Margaret Thatcher and her role in twentieth century war, but Hussey concedes that despite the influence of some women, war is male. The military is even male in the twenty-first century even though women are now allowed to join the military. Women only comprise 25% of the military and despite the 25%, half of *all* soldiers who are discharged because of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” policy are women (*Gay.com* 2008). Additionally, a woman who gets pregnant can be court-martialled, while the man who impregnated is not

criminalized. As a Minister, Sterne would be a local judge for small towns that would bring young impregnated women before him for sentencing. The men would go free and the same problem is brought up in Fielding's *Tom Jones*. Though women are a part of the military, they still face discrimination at a much higher rate than men do. As Hussey writes, "the social institution of war, the ideals of valor and honor, are even now, as they have been since Homer, inextricably bound up with cultural notions of manhood and masculinity" (2). Jacob learns Homer at Cambridge and Woolf recognizes that the military is a male institution as old as Oxbridge (36). Woolf knows that women can be militant but when women do it, they are not a part of the institution, with the exception of Margaret Thatcher. Rose Pargiter from Woolf's *The Years* is a perfect example of this. Rose Pargiter is militant and masculine, but she is still an outsider. Her strength exposes the shortcomings of her brothers, but she is not allowed to join the military because she is female.

Though Sterne is not considered a war writer, the dominance of the war in *A Sentimental Journey* links it to *Jacob's Room*. According to Fussell in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, modernism cannot even be understood without the impact of the war and this influences Woolf's perception of Sterne. A basic tenet of modernism is a rebellion against the perceived stability of the nineteenth century. More recent critics have dislodged the notion of nineteenth-century stability. Additionally, top eighteenth-century critics, such as Srinivas Aravamudan, Felicity Nussbaum, and Laura Brown, agree that most writers of the twentieth century perceived the eighteenth century as stable (Aravamudan 12). In a postcolonial context, this may be true. However, Joyce and Woolf

do not see the eighteenth century as stable. Rather than its stability, Woolf uses the century's instability, especially with gender play and the constant existence of war and conflict. Rosenbaum even argues that Leslie Stephen saw the eighteenth century as unstable, and groundbreaking for freethinking in light of the French Revolution. Though the eighteenth century was known for its corruption and religious indifference, Stephen equates those things with the ability to think freely, especially with the creation of Parliament over the monarch.

According to Briggs, Woolf had to reach back to the Victorian era and a more stable society in order to write *Night and Day* (86). The perception that Woolf was using a stable society to base her novel was critiqued by many, especially Katherine Mansfield, who said that Woolf was pretending the war did not even happen (Mansfield 86). By not using the war, Briggs points out that Woolf wished to expose the isolationism of Victorian family structure (55). Whatever criticism there is of *The Voyage Out* or *Night and Day*, the war is foremost in *Jacob's Room* and the twentieth and eighteenth centuries are conflated as one, suggesting a lack of stability for the eighteenth century. Even if the war is an undercurrent of *Jacob's Room*, it is ever present. Jacob looks out his window and sees a procession and Briggs argues that the procession that Jacob sees is a pro-war demonstration (104). Betty Flanders's home is in Scarborough, right across from Flanders fields where many soldiers died. According to Masami Usui and Howard Harper, Scarborough was used for a German air raid in 1914 and also in 1778. The name Flanders is a direct reference to Flanders field where the French soldiers were targeted by the Germans using chlorine gas, claiming 185,000 lives. John McCrae commemorated

the event in his poem, “In Flanders’ Fields,” published in 1915. William Handley writes of Jacob’s rootedness to the past, “Jacob’s seemingly fixed quality, induced in part by his education and gender, is similar to Bakhtin’s characteristics of the contemporary epic hero in literature who is appropriated by the past” (116). Flanders is also the primary location of the battles that resulted in the Treaty of Utrecht, referred to by Sterne. Sterne’s father, Toby Shandy, and an officer in *A Sentimental Journey* all serve in Flanders. Flanders’ Field then is a site of war in the eighteenth and twentieth century and Jacob is the protagonist of constant conflict.

Because of the protagonist’s death, *Jacob’s Room* is read as an elegy for Woolf’s brother Thoby, and the war dead. In Alex Zwerdling’s *Virginia Woolf and the Real World*, he notes how Woolf uses satire and elegy combined when writing *Jacob’s Room* and that it is “not sentimental” (Neverow *lxv*). As other critics have noted, sentiment and elegy may be combined. Most critics acknowledge that Jacob closely mirrors Woolf’s brother Thoby, and that the book is a “memorial for brother Thoby” (Bazin 15). Despite the elegy, Zwerdling points out that *Jacob’s Room* is a satire of the naïve temperament of young men who willingly pledge false loyalties and allow themselves to be used as pawns of the state. As Fussell notes, nothing was more ironic than the Great War. Karen Levenback notes that Woolf “recognized that irony was used as a tool to elicit understanding” though she “both feared and acknowledged [the effect of distancing oneself from reality]” (*Great War* 25). Though Thoby was not a soldier, his senseless death parallels the senseless death that other men had to march forward into. What strikes Woolf the most about the senseless death, is the public’s reaction to it. Levenback points

out that Woolf was affected by the death of her brother-in-law, Cecil Woolf, and her friend Rupert Brooke.

Woolf was reading the soldier poetry of Wilfred Owen, Rupert Brooke, and Siegfried Sassoon while writing *Jacob's Room* (Neverow *lxxiii*). Linden Peach notes Woolf's dismay over the deaths of Rupert Brooke and Thoby Stephen. Levenback examines this dismay in detail and argues that Woolf was sickened by the way the public constructed Brooke after he died. Brooke was a soldier but he did not die heroically in battle; rather, he died of blood poisoning in 1915. Despite this, his poetry glorifying death in battle was propagated to the masses (Neverow *lxxiii*). Much like Brooke's death, Thoby's death was also senseless. Thoby died of typhoid fever after he traveled to Greece and Turkey in 1906. The deaths of these young men were completely senseless and because they were so young, their death was even more lamented. With anyone who dies young, the death is perceived as a waste. The natural reaction is to focus upon what that person could have been, and a life cut short leaves a wealth of possibilities. Though Woolf felt the loss, she was also struck by the focus on the endless possibilities of these men and the contrast between those possibilities and the possibilities of women. Edward Marsh wrote a *Memoir* of Brooke in 1918 and when Woolf read it, she was repelled by the propaganda and the construction of Brooke as a hero. Woolf knew Brooke and when she read the *Memoir*, she did not see the real Brooke in the fictional character. Responding to the *Memoir*, Woolf writes, "The book is a disgraceful sloppy sentimental rhapsody" (*Diary I*: 171). In *Jacob's Room*, Woolf tries to dispel the myths surrounding such propaganda.

The *Memoir* was published to commemorate Brooke and his poetry. Woolf thought Brooke's poetry was terrible but in his death, suddenly Brooke was a great poet with the public intertwining great hero with great poet. Jacob himself is likened to a hero and thought of as the "greatest man" (116). Woolf could not help but recall the absurdity and lack of heroics surrounding Brooke's death by blood poisoning (Levenback 14). His death was due to a medical error and when Thoby was ill with typhoid fever, it was misdiagnosed as malaria, also a medical error (Neverow *lxvi*). Woolf immediately recognized how Brooke was being reconstructed and the facts surrounding his death were being understated. Fussell even suggests that Brooke was constructed as great *because* of his beauty. Fussell notes, "The equation of blondness with special beauty and value helps explain the frantic popularity of Rupert Brooke, whose flagrant good looks seemed an inseparable element of his poetic achievement" (276). Like Brooke, Jacob is constantly characterized as beautiful, conflating beauty with heroism, but Woolf connects beauty with stupidity and a senseless death (76). Jacob thinks, "Beauty goes hand in hand with stupidity" (83). The narrator also points out that "beauty is almost always dumb" (100). In *War and the Twentieth Century*, Norris asks if the wars of the twentieth century are in any way related to the innovative art of the same period. Woolf was able to create innovative and beautiful art with war as the background and Norris finds many other writers who did the same. The same concept is also used by Marsh however, who constructs Brooke as a great hero. Without the war and Brooke's death, his poetry would have never gone anywhere.

Fussell notes that the fragmentary nature of modernism was informed by the wars of the period. Most critics of the war period then form their ideas upon Fussell's, including Norris. In Allyson Booth's *Postcards from the Trenches*, she acknowledges Fussell's claim but also suggests that the combatants and civilians were equally affected by the war front. Regarding *Jacob's Room*, Winifred Holtby calls Woolf "apolitical" but she calls *Jacob's Room* a "war book" (116). Holtby argues that Woolf is attempting to answer this question: "What is it that young men lose when war cuts off their life in its full blossom?" (61). Rather than focus on the war in the background of the novel, many critics have pointed out how war is foregrounded. Daniel Ferrer notes, "Sometimes we have the impression that the entire landscape of [*Jacob's Room*], strewn with skulls and bones, ... is a great corpse in the process of decomposing ... Everything suggests that death and its remains are integral parts of humanity and of its deepest reality, as opposed to the surface world of social conventions" (43). Handley argues that Woolf allows the war to encroach upon the narration of *Jacob's Room* with the disruptions mimicking the disruptions of war on life. The bones and skeletons throughout the novel also attest to the presence of death and war. Tammy Clewell argues that Woolf "promot[es] a new consciousness of death" and critiques the extravagances of Victorian mourning rituals (201). According to Clewell, Woolf "resist[s] ... consolation" (202). Rather than resort to the typical mourning of a Victorian, Woolf does not allow the reader to grieve for the dead because of his or her complicity.

As with Sterne, critics question Woolf's sincerity because she combines irony with elegy. Woolf thinks Sterne is insincere because of his sentimentality. Of *Tristram*

Shandy, Woolf notes, “Sterne . . . laid the criticism to heart” and this causes him to be overly sentimental in *A Sentimental Journey* (78). Regarding *A Sentimental Journey*, Woolf writes, “we begin to doubt” Sterne’s heart because he stresses it so much (83). Woolf believes that Sterne desired to teach the public to “love the world . . . better than we do” (78). Kim argues that Sterne blends the sentimental and the satiric in *Tristram Shandy* and he is doing the same in *A Sentimental Journey*. Yorick’s lesson to his public is to *give peace a chance*. By visiting France during war, Yorick makes explicit the effects of war on ordinary people. Because Woolf questioned Sterne’s sincerity, Woolf is perhaps questioning Betty’s sincerity. Certainly she mourns the loss of her son, but Woolf emphasizes that she supports the system that took her husband and son away. Betty is proud of her son serving his country and even at a young age she would emphasize that Archer would follow his father’s footsteps and join the King’s Navy (185; 19).

Shakespeare, Sterne, and Woolf use the imagination in order to meditate on mortality. Schaefer argues that it is the “imaginative visions” of Sterne and Woolf that parallel each other so closely (190). When Hamlet realizes that everyone dies, he wonders what the point of revenge is. Hamlet asks Yorick, “where be your gibes now? . . . Now get you to my lady’s chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come” (5.1 188-93). No matter what anyone does, they will die, so Hamlet wonders, what for? Either way, Yorick, the silent clown, allows for the most profound meditations on life and death, spirituality, and the futility of revenge. The imaginative vision is to have a dead person meditate on his own mortality. In Sterne, Yorick, who is

already dead, meditates on life and jokes about having no flesh. Likewise, Jacob is dead from the outset so his pondering on mortality is also futile. Schaefer suggests that *Jacob's Room* is marked by "bitterness" while *A Sentimental Journey* is marked by "sentimentality" (194). The two novels share a sense of young men being led to accept a collective identity whether they agree with it or not. Jacob is unable to learn the lesson on mortality and his failure to learn this lesson leads him to accept the ideals of Oxbridge.

Another distinction of the eighteenth century is Leslie Stephen's scholarship on the eighteenth century and Woolf's preliminary understanding of the world would be through his lens. In *Jacob's Room*, Woolf refers to *Tom Jones* directly by Fanny trying to read it, *Moll Flanders* indirectly through Betty Flanders, and *A Sentimental Journey* indirectly (128). Woolf then refers to at least Fielding, Defoe, and Sterne. Jacob also lives in a London that represents eighteenth-century London. He looks out the window and sees, "Passengers in the mail-coaches running into London in the eighteenth century" (100); and "a bitter eighteenth-century rain" (64). Woolf conflates the two centuries together. Jacob's relative is described, "The Countess of Rocksbeer ... fed upon champagne and spices for at least two centuries" (104). The reader wonders what has changed. Like the reader, the narrator is also confused, wondering, "But what century have we reached?" (118). For Jacob, his London is eighteenth-century London. The narrator calls Jacob an "inheritor" of the past when he is at Cambridge (44). After Cambridge, he rents a room in London and is impressed by the eighteenth century architecture. Jacob seeing the eighteenth century out his window is an example of the

time shift that Sterne uses. Woolf arbitrarily jumps back and forth through time and in *Jacob's Room*, it all goes back to the eighteenth century.

Moreover, Woolf uses Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*. Ralph Freedman notes that the form of *Jacob's Room* "suggests more of the eighteenth century than ... the nineteenth or twentieth" and he links it directly to *Tom Jones* (129). Neverow also believes that *Jacob's Room* follows the form of *Tom Jones* (lxv). The relationship between Jacob and Clara Durrant may parallel the relationship between Tom Jones and Sophia Western, but Woolf inverts the parallel, and the marriage plot, because Jacob never proposes and then he dies. Woolf uses more than the form of *Tom Jones* though. Fanny Elmer, another of Jacob's conquests, does not understand Fielding. Though "Fanny Elmer was all sentiment and sensation," she finds Fielding utterly boring and she says she cannot read him because of her lack of education (162). Though Fielding is a classic now, his literature would have been considered popular literature in the eighteenth century. Holtby notes that Stephen's library was "stocked with the classics and ... eighteenth-century books" (17-18). By the twentieth century, Fanny Elmer is unable to read what was considered popular literature in the eighteenth, suggesting a decline in literacy. Supporting this decline is the mention of Fielding in Ian McEwan's *Atonement*. Robbie suggests the sensual Fielding over the esoteric and learned *Pamela*. The eighteenth century is considered the rise of the novel and Fielding's *Tom Jones* is an example of the change in literature due to economic changes. Jacob's comment, "if you must read novels," demonstrates his classical training and his presumed superiority over

others because of this classical training. Because of his classical education, Jacob knows that a novel is inferior to classical literature such as epic poetry.

As Woolf frames the beginning of her novel with Betty Flanders and her grief, Woolf also frames the novel with the eighteenth century. The narrator repeats “the eighteenth century has its distinction.” Each time, the narrator focuses upon the buildings and architecture of the eighteenth century. The narrator elaborates: “The eighteenth century has its distinction. These houses were built, say, one hundred and fifty years ago” (186). The narrator also notes, “even the panels ... have their distinction” (186). The eighteenth century was rife with conflict and war and the heroes of the eighteenth century are constructed and elevated all throughout London. Jacob’s London is a London filled with statues of Admiral Nelson and the Duke of Wellington and their defeat of the French at the Battle of Waterloo. One Wellington monument is actually a statue of Achilles, and Neverow notes that the fusion of past and present heroes parallels the fusion of Jacob with the past and present. Westminster Palace is filled with statues of great war heroes. St. Stephen’s Hall is constructed with Prime Ministers facing former Monarchs. Jacob is impressed by the greatness of his room and its reminder of the past. He is indeed an inheritor. When Jacob first moves in, the panels are characterized as distinguished and when his death is realized, the same comment is made, emphasizing how the men come and go but the architecture and the ideals remain the same. The narrator also notes, “Mrs. Durrant said that Jacob was distinguished looking” (71). If the panels are distinguished and Jacob is distinguished, then he is part of the eighteenth-century background furniture just as Mr. Graham from “Portrait of a Londoner.” One of Woolf’s main themes is the

idea of progress and by the time of *The Years*, one can argue that Woolf no longer believed in progress. Though Woolf's belief in the lack of progress is seen as a development through her lifetime, this idea is evident in *Jacob's Room* and these houses. In *Orlando*, the narrator notes, "things remain much as they are for two or three hundred years or so" (47).

For women, things remained the same for centuries. Wollstonecraft began arguing for the rights of women, mainly the right to an education, in 1790, and by the time Woolf wanted to attend a university more than a century later, there had been little change. Wollstonecraft blames men and women for their role in socializing women to be weak. In *A Vindication*, Wollstonecraft argues that "delicacy of sentiment" is "synonymous with epithets of weakness" (1461). Sentimental literature is critiqued for being effeminate and Wollstonecraft was one of the first writers to make the connection between the soldier and the mindless, obedient woman. Wollstonecraft writes, "military men ... like [women are] sent into the world before their minds have been stored with knowledge or fortified by principles" (1466). Woolf makes the same connection in *Three Guineas* arguing that the Universities actually create the principles. Woolf connects a University Procession with war and argues that "war is a profession" taught first at "Eton or Harrow" and then at "Oxford or Cambridge" (*TG* 7-10). The pictures Woolf chooses to include in *Three Guineas* reinforce this idea pairing military men with university students. Woolf defines patriotism and quotes Lord Hewart, "For those who have been trained in English schools and universities, and who have done the work of their lives in England, there are few loves stronger than the love we have for our country" (*TG* 12). Woolf exposes the

institution as teaching patriotism and because women are outside the institution, they weep for the loss of young men instead of *sensibly* supporting war. Black also points out that Woolf exposes these men as “vain ... arrogant, and besotted with status” (169).

Woolf and Wollstonecraft agree that it was not “nature” that made such a “great difference between men and women” but “civilization” (Wollstonecraft 1459). Sterne is also accused of effeminacy because of his sentimentality and when he characterizes these soldiers as powerless, he is critiquing civilization for wielding power over its subjects. Woolf characterizes the male world with its institutions as orderly and Wollstonecraft notes that a woman’s education is “disorderly” (1465). Wollstonecraft characterizes the soldier as uneducated but beginning in the eighteenth century, institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge taught the ideal of public service to its pupils so the stigma of a soldier lacking an education did not apply. Wollstonecraft notes that people learn what society teaches them and Woolf points out that Jacob has learned the ideal of public service from Cambridge. Sterne’s critique of this has gone unnoticed perhaps because of his own education at Cambridge. Instead, critics have focused on weeping and blushing and have ignored the indictment of patriotism.

Woolf uses the world of the eighteenth century to tell the story of a twentieth-century man. The houses that the narrator mentions when referring to the distinction of the eighteenth century are a result of the great architecture supported by King George III (186). Eighteenth-century writers were critical of the government and empire and how the war affected civilians. Eighteenth-century society is responsible for the creation of the conscription army and while it may not be responsible for creating war as a business, it

certainly contributed. The houses, and the ideas they house, were formulated in the eighteenth century and the twentieth-century man, Jacob, is unable to see the world through a different lens. Like Sterne, Woolf uses time as a way to expose the lack of progress even though time has passed. The only thing that happens with time passing is the collection of dust. Sterne does this by calling his protagonist Yorick and constantly recalling Shakespeare's time. Sterne's Yorick is an example of the time shift because the setting of the story is the eighteenth century but Sterne points out that Yorick is Shakespeare's Yorick. He uses time for his own purposes and shifts back and forth arbitrarily and Woolf does the same between the eighteenth and twentieth century. Jacob visits a brothel and is impressed by the empire:

The fire burnt clear between two pillars of greenish marble, and on the mantelpiece there was a green clock guarded by Britannia leaning on her spear. As for pictures—a maiden in a large hat offered roses over the garden gate to a gentleman in eighteenth-century costume (109).

When in Versailles, the narrator compares England to France and notes that there are no eighteenth century inns like those in England (143). Because England won the war, England fills its space with reminders of its greatness. Woolf conflates the eighteenth century with the twentieth to show the lack of change or progress.

In Westminster Palace, Woolf refers to the various statues of Chatham, Pitt, Burke and then again, "Pitt and Chatham, Burke and Gladstone" (151; 182). Each time these men are referred to, a contemporary man measures himself against the greatness of the men sculptured or painted within Westminster Palace. Evan Williams, Sandra

Williams' husband, admires "greatness" and wonders how he measures up to Pitt and Chatham, Burke and Gladstone (151). Evan is in awe of these men but his awe is contrasted by the narrator's point of view. The narrator looks down at the living men who have replaced them, instead of up, and thinks they are all old and suffer from "dyspepsia" (182). Based on their condition, she wonders how any of them can compare to the statues looking down on them. Knowing that he does not compare to the greatness of Pitt or Chatham, Evan compares himself to Napoleon because of his short stature (151). Contrasting Evan's comparison, the narrator notes that Evan had "accomplished nothing" (151). Sterne sets up Yorick and La Fleur as the English versus the French, and Woolf does the same with Evan Williams and Jacob. Many readers assume that Jacob is having an affair with Sandra Williams and if Evan is Napoleon, Jacob is the Duke of Wellington. In another irony, Jacob defeats Napoleon once again by pursuing his wife. This is a Sternian joke and mirrors the behavior of Yorick. The construction of Englishness and its power is throughout England, including a large painting of Napoleon's defeat by Wellington in the Royal Gallery. Woolf reduces these men and makes the ordinary extraordinary by characterizing the fight as the one over Helen of Troy, figuring Sandra as Helen. Additionally, Clara Durrant is characterized as such and her dog's name is Troy; to Clara, Jacob is supposedly Ulysses (180; 176). When Clara sees the statue of Achilles and sees Jacob, Clara conflates Jacob with the ancient past just as society had conflated Achilles with the Duke of Wellington.

While Forster notes that "[Woolf] loved Cambridge," her invocation of "Oxbridge" in *A Room* makes it clear that Woolf is ambivalent about Cambridge (6).

Woolf is not the narrator of *Jacob's Room* but regardless, the characterization of Cambridge is not flattering. While writing *Jacob's Room*, Woolf notes, "I lay in the shallow light, which should be written dark ... Perhaps Cambridge is too much of a cave" (qtd. in Arkins 294). Woolf is famous for saying, "I thought how unpleasant it is to be locked out; and I thought it is worse, perhaps, to be locked in" (*AROO*). Jacob and the professors characterized are locked in. Cori Sutherland writes, "The Cambridge students then, inherit the old, time-worn knowledge which enables them to sustain the illusion of an absolute reality" (67). Though a theme of Woolf's is that no one can know another person and that it is impossible to sum things up, Sopwith, the Cambridge don, believes that he can sum everything up and does so at every lecture (39). Woolf suggests that men are raised with the belief of their own omniscience. Sopwith's summarizing is an essentialist idea and one that lends itself to fighting war, according to Marina Mackay. Sopwith's sentimentality is also contrasted with the female: "Mr. Sopwith's opinion was as sentimental as Clara's, though far more skillfully expressed" (72). By noting the difference between Sopwith and Clara, Woolf emphasizes how the institution teaches sentimentality but masks it as masculine and an ability to express one's self; it is a rhetorical skill. Clara is sentimental and feminine and expected to be so. The difference is that because she has been denied an education, she is unable to express her opinion as thoughtfully as Mr. Sopwith, and her sentimentality is deemed as lesser. Though their opinions are both sentimental, because Sopwith is associated with Cambridge, he is more likely to be described as "sensible," especially by Jacob. Jacob thinks, "And the Greeks, like sensible men, never bothered to finish the backs of their statues" (157).

Jacob nurtures his love of all things Greek at Cambridge. The narrator notes, “surely some one was now beginning at the beginning in order to understand the Holy Roman Empire, as one must” (42). Jacob also asserts that Plato and Shakespeare are the best writers of all time. By connecting Plato and Shakespeare, Jacob then conflates Greek history with England’s history and both are great (113-114). Peach argues that Woolf “was as interested in the way in which Greek culture had been appropriated as in Greek culture itself” (75). Though Woolf was very knowledgeable of Greek history, Jacob is oblivious. The narrator notes, “Jacob Flanders knew no more Greek than served him to stumble through a play” (78). He sentimentalizes and idolizes Greek culture while knowing little. The narrator points out, “It is true that no Greek could have understood or professor refrained from pointing out—Never mind” (77). Any person knowledgeable about Greece would know that what Jacob is discussing is nonsense, but to Jacob, it is the truth. Jacob sees Greece as the height of civilization. In Greece, Jacob writes to Bonamy, “It is the only chance I can see of protecting oneself from civilization” (154). And Jacob thinks, “The ancient Greeks solved the problem of civilization” (169). In Greece, Jacob becomes more interested in politics and like many young men, he thinks he can solve the problem (157-158). He reads the newspaper and thinks about world events, especially Home Rule in Ireland (101-102). Jacob has elevated Greece to such an extent that when he is there, he feels isolated and alone and he is unable to write Bonamy because of how he feels. Jacob does not want to spoil the grandeur of Greece for Bonamy or himself. Rather than writing how he feels, Jacob refrains from writing at all. Despite his isolation, Jacob thinks, “why not rule countries in the way they should be ruled” (169). Evan

Williams thinks “[Jacob] might do very well in politics” (165). Jacob is destined to be a judge or a lawyer and though he resists at first, he ends up working in a law office.

Jacob idolizes Greek culture and conflates it with the eighteenth century, but he does so without real knowledge. Jacob attends Cambridge for the “classical education” he yearns for (48). As a young boy, Jacob chooses a book by Byron when is given the opportunity to take anything (19). Byron was a local hero in Greece because of his help with the Ottoman Empire. Jacob thinks, “The tragedy of Greece was the tragedy of all high souls” (149). Jacob wanders through the Greek monuments carrying a copy of the *Byzantine Empire*. He also travels to Constantinople, the capital city of said empire. In the eighteenth century, Gibbon’s *Rise and Fall* was also published and it is one of the books discussed at Cambridge (39-43). Jacob is being groomed to take his place in the empire. Jacob, however, does not admit sentiment when talking about Greece. Instead, he says he says he wants to talk about something "sensible," suggesting sensible as reasonable and sentimental as effeminate (77). By sensible, Jacob means civilization and how he perceives Greece based on what he has learned at Cambridge. Ironically, Jacob thinks that “we have been brought up in an illusion” (145). Though Jacob acknowledges this, he is unable to apply it to his own life and this may be why he chooses not to write Bonamy. Bonamy even laments a “romantic vein in [Jacob]” that when coupled with his obstinacy, allows him to accept false ideals (158). Jacob says he wants to be sensible, which is masculine, but he talks about Greece sentimentally by bringing up "the whole sentiment of Athens" (78). Then he sentimentalizes Florinda and says, “Wild and frail and beautiful she looked, and thus the women of the Greeks were, Jacob thought” (79-

80). After all his other readings and studying he thinks, “It’s the flavour of Greek that remains” (77). Though he is disillusioned when he is there, it is in Greece that Jacob decides to go into politics.

At Cambridge, Jacob learns the meaning of English identity and he assumes it as his own. After his vacation with the Durrants, Jacob is back in his room at Cambridge pondering, “I rather think ... it’s in Virgil” (64). Since Jacob does not read Shakespeare, one can assume that he does not read Virgil either, though his classical training requires him to be well versed in both. Timmy Durrant brings Shakespeare on the sailing trip and when Jacob wonders whether the phrase he is thinking of is in Virgil, he does not read Virgil to find it. Instead, Bonamy appears at Jacob’s door and Jacob says, “You’re the very man I want” (70). Jacob and Bonamy search together and they find the phrase in Lucretius (70). The episode suggests Jacob’s weakness as a scholar. His weakness is also emphasized by Mrs. Durrant when Jacob attends their party and is asked about music, Jacob replies, “I know nothing about [music]” (91). To this Mrs. Durrant replies, “you were never taught ... Why is nobody taught anything that they ought to know?” (91). Mrs. Durrant thinks that music is important and Jacob’s ignorance about music reveals a lack of training, one learned at Cambridge. Jacob also says that he knows nothing of history (78). After completing his degree at Cambridge, Jacob knows nothing about music, nothing about history, has never completed a play of Shakespeare, and thinks a quote is in Virgil when it is actually Lucretius. The classical training Jacob so venerates should teach him the difference.

As part of the factory, both Cambridge and the British Museum are old male institutions that help foster Jacob's male genius. The British Museum stands in for the male collective mind and the narrator refers to it as an "enormous mind" (Briggs 97; *JR* 113). Like Westminster Palace, the Reading Room is designed with the greats hovering above the readers: Plato, Aristotle, Sophocles, and Shakespeare (112). The museum houses the dead and nothing can harm the treasures inside. The narrator notes, "Stone lies solid over the British Museum" (114). Jacob goes to the British Museum to read Marlowe, one of the greats of English literature (111). Jacob also constantly talks about Plato and Shakespeare as the epitome of civilization and great literature (113-4). It is hinted that Jacob is a better student and scholar considering his visit to the British Museum but prior to this, what he does not know is emphasized more than what he does know. The narrator describes the various scholars in the British Museum and the feminist, Julia Hedge, feels totally out of place (111). She looks up at the busts of the great writers and wonders, "why didn't they leave room for an Eliot or a Brontë?" (111). Marcus imagines a new room in the British Museum that houses women writers (*New Feminist Essays* xvi). Julia Hedge also compares herself with the men in the room and feels that they are such great scholars. Miss Marchmont is in there and all she can think about is her tea (112). She fumbles around bitterly until she knocks books over, calling attention to herself, but not working (110). Woolf deliberately compares the male scholars with their certainty and purpose with the female scholars in the room and the females feel insecure and out of place. In *A Room*, Woolf points out, "The student who has been trained in research at Oxbridge has no doubt some method of shepherding his

question past all distractions till it runs into its answer as a sheep runs into its pen” (2448). Presumably, Jacob is filled with his own sense of superiority and is able to do this.

Though Woolf uses an entire tradition of the past in *Jacob's Room*, the eighteenth century figures more prominently than any other. The architecture and design of Westminster Palace and the British Museum were solidified in the eighteenth century and the great men referred to throughout are from it as well. Both Moss and Rosenbaum suggest the major influence of Leslie Stephen and his book, *The History of Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, on the twentieth-century perception of the eighteenth century. Though Woolf was influenced by her father, her love of Sterne is a kind of rebellion against the father. Woolf does not think that Sterne needs to be horsewhipped, but read and appreciated. Moss argues that *Jacob's Room* shows Woolf's “need to deal with her father” (53). Moss also suggests that Woolf emphasizes “pointless[ness]” in *Jacob's Room* and that this is traced back to the eighteenth century with the book serving as “an empty, echoing chamber” (42). Moss argues that Woolf uses the eighteenth century because it is better than Woolf's present, so she is nostalgic for the past. Woolf characterizes Sopwith, Jacob, and Bonamy as sentimental because they are nostalgic for the past, especially England's past. The essay in his room, “Does History Consist of the Biographies of Great Men?” reveals his nostalgia for the past (37). With this essay, Woolf mocks her father and his *Dictionary of National Biography*. Just by the mere inclusion of men in the *DNB*, men became eminent and Woolf was well aware that women were completely excluded (4% of all entries up until 1985 included women)

(Black 163 & Nicholls). Woolf does not use the eighteenth century to show her nostalgia for the past, but to show a lack of progress and a training taught by Cambridge to have nostalgia for the past.

Jacob rebels against the ideals of Cambridge by questioning the validity of history. His essay reveals Jacob's ability to think freely and his desire to question those around him. Jacob also rebels when he goes to lunch with the Plumers. The Plumers represent successful society and Jacob is mortified at the representation of what he is to become in the future. After lunch, Jacob cries, "bloody beastly" and thinks, "The Plumers will try to prevent him from making it" (34-35). The Plumers are too stultifying for Jacob and his youth. He is trying to break free and make something of himself and the rigidity of the Plumers represents the rigidity of society and what he eventually conforms to. Despite his ability to think freely, Jacob is also characterized as vapid and "impressionable" (36). The narrator notes, "He was impressionable; but the word is contradicted by the composure with which he hollowed his hand to screen a match. He was a young man of substance" (34). His substance is contradicted by his impressionability. He is also referred to as "stupid" and a "mere bumpkin" (162). Clara thinks he is "unworldly" (71; 86). The different characterizations represent what other people believe, but when it comes to what Jacob believes, he is an empty vessel filled with the ideals supported by Cambridge. He is as vacant as the rest of the "insects" drawn to the light despite it causing their death (30).

When Jacob Flanders leaves the Plumers he thinks, "Had they never read Homer, Shakespeare, the Elizabethans?" (34). Jacob's "English" reading attests to his opportunity

to attend Cambridge and acquire a classical education. Despite this wonderful “opportunity,” Jacob does not take the time to read Shakespeare (47). When Timmy Durrant and Jacob go sailing, Timmy brings Shakespeare. The narrator notes, “What’s the use of trying to read Shakespeare?” (47). Then it is revealed, Jacob had never “managed to read one through” (47). The narrator emphasizes reading Shakespeare as an “opportunity” and Jacob scoffs at the Plumers for not having read Shakespeare, yet Jacob has never finished an entire play. Jacob idolizes greatness and Shakespeare is the greatest English writer and Jacob will agree, even though he has not finished a play. Jacob basically poses as a great scholar, and Woolf suggests that he learned posing at Cambridge. Woolf drowns Shakespeare and his greatness, suggesting that Shakespeare is beyond Jacob’s reach. Though they take Shakespeare with them, “Shakespeare was knocked overboard” and “went under” (47). In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Septimus loves Shakespeare, while the pillars of empire, Richard Dalloway and Lady Bruton, have never read him (180; 75). Woolf admires Shakespeare above all else revering his “incandescent” mind and appreciating that he was not trained by a university (*AROO* 2464). Woolf scorns the politicians who uphold England as great without knowing a thing about Shakespeare and so Jacob’s lack of awareness of Shakespeare is a major character flaw and evidence of his vapidness.

There is also the male-female dichotomy regarding Shakespeare, which was well known to Woolf. In *Shakespeare and Modernism*, Cary DiPietro titles her essay, “How Many Children Had Virginia Woolf?” to recall an earlier debate between Ellen Terry, a famous Shakespearean actress and writer, and L. C. Knights, a famous Shakespearean

scholar. Terry published *Four Lectures on Shakespeare* in 1932, and L. C. Knights responded to it in 1933, accusing works about Shakespeare of lacking scholarship. According to DiPietro, Knights focused on the fact that Terry's books were successful and that success demonstrated an overall lack of scholarship in the public (because the public liked it, the public is stupid). Knights asserts that Terry is not a "Critical Authority" (170). DiPietro argues that Woolf chooses Terry for her subject in *Freshwater* because of this debate. The debate demonstrates Woolf's overall beliefs regarding Shakespeare and her position as a common reader. Woolf was more interested in lives of women and how they perceived literature and life. Knights' utter denial of Terry's worth paralleled Woolf's own perceived diminished value. Knights' point was that no one should care how many children Lady Macbeth had because it is feminine and therefore superficial, but that is precisely what Terry and Woolf would care about. Throughout *Jacob's Room*, Woolf points out how many children the women have had. Betty has had three though only one is the focus, while Mrs. Papworth has had nine. Woolf's argument in *A Room* is that Shakespeare's sister would be unable to produce such creative works because of her contribution made with children. The fact that women's contribution to the world is trivialized by the Cambridge male is precisely Woolf's point. The debate among Woolf and feminist scholars is whether Shakespeare represents the male patriarchal tradition or is re-imagined by Woolf as a matriarchal contribution to creativity. Regardless of whether Shakespeare is male or female, Woolf criticizes the patriarchal male critic accusing the female of not being an authority while the male knocks Shakespeare overboard.

Though Sterne has not been appreciated for his critique of empire, Woolf is a renowned war writer and she is able to appreciate Sterne's critique. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Sterne explores how the war between France and England affects civilians, such as a sick man who seeks a different climate. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf explores how the returning soldier has trouble fitting in with civilians because of what he has seen. Both Sterne and Woolf reveal that the soldier has difficulty re-integrating into society. Woolf includes a soldier in most of her works and her ideas about the soldier transform from her first novel to the last. In *Jacob's Room*, the soldier is a man with feelings and humanity even though he transforms into an identity-less warrior statue. He is not even worth Wednesday's entry in Clara's diary (72). With sentimentality, a privileged person is able to take pity on someone else and Jacob's position to take pity on others, expose his superiority. However, many characters express pity for Jacob, undermining Jacob's position as the man of sensibility expressing pity for others. Mrs. Durrant says, "Poor Jacob" (62). Mrs. Durrant expresses pity for Jacob just as others express pity for Betty Flanders. Jacob's eventual conformity influences Woolf's transformation in thought about the soldier.

By conforming to the ideals of Cambridge and society, Jacob sacrifices his identity and eventually his life. Like Jacob, Septimus Smith also begins as a man with feelings and humanity, but "human nature" does its best to squash that humanity and he jumps through a window. By the time of *The Waves*, the lack of characterization that Jacob ends with is what the soldier, Percival, begins with. Woolf emphasizes how the soldier is a social construct on which members of society project all their fantasies. The

revision of Rupert Brooke is the beginning of this formulation. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick asserts that the traveler juxtaposes onto the natives his own fantasies of what the country is about and Woolf exposes how the natives juxtapose their own fantasies on the soldier.

Woolf also uses Sterne and his mockery of the hobby horse. Kenneth Monkman notes that both “Hamlet and Sterne play with the idea of the hobby horse” (Monkman 113). They both use the hobby horse to illustrate how it potentially destroys someone, if not literally, then metaphorically. Uncle Toby’s hobby horse is to dwell on the Siege of Namur and his emasculating injury. Sterne associates the hobby horse with horses and especially, war. The implicit critique throughout *Jacob’s Room* is that women create life and men take it away, through war. What strikes Woolf is how war is often compared to a game and the orderliness of it is emphasized at places like Cambridge, Westminster Palace, The British Museum, and St. Paul’s Cathedral. When the boys are young, Archer is destined to join the King’s Navy while Jacob will join rugby (19). By pairing these two, Woolf suggests that there is no difference between them. Playing war is a boy’s hobby horse, whether it be through rugby or fox hunting. Fox hunting is done on horseback and in groups, and it is a throwback to England’s past. Jacob participates and goes “gallop[ing] over the fields of Essex” (105). Jill Hamilton reveals, “In England foxhunting was often a young man’s main preparation for battle” (20). War has been equated with various games including chess, fox hunting, cricket, and rugby (Neverow *li*; *JR* 96). Fussell argues that Siegfried Sassoon’s *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928) connects war imagery with fox hunting and since Woolf was reading Sassoon, she would

be aware of the connection. Fox hunting is comparable to men going into war on horseback and it is treated with the same respect.

Levenback argues that Woolf believed the wars of the twentieth century to recall “Napoleonic times,” and this is especially true with the many references to Pitt, Chatham, Burke, Napoleon, and Wellington (*Letters* 2, 50). These men tower through London watching everyone, and are not limited to the halls of Westminster. The representations of Napoleon and Wellington include them on horseback. Through the horse, Woolf successfully transplants Jacob to a more mythic past, to “faraway heroes” (123). Few men rode on horseback during the Great War, but there were certain regiments created to mimic the past and Edward Calthorp is a member of such a regiment. Jacob learns this idealized image as a young man and he has a horse’s anatomy book in his room, *Manual of the Diseases of the Horse*. Fleishman asks, “why the veterinary manual?” (53). Along with the veterinary manual, Jacob has the *Lives of the Duke of Wellington*, “all the usual textbooks” in his room (37-8). Jacob, like so many young men, wants to be a hero and the narrator notes that what is in his room is “all very English” (38).

The horse is a symbol of strength but the man who can control his horse is even stronger, and the term for it, *breaking* a horse, is revealing. Jacob’s father, Seabrook, broke horses as one of many occupations (13). Woolf characterizes women as natural, such as Mrs. Horsefield and Miss Marchmont who “whinnied like a horse” (112). But the horse is also used to symbolize death and convey weakness or castration. When Jacob leaves, Clara misses him and repeatedly calls his name, but no one replies. As she calls his name, she sees a “horse galloped past without a rider” (177). The image of the rider-

less horse paired with Clara's call for Jacob symbolizes his untimely death. The horse is used to glorify the soldier and this can be seen with Napoleon, Nelson, and Wellington. Jacob says that there is a "wild horse in us" (149). Neverow points out that while the Duke of Wellington lived a long life and died a hero, Jacob does the opposite.

Moss calls Leslie Stephen a "hero worshipper" and this hero worship is precisely what Woolf is exposing by knocking the man off his horse (52). Sterne's La Fleur is riding and he cannot get his stubborn horse to do anything he wants him to do. Because of this, Yorick suggests that La Fleur is a cuckold (*ASJ* 38). La Fleur's inability to control his horse is a castration. Julia Eliot spots the horse without a rider and thinks the incident "slightly ridiculous" (177). The procession throughout *Jacob's Room* recalls the Duke of Wellington's procession where empty boots came to signify the absence of the soldier or the horse without a rider, as Neverow and other critics have noted (*lxxxiv*). Woolf does not allow this image to be aggrandized and heroic, however. The narrator notes, "sure enough the little man came pounding behind with his breeches dusty; looking thoroughly annoyed" (177). The man also needs help "mount[ing]" the horse (177). Julia Eliot, like Yorick, castrates the man who was supposed to be on the horse. The man is ridiculous and little, and he is pounding angrily because of his wounded pride. The horse without a rider then represents Jacob's castration as well. While Jacob sees the horse running as "wild," Julia Eliot sees it as "slightly ridiculous." Jacob idealizes the horse and this idealization is a result of his education. While writing *Jacob's Room*, Woolf attends a polo tournament and she is impressed by the display. Woolf writes, "Captain Lockit galloping down with his stick like a Persian rider with a lance" (*Diary* 2: 41). Rather than

characterize the men in *Jacob's Room* the way she sees them at this polo tournament, Woolf decides to emphasize the ridiculousness of man. Froula even connects the horse without a rider to the horse that throws Percival off in *The Waves*.

In Alexander Pope's "The Art of Sinking in Poetry," he mixes the high and the low for comic effect as did many eighteenth century writers. Woolf imitates this technique as early as 1892 in *Hyde Park Gate News*. She writes of a soldier and then she writes of a brother heroically riding a horse to get to his brother's bedside, because the brother is ill, but the guy can't ride a horse (28; 30). This mockery recalls *Don Quixote*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *A Sentimental Journey*, and *Tristram Shandy*, among others. A man falling off his horse is the ultimate subversion of men being in control of their universe, and the animals found within it. Someone also finds a horse's head, alluding to death and mutilation (114). In *The Life and Memoirs of Ephraim Tristram Bates*, the father attempts to mount his horse, but he is characterized as so fat that his belly gets in the way (9). As stated in the previous chapter, Gerald Crich's mastery of his horse in *Women in Love* is a mastery of himself and his masculinity. Seabrook breaking horses is also a display of his masculinity. There are reports that Napoleon was a terrible rider who could not control his horse, but based on the pictures reproduced of Napoleon, no one would know that (Tombs). The fact of Napoleon's difficulty riding is suppressed just as the facts surrounding Rupert Brooke and Jacob Flanders' death are suppressed. Jacob dies an absurd death that is not at all heroic, yet he is constructed by others as Achilles. King George III died on the toilet. Sterne's father died fighting for a goose. Woolf and Sterne undermine the heroism of these men. Sterne's father dies because he is stubborn and both

Sterne and Woolf characterize their soldiers as stubborn. Jacob's mother calls him "obstinate" (7). Betty thinks he is "the only one of her sons who never obeyed her" and she is "unreasonably irritated" by him (21; 72). When pondering the death of her husband, Betty sees "the face of a young man whiskered, shapely, who had gone out duck-shooting and refused to change his boots" (13). In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf elevates the mundane and the ordinary life of a woman but in *Jacob's Room*, Woolf makes mundane the heroic lives of men.

Their stubbornness makes these men better soldiers. Neverow hints that Seabrook's refusal to change his boots causes his death but it could just be an indication of Seabrook's general stubbornness. Uncle Toby's stubbornness is his hobby horse and his refusal to stop talking about his wound. For Woolf and Sterne, stubbornness leads to castration or some deformity. Captain Seabrook is dead, and therefore impotent, and Captain Barfoot is "lame" and "want[ing] two fingers on the left hand" (22). He is also characterized as thoroughly "military," "rigid," representing "law and order," but the narrator wonders if he thinks (24-26). These military men represent law and order just as the institutions of England do, the British Museum, Westminster Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Cambridge. Melba Cuddy-Keane notes, "By establishing a topsy-turvy world, Woolf's comedy differs from stabilizing forms of comedy, since it challenges our basic assumptions about reality" (280). Cuddy-Keane argues that Woolf and Sterne's comedy is more "inclusive" because they allow for questions (280). Woolf and Sterne mock the institution for creating a military man who is incapable of thought.

In Sterne, the military man is the military pedant, or *miles gloriosus*, a type referred to throughout eighteenth-century literature. The *miles gloriosus* is the soldier in Plautus's play, well known for bragging about his greatness. Sterne's La Fleur, Uncle Toby, and Corporal Trim are all models. Joseph Addison defines the Military Pedant as one "who always talks in a Camp, and is storming Towns, making Lodgments, and fighting Battels from end of the Year to the other. Every thing he speaks smells of Gunpowder; if you take away his Artillery from him, he has not a Word to say for himself" (*sic* Bond 275). The military pedant then is a man who can only talk of the military. Another braggart soldier can be found in Richard Steele's *The Tatler*: a man is described as having "lost a Major's Post Forty Years ago, and quitted, has ever since studied Maps, Encampments, Retreats, and Countermarches, with no other Design but to feed his Spleen and Ill-Humour, and furnish himself with Matter for arguing against all the successful Actions of others" (78). This man is the basis for Uncle Toby and all his pinings over his wound. Woolf also notes that Sterne loved books on military engineering and this love was transferred onto his characters (*CR* 283).

Because Woolf's soldier characters are thoroughly military, they are versions of the military pedant. In Woolf's review of Sterne, Woolf uses Sterne's Uncle Toby and the scene with the fly to demonstrate how Sterne can "feel pain and joy acutely" (285). Uncle Toby is comical, but also like Jacob, a perfect soldier. Woolf notes that by the end of *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne "tries our patience" through the hobby horse (284). Bosch writes that readers of the eighteenth century were "Reading Toby against a precursor *Ephraim Tristram Bates* (1756)" (154). Bosch argues that eighteenth century readers "saw the

miles gloriosus in Toby: his humanity was not his dominant trait” (157). This is in contrast to Woolf’s focusing on the fly. In *The Life and Memoirs of Ephraim Tristram Bates*, the story opens with the narrator explaining the possible glory offered to Bates by joining the military. According to this story, the glory denied him was done so because of the accident of his birth. This story parallels the story of Tristram Shandy, whose whole life is attributed to the accident of his birth. Other parallels that Sterne would see is that Bates was *going* to be offered a commission; once he was offered the commission, he was *going* to get married. He died before he got the commission, just like Sterne’s father. Bates did not wait for a commission before he had children, however, seven. The future tense would not be lost on Woolf who characterizes Jacob as constantly *going* somewhere but his *going* is halted by joining and dying in the military.

These soldiers run rampant throughout eighteenth-century literature and this reveals the general mockery of the state’s position regarding these men. In “The Hobby Horsical Soldier” by Addison and Steele, the soldier visits a graveyard with epitaphs and one says, “Here lies the body of T. B.” (77). This epitaph makes the soldier think of all the men who have influenced his life. The soldier notes, “When I run back in my Imagination all the Men whom I have ever known and conversed with in my whole Life, there are but very few who have not used their Faculties in the Pursuit of what is impossible to acquire, or left the Possession of what they might have been” (*sic* 77). The soldier emphasizes how the men he has encountered are men that have ridden a hobby horse to death. They have tried the impossible and failed, like Sterne’s father. Sterne was dropped off with Mary Sterne, a widow, at Elvington Hall where there were a lot of Whig

soldiers around. Sterne would have known many who went to war and Woolf did too. Jacob is raised in a household that glorifies the military because of the family line and Jacob becomes one of those men who *might have been*. The references to Jacob's future glory parallel the idea stated by the soldier above. In addition to this essay, is *Spectator* No. 105, all about Will Honeycomb, a ladies' man. Will Honeycomb believes that all his knowledge can be gained by experience instead of reading books. Will is pitted against the Town, which gains its knowledge by books. He produces a couple letters to a "Coquet Lady" and misspells a couple words (*sic* 274). The townspeople make him aware of his misspellings and he replies, "that he spelt like a Gentleman, and not like a Scholar: Upon this Will. Had Recourse to his old Topick of shewing the narrow Spirited-ness, the Pride, and Ignorance of Pedants" (*sic* 274). These men were constantly reproduced in literature, but Sterne and others illustrate their lack of power.

Captain Barfoot and Seabrook are military pedants and their ideals are passed down to the next generation. Jacob inherits this past as well as the past perpetuated by Cambridge. Jacob joins the army because he comes from a military family and even after the death of his father, his mother continues to associate with military men. When the narrator wonders whether Barfoot thought, she answers, "Probably the same thoughts again and again" (26). Woolf emphasizes his inability to step away from the mold of the pedant, and his failure to get off his hobby horse by thinking the same thoughts again and again, like Uncle Toby. Mrs. Jarvis, the clergyman's wife, goes for a walk and passes by Captain Barfoot and thinks of "man's stupidity" (26). Mrs. Jarvis also makes clear that what Captain Barfoot does at sea, affects her. She notes, "the storm's my storm as well as

his” (26). This comment reinforces Woolf’s claim that though these women are not on the battlefield, they feel the brunt of war at home. The narrator also points out that Mrs. Jarvis is able to see through Captain Barfoot, while Betty cannot (26). Through Betty, Woolf emphasizes that women are complicit in the act of war and allow it to perpetuate.

Though Woolf questions the ability to know, each person in the novel constructs even though they cannot know. Jacob is constructed as great. He is repeatedly referred to as masterly or a master of something: Jacob “looked ... masterly” (44); he was “master of the situation” (49). Despite this, he is also, “extraordinarily awkward ... Yet so distinguished-looking”; “very awkward he was” (61; 153; 123). With his dinner jacket on, the narrator notes, “the world being stable” (57). When Jacob has his dinner jacket on, the world is as it should be. He is the “silent young man” (59; 72). Because of this, Julia Eliot thinks, “If he is going to get on in the world, he will have to find his tongue” (72). She also presumes he could be Prime Minister (72). In *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (MS), Cornelius Scriblerus is obsessed with the way to raise his son, Martinus, so he will be great. From the moment of birth, Martinus is immediately described as “melancholy” and “silent”: “Pythagoras was not more silent” (91). *Martinus Scriblerus* was written by Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, Jonathan Swift, John Gay, Thomas Parnell, and Robert Harley, in 1723, and it satirizes how parents attempt to create geniuses of their children. Cornelius refuses to let his son eat certain foods because he does not want his son to acquire the vanity of pride like the Spanish, for example (106). In typical Augustan fashion, Martinus Scriblerus is associated with all great men that came before him and his father’s attempt to control his diet is a way for him to create a

genius. Woolf mocks the same thing and how Jacob is expected to be great because of his class and gender.

This greatness is contrasted with Jacob's emptiness. He plays games and prepares for war but "for ever the beauty of young men seems to be set in smoke, however lustily they chase footballs, or drive cricket balls, dance, run, or stride along roads. Possibly they are soon to lose it" (123). Jacob is also described as "authoritative" (95), "good" (82), "defiant" and "severe" (101). The narrator notes, "He gives himself no airs ... though he's frightening because ..." (71). Because he is male, "He judged life" (101). Woolf illustrates that people become what they are expected to be and because Jacob is male, he assumes the superiority that others impose on him. He is constructed as a soldier and military like. One man is accused of "Taking Jacob for a military gentleman" (77). He is also thought to be a "British Admiral" (153; 174). Captain Barfoot believes he will be the most successful of Betty's children: "Captain Barfoot liked [Jacob] best of the boys" (72). In his conversations, he uses words such as "absolute" and "justice" characterizing him as a straight, political man (106). He is described as being "regal" and "pompous" (112). Fanny Elmer thinks Jacob "majestic" though "a little overbearing" (123). Though Jacob valorizes Greek culture, he knows little. In Plautus's play, the braggart soldier constantly boasts about his greatness while everyone else plots against him. Jacob is constructed as great, but the institutions he serves are plotting against him. He seems to be a pawn in a chess game. He is told, "they are going to make you act in their play" (62).

Jacob's beauty and youth are matched with his greatness. Dick Graves thinks "Jacob is one of the greatest men he had ever known" (118; 124). The narrator also notes

the “beauty of young men,” linking beauty with greatness (123; 112). Jacob’s presumed success is intertwined with his gender and beauty. Dancers say to Jacob, “you are the most beautiful man we have ever seen” (82). The narrator notes, it is “beauty alone that is immortal” (168). Beauty on the outside reflects inner beauty as Florinda notes, “You’re such a *good* man” with *good* in italics (88). Because Jacob is young, beautiful, and male, his death will be immortalized. This immortalization lends itself to the construction of Jacob as a soldier before he chooses to become one. Jacob’s beauty and obstinacy make him the perfect candidate for a soldier because he will obey stubbornly. In *Martinus Scriblerus*, before the birth of Martinus, Mrs. Scriblerus miscarries and Cornelius responds, “but as the Abortion proved only a female Foetus, he / comforted himself ... his heart being wholly fixed upon the learned Sex” (*sic* 96). The man’s ignorance leads to her miscarriage and yet he believes men to be the learned sex.

Despite Jacob’s masterliness, he is also described as “unworldly” (86). Like many soldier characters of Woolf’s, Jacob begins as an impressionable young man who is open to the world and society. Jacob’s essay reinforces Woolf’s idea in *A Room* where she questions whether men are great because essays are written about them, or if they are really great. Like the eighteenth-century authors, he mocks the traditional school of thought and questions it. At 22, he knows he has to find something, “God knows what,” he thinks (73). He dabbles with indecency and writes an essay about it. Celia Marshik argues that despite Jacob’s experiment with indecency, he rejects it and Florinda (869). Jacob does not want to be pinned down and he dreams of sailing around the world “instead of settling down in a lawyer’s office” (49). According to Todd, the critique of

the man of feeling was that he avoided manly power by staying outside the world of business. Woolf critiques the man of feeling for sacrificing feeling to enter the world of business. Despite this dream, the cash difficulty has an effect and when Betty writes him next, there is an Esq. next to his name. Even though there may be a lack of cash, his status provides him with all he needs. Neverow points out that despite whatever cash difficulty he has, he is still able to pay for his entertainment. In Paris, he is introduced as “wealthy” and “connected” (134). His fascination with greatness compels him to forget his ideals, whatever they may have been, and to accept the ideals of Oxbridge and become great. Ironically, Jacob thinks, “Great men are truthful” (97). If great men are truthful, Jacob’s lack of truth is meant to contrast with great men; Jacob’s essays are locked away in a box with “the lid shut upon the truth” (71). In one way, silence is the way to success. Jacob needs to shut the lid upon the truth and to reject his idealistic values and to accept the world that will force him to become a lawyer to make a living. His characteristic as a silent young man may be the key to his presumed success, but there is a contrast between truth and silence. Jacob is certainly not true to himself when he chooses to become a lawyer instead of sailing around the world.

Ironically, Jacob worships the Duke of Wellington, but Bonamy is repeatedly referred to as the “young man with the Wellington nose,” linking him to heroism and the eighteenth century as well (75; 187). Wellington was referred to as “Old Nosey” (Coates). Both Jacob and Bonamy learn to valorize the Duke of Wellington at Cambridge, but Bonamy is referred to as a “dark horse” (174). Bonamy is known to refer to Lytton Strachey of the Bloomsbury Group, who was a homosexual and therefore

Woolf's reference of him being a dark horse suggests his homosexuality. More than the homosexuality, Woolf may be characterizing Bonamy as an outcast as a soldier because of his open homosexuality. Jacob's homosexual encounters are much more censured and ambivalent, and Bonamy's openness may set him up as an unlikely hero as a soldier. This of course does not take into account Rupert Brooke, who was also a homosexual, but when he was constructed as a hero, he was re-constructed and his homosexuality was de-emphasized. Rose Pargiter of *The Years* is more militant than her soldier brothers and Woolf may be suggesting that Bonamy is more militant than Jacob because he has the Wellington nose. Whether he is more militant or not, he is an outcast.

Like Yorick, Jacob learns that sentiment is a way to express pity for others and his ability to do so elevates him. When he leaves the Plumers, Jacob thinks, "Yet something of pity was in him" (34). When he thinks of Virgil, Jacob goes to the window and expresses pity for the children he sees below (64). When in France, Jacob is horrified by the behavior of the Frenchwomen (167). He says, "Damn these women" (159). Like Yorick, he thinks women have too much freedom. He is also exposed to various people begging for money. On the train, Jacob shows "considerable contempt for his species," though "compassionately," when the ticket collector comes by to collect his ticket (179). Jacob tips him, but emphasizes that the man will simply get drunk with the extra earnings. He pities them and feels superior to them and he will give them money to illustrate his superior position. Sterne reveals the hypocrisy of charity through Yorick; he says, "No man cares to have his virtues the sport of contingencies" (7). While Markley argues that Yorick's sentiment is an instance of his moral superiority, Sterne exposes how

sentiment is used as moral superiority. Giving charity is a selfish act because it makes the person in the position to give, feel superior to the person who needs. Yorick laments that his good will is the sport of contingencies. After refusing to give, Yorick feels guilty and decides that he will learn better manners, but whether he does so can be questioned. Jacob certainly does not learn better manners and constantly shows his superiority over others.

Though Jacob positions himself as superior to the people begging for money, Woolf asserts that these people do not even want money. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Peter thinks that Septimus is in need of charity and this assumption reveals Peter's sense of superiority. The same scene is paralleled in *Jacob's Room*. In London "an old blind woman [was]... clasping a brown mongrel tight in her arms and singing out loud, not for coppers, no, from the depths of her gay wild heart" (68). Jacob would perceive this woman as needing coppers and as homeless. The narrator, however, points out that the woman sings from the depths of her heart. This inclusion undermines the sentimental man of feeling going through life doing charity for others. This woman does not need anyone's charity, but she exposes how the sentimental man of feeling perceives her. The same is true of Yorick and the Monk. The Monk does not need Yorick's money, but Yorick is totally tormented by doing what will be perceived as charitable. Because of Jacob's dealings with his inferiors, he, like Swift, is considered a misanthrope. Florinda even compares him to Alceste from Molière's *The Misanthrope* (179). Alceste goes through the play moralizing, but despite his initial brashness, he learns on his journey to be a better person. Alceste makes good on the promise that Yorick makes for himself, but

Jacob does not learn. What Jacob does learn is how to accept false ideals such as patriotism and love of one's country.

When with Jacob, the narrator notes that "Clara Durrant said farewell to Jacob and tasted the sweetness of death in effigy" (69). The death in effigy that Clara sees is an image of what will happen to Jacob and what did happen to the Duke of Wellington. When the Duke of Wellington died, there was a grand funeral procession and his boots were placed on his horse facing the opposite direction. The boots are empty and facing the opposite direction to show loss and to commemorate the Duke's death in a way that will contribute to mythmaking. His horse also had no rider to symbolize the loss of the soldier. This procession is also mimicked throughout *Jacob's Room* with soldiers marching, music playing, and shots being fired (21; 31; 39; 49; 93; 116-118; 135; 161; 183). In *Jacob's Room*, Betty holds up Jacob's boots and laments their emptiness. This may be the allusion when Clara sees the horse without a rider (177). Jacob accepts the effigy of the Duke of Wellington and admires him. Timmy Durrant says the "Duke of Wellington was a gentleman" (50). In *A Sentimental Journey*, the former soldier La Fleur is mocked for only being able to beat a drum. Throughout *Jacob's Room*, men blindly follow the music and begin marching. Though Sterne mocks the military for training its men to perform useless tasks, Woolf emphasizes the power of the tune to "compel [men] to cross Waterloo Bridge" and move entire hordes of men "like blocks of tin soldiers" (164). Woolf also hints that Cambridge is responsible for not teaching anything the boys ought to know when Jacob admits to knowing nothing about music, but she critiques Cambridge for using music to move hordes of men.

In addition to reading the soldier poetry of Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Rupert Brooke, Woolf was also reading *The Good Soldier* by Ford Maddox Ford, and *The Return of the Soldier* by Rebecca West. Like Woolf, West creates a world displaying the difficulty a soldier has re-integrating into his former life. Though the title references the soldier, the main characters of this story are the women whose lives this soldier interrupts. Ford as well characterizes the people in the soldier's life to illustrate how difficult it is for everyone to re-integrate the soldier into a former life. Ford points out the discrepancies between the training of a soldier and his beliefs and the reality of the world. He is loyal to England and yet that loyalty complicates his life. Captain Edward Ashburnham is a "good soldier" but a terrible human being and he ends up committing suicide. Like Jacob, he feels entitled. Woolf firmly places her novel within this tradition to characterize England and the lingering effects of war.

Woolf emphasizes the "melancholy" of her story and pairs it with greatness to illustrate the contrast between what Jacob could have been and what Jacob was (53; 60). In England, people discuss family members who are fighting in the war and wish them well. Mr. Calthorp and Miss Edwards discuss Miss Edwards' brother, presumably missing in the war (89). Miss Eliot says, "Edward's death was a tragedy" (60). They wonder if he will return and then "what regiment is he in?" (89). Mrs. Jarvis tells Mrs. Flanders that she "never pit[ies] the dead" but in contrast, most of the characters throughout *Jacob's Room* pity the dead (138). Betty would pity the dead as the narrator notes, "Mrs. Flanders would fall musing about her brother Morty, lost all these years" (94). Betty loses her husband and her brother to the service and both are presumably

sailors. She thinks of Morty, “had the natives got him, was his ship sunk—would the Admiralty tell her?” (94). Neverow points out that the novel is framed by Betty’s experiences losing first her husband and then her son. Betty is even pitied by others just as Yorick pities others calling them “poor,” the characters think “poor Betty Flanders” (12; 93). Additionally, Rosenbaum points out that Woolf was upset with the history of the male line and her choice to frame the novel through Betty’s experiences may be a result (55). The narrator notes that, “It seems that men and women are equally at fault” (72). According to Merry M. Pawlowski, Woolf was fascinated by “women’s willing collaboration in their own oppression” (1). Woolf characterizes the home front and war’s effect on people at home, like West and Ford.

Even if women are complicit, gender inequity still plays a role and Woolf, like Sterne illustrates this inequity through her characterization of widows. According to society, a woman is dependent upon a man and is grateful when a man marries her because she is taken care of. A widow, however, is able to enjoy more freedom than other women because she is outside society, but Sterne illustrates that widows are especially prone to being preyed upon. Betty has been abandoned by her husband and brother, and she is left alone to care for three young boys. Though her sons are young, Archer is old enough to have been socialized and understand that it is his job to protect his mother. He brandishes a knife and Betty says to him, “What a big knife for a small boy!” (14). Archer is very young, but he perceives that his mother is alone and she needs a man’s protection. The narrator and Betty emphasize the largeness of the knife compared to Archer suggesting the contrast between Archer’s desire and reality. Betty takes the knife

“to please him” and by taking the knife, she reinforces Archer’s perception that he needs to protect his mother (14). When Jacob gets on the train to Cambridge, Mrs. Norman looks at him and thinks, “it is a fact that men are dangerous” (27). Mrs. Norman’s comment is a reflection of what she perceives and her perception of Jacob changes the longer she sits next to him on the train. The narrator points out, “Nobody sees any one as he is ... They see a whole—they see themselves” (29). Though Mrs. Norman changes her mind, her initial reaction reveals the lack of trust any woman feels when confronted alone by a man.

Widows are always alone and Woolf was fascinated by the perceived danger confronted by them. While writing *Jacob’s Room*, Woolf was asked to do an article on the “Psychology of War Widows” for the *Times* (Diary 40; 20 May 1920 Vol. II). Anne Olivier Bell and Andrew McNeillie point out that Woolf never wrote this article, but the topic of women and how they navigate society was of great interest to her. One of her lifelong projects was to study women in history and when she researches the topic, she realizes that “fiction here is likely to contain more truth than fact” (*AROO* 2435).

Rosenbaum connects Betty Flanders with Moll Flanders, who was morally ambiguous. Defoe was practical in his representation of Moll Flanders, but she is certainly not a favorite heroine because she is a compulsive thief and liar, but she would make a great contestant on *Survivor*. Woolf, and Defoe, understands that her moral ambiguity is an effect of her being a widow and having to rely upon a society to take care of her. At one point, she poses as a war widow to gain sympathy from others. Betty and her affair with Barfoot is characterized the same way. The narrator emphasizes Betty’s need for

protection: “widows stray solitary in the open fields, picking up stones, gleaning a few golden straws, lonely, unprotected, poor creatures” (4). Other critics have pointed out that the father of Betty’s children is in question and this moral ambiguity links her more closely to Moll Flanders. Moll Flanders is in the same position as the beggar woman singing for coppers. Jacob, as a representative of society, condescends to give her money and scoffs at the ticket collector when he tips him. Jacob asserts his superiority and a woman like Moll Flanders would have to feel the brunt of society asserting its superiority over her. Society subjugates her and limits her ability to make a living, and then condescends to give her charity.

In the eighteenth century, young widows were fairly common because of the prevalence of war. Olwen Hufton writes about this phenomenon in “Women without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century.” According to Hufton, widows were “outside the protective influence of the family” (355). As a result, these women were easy prey for anyone. Yorick finds these women to be “public” women and they are, therefore, available for his *pleasure*. The vulnerability of widows is also illustrated by Betty: she is called “the widow lady” (181). She is a widow in the prime of her life: “She’s very attractive still” (11). Though Clara Durrant does not become a widow, she, like Betty, is abandoned by men because of the war and may end up a spinster. In *Virginia Woolf as Feminist*, Black argues that Woolf includes the lives of obscure women who would never make it in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (164). While Jacob, a potential great man, is absent, Betty, Florinda, Fanny, Sandra, Julia Hedge and Julia Eliot are all present. Kate Flint argues that the novel is about women’s

writing because Jacob is absent but Betty is present (361). In the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, Mrs. Scriblerus dreams of an “ink-horn” and the writings pouring from it as a metaphor of her giving birth (98). This correlation between creation and conception comes back to Woolf’s question, what for? Why do women create life if men take it away? When it comes to the women and their sacrifice, Woolf’s feminism is more overt than usual. Marcus calls her “a guerilla fighter in a Victorian skirt” recalling the militancy of Rose Pargiter (*New 1*).

Yorick’s encounters with widows are instances of encounters with public women. As a result of widowhood, these women are now vulnerable and alone in society and because of war, these women are widowed younger. Jacob has relationships with various women, and these women are assumed to be prostitutes because they are public women. Most readers assume Florinda is a prostitute but this is because Jacob calls her a “little prostitute” (98). Jacob also comments on seeing her “turning up Greek Street upon another man’s arm” (98). Jacob may be calling her a prostitute because she is one, or it may be a reflection of his general disdain for women. Her walking away with another man is a shock to Jacob who previously commented on her “inviolable fidelity,” but that does not make her a prostitute (98). What strikes Woolf is that these women are public women and because they are public, unprotected, they are assumed as prostitutes. Jacob also notes, “In [Florinda’s] face there seemed to him something horribly brainless” and he calls her a “stupid woman” (82-84). Jacob’s perception of Florinda is that she is empty and there only to receive him. Jacob also ridicules Florinda for her atrocious spelling and inability to write a letter but this insult emphasizes her lack of access to a good education,

in contrast to him (98). Whether or not Florinda is a prostitute does not matter, because she is a public woman either way. Woolf critiques the suggestion, prompted by eighteenth-century society, to call any woman in public a “public woman.”

Another fleeting relationship Jacob has is with Fanny Elmer. Jacob’s ability to maneuver with these women displays his freedom in sharp contrast to the women he associates with. Jacob’s reputation is never in question while every woman he has relations with is a possible prostitute. The narrator makes an explicit reference to prostitutes regarding Fanny. Despite this, the narrator says that Fanny was not “drably shabby” with drab referring to a prostitute (120). The name Fanny was a common slang term for prostitutes especially after the publication of John Cleland’s *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748) and his protagonist, Fanny Hill. In eighteenth-century society, a woman in public *was* a public woman, or a prostitute. Society then used the label of public woman to refer to any woman in public. Aphra Behn was especially prone to such criticism because she was a widow and she desperately needed a way to make money to support herself and her family after her husband died. Woolf attributes her with being the first female professional writer (*AROO* 2467). Despite Woolf’s celebration of Behn, Woolf also notes that no father wanted his daughter to be Aphra Behn, and that was because she was regarded as a public woman and her reputation was badly damaged (*AROO* 2468). The women Yorick encounter are not prostitutes but widows, and because of their widowhood, they are exposed, alone, and vulnerable. Like the widow, the prostitute enjoys freedoms not given to married or soon-to-be-married women. Neverow argues that the prostitute enjoys more freedom than the domestic woman and that

Florinda “is linked to Aphrodite” (“The Return” 206). Additionally, Marshik compares Fanny, Florinda, and Laurette with Clara and finds that the former three enjoy much more freedom than Clara who is the most repressed. Despite his finding, Marshik also agrees that every woman in the novel is doomed to failure the same way Jacob is. Because Clara is upper class, she has escorts and would never be alone in public and because Fanny, Florinda, and Laurette do not occupy the same class, prostitute is always the association.

The question of their chastity made Woolf angry. Chastity is brought up in *A Room*, *Jacob's Room*, and “A Society.” In “A Society,” Woolf ridicules society for placing undue importance on chastity of women. Woolf knows that chastity of women only matters to men and that a man's chastity is never an issue. Any suggestion of impurity regarding a woman would ruin the woman's reputation. Marshik opens her essay, “Publication and ‘Public Women,’” with a note from Woolf's diary where she admits having “fallen” (853). When Woolf writes about being a fallen woman, she mockingly writes about her first publication and selling her brain to the public as a form of prostitution. Like Moll Flanders and Betty Flanders, Behn was “a woman forced by the death of her husband . . . to make her living by her wits” (*AROO* 2467). Behn's forced public life was a rebellion against the norms of society but it was also a necessary rebellion. Behn was forced to work to make a living and Woolf sees her own publication as a rebellion. Unlike Behn, Woolf's rebellion is more prominent because she chooses to publish and sell a part of her brain without needing to financially. Jacob too rebels against society when he writes the essay “upon the Ethics of Indecency” (79). While Florinda is in his room, Jacob copies the essay and he thinks about chastity. Despite being with

Florinda and his rebellion against a repressive society with his essay, “[he] doubted whether he liked it in the raw” (83). To preserve their chastity, women writers used male pen names.

The assumption that Florinda is a whore exposes society’s assumption that any sexual woman is a whore. Since the novel is about perception, Jacob’s perception is that Florinda is a whore, but he also associates women with dogs and does not believe they should be allowed in church. Marshik points out that women writers were more often associated as whores and they were more likely to be censored for characterizing sexuality than male authors. In *The Sphinx in the City*, Elizabeth Wilson argues that the safety of the city itself, specifically Victorian London, the “cesspool,” is at risk because of women’s sexuality, the sphinx lurking in the dark. Wilson writes, “More frightful ... was the crowd ... Journalists and reformers (Josephine Butler, for example) wrote of occasions when respectable women were mistaken for prostitutes” (29-30). In *Jacob’s Room*, the narrator notes, “the city loves her prostitutes” (68). Woolf is playing with the perception of the city as a woman and the man’s privilege to visit a prostitute to only feel superior to them. Moll Flanders subverts respectable women being mistaken for prostitutes by allowing men to mistake a prostitute for a respectable woman. T. S. Eliot characterizes the city as on fire due to its moral corruption but Woolf exposes the city’s desire for corruption.

Like the city, the institution of England is responsible for creating the identity of the soldier. The identity of Woolf’s soldier evolves throughout her canon and Jacob is the first full prototype. The identity of the soldier is constructed as great, but Woolf

constructs him as an impressionable man of feeling given to showing his superiority, like Jacob. From there, he becomes hysteric and his sensibility is completely threatened by his military identity. Beginning with Jacob, Woolf illustrates how an individual identity is replaced with a collective identity. Jacob chooses to become a soldier and so he chooses death. To Woolf, the soldier always needs to be summed up because his impressionability suggests that his identity is in a constant state of flux, like the man of feeling. Because the soldier accepts a collective identity, his individual identity is compromised. This is seen clearly with Betty's husband, Captain Seabrook. His name alludes to his collective identity, rather than his individual identity. When he is buried, Betty has to "sum" him up on his tombstone and she is unable to (12). In this way, Betty edits Captain Seabrook and characterizes him in the way she chooses. She is able to characterize him the way she chooses because his collective identity has made him a blank slate, like Locke's *tabula rasa*. Sterne was influenced by Locke but Woolf was an avid reader of Plato who thought that we are all born with a capacity to learn and that we *unlearn* throughout our lives instead of the other way around. Jacob says he praises the Duke of Wellington but curses the British Army (77). He ends up joining that army and this illustrates his impressionability. Additionally, Seabrook exposes his lack of identity by his wife having trouble summing him up on his tombstone. His movement from job to job exposes how he could not fit in once he returned to society. Like Sterne's soldiers, he is lost and relegated to servile positions. Betty's inability to assign him an identity reveals that his identity is that of the soldier and that is all.

Jacob's impressionability will lead him to a non-existence comparable to Percival, the absent center. Jacob is characterized in much the same way with the narrator noting, "Jacob's shadow without Jacob" (128). Gillian Beer writes, "Several of Virginia Woolf's books compose themselves about an absence: Jacob's absence from his room, Mrs Ramsay's in the second half of *To the Lighthouse*, and in *The Waves* Percival's in India and in death" (*sic* 29). Andrew Floyd thinks him "unconscious" (183). Moss points out that he is "a rake without progress" with "no conclusion to his travels" (51). He is silent, beautiful, lacking individual identity, and obstinate. Though Jacob is referred to as silent, the narrator notes, "there is no such thing as silence" (60). The impressions others have of him are of a man who is willing to accept ideals instead of explore them. Bernard Blackstone argues that the world of politics is "not human life" to Woolf (25). Woolf characterizes this world as unreal and false where the men who make these decisions for the nation are all "smoothly sculptured" statues, emphasizing the surreal nature of war (176). Jacob is a smoothly sculptured statue that is being created by the society around him. Florinda notes, "Jacob, you're like one of those statues" (81). The narrator also notes, "Fanny's idea of Jacob was more statuesque, noble, and eyeless than ever" (180).

Jacob is the unwritten novel which others project identity onto. Jacob's obstinacy and beauty allow him to adopt a more collective identity in place of an individual identity. As Briggs argues, Jacob is "individual and representative," "the unknown warrior" (93). Joan Bennett argues that he can be "any young man" (96). His lack of an individual identity allows him to be representative and to adopt a collective identity. At Cambridge, the identity of so many young men is interchangeable and this is where Jacob

solidifies his identity. Neverow even suggests that he is “indistinguishable” despite everyone else emphasizing his greatness (*liv*).

Jacob's Room is framed by loss. Though the details of Jacob's death are omitted, Betty hears the sound of guns and she maternally wonders where her family is. Betty thinks, “Again, far away, she heard the dull sound, as if nocturnal women were beating great carpets. There was Morty lost, and Seabrook dead; her sons fighting for their country. But were the chickens safe?” (185). All the men in Betty's life are already gone and the only thing she has to worry about is the chickens. The narrator notes, the “country needs men” and this need is what Woolf critiques throughout (166). Woolf's sincerity is questioned because of the mix of irony and tragedy in Jacob's characterization. Briggs says that “[Woolf's] hero was not to be heroic” and that he is “minus the distortions of sentiment” (93). The lack of heroics is especially displayed by references to the eighteenth century and satire. The horse going by without a rider illustrates that man is not in control of his world and it is a joke that runs throughout Sterne. The satire of *Martinus Scriblerus* is that the parents want him to be born a genius and will do anything for him to be great, no matter what the cost. They even make him sleep on a shield for a cradle because Hercules did (*MS* 102). When they present him to their friends, in the shield, he falls out and the father cries, “O God! my Shield, my Shield!” (103). The writers of this book are poking fun at the eighteenth century valorization of Roman soldiers and the greatness of battles and the ancients. Everything the father decides for his son is based on his reading of Homer. This satire is not lost on Sterne or Woolf.

For Woolf, “sentiment and sensation” are linked, and both are linked to the soldier (176). Allen notes that Woolf’s “range of characters is small” and that her characters are the “aesthetes of one set of sensations” (18). Allen even accuses Woolf of precisely what Woolf accused Sterne of: “the exercise of sensibility ... becomes an end in itself” (18). *Jacob’s Room* is not sentimental in that it lacks a critical viewpoint. Sentiment characterizes those who find themselves alone and Jacob is often alone, especially when others are around. The natural world is against him and he attempts to impose order on an otherwise chaotic world. Ahern notes of Sterne that “creative activity is valuable in itself ... because it demonstrates the human capacity for hope in the struggle against adversity” (112). Yorick is faced by a “failure to control his environment” but instead of imposing the order he desperately seeks, he “revels in his lack of control” (Ahern 112-113). Jacob is unable to do that and it is a result of his Cambridge training. He may be compared with Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* who also follows the brutal Roman code of honor and is a patriot, but following this code does not save him, it kills him.

Chapter Three: Virginia Woolf and the Sentimental in *Mrs. Dalloway*

In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Clarissa says, “She owed him words: ‘sentimental,’ ‘civilized’; they started up every day of her life as if he guarded her” (36). Clarissa is referring to Peter; it is he who guards her, and his words that start up her day. Clarissa does in fact owe Peter the word “sentimental” because he is most likely to be defining and/or using it. When Peter meets with Clarissa, he notes, “Clarissa had grown hard, he thought; and a trifle sentimental” (49). Peter defines sentimental as feminine and as thinking of the past. Peter notes, “Women live much more in the past than we do” (55). Clarissa says, “A book was sentimental; an attitude to life sentimental. ‘Sentimental,’ perhaps she was to be thinking of the past” (36). Clarissa’s definition is adopted from Peter’s and Sally defines sentimental in the same way. When reminiscing with Peter, Sally relates, “Peter would think her sentimental” (191). Peter would think her sentimental because she is thinking of the past. Both Clarissa and Sally are sentimental about their youth and a pre-war England.

Clarissa is right that an attitude to life is sentimental. Stephen Ahern defines sentimental as “living intensely” and having a “heightened sensitivity to one’s environment” (12). In the eighteenth century, some authors used sentimentality as a means to illustrate to the world how it should behave. Laurence Sterne writes that he wishes to “teach the world to learn better manners” (*ASJ* 10). Janet Todd, however, argues that sentiment is about the “arousal of pathos” and not necessarily to teach a moral (2). Conger also argues that because sentimental literature is nothing but “tearful literature,” critics assume that there is nothing to conclude about it (Conger 15). Suzanne

Clark notes, “To this day, calling a work ‘sentimental’ means that no critical analysis is required” (129).

Sydney Conger writes that sentiment is “an overdetermined linguistic sign” and that its meaning is confusing because it includes so much (14). This is in part true because sentimentality and sensibility are often used as if they mean the same thing. Sentimentality, sensibility, hypochondria, and hysteria are related terms. The term “sense” however, referred to reason. Throughout *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf uses the term “sentimental,” not madness, hypochondria, or hysteria. Woolf characterizes Septimus Smith as mad, hysterical, sentimental, and a hypochondriac. Woolf uses “sensible” in the same way that Jane Austen uses it in *Sense and Sensibility*, as referring to reason. When the clock strikes just after Septimus’s suicide, Rezia thinks the sound of the clock “sensible” (150). Austen uses “sensibility” and sentimentality interchangeably, but sense and sensible are interchangeable for Woolf. This sensible clock is the reminder of Septimus’s mortality. Vara Neverow equates the chime of the clock with Jacob Flanders’ impending doom in *Jacob’s Room* and the clock is directly associated with Septimus’s suicide by Rezia (59).

Despite its weepiness, most critics agree that sentimental literature is preoccupied with the feelings of others. Ann Jessie Van Sant notes that sentimentality is “a desire to alleviate the sufferings of others” (Ahern 12). This position is seen in Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela*. While writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf said she was going to read Richardson’s *Clarissa*, and she likely named her title character after her (*Diary 2*: 309). In addition to the tears of the

characters, sentimental literature was supposed to inspire a weepy and sentimental reaction in its readers. Paul Goring argues that “there grew up around sentimental novels a culture in which bodily responses were widely lauded as signs of moral status” (142). Goring suggests that sentimental literature allowed for readers to develop “polite identities” by asserting themselves as caring people (143). Writers adopted Aristotle’s *Poetics* and appealed to readers’ emotions. Claudia Johnson, however, exposes that the preoccupation with the feelings of others is a way for the upper class to assume superiority over others. The people in power are able to express sentiment for others. John Mullan points out that sensibility is linked to “refinement” and that only upper class persons are able to afford to exhibit signs of sentimentality. Sentimentality then, becomes a badge one wears in order to illustrate one’s superior rank.

Then there is the gender of sentimentality. Both male and female writers wrote and starred in sentimental literature, but because sentimentality is linked to the body, it is considered female. Clark points out that sentimentality is often used as an insult toward women and such a judgment is passed off as “objective” (125). Mullan notes that sensibility is tied to the body and the excesses of sensibility are found not only in novels, but in the writings of the physicians of the eighteenth century. Mullan refers to it as sensibility and many critics refer to sentimentality and sensibility interchangeably. To be clear, I will refer to it as sentimentality. Mullan notes that hypochondria is associated with men, and hysteria is associated with women. Even so, there are some male hysterics and the men of feeling often fit this profile. Molière wrote *The Hypochondriac*, also known as *The Misanthrope*, as early as 1666 and his model was used for many men of

feeling of the eighteenth century. Henry Mackenzie's Harley from *The Man of Feeling* is certainly a hysteric. James Boswell began *The Hypochondriack* in 1777. The men of feeling throughout sentimental literature exhibit signs of hysteria as well as hypochondria and these signs were determined to be evidence of refinement. Critics would like to argue that sentimentality is dead, but sentimentality is often used in film and literature to arouse a reaction in the audience. *The Philanthropist* aired on Broadway in 2009 with Matthew Broderick, suggesting the continued popularity of men of feeling. A television show with the same name also aired in 2009 starring James Purefoy.

Mary Wollstonecraft sees sentimentality as a trap for women. Rather than allowing women to be an equal part of society, sentimentality assures that women remain subjugated and victimized because of their emotions. Wollstonecraft is, however, ambivalent about displaying sentimentality as opposed to reason. Her heroines, Mary and Maria, both participate in sentimentality and illustrate how a sentimental nature can shield one from the horrors of the modern world. Mary Poovey agrees that sentimentality is a means to subjugate women, but her analysis negates the experience of Wollstonecraft's heroines. For Maximillian Novak and Anne Mellor, sensibility means "the emotional aspects of human existence that preserved human beings from a too detached and cool rationality" (12). Johnson argues, however, that sensibility was a means for men to appropriate the only qualities associated with women.

Hypochondria, hysteria, and sentimentality have been linked. Twentieth-century male hysteria has been associated with war and shell shock. Elaine Showalter points out that the term shell shock itself served to replace "hysteria," because it sounded feminine

(172). Hysteria is seen as “a feminine kind of behavior in male subjects,” and to avoid any association with femininity, the term “shell shock” was born (172). Showalter, however, associates shell shock and homosexuality. Showalter notes, “Certainly a number of the best-known shell-shock cases—Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, Ivor Gurney, Beverly Nichols, to mention a few—were also homosexual. For most, however, the anguish of shell shock included more general but intense anxieties about masculinity, fears of acting effeminate, even a refusal to continue the bluff of stoic male behavior” (172). Showalter suggests that the men who suffered from shell shock were also fighting against prescribed notions of masculinity and their behavior was often associated with femininity. Showalter argues that “The heightened code of masculinity that dominated in wartime was intolerable to surprisingly large numbers of men” (172). Showalter also notes that “Impotence was a central image of psychic anxiety in postwar literature” (173). Hugh Kenner suggests that the Empire of England was suffering from a general hysteria from the turn of the century forward (125).

Many men were fighting against prescribed notions of masculinity and shell shock may or may not have anything to do with it. Shell shock, however, may be a metaphor for the inability to fit within the patriarchal structure in general. Because the war has already situated them outside the status quo, men suffering from shell shock may be more likely to fight societal prescribed notions of masculinity. For Showalter, shell shock is a metaphor for the fear men experience of being exposed as homosexual. Once a man is diagnosed with shell shock, his masculinity is stripped from him.

Like war novels, impotence is a central theme of sentimental novels, especially Sterne's. Maureen Harkin notes that the sentimental novel does not follow a progression and that it is an anti-*bildungsroman* (16). In sentimental novels, the main character is unable to move or change the horrific situation he finds himself in. Rather, he has to stand idly by and watch destruction, making him a *voyeur*. The passive *voyeur* is also impotent, and a trope of eighteenth-century sentimental literature. Michel Foucault also points out in *Madness and Civilization*, that during the eighteenth century, "the ideas of hysteria and hypochondria were to veer, and definitely enter the world of madness" (146). Foucault suggests that the conditions of hysteria and hypochondria illuminate a condition of madness. Reading Boswell's *The Hypochondriack* does suggest madness and so may Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*. With Edgar Allan Poe, Foucault's analysis reveals that hypochondria and hysteria by the nineteenth century indicates madness. Unfortunately, shell shock or hypochondria was considered a form of madness, but it was a sign of post-traumatic stress disorder and in the 1920s, people were just learning about it. Young men would go to war and serve their country only to return and be discarded because they were unable to live with the trauma they experienced.

Following Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*, male hysterics came to be seen as primarily bookish men that were outside business (Mullan 208 and Harkin). Whether they were successful businessmen did not matter, by 1800, the man of feeling was constructed differently than he had been during the cult of sensibility. Goring points out that the British public was very concerned with outward behavior, especially toward the general public and he argues that people created a form of acting that is sensibility and its

bodily responses to others. After 1800, the readers noticed that these men of feeling were unable to do anything and their inability marked them as unsuccessful and ineffectual. Bookishness then became associated with femininity and ineffectuality. Mullan writes that “hypochondria ... and melancholy are described as types of susceptibility which tend to be evidence of refinement and ‘sensibility’ and yet which can also be debilitating” (207). Showalter also points out that the debilitating nature of sentimentality is the “male hysteria” as a result of the war, and she therefore identifies Septimus as a male hysteric (167).

In truth, by 1800, the readers of sentimental literature were concerned about the lessons being taught by the books and therefore focused on the femininity of the sentimental characters. The reading public then constructed the sentimental characters as feminine and outside of business. When Mackenzie wrote *The Man of Feeling*, Harley’s position of being outside of business was meant to represent how ineffectual everyone was, not how ineffectual *he* was. Harley, like Swift’s Lemuel Gulliver, believed the conditioning he was raised with and that he was powerless. This belief destroyed him in the nineteenth century. Because these men were outside business, they were constructed as feminine and ineffectual. Prior to the nineteenth century, Harley’s ineffectuality was a result of a decaying world around him and no one had the power to rise up. At the turn of the century, however, Harley’s ineffectuality is his own. Sentimentality is no longer acceptable and both Septimus and Peter are characterized as feminine, ineffectual, and bookish. What should be noted is the change in perception of sentimentality.

Despite a twentieth- and nineteenth-century perception, sentimental literature is both male and female. While some books are instructional, others clearly expose the selfish nature of charity and expressing feelings for others. This was a clear problem with sentimental literature because it expressed sentimentality for its own sake. When Sterne's Yorick compliments the King of France, he thinks "he rose up an inch taller" (*ASJ* 6). Yorick's comment reveals that he feels better about himself when he compliments others. Yorick also relates, "When man is at peace with man, how much lighter than a feather is the heaviest of metals in his hand!" (6). This illustrates the debate about sentimentality because when Yorick feels great, he says his money will leave him easily. With his money, Yorick is in a position to express sentiment for others, but his failure to depart with his money for the Monk illustrates just the opposite. James Kim notes that sentimental literature employed satire and sentimentality together and that separating the two invalidates much of the period's literature. Sterne satirizes the notion of sentimentality as giving charity to others as a means of feeling better about yourself. Despite the satire, Sterne is still sentimental and expresses feelings for others for the sake of expressing it. Goring also notes that Sterne combined "seriousness with frivolity" (*ASJ* xv). George Haggerty notes that James Boswell finds hypochondria "self-indulgent," and a complete identity (113). Boswell's hypochondria is akin to sentimentality because they share a heightened sensory perception and his self indulgence is to feel for the sake of feeling.

In Woolf's review of *A Sentimental Journey*, she notes that Sterne takes sentimentality to excess. Woolf writes that Sterne wants "winning admiration for his own

simple virtues” (285). Woolf believes that Sterne felt the criticism of *Tristram Shandy* too deeply and so he is out to prove he can feel in *A Sentimental Journey*. What Woolf found excessive was Sterne’s desire that his audience note his sentimentality, through Yorick. Yorick’s sentimentality illustrates a desire to alleviate the sufferings of others and his sentimentality is both desirable and debilitating. Yorick’s sentimentality is debilitating in that he is prone to gushing tears, but his sentimentality is desirable because it displays his rank in society. He is in a position to depart with the coins in his hand. Ironically, Yorick displays his sentimentality mostly for broken soldiers and widows. The soldier is supposed to hold a respected position in society and he is honorable and heroic.

The soldier needing the charity of Yorick, however, displays otherwise. The soldier is a subjugated victim, much like the female, something that Woolf, Wollstonecraft, and Sterne note. Suzette Henke notes, “The middle-class male establishment represented by the writers who signed The Authors’ Declaration in 1914 did not only subordinate women. It also placed in a ‘feminine’ position of subordination working-class men” (520). Sterne’s soldier is feminine: Uncle Toby will not hurt a fly and La Fleur is named after a flower, and relegated to the position of a servant. Todd argues that “The distressed are natural victims ... defenceless women, aged men” (*sic* 3). Though Todd does not state it directly, the soldier also fits within this category.

Clarissa, Peter, and Septimus weep, which further places the novel within the genre of “tearful literature.” Susan Searles notes that *Mrs. Dalloway* is “elegiac” because of the abundance of tears and Alex Zwerdling called *Jacob’s Room* a “satiric elegy.”

Searles argues that “Virginia Woolf hated programmed sentimentality” (113). What Searles suggests is programmed sentimentality is pride for the nation and institutionalized norms. For Woolf, it means thinking of the past in a non-critical way. Searles uses the following quote from Woolf’s diary written in 1940: “I dont like any of the feelings war breeds: patriotism; communal &c, all sentimental and emotional parodies of our real feelings” (*sic Diary 5*: 302). The appropriation of Rupert Brooke’s death is a sign of sentimentality and an attempt of the nation to create meaning out of a meaningless death. Despite Woolf’s protest against sentimentality, Woolf herself is sentimental and also reproachful about her own sentimental feelings. Prior to 1940, she was negotiating the meaning of the term and was ambivalent about the eighteenth century use of the word and the twentieth century use. In her diary in 1924, Woolf writes of sentimentality, noting “born sentimentalist that I am” (314). Woolf was aware that she was prone to heightened sensations and moods and her earlier diary entry reflects her acknowledgement that her behavior can be characterized as sentimental.

Throughout *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf is negotiating her ambivalence about the term. Clarissa, Hugh, and Peter participate in the programmed sentimentality that Woolf refers to. Despite this, they exhibit signs of sentimentality to express stasis and the inability to move forward in a lost world. What should be noted is not their own ineffectuality, but how the world has pushed them to this point. Clarissa, Peter, and Septimus are all outside society in some way. Because she is female, Clarissa’s sentimentality is acceptable but Peter’s and Septimus’s is not. Peter is outside because he is a social failure and Septimus

is also outside because of his social failure. For Peter and Septimus, their sentimentality is a liability.

Clarissa is sentimental because of her attitude toward life and because she thinks of the past. She is also the sentimental type that Sterne critiques in *A Sentimental Journey*. Though Woolf critiques Sterne for wanting his audience to note his virtue, Sterne himself was criticizing others for performing deeds to gain “winning admiration” from others. Sterne’s position was to expose the selfishness of charity. Later critics, such as Johnson, expose sentimentality as a class issue, but Sterne does not use it in this way. Yorick expresses sentiment for soldiers not to reinforce his stable position but to reinforce the instability of the soldier’s position. Woolf, on the other hand, does use sentimentality to display a class position. When about to visit Evelyn Whitbread, Clarissa notes, “How much she wanted it—that people should look pleased as she came in, Clarissa thought and turned and walked back towards Bond Street, annoyed, because it was silly to have *other* reasons for doing things” (*my emphasis* 10). Clarissa’s “other reason for doing things” is to be noticed and appreciated by others.

Clarissa’s sentimentality is also criticized by Peter. When they were young, Clarissa was “so easily moved” and “all aquiver,” but Peter characterizes Clarissa’s feelings as “superficial” (152). Peter thinks Clarissa’s sentimentality is a superficial display and at her party, she reveals that this is so. Clarissa thinks, “with all those people rather inclined . . . to envy, she had felt that intoxication of the moment, that dilatation of the nerves of the heart itself till it seemed to quiver” (174). She relishes in the success of her party and how others *envy* her. This reveals Clarissa’s superficiality and contrasts her

sentimentality with Peter's. She does things for others so she will be appreciated. Despite the superficial display, Clarissa also reveals that her sentimentality goes beyond the superficial; she thinks, "these triumphs had a hollowness" (174). Her party is a success and she realizes that, but even that success cannot make her feel complete and this connects her and her sentimentality to both Peter and Septimus. As Goring points out, the rhetoric of sensibility is a bodily response where the upper class have been instructed how to react to others in order to gain a moral position and it should be noted here that Clarissa cares what other people think of her, but her acknowledgment that her triumph is hollow reveals that she is aware that she needs to transcend merely reacting to others.

Hugh is a throwback to precisely what sentimentality was criticized for in the eighteenth century. Like Clarissa, Hugh is superficial and he wears his sentimentality like a badge. Hugh is invited to lunch with Lady Bruton because he is good at "drafting sentiments" and "summing up" (110). His ability to do those things suggests his masculinity and his ability to fit within a patriarchal structure. Peter, who explores the idea of never knowing anyone with Clarissa, is unable to "draft" sentiments, instead he *feels* them. Peter criticizes Hugh for his type of sentimentality as being even more superficial than Clarissa's. At the party, Peter sees Hugh and berates him. Peter says that Hugh sees "an olive-skinned youth from one of the Universities" and he thinks, "Him he would patronize, initiate, teach how to get on" (172). Peter satirizes Hugh for being the one to patronize the young man and to "teach" him "how to get on." Peter also says that Hugh "liked nothing better than doing kindnesses, making the hearts of old ladies palpitate with the joy of being thought of in their age, their affliction, thinking themselves

quite forgotten, yet here was dear Hugh driving up and spending an hour talking of the past” (173). Hugh does kindnesses for people so they will think better of him, similar to Clarissa. Hugh flatters older women so they will think better of him. Peter’s critique of Hugh’s sentimentality suggests that Peter’s sentimentality is of a different sort and more sincere than Hugh’s.

Hugh’s sentimentality exposes his insincerity and selfishness. When Peter thinks of Hugh, Peter also thinks of Lady Bruton, associating Lady Bruton with Hugh. The narrator notes of Lady Bruton, “But she derived from the eighteenth century” (173). Both Lady Bruton and Hugh are pillars of Englishness and representations of how society has not evolved in 200 years. Hugh will do a “kindness” for someone else, especially a University youth, but only because it reflects well on him. Lady Bruton believes that “Richard’s first duty was to his country” (111). She adopts all the ideals of her country including a man’s duty to his country and a woman’s duty to her husband. Lady Bruton comes from a family of “men of action” and men who had “done their duty” (111). Despite Lady Bruton’s “power,” Woolf characterizes her as snoring as soon as Richard and Hugh leave (112). According to Bonnie Kime Scott, “This is not a group one leaves confidently in charge of the nation” (*lxv*).

Lady Bruton’s snores suggest that she is ancient and dying, and with her death is the death of English values that have not evolved in 200 years. In “Portrait of a Londoner,” Woolf uses Mrs. Crowe to represent all of London and London is decaying. Mrs. Crowe is nose-y but cares little, she likes to talk but not about anything important, and in order for London to move forward, Mrs. Crowe must die. Woolf writes that Mrs.

Crowe always has an “elderly man in the corner by the cabinet—who seemed, indeed, as much a part of that admirable piece of eighteenth century furniture as its own brass claws” (71). The elderly man is Mr. Graham and he is characterized as a piece of eighteenth-century furniture and part of a background that has not evolved in 200 years. Woolf believes that England needs to move forward without clinging to the idea of sentimentality and Mrs. Crowe abides by a programmed sentimentality. Mrs. Crowe clings to a false past notion of England without being critical or accepting of change. She needs to die in order for Mr. Graham to “[detach] himself from the cabinet” (77). Ironically, Woolf’s desire for London to progress also suggests sentimentality.

Mullan notes that sentimentality is “a physical language of feeling” while Goring notes that it is a “performance of a language of feeling” (Mullan 14; Goring 14). Woolf’s ambivalence reveals that Woolf agrees with both. Goring points out that sentimentality became a way to express politeness. Speaking well and eloquently was a way to gain gentlemanly status. With Clarissa, Hugh, and Peter, sentimentality is often a performance, especially when they express sentiment in order to gain status. Eloquence is important, but for Clarissa, Peter, and Septimus, sentimentality is a language of feeling and less of a performance.

Peter is a sentimental character that reveals Woolf’s ambivalence about the term. Like Clarissa and Hugh, Peter enjoys a position of privilege. However, since Peter is too sentimental, he is critiqued by society. Woolf constructs Peter as a sentimental character by referring to him as a “solitary traveler” (55-58). The solitary traveler is closely associated with Sterne’s sentimental traveler. As an explorer and solitary traveler, Peter

thinks “life [is] like an unknown garden” (152). Sterne points out three reasons why people travel, “infirmity of body, imbecility of mind, or inevitable necessity” (12). Sterne also lists types of travelers and dedicates his book to the sentimental traveler. Yorick notes, “The Sentimental Traveller ... have travell’d, as much out of *Necessity* ... as anyone in the class” (*sic* and Sterne’s emphasis 13). People who travel by inevitable necessity are soldiers or ambassadors.

Similar to Sterne’s Yorick, Peter has an overflowing sentiment for the people he comes across and is “susceptible to impressions” (71). Peter is characterized as feminine: he “had, like a boy or a girl even, these alternations of mood” (71). Peter “was overcome with his own grief” and “burst into tears” (42; 46). When reflecting on the night that he lost Clarissa, Peter thinks, “Heavens, he had wept!” (187). In the eighteenth century, weeping and susceptibility was feminine, but also something to be desired. In addition to the flow of Peter’s tears is the flow of his blood. The flow of blood is also seen in sentimental literature. Yorick notes, “The arteries beat all chearily together” (*sic* 6). When Yorick feels good, his blood flows as freely as his tears. Peter thinks, “It was a splendid morning too. Like the pulse of a perfect heart” (54). John Dussinger points out that Sterne and the rest of the eighteenth century had just discovered the flow of blood within the body and the pulse of the nerves and Yorick’s constant gushing and flowing is a reflection of a new understanding of the body (5).

Peter’s emotion seems to transcend what Woolf perceives as programmed sentimentality. In the eighteenth century, Peter’s responses would be celebrated but even he acknowledges that his natural responses bring him scorn. He thinks, “But then these

astonishing accesses of emotion—bursting into tears this morning, what was all that about?” (80). Peter is able to access his sentiment, but he feels shame when he does. Peter reflects on his behavior with Clarissa and is “overcome with shame suddenly at having been a fool; wept” (49). He worries about how Clarissa will perceive him and his preoccupation shows a contrast between eighteenth-century sentimentality and twentieth-century sentimentality. Though Sterne’s Yorick and men like him were praised for appropriating feminine virtues, men doing so in the twentieth century are perceived as weak. Yorick also uses sentimentality as a way to position himself in the hearts of women and to gain their trust. Peter assumes that his emotion will not grant him such a position in Clarissa’s good graces. Likewise, when Rezia sees Septimus crying, she thinks it is the “most dreadful thing of all” (141). His crying is totally at odds with his position as a soldier. To compensate for his weakness, Peter attacks women and critiques them for their inability to feel. He relates, “But women, he thought, shutting his pocket-knife, don’t know what passion is” (80). The pocket-knife illustrates Peter’s impotence and his need for transference of power, a replacement phallus. This replacement phallus links him directly to the man of feeling like Sterne’s Uncle Toby or La Fleur.

Ironically, Peter is able to access his emotion while Clarissa is not. Clarissa is “cold” and does not know what passion is (80). Clarissa’s coldness exposes the impossibility of the feminine stereotype where she is supposed to be free with her emotions and yet as a lady, be cold and asexual. Squier notes that “while frigidity is a socially unacceptable quality, the passive sense of self that the condition bespeaks is entirely appropriate” (108). As Peter cries and Clarissa is unable to access emotion,

Woolf exposes masculine and feminine stereotypes for being false and illustrates how both characters transcend typical gender construction. Woolf also alludes to Clarissa's passion when Sally Seton kisses her, suggesting that Clarissa is cold only toward Peter. Woolf exposes the stereotype of Clarissa as cold as Peter's stereotype and a result of him being rejected. James Kim notes that Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* is full of gender instability and Miriam Wallace connects the gender instability of *Tristram Shandy* to Woolf's *The Waves* (4). Woolf complicates gender stereotypes throughout her work and her characterization of Peter, Clarissa, and Septimus continue this theme. *Mrs. Dalloway*, like *Tristram Shandy*, is full of gender instability with men crying and women like Miss Kilman, with her "Dickensian name," ready for battle (Brower 67). Through the gender instability, Woolf suggests that manly women and womanly men have been around since the eighteenth century and the worst characters are the ones who do not transcend the gender mold, such as Hugh (*A Room*).

The play with gender stereotypes also illustrates a fixed rigidity in a twentieth- and twenty-first century understanding of gender. The masculine stereotype is limiting because many of the characters, as well as Peter himself, regard Peter as weak as a result of his emotions. In "Sexchanges," Gilbert and Gubar quote Havelock Ellis who points out that there were "many stages between a complete male and a complete female" (770). This perception is close to Woolf's man-womanly and woman-manly. Men were at a crisis with their masculinity and no man was a complete man after the Great War. When discussing Peter, Lady Bruton, Richard, and Hugh all agree that Peter had "some flaw in his character" (106). His flaw is his ability to feel and he is seen as feminized because of

it. Peter's feminization is associated with the eighteenth-century man of feeling who was also feminized for appropriating feminine qualities. Rather than critique him for doing so, Woolf allows Peter the fluidity of self but exposes how the world around him rejects his personality because of the play with gender. Blanche H. Gelfant also notes that Clarissa is "fluid" in that she "creates herself from moment to moment" and so do Peter and Septimus (90-91).

Also like Yorick, Peter fantasizes about women but Peter's fantasy is more passive than Yorick's. Peter is feminized as a *voyeur* who has to passively watch women, despite the critiques of him imposing himself upon women. Yorick is adept at victimizing women because of his access to his emotions but Peter is not. Judith Frank argues that Yorick's "self-improvement" is "sexualized" and that his means of learning better manners is achieved by subjugating women (98). Yorick is always sexual and he is able to get women in compromising positions by earning their trust with the display of his emotions. Peter, on the other hand, resorts to a knife to attempt control. As Peter passes through Trafalgar Square, Peter follows a young woman who is "extraordinarily attractive" (52). Peter follows her and the narrator notes, "susceptible as he was" (52). Peter is susceptible to his emotions and to his fantasies but his access to his emotions does not win him the affection of English women. His fantasy world is more vivid than his real world. He imagines himself as an "adventurer" and a "romantic buccaneer, careless of all these damned proprieties" (52). As Squier notes, the women Peter follows are "prey" and interchangeable (107). Peter is also critiqued as "intruding" upon Clarissa

and imposing himself upon her when he shows up at her house. Natania Rosenfeld, however, notes Clarissa's use of the knitting needle also as a phallus (102).

Peter imagines himself as a buccaneer doing away with improprieties. Rejecting improprieties, he critiques the social world and its limitations. A buccaneer, though technically a sailor, is also synonymous with pirate and a direct reference to the height of England's Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The buccaneers were the young men sent out to expand England's Empire. Peter romanticizes the pirate as someone who rejects social boundaries and as someone who takes what he wants, when he wants it. This romanticization places Peter within a position of power in the Empire. As an Ambassador in India, Peter would be aware of the stories of former buccaneers and because he sees himself as one, he is uncritical about what Britain is doing in India. Peter's romantic image of a pirate lends itself to his romanticized version of himself and how he helps the Indian people.

The buccaneers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were part of England's cultural memory and they were glorified as heroes. Much of the travel literature of the eighteenth century is due in part to accounts by sailors and/or buccaneers. Daniel Defoe wrote *Robinson Crusoe*, Jonathan Swift wrote *Gulliver's Travels* imitating William Dampier's accounts of his travels. The mention of these men by Defoe and Swift illustrate their cultural importance and allow Woolf to draw on a cultural memory, in addition to look at the history, of these stories. In 1924, George Wycherley wrote *Buccaneers of the Pacific* recognizing the work of Sir Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish, William Dampier, Bartholomew Sharpe, James Cooke, and Sir Henry Morgan.

Wycherley's book was part of the cultural memory and Woolf knew that the book elevates a thief into something admirable because he steals for the empire. Ironically, Terry Breverton finds that Wycherley's book calls Admiral Sir Henry Morgan, "depraved" and "vicious," while Breverton finds no evidence that Morgan was a pirate (vii). Breverton argues that there is no evidence to suggest that Morgan was a pirate, and this study alone solidifies the cultural glorification of pirates and thieves. Morgan himself declares that he is the "best buccaneer" and he is the icon used for Captain Morgan's Rum.

Morgan was dubbed *The Buccaneer King* by Dudley Pope, and Breverton and C. H. Haring glorify him. He was knighted for his exploits and made governor of Jamaica. These pirates were romanticized for their exploits and this romanticization is what Woolf critiques with Peter. Prior to the use of Captain Morgan to sell rum, William Dampier was the most famous pirate and addressed directly in the Preface of *Gulliver's Travels*. Another romanticized pirate was Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, a favorite of Sterne's. By imagining himself as a buccaneer, Peter associates himself with the great Empire and infuses himself with power. Kathy Phillips argues that masculinity was constructed as colonizer against the colonized which is precisely how Peter sees himself when he imagines he is a buccaneer (41). In *Tropicopolitans*, Srinivas Aravamudan argues that Crusoe becomes the colonized who pits himself against the "savage" that he encounters on the stranded island (72). Crusoe's relation to the savage illustrates precisely the power of the buccaneer and what Woolf hopes to expose by Peter's fantasies. Despite all this,

Peter is still a *voyeur* and merely imagines himself as a buccaneer instead of acting upon the impulse.

Peter's fantasies infuse him with power but otherwise he is powerless and it is because of his sentimentality. In the park, Peter encounters a "battered old woman" who transcends all ages (82). This woman sings an ancient song of love and as she does, she holds out her hand "for coppers" (82). Like Yorick, Peter is moved by such experiences and he gives her money (82). Rezia too notices this woman and thinks, "poor old woman," but Rezia does not give her money (82). Peter's parting with his money illustrates a difference in class between him and Rezia, and it is also an opportunity for Peter to display his sense of charity. Peter notes that he feels "three great emotions" and those are "understanding," "a vast philanthropy," and "exquisite delight" (52). Peter's "vast philanthropy" is to be charitable to others and his charity reflects well on him (52). Here his sentimentality is linked to Yorick's, but also to Clarissa's and Hugh's. Despite the display, Peter is also genuinely moved by the woman. Peter thinks, "he was ... a man who had loved her" (82). Mark Hussey argues that Peter is dreaming of this woman as a representative mother whose sons have been killed. Peter feels a kinship with this woman and expresses his sentimentality to be appreciated for it and because he cannot help it. He is as powerless as the singing woman.

Peter is perceived as weak because of his emotions and his inability to act. Lady Bruton thinks Peter is "always in difficulties with women" (180). Lady Bruton exposes the typical thought of the twentieth century and how Peter is perceived as weak because of his access to his emotions and because he cannot, or does not, control *his* women.

Peter's "difficult[y] with women" illustrates Peter's lack of power over them. Yorick, and his servant La Fleur, demonstrate an utter lack of mastery over everything. As a Master, Yorick is in command of his servant, but La Fleur certainly does not allow for this. According to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Yorick's bond to another valet is the most sustained and one of the fondest in the novel" (68). Sedgwick characterizes both Yorick and La Fleur as children but she acknowledges that La Fleur, as a servant, is in more need of Yorick's help and this exposes a difference in class. La Fleur too, while he can command admiration from women, when it comes to commanding his horse, he is unable to do so. Commanding his horse is a clear expression of his masculinity and the scene is a total mockery.

Both Yorick and La Fleur display impotence, and Showalter argues that trauma and war literature is full of imagery of impotence. In D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*, Gerald displays a mastery over his horse despite a moving train and does so to maintain power and control over his small world. Peter's knife is a display of impotence and an exposure that he is no pirate. He is unable to master himself or others and this is suggested as femininity, but it is more like sentimentality. His inability is an exposure of rigid gender stereotypes and it illustrates that Peter lacks power in his world as the men of feeling did in theirs. Sedgwick argues, "The fantasy polarities of omnipotence and utter powerlessness, of castration and phallic investiture, of maternal nurturance and deprivation, form in *A Sentimental Journey* and in the Gothic, as in more recent thought, the ground onto which other power transactions are mapped" (67).

Peter fears his masculinity but Richard bears his masculinity like a weapon when he brings home flowers (116). Neverow argues, “Woolf believes that these tyrannies and servilities gratify a male obsession with dominance and contends that the gender hierarchy endorsed by both Freud and the fascists in which anatomical distinctions are used to situate females as genetically defective and inherently inferior is derived from a deep-seated male sexual identity” (56). Neverow also argues, “The narrator of *A Room* suggests that, under the threat of castration, male dominance becomes almost an involuntary reflex” (57). Neverow refers directly to *Three Guineas* and *A Room of One’s Own*, but this analysis applies to Peter’s use of the knife as he sits down with Clarissa. Peter feels threatened by Clarissa and to prevent his castration or to represent it, he plays with the knife. His castration is also exposed through his fantasies of power as a buccaneer. While Woolf claims that she had not read Freud, Neverow points out that Woolf was very familiar with it. As a man raised in England, Peter is expected to be great and Woolf is completely familiar with this idea. Neverow further argues, “Men as a group are so deeply ‘concerned about the health of their fame’ that they cannot ‘pass a tombstone or a signpost without feeling an irresistible desire to cut their names on it as Alf, Bert, or Chas’” (*AROO* 52; Neverow 57).

The soldier himself displays the programmed sentimentality which Woolf hated. Ironically, the soldier is subjugated and in need of sentimentality being given to them. Peter and Yorick display empathy for the soldier and the fact that soldiers need empathy, reveal their subjugation. The construct of a soldier is a hero, and not someone who needs charity. Peter displays sentiment for the soldier while exposing his own programmed

sentimentality and what is distasteful about the soldier. When the boys in uniform pass Peter by, he notices them and considers the sacrifices they have made. Peter recognizes that the boys move with “one will,” revealing a collective identity (51). Peter notes, “the future of civilisation lies, he thought, in the hands of young men like that” (*sic* 50). Watching the young soldiers makes Peter think of Nelson, Gordon, Havelock, the images of great soldiers and Peter adopts “a marble stare” (51). Jacob is equated with Ulysses and regarded as a statue (*JR* 180). His statuesque quality prepares him for being remembered as a man of great sacrifice and Peter’s marble stare is akin to being compared with a statue. Though Peter “worshipped” Gordon as a boy, when he passes by him as an adult, he thinks, “poor Gordon” (52). Levenback notes that the Great War was compared with the Napoleonic Wars in the press and that *The Times* has an article on Nelson and “England’s duty” (11). Through the association of ideas, Peter sees young soldiers and thinks of Nelson and Gordon. He then “glared at the statue of the Duke of Cambridge” (50). The Duke of Cambridge sits on his horse in front of Cambridge and Peter desires to be *the* Duke.

Even though he displays sentimentality, Peter critiques the sentimental as a feminine trait. Peter’s critique suggests that he is aware that his behavior is perceived as feminine and he wishes that he behaved differently. In order to rebel against his own sentimentality, he critiques others for feminine sentimentality, such as Clarissa and Hugh. Peter reveals his own sentiment when he declares, “it’s strange, he thought, what a sentiment I have about that, disliking India, and empire, and army as he did” (55). The “that” he refers to is nation, empire, London, and civilization (55). Though Peter hates

empire, he is sentimental about London, and England, which is national pride. Peter then associates national pride with sentimentality. Immediately after Septimus dies, Woolf weaves Peter in and his first line is, “One of the triumphs of civilisation” (*sic* 151). What Peter thinks is a triumph of civilization is the ambulance that passes by him. Ironically, the *triumph* of civilization either holds Septimus, or will, immediately after his suicide. While the ambulance may be a triumph of civilization, what the ambulance holds, can hardly be described as a triumph.

Peter, however, continues thinking about how great London is and when he does this, he again accuses himself of sentimentality. Peter thinks how great it is that everyone moves out of the way of the ambulance and how it shows London as “organised” and “efficien[t]” (*sic* 151). Despite this Peter also thinks, “Ah, but thinking became morbid, sentimental, directly one began conjuring up doctors, dead bodies” (151). Though the ambulance may be a triumph, Septimus illustrates the failure of civilization because once the war is over, he is useless and unable to re-integrate into society. Peter too realizes this when he perceives a doctor and dead bodies, rather than a doctor *helping* a body. Squier notes that “The only community involved with [Septimus’s] suicide is the one that helped cause it” (114). The technology that helps deliver Septimus to the doctor is able to do nothing to save him. In “Modern Fiction,” Woolf notes the lack of progress of the twentieth century despite technological advancements and the ambulance here is an indication of that.

Peter is susceptible to impressions and he realizes that though the ambulance is efficient, it may be carrying away a dead body. Peter feels shame again at his pride for

the nation and connects, however limitedly, to the victim passing by in the ambulance. Peter's sentiment is something he cannot control and this is the flaw that others see in him and that he sees in himself. This sentimentality is different from Sterne's sentimentality because Sterne's sentimentality was perceived as a privilege and something that people aspired to. In 1920s London, sentimentality is associated with national pride, the past, death, and effeminacy. Peter also thinks, "One might weep if no one saw" (151). He would weep if no one sees him suggesting that the only thing keeping Peter from being himself is society. His responses reveal that his sentimentality goes beyond something programmed and how his behavior is unacceptable. Peter relates, "I have that in me, he thought standing by the pillar-box, which could now dissolve in tears. Why, Heaven knows" (152). Recognizing his "flaw," Peter thinks, "It had been his undoing in Anglo-Indian society—this susceptibility" (152). The narrator also comments, "This susceptibility to impressions had been his undoing no doubt" (71).

Peter's sentimentality is contrasted with Septimus's, revealing another class issue. Like Peter and Clarissa, Septimus weeps. Septimus sits in the park and "Tears ran down his cheeks" (22). Ahern and Mullan point out that bookish men are more likely to be sentimental, and both Peter and Septimus fit that profile. Peter was "not altogether manly" and "bookish" (156). Sally thinks that Peter was a "sort of sprite, not at all an ordinary man" (190). He is also characterized as "great" and he thinks, "that's what he'd do—write books" (157). Likewise, Septimus is characterized as bookish. The narrator notes, "his hands were educated; so too, his profile—his angular, big-nosed, intelligent, sensitive profile" (84). Prior to going to war, Septimus is in love with Shakespeare and

Miss Isabel Pole (86). He is destined to be a “great [man]” and he goes to London, just as Shakespeare did, because the small town he grew up in was not big enough to contain him (84). Septimus thinks, “he could see no future for a poet in Stroud” (84). Despite his destiny for greatness, the narrator notes, “London has swallowed up many millions of young men called Smith; thought nothing of fantastic Christian names like Septimus” (84). Septimus has been distinguished with his first name, but he is still one of many “great men” who wish to make it in this world. Because these men are bookish, they are also outside business and unsuccessful. As Clarissa and Septimus are doubles, Peter and Septimus also are doubles. Ban Wang considers that Clarissa, Septimus, and Peter share an “affinity” with each other (186).

Their bookishness reveals their subjugation. Their bookishness also links them to Rupert Brooke and Siegfried Sassoon. Septimus, of course, has been linked to Siegfried before because of the double S of each name. Levenback connects Jacob to Siegfried Sassoon and Rupert Brooke. In 1924, while writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf was visited by Siegfried Sassoon and she notes of him, “Old S.S. is a nice dear kind sensitive warm-hearted good fellow” (*Diary* 2; 20 January 1924). Woolf’s use of the word “sensitive” illustrates that Woolf perceived Sassoon to be a man of feeling. Both Peter and Septimus could be described as “sensitive.” The sensitivity and bookishness of these men suggest a contrast with masculinity and an implication that sentimentality cannot be associated with masculinity. This of course is a construct, but it is one that the twentieth century believed in. Phillips points out that soldiers believed that displaying emotion was against masculinity, and because Septimus is a soldier, his sentimentality is a liability.

Septimus must replace his sentimentality with a false masculinity and his failure to do so destroys him. Septimus's employer, Mr. Brewer, sees sentimentality in Septimus and he thinks that Septimus needs to learn how to be a man. Mr. Brewer thinks that football is the best way to teach Septimus how to be a man. Without his sentimentality, Septimus has potential. The narrator notes, "There in the trenches the change which Mr. Brewer desired when he advised football was produced instantly; he developed manliness" (86). Mr. Brewer associates manliness with duty, service, and football, not Shakespeare and Miss Isabel Pole. While Mr. Brewer recommends football, the war teaches the same lesson. What Mr. Brewer believes is manliness, is Septimus's inability to feel, and Septimus learns this lesson after the war. Within the next few pages, Septimus's inability to feel is repeated eight times. The first time, Septimus "congratulate[s] himself upon feeling very little and very reasonably" (86). Septimus congratulates himself because he assumes that he has learned masculinity and the traits that Mr. Brewer wanted him to learn. Septimus perceives his lack of feeling as an accomplishment. Going to war is supposed to teach Septimus how to deal with horrible things, and to not let those horrible things destroy him. Septimus thinks, "The War had taught him" (86). Once Septimus learns manliness, it clashes with his sentimentality. While Septimus congratulates himself at first, he marries Rezia in a desperate attempt to try to feel something, but it does not work.

Rather than attain "manliness" as Mr. Brewer wishes, Septimus's manliness kills him. When he cannot feel, he recognizes it as a "crime" (96). The narrator notes, "So there was no excuse; nothing whatever the matter, except the sin for which human nature

had condemned him to death; that he did not feel” (91). His doctor represents human nature but it is English society as well. Septimus too does not feel that he is human and he pits the humans against himself, referring to humans as “they” (149). People like Mr. Brewer would be “proud of him,” but Septimus feels shameful and lost (88). He has also lost his love for Shakespeare, marking a drastic change in his perception after the war. He says that Shakespeare “loathed humanity” (88). Septimus now only sees death and filth in Shakespeare. Certainly some of Shakespeare is filthy and filled with death. Woolf had just seen *King Lear*, full of death and loathsome characters (*Diary 2*: 304). The filth may be copulation, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, which Woolf was reading at the time of writing *Mrs. Dalloway* (*Diary 2*: 304). The filth of copulation is perceived by both Septimus and Clarissa. Septimus’s relationship with Rezia is most likely asexual, and so is Clarissa’s relationship with Richard. David Higdon argues that “sex sickens” Septimus (179). Septimus’s perception of Shakespeare illustrates a change in how he thinks in addition to an inability to connect with the people around him. Septimus transforms from a sentimental man to a man *without* feeling.

In *A Room*, Woolf notes that “London was wholly indifferent, it appeared, to Shakespeare’s plays” (2484). Lady Bruton, the pillar of Englishness, has not read Shakespeare (180). Richard too, “said that no decent man ought to read Shakespeare’s sonnets” (75). Richard thinks it is slightly obscene to read the sonnets since Shakespeare wrote them to a man. Richard’s comment is precisely why Peter cannot tolerate him. Richard has adopted masculinity so fully that he has lost his humanity. In contrast to Lady Bruton and Richard, Peter and Clarissa appreciate Shakespeare and not just as a

national icon. When Clarissa reads Shakespeare in the bookstore window, she connects and reveals her humanity. Shakespeare too is a pillar of Englishness, but Woolf argues that he is a construct and stands for more than the man. Richard, Lady Bruton, and presumably Hugh, use Shakespeare to further their goals of the greatness of England but Woolf finds them hypocritical because they do not read Shakespeare. In “Common Readers in Wartime,” Alexandra Harris points out that Woolf was interested in a common English heritage and how writers such as Shakespeare fit in and were accepted by the British public (14). Shakespeare has always symbolized a common English heritage but the people of government use him for only that. For Woolf, Shakespeare is different. While writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf notes in her Diary, “When I was 20 ... I could not for the life of me read Shakespeare for pleasure; now it lights me as I walk” (*Diary 2*: 310). By rejecting Shakespeare, Septimus becomes Richard or Hugh. Septimus thinks, “His wife was crying, and he felt nothing” (90). The war has destroyed Septimus and he cannot go forward. He cannot feel and he no longer loves the things he used to. The narrator also notes, “At last, with a melodramatic gesture which he assumed mechanically and with complete consciousness of its insincerity, he dropped his head on his hands. Now he had surrendered” (90).

Septimus has been argued to be a schizophrenic, but he surrenders to the social order. Septimus’s madness has been directly linked to Woolf’s perceived madness, but if Septimus goes mad, it is a result of war. Wang argues that Woolf “examine[s] the subtle and complex ways in which the symbolic network of the state functions, at the most intimate level of private consciousness, to forge the subject into the service of ideology

and the state in *Mrs. Dalloway*” (179). Wang also points out that the state is “losing its grip” and this is illustrated through Septimus (179). Wang asserts that it is “the symbolic order that constitutes the self” and that identity is constructed through how people perceive themselves through the state (180). Wang calls Septimus a “schizophrenic” who “knows no boundaries, no limits, and no distinctions” (183). Gelfant argues that Woolf “defies” conversion and this is illustrated through Septimus’s inability to be converted into others’ ideals of manliness (95). He represents a breakdown but not schizophrenia.

Septimus is a kind of replacement of Sterne’s and Shakespeare’s jester. He exposes the true nature of human beings whether the audience wants to listen to him or not. Stephen Trombley also points out that Woolf was not mad and neither is Septimus. He is highly perceptive and sentimental, and this may be perceived as madness in twentieth-century England, a stark contrast from Sterne’s time. The eighteenth-century man of feeling was perceived as ineffectual because the world around him was so corrupt. The jesters in Shakespeare and Sterne reveal that corruption and Woolf’s Septimus does as well. When Septimus exhibits signs of sentimentality, everyone perceives it as “cowardly” behavior and they cannot connect such cowardice with bravery, i.e. fighting in the war. Rezia thinks he’s a coward for crying; the doctors think he’s a coward for not being English enough to be a good husband; and Mr. Brewer thinks football will help him learn manliness. The need for Septimus to transform illustrates Septimus’s class position. While Peter is critiqued for his sentimentality, his class position allows him to be sentimental. Septimus, on the other hand, cannot ask a friend for a job and he is ridiculed as a bad husband because of his behavior. Septimus at first

congratulates himself on feeling little for Evans, but then he considers his lack of feeling as a crime. Septimus, like Sterne's La Fleur, has no use after the war and he says, "Now he had surrendered." The soldier's heroism is undermined by his experience.

Because of his madness, Septimus is not only considered schizophrenic, but hysteric. Sigmund Freud's "On Mourning and Melancholia" was published in 1917 and in it Freud argues that people reproach themselves for the loss of loved ones. This condition is labeled melancholia but it leads to hysteria. According to Freud, "The melancholic ... reproaches himself" and believes himself to be "worthless" (584). Septimus believes this. When he surrenders and he makes a melancholic gesture, he does it as a performance of what he believes is the right thing to do. Recognizing that it is a performance and that he was not naturally able to do it makes him feel worthless. When he refers to humans as they, he creates a rivalry between him and them. Freud, however, argues that the patient thinks he has always been this way and uses the past to justify his current condition. This is not so with Septimus. Septimus has not always been this way and everyone knows it. Septimus also does not "cling to life" but chooses death over an impoverished life (584). Also according to Freud, "Feelings of shame in front of other people, which would more than anything characterize [the worthless person], are lacking in the melancholic" (585). Peter, Clarissa, Septimus, and Woolf herself, experience shame. Clearly then, shame is not lacking in the melancholic. Woolf perceived her own madness as a personal defect and this perception was perpetuated by her father's ideas and the ideas of the Victorian doctors she saw (Caramagno 11). The only personal defect Woolf attributes to Septimus is his inability to feel.

Septimus cannot afford to be sentimental because he is a working-class man. Sentimentality was perceived as insincere precisely because of its association with privilege. In Leslie Stephen's *Mausoleum Book*, Stephen records impressions of Anny, his first wife's sister. She was "the most sympathetic person I ever knew. By 'sympathetic' I mean able to sympathize quickly with the feelings of all manner of people, to throw herself into their interests and thoughts and even for a time adopt their opinions," he writes (12). Though Stephen characterizes Anny as sincere, Stephen notes that people "doubte[d] her sincerity" (12). Stephen also reveals, "Fitzjames and I in those days called her a 'sentimentalist,' a name which in our mouths implied some blame" (13). Stephen implies blame with sentimentality because of its perceived insincerity and because of his own fear of being sentimental. Stephen also acknowledges that Anny was cynical, which goes against sentimentality. Even though Stephen does not wish to characterize her as sentimental, he cannot help but do so. Stephen concludes that Anny was sentimental and not necessarily in a bad way even though the word evokes negative connotations. Stephen also displays his own privilege when he attributes Anny's weaknesses, especially impulsiveness, to her "Irish blood" (12-16). Stephen characterizes himself as weak and neurotic and this disposition is supposedly passed down to Woolf herself. Stephen characterizes himself as having an "anxious temperament" (7). Stephen blames whatever negative behavior he finds on Anny's "Irish blood." However, Stephen greatly feared being sentimental and physically weak so if he finds the fault in others, it is a projection of his own.

Peter, Clarissa, and Hugh can afford to exhibit sentimentality for anyone. Clarissa and Hugh especially are in stable class positions. Hugh especially exhibits sentimentality in order to flaunt his good position. While Peter can afford to exhibit sentimentality, he is in a precarious position when he does so and his sentimentality threatens his masculinity. Peter is the closest model to Sterne's Yorick and he even displays sentiment for the soldier, Septimus. When he sees Rezia and Septimus pass by him, Peter thinks they are in a fight and he feels for them. Rezia also sentimentalizes the soldier and thinks, "Men killed in battle were thus saluted" (150). Rezia dwells upon the glory her husband should receive because he served in the war. He is not saluted however. Peter, while an Ambassador, is in a place of privilege but the others, Lady Bruton, Hugh, and Richard, clearly look down on him and he has to ask them for a job. Displaying sentimentality then, is an illustration of gender instability for Peter and this makes the others uncomfortable. Septimus, on the other hand, is unable to exhibit signs of sentimentality because of a class difference. Septimus is not allowed any gender instability whatsoever because of his class status and his identity as a soldier. Peter is an Ambassador, while Septimus is a soldier. Peter says he hates the empire and the army, but he is part of it as an Ambassador. Septimus, while also a part of the empire, is an obedient soldier and follower.

As noted earlier, Sterne points out three reasons why people travel, "infirmity of body, imbecility of mind, or inevitable necessity" (12). Septimus is a traveler by inevitable necessity because of his class position. Though it is not explicitly stated, Septimus becomes a soldier, rather than an Ambassador, because he may lack the choice.

As a soldier, he must travel. Sterne then suggests that the sentimental traveler travels out of necessity, most likely because he suffers from both infirmity of body and imbecility of mind. Peter travels both because of an infirmity of body and imbecility of mind, according to British culture. The people in power see him as defective so traveling offers him a way out. Even after his travels and his fantasies as a buccaneer, he returns home with no more power than he had before. Septimus, on the other hand, travels by necessity only.

Despite Peter's sentimentality, he supports the Empire, especially when he glorifies British Monuments. When he stands outside the British Museum he experiences a "moment" where he thinks life is beautiful (152). In front of the British Museum, "things come together" (152). Woolf notes Sterne's ability to create an impression of "the moment" (*CR* 82). Scott Cohen argues that Richard, Hugh, Clarissa, and Lady Bruton are unable to move through the Empire of London, but that London itself is constantly in movement with the bringing of people into the Empire such as the mingling of various characters that are both in and outside the Empire. Unlike Sterne's men of feeling, Peter appreciates and notices the monuments that make Britain great.

The battles that both Septimus and Peter had to endure overseas are paralleled by the many references to battle in England. Rezia thinks, "Everyone has friends who were killed in the War" (66). The narrator also notes, "The War was over, except for some one like Mrs. Foxcroft at the Embassy last night eating her heart out because that nice boy was killed" (4). Woolf emphasizes how the war affects the home front. Woolf also characterizes the relations between the sexes as a battle. As Woolf points out in *Three*

Guineas, the behavior instigating the battle between the sexes is a precursor, or even a cause, of the behavior overseas. Peter entering Clarissa's home and playing with his knife is evidence of that. According to Squier, "Both the Great War and the sexually segregated society of the wartime and pre-war eras—when men were manly and women womanly—are of major significance to *Mrs. Dalloway*" (93). Squier notes that Woolf wanted to "criticize a society based upon such habitual polarization" (93). Squier points out that Woolf sees the polarization between public and private as a major cause of the aggression in men. Squier writes that Woolf saw "maternal associations" in London (92). While Woolf, and Mrs. Dalloway, sees the maternal, Peter sees aggression and empire. Squier points out that "the sight of Gordon's statue initiates Peter Walsh's impulse to follow the attractive woman he sees in Trafalgar Square" (95). Squier notes that the Institutions of English Empire "breed military aggression" (110). Peter's relationship with his surroundings is contrasted with Clarissa who has an "empathetic union with her surroundings" (98). While Clarissa is empathetic, "Peter is intrusive" (Squier 104). He sees himself as Prince Charming to rescue Sleeping Beauty, placing him in the dominant role of protector, savior, and hero.

Only in India as a colonizer is Peter able to fulfill his fantasy of domination. Squier notes, "He is drawn to the exercise of imperialist power although he lacks the self-discipline of the ideal soldier" (105). When Peter sees the young men go by, he idolizes them and imagines himself as a Buccaneer or Duke. Cohen suggests that the scene of Peter following the woman is "framed as a mockery of the imperial picaresque" (99). Sterne's Yorick does this too and what Woolf notes about Sterne is that "a girl may be

more interesting than a cathedral” (80). Sterne expressed sentiment for the people and not the sights, but Peter expresses sentiment for both. Peter notices a family at breakfast, the Morrises, and calls them a “perfect” family (160). Ironically, the Morrises are a middle class family and they “don’t care a hang for the upper classes” (160). To Peter, they represent simple Englishness, but his perception of them is also sentimentality for England. Elizabeth Lamont argues that Peter is “an Anglo-Indian struggling to fashion some sort of coherent identity out of his colonial past” (162). His perception of the Morrises as English may be an instance of that. While Sterne’s Yorick may ignore or even mock great monuments, Peter appreciates them and when he notices the people, he does so with a sentiment for England.

In *A Room* Woolf notes, “England is under the rule of a patriarchy” (2451). Woolf parallels the battle between the sexes with the battles between countries and suggests that men who demand authority at home from their wives practice the same behavior diplomatically. When Peter comes to visit Clarissa, the narrator notes, “before the battle begins” and just before Clarissa handles her umbrella as if that were a weapon (44; 30). This has been argued by various critics such as Merry Pawlowski, Vara Neverow, and Jane Marcus, among others. Richard, a Member of Parliament, brings flowers home to his wife but carries them “like a weapon” (116). Richard’s inability to give flowers is a comment on his position in Parliament and the duties he is expected to perform. Those duties prevent Richard from being able to feel so even when he does bring flowers home, he does not know how to do it. Lady Bruton, as anti-feminine, receives flowers from Hugh but she does not have a clue what to do with them. Richard’s manliness also

suggests that he is unable to feel. His training prevents him from having a real connection with his wife and having the ability to tell her that he loves her. Instead, his wife pines for former lovers and passion, Peter and Sally. Unlike Richard or Lady Bruton, Clarissa has a kinship with nature, as well as Shakespeare. She sees her life as a “flowers of darkness” and refers to herself as a nun (29). As a nun, she wins the battle of the sexes because she removes herself. Clarissa believes that souls rest in trees and this may be because her sister died by falling out of a tree. Septimus too has a kinship with nature and he fears that society will cut down trees.

Paralleling the battle between the sexes is the battle of WWI and the upcoming battle of WWII. As many critics have argued, the aggression bred in men like Richard, as displayed by the flowers, is given an outlet through war with other countries. As Gilbert and Gubar note, *Mrs. Dalloway* is a “war-haunted” novel (“Sexchanges” 315). There are various references to young men marching and the backfire from the car in the street is assumed to be a bomb (116). When Peter intrudes upon Clarissa’s home, Clarissa is described as a “Queen ... left ... unprotected” and battle imagery is abundant in addition to Peter’s knife (44). Clarissa, in the home, must bear the brunt of these men who need to be dominant. Miss Kilman is at the forefront of the battle between the sexes. Her name is Kill man, but she wants to be a man. She visits the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and feels a kinship with him because like him, she is a fighter. She wants to imprint her name on a tombstone and believes, for a moment, that the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior can be her tomb. At tea with Elizabeth, Miss Kilman feels “split asunder” (132). She is the

autonomous New Woman and yet she is powerless. The only thing she truly has is her own sense of righteousness.

Institutions breed military aggression and this is why Mr. Brewer suggests football for Septimus. Oxbridge breeds this type of aggression. Within the institution of Oxbridge is a whole set of expectations from cricket to football and the preparatory school, Eton. Peter tells Sally, "Everybody in the room has six sons at Eton" (189). Eton represents a mark on the path to greatness for young men. Laurence Sterne, Leslie Stephen, and Thoby Stephen all went to Eton. As a result, Woolf's male characters attend. Having six sons at Eton is the ultimate sign of success. Gilbert and Gubar point out a "crisis in masculinity" as a result of the Great War and that crisis is no better displayed than by Mr. Brewer's anxiety over Septimus ("Sexchanges" 769). Septimus's death illustrates an inability to replace his sentimentality with masculinity. Like Mr. Brewer, Dr. Bradshaw encourages masculinity in Septimus, but his version of masculinity is to think of England. Clarissa recognizes that Dr. Bradshaw forced Septimus to his death in some way. Clarissa is disgusted by the people still living and sees death as "defiance" and she wonders if the man who died was a poet, blaming Dr. Bradshaw for the death of a potential great man (184).

The despised Dr. Bradshaw, and representation of human nature, says to Septimus, "Nobody lives for himself alone" (98). Dr. Bradshaw perceives Septimus as selfish and he focuses on his duty as a husband. Septimus, however, is also expected to commit suicide because his suicide solves human nature's problem: What to do with the soldier when he returns and cannot re-integrate? The narrator notes, "Kill yourself ... for

our sakes” (92). Sir William Bradshaw “made England prosper, secluded her lunatics, forbade childbirth” (99). To save the face of England, Septimus is expected to take his own life and it certainly would make things easier for his doctors. Septimus’s problem suggests a lack of masculinity and this would hurt the perception of England. When talking with her nephew Julian Bell, Woolf is reminded of Thoby Stephen. Woolf records, he is “going to be very tall, & go to the Bar” (*Diary 2*: 308). Julian Bell and Thoby Stephen had the world laid out before them with grand futures. Peter also associates these young men with grand futures when he sees the soldiers pass him by. The loss of that future is embodied by Jacob and Septimus. Rather than fulfill its promise, England destroys these young men. Although England played no part in destroying Thoby, his death was senseless enough.

Mrs. Dalloway is often perceived as a domestic novel, and like many of Woolf’s novels, noted for its aesthetic quality in spite of the political critique. Clarissa throws a party and she characterizes her party as a contribution to society. In her society, her party is a contribution. She is expected to throw parties and to mingle with the people her husband works with in order to earn him an even better position. Clarissa succeeds at this even though Lady Bruton criticizes her for Richard not being as much as he could have been. One of Woolf’s many points in the novel is to criticize a social system that expects so much of women and yet gives them no credit. According to Jacob Littleton, Woolf shows that Clarissa defies traditional notions of gender and “creates her own meaning” out of the world (37). Clarissa throws her party and it is a success. Sally, like Clarissa, has children and contributes to society as well. Even her contribution goes unrecognized.

Because she marries and has children, it is assumed that she sacrificed her own will.

What Woolf notes of her contribution is that her five sons will grow up and inherit the same world Jacob and Septimus did.

The aggression bred by these institutions begins at Eton. Leslie Stephen attended Eton and from there went to Cambridge. This progression is the same for Sterne and Jacob. Leslie Stephen acknowledges, “At Cambridge I managed to do well enough to get a tutorship and fellowship ... —the standard there was low” (5). At the party when Peter declares that everyone has six sons at Eton, he also says, “we know everything” (193). This comment is in direct contrast with nearly everything Peter, Sally, and Clarissa stand for. The inability to know is a theme of all of Woolf’s novels. Peter and Clarissa determine that it is impossible to sum people up. According to Melvyn New, Sterne also believed that everyone is unknowable (xvii). Peter’s declaration of knowing everything is a reflection of the simplicity and insincerity of the people at the party. Hugh, on the other hand, believes he knows everyone and everything. In Woolf’s diary she records, “I have been having one of those melancholy middle aged summings up of a situation” (*Diary 2*: 298). When Woolf sums things up, she accuses herself of being sentimental, melancholy, and middle aged.

The ending does not offer a summing up, but it does emphasize how identity is constructed. David Daiches suggests that the book “ends with an emphasis on identity” (36). Blanche H. Gelfant argues that “[Clarissa’s] personality begins to emerge as a relative quality, determined by who observes her rather than by what she is” (86). Clarissa then is relative to how others perceive her and this is a central theme. Hussey

argues, “Identity ... is not a ‘thing’ but a flex of sensations and attributes that can be drawn together by an effort based on such a security-ensuring stimulus as the sight of one’s own body in a mirror” (59). Hussey refers to Clarissa constructing herself by staring at herself in the mirror. The end offers little resolution to the fluctuation of identity. Thomas Beattie acknowledges that Woolf feels that an ending ought to leave the reader surprised and unsure of what we are able to know. Beattie acknowledges that the ending has no “resolution” (521). Harkin points out that sentimental novels are anti-*bildungsroman* and non-linear and *Mrs. Dalloway* is just that. Rather than focus on a young woman whose search for life will result in a marriage, Woolf uses the subject of a woman in middle age whose life has already seemingly passed by her, but Woolf characterizes her as youthful and full of feeling. Sentimental novels reveal an inability to move or act and *Mrs. Dalloway* also reveals this. Lamont argues that “*Mrs. Dalloway* seems to propose a dialectical relationship between incessant movement and domestic stasis” (162).

Throughout the novel, Woolf is negotiating the term sentimental. Various critics refer to Woolf and Clarissa Dalloway as “sensitive” or “sensible.” E. M. Forster calls Clarissa “sensitive” (24); Joan Bennett notes that Clarissa has “exquisite tact and sensibility” (27); Edward A. Hungerford refers to the “sensibility” of Woolf, viewers, and readers (28); and Morris Beja refers to Clarissa and Septimus Warren Smith as “sensitive” (37). As Clark points out, referring to a female writer as “sentimental” was intended as an insult and meant to suggest her lack of intellectual capacity. Woolf was all too aware of this but she was also aware of her predisposition to a heightened sensitivity

and she recognizes the same in Sterne. As a product of her time, Woolf had trouble negotiating the sentimental with masculinity. When characterizing her brother Thoby Stephen and her nephew Julian Bell, Woolf characterizes them as manly while being sensitive. Woolf writes of them that they were “sensitive” but “rather combative” (*Diary 2*: 308). By asserting “combative,” Woolf chooses to not allow their masculinity to be stripped.

Woolf writes that Sterne is “sensitive, sympathetic, humane” (*CR 83*). On the one hand, sentimentality exhibits all the best of Sterne and other eighteenth century writers. Woolf writes, “When I was 20 I liked 18th Century prose” (*Diary 2*: 310). Though Woolf contrasts this with her appreciation for Shakespeare while writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, she admits liking the sentimentality and fluidity of eighteenth century prose. Additionally, Woolf herself is sentimental and prone to “gushing” (*Diary 2*: 304). When about to move from Richmond to Tavistock Square, Woolf reflects upon the ten years she spent in Richmond and declares, “I am not sentimental about it” (*Diary 2*: 290). She associates sentimentality with a clinging to the past because of her father. Her hatred of the term shows an acceptance of sentiment perceived as a lack of intellect, as if intellect and emotion have to be at odds.

Woolf says that the reader is not “convinced of the tenderness of Sterne’s heart” and neither are they convinced of the tenderness of Clarissa’s heart (*CR 83*). Woolf writes, “It is Sterne’s sentimentality that offends us and not his immorality” (*CR 84*). Woolf makes her reader aware that she knows about the debate regarding sentimentality and that she does not agree with it. Woolf’s men of feeling are sentimental and they are

poets. Like most of Woolf's poets, they recognize that the self is constructed (53). These men are men outside business and she respects them for it. Woolf's men of feeling are Septimus, Peter, Bernard of *The Waves*, and in her life they are her father and Lytton Strachey. These men are physically weak and they display their emotion.

Despite all the negative references to sentimentality, Woolf was happy with the ending of *Mrs. Dalloway* and it ends on a sentimental note. Peter is awed by Clarissa, "For there she was" (194). Christine Froula argues that the novel is a "postwar elegy" that ends with "renewed life and hope" (126). The narrator notes, "What does the brain matter ... compared with the heart" (194). Peter thinks of the past, which according to him, is sentimentality. The narrator also notes, "One did not lose the power of feeling" (193). Harold Bloom writes that Shakespeare has forever affected the way we see life and character. Bloom argues, "Shakespeare ... was the first and remains still the greatest master of representing character both as a stable soul and a wavering self" (xii). Woolf's Clarissa Dalloway is just that, a stable soul and wavering self. She is also a negotiation between sentimental and the gender associations of sentimental.

Chapter Four: "I come like a lord to his halls appointed": Percival as the
Everyman Soldier Hero in *The Waves*

Despite recent political scholarship, *The Waves* is still more often noted as a poetic masterpiece than a novel with any serious political ramifications. Woolf has certainly been recognized for her political perceptions, especially regarding war, but *The Waves* is still mostly left out of that discussion. Jane Marcus, in "Britannia Rules *The Waves*," is one of the first to point out that *The Waves* is less acknowledged for its critique of Empire because of Woolf's class and gender. In "'This Hideous Shaping and Moulding': War and *The Waves*," Judith Lee argues that *The Waves* seems "singularly remote from the pacifism and antimilitarism that we discover elsewhere," and that critics of *The Waves* are still "primarily concerned with aesthetics" (180). Despite it being singularly remote, Lee breaks ground by proving that *The Waves* is political. The slogan, "Britannia Rules the Waves," was popular for the British Navy during WWI and it was made famous by James Thomson in "Rule Britannia" (1740). The poem was written for the victory of the British against the French during the Glorious Revolution. With *The Waves*, Woolf refers directly to this poem and to England's great naval power. Renee Dickinson, Chloe Taylor, Patricia Cramer, Robin Hackett, Kathy Phillips, and Gabrielle McIntyre all note *The Waves* for its critique of empire. Julia Briggs, however, writes that Woolf put politics aside when writing it. Briggs' analysis confirms how often critics recognize *The Waves* for its aesthetic qualities rather than its politics.

The Waves is about ideas, and especially, how ideas are constructed and perpetuated by culture. One such idea and construct is Percival. While constructing the

consciousness of six individuals, Woolf leaves the consciousness of Percival out. The six are Bernard, Louis, Neville, Jinny, Rhoda, and Susan. Woolf said that she meant to have no characters and these six are not characters, but to avoid confusion I will refer to them as such. Woolf wrote that she was happy “that the W[aves] is not what they say. Odd that [The Times] sh[oul]d praise my characters when I meant to have none” (*Diary 4*: 47).

Percival, in contrast to the six, is merely an idea. When Bernard thinks of life and those closest to him, he thinks of the six only. Bernard thinks of the six-sided flower when they dined with Percival but there are six only by excluding Percival (229). In the first episode, the six characters are introduced, but Percival is not once mentioned. He may be a man in the minds of others, but Percival is never given a soliloquy, and he never directly speaks to another character. When he is introduced, he is grouped with men whose “names repeat themselves,” emphasizing his lack of individuality (47).

Throughout the text, each character is trying to construct his or her own identity, but Percival, despite the literary allusion, is given no such quest. Percival is Parsifal according to Arthurian Legend, as rewritten by Thomas Malory and then further revised by Richard Wagner. Harvena Richter is one of the first to note that Percival alludes to Parsifal as “the last of the Grail kings” (125). Percival is constructed by the others and even continuously revised by them with words such as “make” and “create” being emphasized. Bernard relates, “[this] splendid moment *created* by us from Percival” (*my emphasis* 146). By choosing the words “make” and “create,” Woolf focuses upon how the six construct Percival though he is not even present. Percival is constructed as a center and as a soldier, and constantly linked with imagery of globes and spheres (9). He

is constructed as a hero who will, and does, die in battle serving his country. He is referred to as a “hero” and a “God” (123; 136). Jinny notes that with Percival, they “assume the sober and confident air of soldiers in the presence of their captain” (123). He is worshipped by the six and in their construction of him, he is larger than life. While the six construct Percival as heroic, Woolf juxtaposes their construction with allusions to Percival not existing and undermining his heroism. Rather than attend the institution, Percival is a representation of the ideals of the institution.

The six characters are introduced in childhood in the first episode, but Percival is not introduced until the second episode when the six begin attending formal preparatory school. By introducing Percival once they attend school, Woolf connects the construct of Percival the soldier, with school, and by extension, Oxford and Cambridge. Though it is not Oxford or Cambridge they attend yet, it is an expensive preparatory school that prepares students for one or the other. The prep school could be Eton, but other scholars have suggested it is Giggleswick because Eton is too far north. Despite its northern location, Eton serves well because of its mythical qualities, according to Woolf, and because her father, Leslie Stephen, attended. In addition to Stephen, both of Prince Charles’ sons, and various prime ministers, including William Pitt, attended. It is well known for its sports, such as cricket, which Percival plays. Woolf recalls of her father, “He once said that he owed Eton a grudge for not having made a scholar of him” (129). Stephen’s comment suggests that despite the school being expensive, it focused on sports rather than scholarship. Stephen was considered a “frail” boy and not really allowed to participate in the athletics though he became a prominent mountaineer at Cambridge

(Annan 90-97). Stephen's characterization of the school focusing on sports is a reflection of his frailty and the perception of weakness associated with it.

Eton is also the school the Duke of Wellington attended, and Louis notes the school celebrating the Duke's birthday (37). The Duke being celebrated is not elaborated upon, however. Scholars suggest that the celebrated Duke is the Duke of York, who became George V in 1910, but that is unlikely. Because of Woolf's overt use of the eighteenth century throughout her texts, it is either the Duke of Wellington or the Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill 1650-1722. Laurence Sterne's father served under the Duke of Marlborough. However, in English culture the "Duke," typically refers to the Duke of Wellington. Throughout *Jacob's Room*, the Duke of Wellington is the boys' hero. Whether it is Eton or Giggleswick does not matter; either prep school is part of the "factory" and a stepping stone to "Oxbridge" (*AROO* 2447). Only Bernard and Neville attend the university but when they do, it is not stated whether it is Oxford or Cambridge. As with her conflation of Oxbridge, to Woolf, the schools are interchangeable because they stand for the same ideals. Woolf is the most familiar with Cambridge because her brothers, husband, and father attended Cambridge and so, Jacob Flanders of *Jacob's Room* attends Cambridge. By introducing Percival in this section, he is merely one of "the boasting boys" and indeed a representation of the institution without an identity (66).

Woolf characterizes Oxbridge as a part of a machine that produces male robots to serve the country. Bernard refers to the workings of London as a "machine" and Woolf would agree (154). Louis, a self-proclaimed outsider because of his accent, emphasizes the non-distinct nature of these schools when he says, "Bernard and Neville, Percival,

Archie, Larpent and Baker go to Oxford *or* Cambridge” (*my emphasis* 65). To Louis, who does not attend either school, both represent privilege. Percival is one of many perfect specimens churned out by this institution. He is referred to as a “pillar” and as being in a “pagan universe” (36; 243). By emphasizing Percival’s inanimate qualities and his interchangeability, he is linked directly with the institution becoming a pillar himself. His paganness makes him ancient and links him to the past just as Jacob and Louis are inheritors of the past. It also emphasizes his role as a warrior. In *Three Guineas*, Woolf makes it clear that accepting such ideals is a form of “unreal loyalty,” “which lead men to war” (78; 9). One ideal that Oxbridge perpetuates is the ideal of soldiers and heroes; if Oxbridge is an invention, then the ideals of Oxbridge, such as a heroic soldier, are also an invention. Louis refers to such inventions as a “tradition” he inherits, like Jacob (58). By emphasizing Percival’s lack of existence, Woolf posits that the ideal soldier also does not exist, but is a false tradition perpetuated by Oxbridge. The first image of Percival is constructed by Susan. Susan thinks, “Percy fires at the rocks” (33). This early image of Percival firing emphasizes his role as soldier and his place in the empire as a hero.

At school, each character is given a soliloquy about his or her experiences regarding learning. Susan counts the days left of school and waits for her “freedom [to] unfurl” (53). Jinny thinks of dresses and parties: “Now ... the time is coming when we shall leave school ... I shall wear necklaces and a white dress without sleeves ... There will be parties” (55). Rhoda is horrified and unable to solidify herself or make sense of anything. As she sits in class trying to understand a math lesson, Rhoda feels disembodied and says she “[has] no face” (33). Though these women have recently been

included in the institution, they still feel like outsiders. Woolf suggests that the lessons are geared to make the women feel left out by ignoring what society has taught women to appreciate. Susan Jacoby writes that teachers specifically reinforce the idea that young girls cannot understand math. When a girl says she does not understand, it is accepted, but when a boy says it, the teacher does everything possible to ensure the boy understands. Jinny reveals that she cannot understand the lesson on verbs (42). Because she does not understand, she focuses on what she does know, dresses. Woolf's women often focus on something perceived as feminine and are criticized for it. Miss Umphelby, the Cambridge lecturer from *Jacob's Room*, wonders what women would wear when they meet famous men from the past. Her thought process is considered trivial by many though it is an interesting and valid question that reveals great imagination. It also recalls Mary Wollstonecraft who uses the image of drapery in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* to show how people conceal themselves with fabric. This separation between the men and women is emphasized throughout Woolf's books where the women are unable to engage in society because of what and how they were taught. What women have to contribute is devalued, unlike men who also focus on dress and display, a point made by both Wollstonecraft and Woolf. Though the three women have trouble learning, they are characterized as participating in the process while Percival is not.

The men are also characterized while responding to learning and they do not feel like outsiders. While the men do not appreciate school immediately, they recognize that school offers them success and they intend to take advantage of it. The school also offers Percival, a hero to worship. School offers Bernard the ability to revise his stories, which

will lead him to success. Bernard, like Neville and Louis, views school in terms of its use. Bernard is inspired to keep a notebook and he repeatedly thinks, “That will be *useful*” (*my emphasis* 36-7). He learns what he needs to in order to succeed and he learns that he needs people around him in order to be himself. He also learns how to construct language. Ironically, he thinks going to school is finally the end of ceremony. As he leaves for school and has to ceremoniously part with his parents and wave, he thinks, “Heaven be praised, all ceremonies are over” (30). What Bernard does not realize is how many ceremonies he will participate in *at* school.

Louis, who often fantasizes about himself grandly, also embraces the culture of the institution. Though he is regarded as an outsider because his father is a banker, he immediately accepts the ideals of the institution and wants his name on a wall (58). His desire to have his name on a wall links back to the “Alf, Bert, or Chas” of *A Room* who desire fame and need to mark their territory (2460). Louis also notes that he is “resolute to conquer” (26). He may be resolute to conquer, but this belief is replaced by an eager willingness to do so. He thinks, “I like the orderly progress” (34). Louis sees Percival as an idea he has to constantly compete with. Louis’s knowledge of what his competition is, Percival, leads him to success. Louis notes, “I resent the power of Percival intensely” (39). His resentment is what allows him to achieve more than Percival. Louis says, “Yet it is Percival I need; for it is Percival who inspires poetry” (40). Louis desires to be a poet and he needs a subject and he recognizes that Percival is an ideal subject. The institution offers him the ability to “rise into this dim light” out of darkness (35). As with Bernard,

Percival is an idea informing Louis of his identity. Thus Percival and the institution act in the same way, informing the six of how identity should be constructed.

Even Neville, who often feels out of place, finds order in the institution and the order allows him to thrive. What Neville finds discomfoting about the institution is how much more he knows than the authorities representing the institution. Neville thinks, “The words of authority are corrupted by those who speak them. I gibe and mock at this sad religion” (35). Neville links the school with the church and finds the need for religion sad. He deprives the church of its power and notices the lack of intelligence of the authority figures. Neville focuses instead upon Percival, “Now I will lean sideways ... So I shall see Percival” (35). While the women reject this order, Neville thrives upon it. He trains to be a professor of classics and he achieves this goal by identifying how the institution will help him find success. The institution becomes the place where he finds a sense of belonging for the rest of his life. Neville says, “I come, like a lord to his halls appointed. That is our founder ... A noble Roman air hangs over these austere quadrangles” (31). In Woolf’s fiction, the order that Neville thrives upon is often the order of rigid professors and soldiers, what Woolf perceives to be masculinity. Louis refers to this order when he refers to Percival and the other boys playing cricket. Louis says, “They are always forming into fours and marching into troops with badges on their caps; they salute simultaneously passing the figure of their general” (47). The institution becomes a training ground for the military and the athletics, such as cricket, are an extension of that training. Bernard notes, “With one scoop a whole brakeful of boys is swept up and goes cricketing, footballing. An army marches across Europe” (246).

Bernard's association of ideas links football and cricket directly to the army and marching. Socialization by the institution creates orderly men who often deny life to get past Q, like Mr. Ramsay from *To the Lighthouse*, Professor von X from *A Room*, and various soldiers with a clear military sensibility, such as Richard Dalloway, Abel Pargiter, Edward Pargiter, Captain Seabrook, Captain Barfoot, the Captain from "Captain's Death Bed," Jacob Flanders, and now, Percival. These men all bear traits of the military pedant of the eighteenth century. Neville's sense of belonging, Woolf suggests, is a form of unreal loyalty and is perpetuated by the institution. Bernard illustrates this too with his notebook and his methodical and alphabetical entries. Louis sees this order and he feels jealous that he is outside it. Additionally, Neville characterizes the place as having a "noble Roman air," linking the institution with a military academy and the glorification of Greek and Roman culture in England. Institutions like Cambridge and Oxford perpetuate specific ideals of Greek and Roman victory, and use those models as something to aspire to. Will Durrant notes that the Greeks cared more about symmetry and order than anything else. This love of order is adopted by the men with military sensibilities as perceived by Woolf, especially Victorian men. Once graduated, Bernard notes the similarity of London to Rome, emphasizing the greatness of London (111).

By connecting Percival with the Roman air, Woolf illuminates a cultural tendency to falsely privilege Greek and Roman victory. In *Jacob's Room*, Jacob enters Cambridge and begins to glorify Greek and Roman culture, but Avrom Fleishman points out that Jacob's knowledge of Greek and Roman history does not match Woolf's own. The

disparity between Woolf's knowledge and the knowledge she gives her character is to illustrate the false ideals perpetuated by the institution. Worship of the classics, as done by Bernard, Neville, Louis, and Jacob, is a kind of hero worship, similar to the six characters' conception of Percival. The institution imposing this order is characterized as dead with its noble Roman air and its "statuesque" teachers. Jacob is characterized as a statue and therefore dead, and Jinny refers to the institution as "monumental" with its "stone-coloured" ladies as teachers (125). The people most identified with the institution, Louis and Neville, are also characterized as statuesque. Bernard thinks Louis is "stone-carved, sculpturesque" (117). Percival is closely linked to the "noble Roman air" of the institution when he is described as a pagan and a pillar. As a pillar, Percival is a representation of something rather than an actual human being. In *Heroes*, by Lucy Hughes-Hallett, she examines heroes of Western culture and finds that heroes do not need to be alive or present, they just need to inspire confidence. By describing Percival as a pillar, Woolf describes his heroism in clichéd terms but in terms inseparable from the institution. Regarding Jacob, Jane de Gay writes, "Woolf suggests that Jacob's education may have instilled in him and his generation a fatalism which prepared them to become cannon fodder" (70). The same may be said of Percival with his training in cricket and the expectations of masculinity.

In describing their learning experiences, Woolf characterizes Bernard, Louis, Neville, Susan, Rhoda, and Jinny as reacting to the institution. Each woman feels out of place, and each man finds a way to make the institution work for him. Rather than a learning experience, Percival is introduced as playing in a cricket match. As a cricket

player, Percival is a representative of the school, rather than a member. Percival does not use the institution for his purposes but is used *by* it. His role as the representative of the school will be mimicked later by his role as an ambassador to India. While the six attempt to learn, Percival is an outsider and does not participate in the learning process. Instead, he performs *for* the institution. His position reflects Stephen's criticism of the school and to focus on sports rather than scholarship. Louis refers to the boys playing cricket as "the boasting boys" right before he imagines them walking, as if in a military procession (46). Cricket emphasizes orderliness and obedience and these skills are essential to empire building.

Percival is an exaggerated example of what all the men learn from the institution, orderliness and obedience. While the other men learn these traits, they also consider how they will use the institution to be successful. Percival is being trained to perpetually represent the ideals of the institution, rather than learning for himself. Neville notes how Percival will shut everything out to focus on winning the match. Neville thinks, "Percival has gone now ... He is thinking of nothing but the match" (47). Percival may be physically present, but he is mentally absent. He dedicates his mind to winning the match and he might as well do it for the empire. Hughes-Hallett argues that the hero need not be present in order to inspire. Percival's ability to focus so intently is inspirational and in sharp contrast with the women's inability to focus on their lessons. Percival has been trained to care about winning, and as a winner, he is a better representative of the institution. Neville also thinks, "let us win," confirming the importance of winning to reinforce the status of the school, and by extension, the nation (48). Louis thinks:

Look now, how everybody follows Percival. He is heavy. He walks clumsily down the field, through the long grass, to where the great elm trees stand. His magnificence is that of some mediaeval commander (*sic*). A wake of light seems to lie on the grass behind him. Look at us trooping after him, his faithful servants, to be shot like sheep, for he will certainly attempt some forlorn enterprise and die in battle. My heart turns rough; it abrades my side like a file with two edges; one, that I adore his magnificence; the other I despise his slovenly accents—I who am so much his superior—and am jealous. (37).

Louis refers to Percival as a “mediaeval commander” who compels people to follow him like sheep (*sic*). Gabrielle McIntire notes the general hero worship that the six participate in with Percival and connects it to glorification of the empire. Percival is such a great hero that he is followed by light. The representation of light here recalls Plato and how he uses shadows on the wall to represent false reality to prisoners and Woolf accuses the institution of doing the same. Percival’s strength and leadership skills are over-emphasized, and Louis foreshadows his death and willingness to sacrifice himself for his country. In the third interlude, the height of empire, Woolf refers to “turbaned warriors ... who advance upon the feeding flocks, the white sheep” (75). People follow Percival like sheep because of the ideals he represents. He is like the light outside Plato’s cave but unfortunately, he is a trap. The white sheep being advanced upon is indicative of a naïve society allowing itself to worship the same ideals as Percival follows. As a cricket player and a soldier, Percival is the same construct. Both Bernard and Louis focus on how only

the “names repeat themselves” when referencing the cricket players. According to Neville, Percival is an exact replica of “Archie, John, Walter, Lathom, Larpent, Roper, Smith ... the names are the same always” (66; 47; 59; 65). The names of the boasting boys repeat themselves just as the ideals of Oxbridge keep repeating the men who represent those ideals. As a soldier, Percival imitates reality and the six focus on his magnificence and his affinity with God. This combined with his lack of presence, both mentally and physically, contributes to his de-humanization.

As with Jacob, Woolf critiques how the six construct Percival to be more than a man. Bernard says he is “God like” but he also says later, “He would have done justice. He *would have* protected” (152; 243). Bernard’s imagining of Percival’s possibilities is a way to make meaning out of meaninglessness. By emphasizing *would have*, Bernard suggests that Percival’s successful and final destiny was inevitable. This inevitability does not match with Bernard’s earlier construction of Percival as “too small” a thing to bring them together (126). Woolf mocks Bernard’s construction with Percival’s absurd death, undermining his power and heroism. From Bernard’s construction of him as God-like, Briggs suggests that Percival is a vegetation God. The original title of *The Waves* was to be “Moths,” and the moth represented her childhood as her and her brother Thoby Stephen often collected moths. Throughout *Jacob’s Room* as well are the images of moths (Guiguet 150). Jean Guiguet argues that life for the characters in *The Waves* becomes “a progressive narrowing of freedom” (151). Through the connection of Jacob and Thoby Stephen, moths come to symbolize death. Other than the connection to moths, Percival has little connection to the earth (140).

Bernard wonders, "What is to be done about India, Ireland or Morocco?" (255). Briggs argues that Woolf's comment about the political situation is dismissive and it resembles the bracketed deaths in *To the Lighthouse*. Woolf emphasizes how the men, such as Bernard, treat these countries dismissively, as if the problems are easily handled and Britain's responsibility. In *Jacob's Room*, Jacob begins to think about politics and problems in other countries, especially Ireland. This is an extension of his training at the university. After asking what is to be done, Bernard notes, "Old gentlemen answer the question standing decorated under chandeliers" (255). Bernard refers to the Houses of Parliament where such questions are asked and answered. After Percival's death, Bernard may be suggesting that there is no solution to the problem, or that there was not a solution to begin with. What is to be noted is that old gentlemen feel in charge of these countries and discuss them in the comfort of rooms with chandeliers. The problems are not pressing but they need to be discussed and they will be solved in the same way Percival solves problems: "By applying the standards of the West ... The Oriental problem is solved" (136). Louis too discusses the problems in China and hopes to inherit a rug and a chair for his efforts (168). Louis's focus on his material gain elucidates the men discussing the other problems in rooms with chandeliers, the fruits of their material gain.

Without an individual identity, Woolf emphasizes that Percival is a construct even more than the others. Bernard recognizes that he constructs Percival and he also acknowledges that his construction is false. Right before Bernard suggests Percival is God-like, Bernard thinks, "This farce is worth no more formal celebration" (243). The farce Bernard is alluding to is dubious, but one farce can be the constant revision of

Percival and the reliance upon making him into a hero for society's edification. Bernard constantly wavers between idealizing Percival and acknowledging that what he thinks is not a fact and "unreal" (154). Bernard also acknowledges that he is "creating" and interpreting. Bernard thinks, "Something is added to my interpretation" (157). Molly Hite says that "[Percival] is not ... clearly godlike," but Percival is God-like in that he is a hero who inspires awe and fear in his subjects (*lix*). Percival is constructed as God-like just as he is constructed as an all-powerful ambassador. He is also constructed as someone who will beat boys into submission and violently enforce the Western language upon the Other (Neville 36; Bernard 136). As one of the boasting boys, Louis says the boasting boys "make little boys sob in dark passages" (47). Louis emphasizes the meanness of the boys with privilege. All the constructions of Percival emphasize the power that others choose to grant him.

Bernard's imagination shows a sharp contrast between how Percival is constructed before he dies and how he is constructed after. Before Percival dies, he is interchangeable and another "boasting" boy. He is violent but someone worthy of admiration. Once Percival is gone, his possibilities are endless and he is an even better tool of the empire as an ideal young man who sacrificed himself for his country. After he dies, Percival is romanticized into a never ending wealth of possibilities. Neville romanticizes Percival on his horse and emphasizes how Neville would not have been able to do what Percival did and how much he "loved riding" (180-81). Though Percival probably did love riding, Neville's construction of his greatness contrasts with Woolf's characterization of his absurd death. Woolf in no way undermines the strength of

animals, but it seems odd that a man who loves riding would die from a fall. Anytime a young person dies, the death is perceived as senseless and unnatural and people focus on the possibilities. Jacob and Percival are modeled on Rupert Brooke and Thoby Stephen, and other young men who died senselessly. Avrom Fleishman points out that Jean Guignet noted the memory of Thoby Stephen in *The Waves* and it therefore is connected to the “dead youth” in *Jacob’s Room* (150). Mark Hussey and Lyndall Gordon also make this connection. Levenback argues that Jacob is a composite soldier comprised of many men, such as Thoby Stephen, Rupert Brooke, Leonard Woolf’s brothers, and other young men Woolf knew whom were lost in World War I. Miriam Wallace and Alex Zwerdling have recognized the satirical nature, despite the somber tone, of *Jacob’s Room*, and this is also present in *The Waves*. What appalled Woolf the most was the reconstruction of these men after their deaths. Before his death, Percival is too “small” a thing to bring the six together, but after, he is more than enough.

In “Sterne,” Woolf notes that “One of the objects of biography is to make men appear as they ought to be,” a central concern of hers (281). Most of her characters pose and behave as they ought and prefer to be remembered as they ought, but there is a sharp contract between what they ought to be and what they *are*. Woolf makes this clear in *Jacob’s Room* when Betty Flanders has to sum up her husband on his tombstone. Betty writes what people ought to think of her husband rather than what he was (12). When it comes to profession, she cannot really assign him an identity because he changed professions so often. Betty refuses to participate in the act of making someone great by her inability to choose but she does choose eventually and the inscription on his

tombstone becomes his new identity, “merchant of this city” (13). Like Brooke, Thoby Stephen died young and left great potential. Though Woolf loved her brother, she recognized the worship of Thoby as false, and she illustrates how the characters falsely worship Jacob and Percival as society did Brooke. Paul Fussell acknowledges the reconstruction of Brooke based on his beauty: “The equation of blondness with special beauty and value helps explain the frantic popularity of Rupert Brooke, whose flagrant good looks seemed an inseparable element of his poetic achievement” (276). After Brooke died, his poetry became a bestseller though Woolf, and many critics, did not think it was very good. Her father, who wrote the *Dictionary of National Biography*, made her think of biography as an unnatural art form and a way to elevate and aggrandize people rather than note the truth. Woolf’s emphasis on Sterne, however, illustrates another way to see biography and Woolf was fascinated by the lives of authors as can be seen in *A Common Reader*. In *The Waves*, Bernard is both the biographer and he has a biographer. His act of recording the lives of others in order to make them great is in contrast to Betty’s inability to do so. Likewise, Bernard anticipates the need for a biographer before he becomes great, revealing that he expects to be great and intends to fulfill that expectation.

Percival is also constructed as beautiful and the beauty of Jacob and Percival is the kind of beauty that becomes a substitute for humanity. After his death, Bernard thinks, “I remember his beauty” (156). Not only are they soldiers, their beauty inspires confidence as the beauty of heroes should. Hite notes that Percival is “apparently large, beautiful, athletic, charismatic, unintellectual, unreflective, conventional, and a natural

leader” (139). Hite argues that it is Percival’s beauty that makes him “unintellectual” and a “natural leader.” Woolf too pairs unintellectual with being a natural leader. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Clarissa chooses Richard Dalloway to marry because he will not make intellectual demands on her. Unlike Peter, Richard does not “argue” with Clarissa and make her question herself and her thoughts (7). Richard’s lack of intellect makes him perfect for a position in government. He even refuses to read Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* because he says it is like “spying” (75). Percival’s beauty and his lack of intellect make him inhuman. Bernard relates, “He had the kind of beauty which defends itself from any caress” (242). To Bernard, Percival’s beauty cannot even be touched. His untouchable quality also links him with Rupert Brooke and Thoby Stephen because they are constructed as greater than they are because of their beauty. Sara Ruddick calls Percival a “vacuum-like absence which draws to itself the other characters’ fantasies of their brother/leader/opposite” (203). After their deaths, they become a wealth of potential and they represent more than they ever could have become.

Percival is imagined as the great judge he would have been, infusing him with qualities that he clearly did not have, such as intellect. Though he supposedly lacks intellect, he is able to understand Shakespeare and this understanding is reserved only for characters that can transcend beyond the masculine realm (48). His ability to understand Shakespeare seems in contrast with the other characterizations. Neville notes that he “cannot suffer Percival’s stupidity” (48). This stupidity is completely eradicated after Percival dies. Neville thinks that “he would have done justice for fifty years” (152). Bernard also constructs him as a judge (155). Likewise, Jacob initially works as a lawyer

and is imagined as a great judge (155). Percival, Jacob, Thoby, and Rupert die young and rather than accept the loss, those around them re-create their potential. Woolf mocks this hero worship by emphasizing the contrast between reality and construct. The six constantly revise Percival as if they are revising a legend of a hero. Legends of heroes are extremely useful to a society often engaged in war. By referring to Percival as a medieval commander, Woolf attempts to trace the historical lineage of the soldier. Bernard, Louis, and Neville construct Percival as a hero and in their construction, what they characterize as heroic is something they have learned from the institution. Percival's paganness, his position as a pillar, his interchangeability, and his ability to beat young boys into submission are all things that a hero should have according to the institution. Oxbridge then, is directly responsible for the construction and perpetuation of empire.

In addition to a lack of intellect, brutality seems an essential quality for a leader. Percival is constructed as brutal and his brutality reinforces the image of him as a soldier. As a soldier, he is a brutal enforcer, or colonizer, of one culture upon another. Neville thinks: "[Percival] is brutal in the extreme" (39); and "[Percival] would make an admirable churchwarden. He should have a birch and beat little boys for misdemeanors. He is allied with the Latin phrases on the memorial brasses" (36). Neville imagines Percival as a brutal enforcer of the rules and traditions. His beating young boys into submission is part of a long standing, but silent, tradition of boys' schools and the power granted to authority figures. According to Peter Gay, English culture believed firmly in teaching boys submission with a firm hand, especially in school (102-109). The treachery of school is also reflected in Louis's comment with the boys sobbing in dark passages.

Percival beating young boys is another indication of him being a construction of all the institution stands for. It is important as well that it is Neville, the future professor of classics, who sees Percival in this way since each character projects onto Percival his or her own wish fulfillment.

Bernard also constructs Percival's brutality. Bernard relates:

But now, behold, Percival advances; Percival rides a flea-bitten mare, and wears a sun-helmet. By applying the standards of the West, by using the violent language that is natural to him, the bullock-cart is righted in less than five minutes. The Oriental problem is solved. He rides on; the multitude cluster round him, regarding him as if he were—what indeed he is—a God. (136).

Bernard constructs Percival as an ambassador of England and imagines that Percival violently enforces the language of the West onto other people. Bernard sees Percival's violence as being God-like and it inspires him. By Bernard emphasizing Percival's likeness to God, Bernard creates Percival as a superhuman. Percival's brutality is something that is accepted as part of the idea of Percival. His brutality is closely connected with his self. In *Schnitzler's Century*, Gay asserts that Darwin's idea of survival of the fittest gave Western cultures an "alibi for aggression" (97). Gay argues that the Victorian era especially used Darwin as an alibi for aggression but this behavior can be seen in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with their valorization of Greek and Roman culture. As with Neville, how Bernard constructs Percival is a reflection of Bernard's desire to be "God-like." Bernard sees that Percival's violence and brutality is a

“solution” to a “problem.” This perception is something that Bernard learns from the institution. Michael Whitworth suggests that Percival is a “man of action” and that “his influence transforms people’s perceptions” (127). Percival’s influence does transform people’s perceptions but he is not a *man* of action; he is a construct of what society would like a man of action to be. The six perceive Percival as the man, and the leader, they cannot be.

In his alliance with Latin phrases and memorial brasses, Percival *is* the noble Roman air exuded by the institution. Such an alliance emphasizes his non-existence. He is again a pillar holding all of England’s past in an effigy. He is constructed as larger than life and as an ancient man being represented in the present. His paganness and his role as a churchwarden are not contradictory because the church and the school were the same institution in pagan times. Neville thinks, “[Percival] sees nothing; he hears nothing. He is remote from us all in a pagan universe” (36). Percival’s dual role as churchwarden and pagan is what locates him in a past version of England. Woolf emphasizes the monumentality of the institution by pointing out the memorial brasses and the Roman air. Scott Cohen notes that Woolf attended the British Empire Exhibition in 1924, and she sees the event as apocalyptic for England. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf and illustrates this through London being “dependent upon imperial landmarks” (Cohen 85). Roberto Reginio writes the same about *Jacob’s Room* calling the book itself a “counter-monument” that stands in the face of the British Empire. When the six think of the institution, they often think of it in terms of its monumentality. Rhoda thinks of the institution as something with a “monumental face” and Neville notes how the

Headmaster looks like a “statue” (33; 32). Because Percival is allied with the institution itself, he is also a monument. Monuments are capable of creating meaning out of meaningless and England witnessed the highest increase in monuments shortly after World War I.

Like Percival, Jacob is also constructed as a man of action who will fight wars to defend his country. Additionally, these men are anti-sentimental. From the nineteenth century forward, the critique of the man of feeling was that he was outside business and therefore irresponsible. Woolf uses this critique when she characterizes Peter Walsh as unsuccessful, outside the realm of politics, and needing a favor from Richard Dalloway. Percival and Jacob are able to sacrifice whatever feelings they have in order to be perfect soldiers. Unlike Percival, Jacob goes through a process that rids him of his sentimentality. Though both men are soldiers and therefore by definition, men of action, both men are characterized as phantoms. They permeate their respective novels though their actual presence is lacking. Bernard notes, “And I, too, am dim to my friends and unknown; a phantom, sometimes seen, often not” (275). Bernard’s comment refers to the inability to know someone and how people are often present but we still cannot know them. Bernard needs other people in order to be himself. But Bernard’s acknowledgement of himself as a phantom also relates to Percival.

In both *Jacob’s Room* and *The Waves*, Woolf characterizes the inability to know another person as “summing up.” Bernard begins his last soliloquy, “Now to sum up” (238). Bernard’s summing up suggests an ability to connect. In *Jacob’s Room*, Woolf theorizes the inability to know. The narrator relates, “It is no use trying to sum people up

... One must follow hints” (30). Most characters in *Jacob’s Room* are included to give the reader “hints” about Jacob’s character, and he is a combination of all the “hints.” The person who sums up, is usually overtly masculine and his summing up is a result of his education. He, like Percival, feels he has the right to enforce an opinion on others. In addition to this perspective, the narrator of *Jacob’s Room* also points out that people are constructed in the image of the person constructing them, something that happens throughout *The Waves* with Percival. The narrator notes, “Nobody sees any one as he is ... They see a whole—they see all sorts of things—they see themselves” (*JR* 30). Each of the six sees in Percival a piece of themselves. Unlike Jacob, however, the hints about Percival are few. He plays cricket, inspires people, displays power, and dies absurdly. This is hardly a well-rounded description even by Woolf’s standard. Percival is never constructed as human and he is only useful to society as a sacrifice or pawn.

Woolf uses the phantom to signify death, but it also illustrates the lack of humanity Percival and Jacob share. In addition to phantoms, Percival and Jacob are connected to various inanimate objects such as pillars and statues. Clara Durrant notes, “Jacob stared straight ahead of him, fixed, monolithic—oh very beautiful—like a British Admiral” (187). Fanny Elmer relates, “Fanny’s idea of Jacob was more statuesque, noble and eyeless than ever. To reinforce her vision she had taken to visiting the British Museum, where, keeping her eyes downcast until she was alongside of the battered Ulysses, she opened them and got a fresh shock of Jacob’s presence, enough to last her half a day” (193). Fanny sees Jacob in a statue of Ulysses and she longs to feel the “presence” of Jacob by staring at it. Fanny even locates Jacob within the British Museum.

Fanny and Clara construct Jacob as a great hero of England's past. Clara focuses on him being like stone and Fanny says that he is "eyeless." Eyeless refers to Jacob's inability to see and his lack of self. Jacob, then, is an idea and not a person. These hollow soldiers, or statues, link back to Shakespeare's "hollow men" from *Julius Caesar* (IV.2.22). Like Jacob, Bernard connects Percival to a monolith, emphasizing Percival's lack of humanity. Bernard notes, "That is Percival, lounging on the cushions, monolithic, in giant repose" (82). Bernard's comment focuses on Percival being larger than life. Then Bernard suggests Percival's interchangeability: "No, it is only one of his satellites, imitating his monolithic, his giant repose" (82). As the perfect soldier, Percival has satellites. The institution creates a limitless amount of men who will replace him once he dies.

In Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory*, he writes that most soldier protagonists are men whom things are done to. These men are victims of the state and serve as pawns, rather than men of action. The construct of a soldier is a man of action, but Woolf complicates that construct and characterizes these men as phantoms. As pawns, Jacob and Percival are stripped of their masculinity, and castrated. Masculinity, another construct, is essential to the construct of a soldier. Woolf's dehumanization of Percival is not to absolve him, but to critique this false construct of hero created by society. Percival's multiple allusions and his non-existence make him every man and no man, simultaneously. Though he is so grand he is followed by light, he dies absurdly. The absurd death mocks his heroic quality and links him to soldiers that have been constructed and re-constructed throughout history. J.W. Graham points out that despite Woolf's attempt to make *The Waves* heroic, the story told is "thoroughly unheroic" (314).

John Hulcoop points out that Woolf wanted the theme of effort to dominate, which is also heroic. Hulcoop finds, however, that the theme of effort is overshadowed by Percival's absurd death. Percival is a void and a site of transference for the reader in addition to the six constructing him. By creating him as such a void, Woolf allows for a critique of the construction of Percival as she critiqued the construction of Rupert Brooke.

Percival, like Jacob and Louis, inherits the past. Percival becomes an everyman character who encompasses every past soldier. He is referred to as Parsifal of the medieval legend, Spencer Percival (Prime Minister of England Eighteenth Century), Alcibiades, Ajax, Hector, Ulysses, Napoleon, Wellington, Nelson, William III, Louis the Fourteenth, Archie, Larpent, Baker, Smith, John, Walther, Lathom, Thoby Stephen, Rupert Brooke, Jacob Flanders, pagan, school headmaster, violent enforcer, ambassador, and a cricket player. Bernard notes, "We are creators" (146). Here Bernard acknowledges that he and those around him have been constructing an identity that does not concede with the "fact" that is revealed just a few pages later. Neville notes, "This is the fact. His horse stumbled; he was thrown" (151). Neville notes, "That soldier is more admirable than all the stars" (226). With the fact, Woolf undermines Percival's heroism and critiques a society prone to hero worship despite the facts.

The greatness of both Jacob and Percival is reinforced by the image of the horse being constantly recalled and used to elevate and mysticize the soldier. Bernard tells a story of a military gentleman on a horse, revealing that conceptually, a military gentleman is associated with a horse. Bernard imagines, "distinguished poverty and military connections" and his next thought is, "A hunter's hoof on the writing-table—a

favourite horse. ‘Do you ride?’” (79-80). Bernard’s pairing of distinction and poverty relate both to Jacob and Sterne’s father. This image is reliant upon an ancient past rather than the actual present, WWI, with trench warfare. If London is a representation of an Imperial Monument, then the display of soldiers and horses reinforce this. Mastery over a horse is the pinnacle of masculinity. In *Women in Love*, Gerald Crich controls the horse despite the moving train. Woolf also characterizes the waves themselves as horses referring to the “muscularity of an engine” (108). Pictures of the French Revolution depict both sides with the leaders of battle on their horses. Additionally, the waves recur like the sounds of beasts stamping. Though Jinny may not learn a lot at school, she does learn the importance of glory and soldiers and is the first to emphasize soldierly qualities in others.

A phantom rider appears in *The Waves* when Susan thinks, “The great horses of the phantom riders will thunder behind me and stop suddenly” (53). The horse is a wild beast beyond man’s control and Susan appreciates its power though it does stop suddenly. Susan notices the power of the horse and the power of man’s control stopping it. Unfortunately, because so many men have been lost, these horses are now guided by phantoms, such as Napoleon’s or Wellington’s phantom. The horses carry with them images of the past and its glory. In *Jacob’s Room*, a horse goes by without a rider foreshadowing Jacob’s untimely death (190). The horse is empty just like Jacob’s room and shoes. If Sterne wishes to represent people as they are, he brings them down from the horse, and so does Woolf. They make their world topsy turvy and throw the man off his

horse. Julia Eliot sees the scene of the horse without a rider and calls the man “ridiculous” because he was unable to control his horse (*JR* 177).

Using the literary past and previous constructions of soldiers, Woolf recalls various authors to assist her in mocking the soldier and his horse. At the university, Bernard and Neville read Byron’s *Don Juan* and Neville “shoots” a poem about it to Bernard (89). Byron became an extremely popular writer, but England lamented his popularity because of his seeming immorality. Leslie Stephen notes, “since art is a persuasive force, the artist too must play his part—immoral art can never be justified on aesthetic grounds” (Annan 228). From the tradition of *Don Quixote* and *Don Juan*, Byron revises the legend of Don Juan as a man constantly preyed upon by women. This is akin to Sterne’s *Widow Wadman* and *Toby Shandy*, as well as Henry Fielding’s *Lady Booby* and *Joseph Andrews*. In *A Sentimental Journey*, Sterne mocks the ladies’ man, La Fleur, and makes him utterly ridiculous because he cannot control his beast. Byron begins *Don Juan*, by focusing on the need for heroes. He writes, “I want a hero” (1691). Jacob requests the works of Byron from the Reverend. Bernard writes to a woman adopting Byron’s persona and then when he is older, he recalls his Byronic stage and the women who made him Byron (250). Woolf notes that she does not think Byron is a good writer, but she does appreciate his satire and probably his immorality because it is a rebellion against Victorian values (*Diary I*: 180). Woolf characterizes the boys worshipping Byron as a rebellion as well. Ironically, Byron was a hero for Greeks because he assisted them in the War against the Ottoman Empire. The young men worship Byron as they worship the Greeks. Byron’s own empire, however, excludes him from Westminster Abbey

because of his questionable morality. De Gay notes that Woolf mocks Bernard for liking Byron. When Bernard writes in Byron's voice, he uses a volcano for an image of eruption but Byron thinks the volcano is a tired image and Woolf would know that (De Gay 164).

Byron's writing undermines English power and authority. He writes, "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," and another version, "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage to the Dead Sea; Death on the Pale Horse," with Laura Temple. In Byron's "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," Childe Harold is a man awaiting knighthood and his horse is characterized as a weak specimen of strength. In ancient Greek and Roman art, soldiers are depicted with their horses and sometimes buried with them. The horses are richly decorated with ornate reins and bits. In the first games, the sports with horses, such as chariot racing, were the most expensive and therefore the most prestigious. In England, the most famous of soldiers and generals are always painted on their horse: the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Marlborough, and Admiral Nelson. In "Childe Harold," Byron writes about the Battle of Waterloo recalling England's glorious past and its defeat of French tyranny. Byron writes, "And Harold stands upon this place of skulls, The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo" (1687). The place strewn with skulls recalls the consistent death imagery throughout *Jacob's Room* recalled both by Yorick's skull in *A Sentimental Journey* and *Hamlet*. Byron satirizes the English tendency to demonize France and Sterne does the same. Though not directly linked, Woolf constantly repeats pale and the pale rider can be linked to the phantom and the death suffered as a result of glorification.

Byron displays a fascination with Napoleon as do other English poets. Ben Weider notes, "And after Waterloo, there was hardly an English poet great or small who

did not visit the site of the battle and write a poem in praise of England” (6). Byron’s “Ode to Napoleon” declares that Napoleon is still “alive,” emphasizing Napoleon as a construct. Byron also wrote “Mazeppa,” where he glorifies the horse in battle. When Byron says that Napoleon is alive, it is because Napoleon is no longer a man, but a construct, like Shakespeare. Students continue to say that Shakespeare is the most famous and/or best writer of all time, but this is because Shakespeare is the most often taught. Shakespeare is great and perhaps the best writer of all time but Woolf, though she loves Shakespeare’s “incandescent mind,” points out that Shakespeare is the greatest writer of all time because he is constructed as such (*AROO* 2464). If Woolf was chosen to be perpetuated as the greatest writer of all time, then Woolf would be the greatest writer of all time. Unlike Shakespeare’s, Napoleon’s construction has been various. Depending upon whom you read, Napoleon is either a great man or he is a “tyrant” (3). Weider notes, “The anti-Napoleon campaign began ... in England” (2). Woolf, completely English, is both fascinated and repelled by Napoleon. The English reconstruct Napoleon as a tyrant in order to serve England’s reconstruction of itself as great. Woolf also questions the English construct and connects the tyranny of Napoleon and Mussolini with the domestic abuse fathers and husbands wage on their families at home (*AROO* 2449). After the Battle of Waterloo, a lithograph was sold throughout London “showing Napoleon caged, surrounded by threatening harpies” (5). Napoleon was famous for riding an Arabian even though Arabians were considered small. Nussbaum notes that in *Tristram Shandy*, Walter Shandy mates an Arabian with a mare and the result is a mule (106). The mule is a representation of Napoleon’s weakness and a devaluation of the

Arabian. The image of Napoleon caged up allows England to construct its victory even after the battle. Napoleon is not only defeated, he is captured. Britain is a lion, but Louis is referred to as a “caged tiger” and this reference may allude to the picture of Napoleon caged because Louis is the foreigner (Savoie).

Percival is indirectly connected to Napoleon, the Duke of Wellington, and Admiral Nelson. Louis brings up a Duke and Napoleon, and Bernard brings up Napoleon. Both Neville and Bernard bring up Byron and Byron writes about all three soldiers, and especially the French Revolution, making this conflict central. With the references to Greek and Trojan heroes, Woolf emphasizes how nationality matters less than the heroic acts or the ability to inspire. Though the Duke celebrated in *The Waves* is ambiguous, in *Jacob's Room*, the celebrated Duke is the Duke of Wellington and Jacob and Louis share many similar traits. The narrator of *Jacob's Room* recalls the Battle of Waterloo and Jacob has a biography of Wellington in his room (92). Molly Hite reveals that references to Alfred Lord Tennyson, in *Jacob's Room*, are more prominent than references to any author. Tennyson wrote a number of poems glorifying battle and soldiers, such as “The Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington,” emphasizing Woolf’s fascination with Wellington.

At school, they celebrate the Duke’s birthday and Louis suggests he is related to the Duke (37). Then Louis says he *is* the Duke: “I am a Duke” (119); and “I, now a Duke, now Plato, companion of Socrates” (167). From school, Louis worships the Greeks and Shakespeare, just as Jacob did, and he constructs himself as great. The Duke is ambiguous but Louis does say that he is the Duke in the service of Louis XIV (127). In

that case, Louis is a French Duke. Louis could be William, the Duke of Normandy, the Duke of Wellington, or the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke of Normandy was one of the only foreign invaders of England. As a colonial subject, the “foreign invader” Duke suits him. Duke William of Normandy was reckless and according to David Howarth, a crazed man who went to England to usurp the kingdom from Harold, the Norman Conquest of 1066. Duke William is the first, last, and, only, man to attempt to conquer England (except for King William who was a foreign monarch, but he did not invade England). This connection again emphasizes the importance and glorification of empire. Louis, the outsider within the group, likens himself to an outsider of England, and an outsider who enters England and conquers all of it. However, because Louis is the most like Jacob, the Duke could be the Duke of Wellington.

Like Percival, Wellington was sent to India as the commander of British forces. Wellington fought against Napoleon and was made a hero after fighting in the Peninsular War. From Portugal, Wellington pushed the French back into France in 1814. Napoleon was exiled, but he later escaped and returned to France. Wellington took his troops into Belgium where Napoleon was gathering an army in 1815 and Wellington defeated Napoleon at the famous Battle of Waterloo. Wellington lost 15,000 lives while the French lost 40,000. Though Wellington won, he acknowledged a severe loss of life. He was later appointed Prime Minister in 1828. He was also appointed ambassador to King Louis the XVII of France. His greatness as a soldier allowed the country to martyr him as a hero and he is buried in St. Paul’s Cathedral next to Admiral Nelson.

Though Wellington is the English hero for defeating Napoleon, Napoleon is also a hero. Lieut. Col. R. G. Burton calls Napoleon the “greatest master of the art of war, whose very name sounds like a trumpet-call, and whose genius illuminates one of the most lurid and marvellous epochs in the history of the world” (v). Napoleon is regarded as a master battle planner despite his defeat. Percival is destined for greatness like Wellington or Napoleon. Napoleon is a construct of a soldier, and is used to influence other young men to follow in his footsteps. To Woolf, the purpose of any great soldier is to influence young people to worship him. J. Christopher Herold notes, “Napoleon’s fault was not that he embarked on a career of conquest, but that he was unable or unwilling to stop it while still victorious” (422). Napoleon appeared throughout *The Britannic Magazine; or Entertaining Repository of Heroic Adventures* all through the nineteenth century. Herold asserts that the English constructed Napoleon as a tyrant but also a representative of the ideals of the French Revolution (424).

In *Heroes*, Lucy Hughes-Hallett examines whom she finds as the most popular or most important heroes of Western culture (she does not choose Napoleon as one of her subjects). Hughes-Hallett finds that the hero need not be a good or decent person and that the hero is certainly a male worshipped for doing great things. Woolf recognizes the same phenomenon much earlier. Hughes-Hallett finds that heroes do not have to actually exist or even be present, they just have to have an aura of greatness. That a hero need not be present or even real is seen with Napoleon and his horse. Napoleon’s horse is so central to his image that in 2000, Jill Hamilton wrote a biography of his horses. World War I was a trench war and not one needing horses, yet the construct of the soldier and his horse is

used in both *The Waves* and *Jacob's Room* revealing how the image of war and soldiers is constructed to further the empire.

When Bernard recalls his youth, he connects himself to the hero of a Dostoevsky novel (249). Which Dostoevsky novel is ambiguous, but in *Crime and Punishment*, the character Raskolnikov is based on Napoleon and Bernard also relates himself to Napoleon (249). Raskolnikov believes that Napoleon was a genius and that geniuses suffer no guilt for their actions because great men are above conscience. Raskolnikov worships Napoleon and to test his "genius," Raskolnikov murders an innocent human being, an elderly woman, to see if he will feel guilty. Napoleon's genius is to think of the good of the country above all else and to easily sacrifice one to further his own interests. The creation of Raskolnikov reveals anxiety regarding powerful men and their lack of conscience. Wishing to emulate his hero, Raskolnikov believes that murder is a necessary test. Bernard's reconstruction of himself as the hero of a Dostoevsky novel suggests Bernard's opinion of himself as a genius and his hero worship. Because both Raskolnikov and Bernard wish to measure themselves against Napoleon, he has served his purpose. Louis, the foreigner, thinks, "if we blink or look aside, or turn back to finger what Plato said or remember Napoleon and his conquests, we inflict on the world the injury of some obliquity" (169). Louis connects the ancient Greek Plato with Napoleon and he also constructs Napoleon as dangerous. Napoleon is noted for his classical education, which makes Louis's connection even more telling (Burton 6). Louis understands that to valorize these people is to keep the past alive and to do the present an injustice, but he continues to participate in the valorization.

Napoleon's horse is as much a part of the construct of Napoleon. While Weider and many others uphold Napoleon as great, others suggest that he was not even able to ride his horse (Tombs; Hamilton 17). Hamilton points out that "he had several falls" and that he was never trained as a classical rider the way the English were trained, which may be the source of accusations of him not being able to ride (6). Napoleon recalls his horse being shot while he was riding (O'Meara 4). Napoleon rode his horse Marengo to the battle of Waterloo and because he lost, England put his horse on display in Piccadilly (Hamilton 1). Hamilton notes that "Since 1823, both dead and alive, he has been a star exhibit in Britain" with his hooves on the table in St. James Palace for the Captain to dine with after the Changing of the Guard at Buckingham Palace (Hamilton 1-2). By displaying the horse, the British emphasize how the horse and the soldier are one and the same representing the same ideals. Britain exiled Napoleon but they paraded his horse around to symbolize his capture and defeat. Napoleon's horse on display also connects with the horse without a rider: the phantom riders of both *Jacob's Room* and *The Waves*. Hughes Hallett mentions a production, *El Cid* (1961), in which Cid is killed but his family actually dresses up his corpse and puts it on his horse in order to fight the last battle. Cid's corpse was enough to inspire his people to fight the battle and to continue fighting. Hughes-Hallett notes that this decision is not based on fact but on the knowledge of how hero worship works and Woolf's phantom riders are closely linked to this idea.

Woolf uses the horse to illustrate the lack of power of man. The horse is a natural, beautiful creature but man fails when he tries to control it. Exactly how Percival dies is

left purposefully ambivalent, especially with the six re-constructing him. At one point Bernard imagines Percival falling off his horse clumsily and in another, he imagines Percival racing, emphasizing glory. Bernard also thinks, Percival “lived long” and “spread calm round him” (156). This is completely different from the “fact.” Bernard thinks, “He was thrown, riding in a race” (243). Whether Percival is racing, fighting for his country, or just simply trying to alleviate loneliness, he dies absurdly. Bernard notes, “Pillars go down” (243). Despite his absurd death, the six construct him as heroic. By doing so, Woolf exposes the human tendency to create meaning out of meaninglessness. Interesting too, are the numerous historical accidents in which a great military leader also fell off his horse. Great military leaders falling in battle would give Woolf a great sense of absurdity and an easy way to distinguish between the propaganda of war and war images, and the reality. In the Norman Conquest, the great military leader Harald Hardrada “fell off his horse” when leading his army to defeat King Harold of England (Howarth 138). When William landed on England’s shore to defeat King Harold, he is also credited with falling down (Howarth 151). William the Conqueror fell off his horse while invading France (Aikin 111). Additionally, King William died while participating in a stag hunt. A stag appeared before him and the other riders in the hunt shot their arrows, hitting King William and missing the stag ([1102] Aikin 115).

King William III, of Orange (1688-1702), also fell off his horse (Aikin 119).

Though the fall did not kill him, it wore him down enough to make him more susceptible to illness and he died. According to one historical account, “his horse stumbled on a mole hill and threw William, breaking his collarbone. A fever set in, followed by pleuresy and

pneumonia from which he died” (*sic* Ashley 333). Bernard recalls the incident, “It is true, and I know for a fact ... as we walk down this avenue, that a King, riding, fell over a molehill here” (227). Neville comments on the same occurrence and connects Percival with the King: “We deserve then to be tripped by molehills” (151). Oddly, Neville’s comment brings him back down to earth and the focus upon the center collapses but it does not last. Bernard makes an entry in his notebook regarding “meaningless death” (154). Bernard also notes explicitly how he needs to revise Percival’s story so Percival does not “feel himself absurd” (154). Bernard reveals that he constructs Percival, and that he can either emphasize the absurdity or meaninglessness of his death, or his heroism. Bernard says, “King William seemed an unreal monarch” (278). While Bernard is constructing, he often emphasizes the “unreal” nature of that construction by using words such as “unreal,” create, make, interpret. The unreal nature of King William is directly linked with the unreal nature of Percival. Bernard also notes, “It is a trick of the mind—to put Kings on their thrones, one following another” (227). Though Bernard refers to William III directly, he like the others, conflates all Kings as one King.

Neville then also conflates the Kings together and says:

The machine works ... King William mounts his horse and wearing a wig, and the court ladies sweep the turf with their embroidered panniers. I am beginning to be convinced ... that the fate of Europe ... all depends upon the Battle of Blenheim ... I am become a subject of King George. (227-228).

The Battle of Blenheim occurred in the eighteenth century during the War of the Spanish Succession between Louis XIV of France and Spain. Neville begins his account with King William and ends with King George, presumably King George V (1910-1936), ruler during the time of *The Waves*. King George III, however, is a much more interesting King. He was ready to fight against America during the American Revolution, and then gave power to William Pitt, only to later force him to resign. He then went insane with illness. With King William, Woolf can simultaneously refer to the man who fell off his horse or the Conqueror.

These instances of men falling off during battle illustrate a break between the construction of a battle and the actuality. In Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*, Yorick's servant, La Fleur, falls off his horse (38). Sterne connects La Fleur being thrown off his horse with "cuckoldom" or castration (38). The scene where La Fleur is thrown from his horse is one filled with mockery and grieving. The cause of him being thrown is a dead donkey in the middle of the road. The owner of the donkey cries over his pet like he lost his son. The scene is adapted from *Don Quixote* and it is a scene where Yorick can illustrate his sensibility. What Yorick points out is that La Fleur cannot control his horse and that it has a mind of its own. Yorick notes, "Unsuccessful in his feats of chivalry" (43). Likewise, in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, the Emperor of Lilliput falls off his horse because he is approached by giant Gulliver (25). The scene is also adapted in *Jacob's Room*.

While these men are being thrown from their horses, Susan, Rhoda, and Jinny are characterized as wild and animal like. Louis is also characterized as wild but he is later

caged. Bernard reveals that the institution has gotten the better of him and that he will serve the empire but the women complicate this service. Susan serves the empire through her “maternal splendor” (213). When Susan is pregnant, she spends the entire time sleeping and resting and there are no references to her wildness (171-2). However, after birth, Susan is again likened to a wild horse or a “wild beast” (119). Susan watches, “a man on a horse canters over the field. His horse plunges as we pass” (62). Susan is natural and even though she contributes to the empire, she is not tamed. Bernard refers to Jinny as “an animal” and she is animal like with her sexuality (266; 221-2). Unfortunately though, Jinny’s sexuality, and therefore her power, fades with age. Rhoda is natural and she cannot handle seeing those around her caged. Rhoda notes, “as bodies to wild horses” (64). Rhoda finds that it is natural to be wild, but “we have invented devices for filling up the crevices and disguising these fissures” (64). Susan later becomes trapped and Rhoda may resort to suicide because she cannot handle being trapped (190). The interlude just before the death of Percival focuses on the power of horses, with them being compared to “the muscularity of an engine” (108). The battle with ships is also likened to a battle with horses (108). Jinny may have a sexual experience with someone in the text and in the background is the power of waves likened to horses (108; 103). Woolf figures the women as horses that need to be tamed by the men of empire.

Woolf reviewed *A Sentimental Journey* in 1928, three years before writing *The Waves*. According to Paul Goring, who introduced *A Sentimental Journey* in 2001, Woolf did not get the sexually explicit jokes made by Sterne. Because Woolf chooses not to

comment on Sterne's sexual jokes, she is accused of being dim. Woolf focuses on the scenes in Paris where Sterne references "running at the ring of pleasure" (47). According to Goring, "running at the ring" is a sport where men on horses try to put a lance through a ring. Rabelais could not help but suggest the sexual nature of inserting a sharp object through a circle and Sterne uses "running at the ring of pleasure" in *Tristram Shandy*. Sterne writes, "The old with broken lances, and in helmets which had lost their vizards—the young in armour bright which shone like gold, beplumed with each gay feather of the east" (47). Goring also notes that "'armour' was an eighteenth-century euphemism for a contraceptive" (xxix). The gold, beplumed soldiers parallel the description of soldiers' uniforms in *Three Guineas*. What is clear in this description is the replacement of the old with the new and the pomp and circumstance regarding the soldier.

Stephen's arguments against Sterne would make Woolf even more aware of his bawdy jokes. Noel Annan argues, "Stephen, then, is magnanimous but he reserves a hell for one type of man. This is the Careless Gallio: the indifferent, easy-going man, who consciously shirks his moral responsibilities. Such a man was Sterne" (230). Stephen blames Sterne for not taking responsibility for his bawdy jokes and blaming the jokes on his "impulses" (230). Such a severe disliking would certainly catch Woolf's eyes and perhaps allow Woolf to appreciate him even more. *The Waves* opens with sensory descriptions and Bernard's first comment is "I see a ring" (9). Woolf sees the ring as a way to contain soldiers but she also uses it to reveal the pomp and circumstance surrounding soldiers and chivalric sport. Perhaps Woolf is dismayed by the violent sexual imagery that running at the ring displays. According to Gabrielle McIntire, *The Waves* is

filled with a “backdrop of violence,” and Woolf was becoming increasingly anti-fascist (31). Woolf exposes the violent sport and uses the horse to castrate the soldier, making him incapable of participating in this sport.

The six open with their sights and sounds of rings and beasts stamping as if they are witnessing a chivalric performance. Notably too, Bernard, Susan, Neville, and Jinny see, while Louis and Rhoda hear. Because Louis and Rhoda hear, they are further situated as outsiders. The ring seen is an allusion to Percival and his ability to act as the center, even though he is absent. In the fourth episode, Percival is repeatedly referred to as a globe, linking him visually to the center. Jinny thinks, “Let us hold it for one moment . . . this globe whose walls are made of Percival, of youth and beauty, and something so deep sunk within us that we shall perhaps never *make* this moment out of one man again” (*my emphasis* 145). Percival is a reflection of a void filled in by society, rather than a reflection of self. As the center, he is also a stand-in for the city of London, the center of the British Empire. Throughout the novel, are the recurring sounds of a “beast stamping,” and these beasts parallel the sound of waves crashing (9; 10; 58; 75; 127; 150). The first episode opens with an image of a beast stamping recalled by Louis: “I hear something stamping,’ said Louis. ‘A great beast’s foot is chained. It stamps, and stamps, and stamps” (9).

When Percival dies, the same reference occurs: “The waves were steeped deep-blue save for a pattern of diamond-pointed light on their backs which rippled as the backs of great horses ripple with muscles as they move. The waves fell; withdrew and fell again, like the thud of a great beast stamping” (150). The beasts stamping is akin to the

sound of soldiers marching and such sounds are recurring in *Jacob's Room*, *The Waves*, and *The Years*. In the fourth interlude, Woolf connects the sound of the waves, under the control of the British Empire, with the thud of horses' hooves (108). These sounds connect with the phantom riders of both *Jacob's Room* and *The Waves*. Following the waves, Woolf connects an image of birds with an orderly procession of soldiers linking the waves, horses, and soldiers together (109).

Percival, as an idea for the world, holds the world together. He is imbued with meaning that goes beyond what any human can be; he is God-like (136). While Percival is the center, Woolf illustrates that "the center cannot hold" and Percival has to be destroyed, and the fourth interlude begins the decline (Yeats, "The Second Coming"). *The Waves* is most often considered a deconstructive novel, so the center represented by Percival is a false or phantom center. Percival is constructed as holding things together because the six have constructed him to do so and they have learned this from the institution. By collapsing the center, Woolf critiques the construct of Percival as empty. Bernard foreshadows the collapse with the following, "This I see for a second, and shall try tonight to fix in words, to forge in a ring of steel, though Percival destroys it" (40). Woolf critiques the use of ideals by the empire but the center does not entirely collapse at the end of the novel. Additionally, rather than a center, Rhoda thinks, "there is a square" (163).

Most critics assert that Percival needs to be destroyed to make way for a new culture. Makiko Minow-Pinkney argues that Percival must be destroyed to allow for women's writing. She writes, "Percival, narrativity, and the patriarchy must be

simultaneously dislodged to allow Elvedon and women's writing to emerge" (180). Minow-Pinkney argues that Woolf disrupts what Bernard describes as "the military progress" of the sentence (255). Lucio Ruotolo, on the other hand, emphasizes that once Percival dies, the center collapses. He writes, "The absence of Percival ... introduces a world without authenticating rulers," and "the concept of centrality collapses" (17). But Percival is not destroyed, because he does not really exist; he is a phantom; at the end he is re-constructed in an image even greater than his previous image, especially by the men. These men all inherit their place and Percival serves to enhance the glory associated with God and country. He is an absent presence who permeates the novel as much after his death as he did before. He brings the characters together in life and in death. When the six meet for dinner, Bernard thinks, "But here and now we are together ... We have come together, at a particular time, to this particular spot. We are drawn into this communion by some deep, some common emotion. Shall we call it, conveniently, 'love'? Shall we say 'love of Percival' because Percival is going to India?" (126). This "love" they share is as strong after Percival dies as it was before.

The word, Elvedon, comes from the word elf, reinforcing the idea of a fantasy land or a utopia for women's writing. Bernard takes Susan to Elvedon to shelter her from her feelings of jealousy when she witnesses Louis and Jinny kiss. Later, Bernard and Susan recall looking at Elvedon. Bernard recalls Elvedon when he waits for the train and the memory does not offer him any type of shelter. Bernard thinks, "The leaves and the wood concealed nothing" (269). When Bernard took Susan to shelter her from the reality, he later realizes that Elvedon was a mock shelter. Minow-Pinkney finds this as evidence

of Bernard being unable to see beyond the male sentence. Elvedon turns out to be a male fantasy land which represents privilege. Heidi Stalla and Stephen Barkway find that Elvedon is a real place, a 17,000-acre estate in Suffolk well known for private shooting and hunting parties. Because it is a private estate, it is not institutional, but it still functions to perpetuate the glory of the nation. It is privately owned land, hundreds of acres, where you can stay and go on hunting trips to remember the glory of England. Woolf would have been aware of such a place founded in the 1890s. Stalla and Barkway note that Vita Sackville West attended a few of the hunting parties there. The description provided by Bernard matches closely with the description of Elvedon Hall by Woolf herself.

As Stalla notes, Elvedon is mentioned nine times in the novel indicating that this space is meaningful (20). The glorious space represents all that Percival, and England, stands for. The history of the place lends itself to a postcolonial and imperialist reading. On the estate is an eighteenth-century mansion that was rebuilt in the 1860s by Singh, an Indian from Punjab. Singh was a leader of Punjab but came to Britain for safety. In Britain he was a minor celebrity and he was exoticized. He threw extravagant parties, but soon spent all his money and once that happened, he lost his celebrity status. He applied to Britain for more money, but he was denied, so he returned to India. The property was later bought by Iveagh, and he included a “white marble Indian Hall,” keeping with the exotic theme of the place (672). Both owners, Duleep Singh and Iveagh, used the grounds for lavish hunting parties. This is a masculine fantasy land that represents the empire. Elvedon Hall’s existence as a home perpetuates the ideals of empire regardless of who

lives there. It is so grand that it makes Bernard feel small. Recalling Elveden, Bernard feels dead and cannot write poetry. The place offers no solace to Bernard, or Susan. Elvedon may also be a reference to Elvington Hall, where Laurence Sterne lived with his uncle, Roger Sterne, alluded to in “Sterne” (*CR*; Cash 7).

Percival is basically replaced by Louis, Neville, and Bernard, suggesting a never ending cycle. As a globe, Percival will constantly repeat himself. Louis inherits the traditions of the past and becomes obsessed with vanity and possessions. Neville becomes a Professor of classics and Bernard becomes the biographer who records the lives of great men. While critics suggest that Woolf deconstructs the center and illustrates a collapse, with the re-construction of Percival after his death, Woolf shows how the idea of Percival will be perpetuated eternally. Bernard suggests that Percival “would have done justice,” but he also notes that “pillars go down” (243). As a pillar, Percival has gone down, but because he is always being constructed, he will be re-erected. Woolf’s critique of this revision is especially prevalent with Bernard, as he reconstructs Percival in the middle of a Titian painting in the National Gallery, the center of London. Neville as well finds Percival among the lions in Trafalgar Square, the heart of London and a reference to Richard the Lionheart (178). Making the transition from preparatory school to university, Louis notes, “we have inherited traditions” (58). The narrator says the same of Jacob. This tradition is only for the male and it reflects what Louis, Bernard, and Neville have learned at school. Susan reflects, “We are shown galleries and pictures” to restore order and she scorns the order of the institution and its forced ideas (41). Museums and institutions are used to perpetuate ideas and Woolf notes the harm of those

ideas. Rhoda decides to visit a museum to pay tribute to Percival, also revealing the order of the institution (161). When Bernard, Neville, and Rhoda seek to locate Percival, they seek the monuments of London to see a reflection of his greatness.

Like the names repeating themselves, the institution churns out the ideas that Percival represents eternally, whether he is alive or dead. Louis thinks “all deaths are one death” (170). Rhoda thinks of Percival as a “marble pillar” (205). Further denigrating Percival is E. M. Forster, who reviewed the novel and loved it, but wrote that he was “*repelled* by the emotion emanating from Percival” (Letters 2: 110). The emotion emanating from Percival is what the six inscribe onto his body, rather than what Percival really is. This emotion also reflects how the center holds and the ideas that Percival represents continue to perpetuate themselves. In Margot Norris’s *Writing War and the Twentieth Century*, she argues that to give the war significance, authors have inscribed the war dead, more specifically, the bodies of the war dead, and this is what the six are doing with Percival.

As Parsifal, the “medieval commander” of King Arthur’s, Percival illustrates that he is a legend constantly revised to glorify his country. Thomas Malory revises the legend to glorify the importance of the nation of England. De Gay links Woolf’s revision of Genesis through focusing on women’s art, like appliqué, to “the image of a woman’s arm rising above the sea” referring back to the Lady of the Lake in *Morte d’Arthur* (172). Richard Wagner revises the legend to make Percival more important and central to the story. Woolf was a great fan of Wagner, and she saw Wagner’s version of Parsifal twice in 1909. Additionally, Tennyson wrote “Ulysses” to glorify that story. By writing *The*

Waves, Woolf joins a list of British authors who attempt to rewrite the Arthurian legend (as well as the defeat of the French): Joyce, Tennyson, Yeats, and Eliot. One version is written by Thomas Malory to glorify the English Empire and the other version is written by Chretien de Troyes, to glorify the French.

According to the legend, Parsifal's mother shields him from all outside contact to prevent him from becoming a soldier. His naïveté links him to Miranda of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, who is also shielded, and as a result, falls in love with the first man she meets. Miranda's exposure to the outside world can be connected to Jacob's exposure once he is sent to Cambridge. Despite Parsifal's mother's attempt to protect him, knights roam through the forest and Parsifal catches a glimpse of them and becomes immediately enamored by their visual display of heroism. Parsifal is compelled to leave the comforts of his home and mother, and join the knights in pursuit of the Holy Grail. Because he is so naïve and sheltered, he fails to ask the proper question in order to find the grail. His foolishness is his downfall. He unknowingly valorizes the knights of Arthur's Round Table without any real knowledge of who, or what, they are.

In Wagner's version, Percival is a fool at first, but in the end, he saves the day. Wagner basically rewrites the legend to give Percival more heroic qualities and this is what the six do with Percival. The Knights of the Round Table conjure up images of heroism and loyalty and they are used to elevate the position of the British Empire. Ironically, Percival is named after the knight who embarks on a quest, yet Percival of *The Waves* has no quest. To Woolf, the public constructs Parsifal beyond the fact or what is known about him. Ideas of knighthood are still romanticized in British and American

culture. As explained by David Howarth, during the time leading up to the Norman Conquest, “[chivalry] was nothing more than a cult of horsemanship and war” (62). The knights who followed the chivalric code rode their horses, bullied peasants, stole, raped, and killed innocent people for their own personal gain. The construction of knights as chivalric is a romanticization just as the construction of Percival as saving the day is a romanticization.

In Woolf’s “The Death of the Moth,” Woolf suggests that the most important part of life is the struggle itself and yet she gives Percival no struggle. Neville says that Bernard has “a moth-like impetuosity dashing itself against hard glass” (87). The moth-like impetuosity which Bernard has is what Percival lacks because he is never given a struggle. The six represent society at large and in their search for their own identity, they need to construct meaning out of Percival for their own life. The six struggle to find meaning but constructing meaning out of Percival’s death leaves them nowhere. Woolf also emphasizes Percival’s death being preventable, and therefore even more tragic. Neville notes, “had [someone] pulled the strap three holes tighter,” he would have lived (152). In life, Percival would not have been great because the expectation was too much. In death, he is able to transcend reality.

After Percival dies, he is re-constructed. Despite the absurdity of his death, most of the six have no trouble continuing to construct him as a hero. The six represent multiple aspects of one self, or they represent multiple aspects of one society. Either way, the six participate in revising, creating, making, and constructing Percival. In the final episode, Susan *remembers* Percival being in love with her. Susan relates, “I think

sometimes of Percival who loved me” (192). Additionally, Bernard alludes to Percival’s love of Susan. This love is introduced only in memory after Percival has died. As Whitworth suggests, the influence of Percival transforms people. To Susan he is a lover; to Louis he is competition; to Neville he is someone Neville measures himself against; to Bernard he is the center; and to Rhoda, he is a solitary traveler. Percival’s ability to transform people is based solely on the construct people create of Percival. He is the culmination of Woolf’s ideas about empire. He is neither a man whom things are done to, nor a man who does things. He is simply an idea of heroism, a false ideal, constantly being constructed and then re-constructed by persons and institutions of culture. Hughes-Hallett affirms that “a hero is both more and less than human” (261). Without consciousness and speech, he is interchangeable, and that may be the most dangerous thing about him. The factory churns out specimens of young men that are virtually identical so if one is lost, the factory does not suffer.

Bernard constructs a heroic image of Percival, despite his absurd death, in the National Gallery. In the final episode, Bernard feels the loss of Percival immensely. Bernard relates, “He sat there in the centre. Now I go to that spot no longer. The place is empty” (153). To fill the void, Bernard strolls through the National Gallery and pays particular attention to the paintings of Titian. Bernard thinks: “This is my funeral service. We have no ceremonies, only private dirges and no conclusions, only violent sensations, each separate ... We sit in the Italian room in the National Gallery picking up fragments” (157). Like the rest, Bernard constructs Percival for himself as a hero. Percival inspires Bernard and he revises Percival to give his absurd death meaning. Bernard relates, “This

then is the world that Percival sees no longer. ... The machine then works; I note the rhythm, the throb, but as a thing in which I have no part, since he sees it no longer” (153). Bernard must re-locate his vision of Percival in his world in order to move on. It is interesting as well that these Italian paintings are in the British National Gallery, suggesting an act of appropriation similar to the act of constructing Percival within the image and a valorization of Roman culture. Titian paintings are Renaissance paintings depicting great and heroic themes of the ancient past which is where Bernard locates Percival.

Bernard actively revises the paintings and locates the image of Percival within the painting itself. Bernard recognizes that people will forget Percival’s death and that he will be replaced, and this reinforces his need to make Percival live forever, commemorating him and making him immortal. Like Neville, Bernard focuses on the hero Percival *could have been*, and inscribes meaning onto his death. Bernard thinks, “You have lost something that would have been very valuable to you. You have lost a leader, whom you would have followed; and one of you has lost happiness and children. He is dead who would have given you that” (153). Bernard’s attempt to hold onto Percival is also reinforced by his attempting to make him into a solid object. Bernard thinks:

I ask, if I shall never see you again and fix my eyes on that solidity, what form will our communication take? ... But you exist somewhere.

Something of you remains. A judge. ... You shall remain the arbiter. But for how long? Things will become too difficult to explain ... Exaltation,

the flight of doves descending, is over. Chaos, detail, return. ... The sequence returns; one thing leads to another—the usual order (155).

Curiously, Bernard seeks solace from the usual order of the real world in the National Gallery. The paintings with their lines are somehow *outside* the sequence:

Yes, but I still resent the usual order. I will not let myself be made yet to accept the sequence of things. I will walk; I will not change the rhythm of my mind by stopping, by looking; I will walk. I will go up these steps into the gallery and submit myself to the influence of minds like mine outside the sequence. There is little time left to answer the question (155).

Though Bernard places the National Gallery outside, it is within the center of London, and within the center of empire because the National Gallery displays Italian paintings as a mark of Britain's success and a worship of the Roman Empire. Bernard's placement of Percival within the painting reinforces the idea that Percival does not actually exist in himself but is constructed by society in order to perpetuate the empire. Seeing galleries and pictures is also something learned from the institution and while inside, the order is restored which is why Bernard has to leave the gallery and go for a walk. Like the institution of the university, Percival is also a pillar within the Titian painting itself:

Here are cold madonnas among their pillars. *Let them lay to rest the incessant activity of the mind's eye, the bandaged head, the men with ropes, so that I may find something unvisual beneath.* Here are gardens; and Venus among her flowers; here are saints and blue madonnas.

Mercifully these pictures make no reference; they do not nudge; they do not point. *Thus they expand my consciousness of him and bring him back to me differently.* I remember his beauty. “Look, where he comes,” I said (*my emphasis* 156).

Bernard looks at the painting and he sees, in his “mind’s eye,” “the bandaged head, [and] the men with ropes” (156). Bernard constructs and imagines what happened at Percival’s death though Bernard was not there. The image of a man with a bandaged head is Bernard’s imagination of Percival and it is not an image included in the painting. Bernard must look at these paintings to put his “mind’s eye” at rest from seeing Percival. Ironically, Bernard desires something “unvisual” as he *looks* at “gardens,” “Venus,” “flowers,” “saints,” and “blue madonnas” (156). These are all visual images. Rather than replace the image of Percival, these images fuse with Percival and the images together become a different painting. With the group-hero worship, Bernard imagines that he can replace Percival: “Lines and colours almost persuade me that I too can be heroic, I, who make phrases so easily, am so soon seduced, love what comes next, and cannot clench my fist, but vacillate weakly making phrases according to my own circumstances. Now, through my own infirmity I recover what he was to me: my opposite” (156). Bernard connects the act of painting with writing, and acknowledges both as constructions. He also attempts to replace Percival. Bernard focuses on the lasting quality of the painting itself by noting the “splendour” and the “pillars”:

Behold then, the blue Madonna streaked with tears ... Hence the silence, the sublimity. Yet that crimson must have burnt in Titian’s gizzard ... I am

titillated inordinately by some splendour; the ruffled crimson against the green lining; *the march of pillars*; the orange light behind the black, pricked ears of the olive trees. Arrows of sensation strike from my spine, but without order (*my emphasis* 157).

The pillars hold everything up and Percival is constructed as holding up the British factory and he is able to do so even in death. The British National Gallery displays what it deems important as culture and the institution itself, as well as what is allowed inside, become pillars of culture, as does Percival. Bernard fixes his gaze upon pillars and they are stand-ins for a marching army. What Woolf illustrates is that society is compelled to write on the body of the war dead to give it significance. Bernard acknowledges, “Yet something is added to my interpretation” (157). This comment acknowledges that Bernard is interpreting and summing up and that his ideas are not the ideas of anyone else.

That the six are constantly constructing Percival is emphasized by such different interpretations of the exact same thing. While Bernard focuses on the heroism of Percival on his horse in India, Rhoda focuses on Percival being alone: “since Percival, riding alone on a flea-bitten mare, advances down a solitary path, has his camp pitched among desolate trees, and sits alone, looking at the enormous mountains” (137). According to Hughes-Hallett, “the hero is always imagined standing alone” (7). Rhoda’s image of Percival is perhaps the one closest to the truth, but it is also the construction most suited to Rhoda’s personality. He is a man alone, in another country, looking at mountains which make him diminutive. Rhoda sees Percival practically, but she also sees herself.

Rhoda rejects the ideals of the university and heroism. When watching the people at dinner, Rhoda thinks, “like the relics of an army ... going every night into battle ... these hooks they cast on us” (231-2). Rhoda recognizes that society attempts to create people into what will serve it and she recognizes that this was done with Percival. In her diary, Woolf wrote that a book should offer the writer space to say what she truly believes. Rhoda offers Woolf that space. Rhoda allows Woolf to “slip it in” and express how she really feels in *The Waves* (*Diary 3*: 298). Susan and Jinny are relegated to gender-specific roles, but Rhoda imagines herself as the Empress of Russia. She has grandiose fantasies of herself, like Louis and Neville, but because she is female, there is no place for these grandiose fantasies. As a result of Rhoda’s rejection of ideals, Rhoda finds solace only in suicide, linking her to “Shakespeare’s Sister.” Rhoda is never given the opportunity to voice her ideals and so she takes her own life.

Like the boys in *Jacob’s Room*, the six worship Greek and Roman civilization. In “On Not Knowing Greek,” Woolf positions herself as an outsider who does not have the authority to speak of Greece because she is a woman and has not been taught properly. Woolf writes, “For it is vain and foolish to talk of knowing Greek, since in our ignorance we should be at the bottom of any class of schoolboys” (23). With this statement, Woolf separates the “common reader,” whom the essay is addressed to, and the privileged schoolboys who are constantly exposed to Greek. Additionally, Woolf suggests that the common reader is female with the pronouns “we” and “our” being used to link Woolf with her female reader, and by emphasizing “schoolboys” as not a part of “we.” When examining Greek, the readers find, “Here is the Rectory, here the Manor house, the farm

and the cottages; the church for worship, the club for meeting, the cricket field for play” (24). This description emphasizes the lack of difference between England and Greece. Rhoda notes, “Here or in Greece” (231-2). Rhoda reveals that England has emulated Greek culture to such an extent that the two are indistinguishable.

Despite her outsider status, Woolf is knowledgeable and appreciative of the Greeks in a more insightful way than her characters. Rhoda, with her mystic stance, is transplanted to Greece and when she thinks of the army, she wonders “here or in Greece” (231-2). The army recalls visions of the past and greatness. Louis connects Percival with ancient civilizations: “Percival has died; (he died in Egypt; he died in Greece; all deaths are one death)” (170). After Percival has died, Louis focuses on what his death means symbolically and how he is used by society. The professor of classics, Neville, thinks, “Alcibiades, Ajax, Hector and Percival are also you. They loved riding, they risked their lives wantonly, they were not great readers either” (181). Neville worships Percival as a great hero of the Trojan War regardless of which side he fought on. Neville also wishes to be such a hero, but recognizes that he is not. Neville’s construction of Percival as a great hero is a reflection of Neville’s wish fulfillment and the values taught by the university. That Neville prizes soldiers adoringly is revealed by the following: “that soldier is more admirable than all the stars” (226). Neville here finds the power of soldiers more powerful than even the world.

By glorifying Greek and Roman heroes, the university glorifies battle and all those who participate in battle. By linking Percival with all three heroes, Neville emphasizes the glorification of battle itself, no matter who loses. Neville also again

emphasizes how Percival is interchangeable with all soldiers, giving the soldier a separate identity from a human. Neville is the professor of classics working at an institution that perpetuates the ideals of glory. He is the one who makes a connection between ancient Greek and Roman heroes, and Percival. Ajax and Hector are rivals from Homer's *Iliad* while Alcibiades is from Plutarch's *Lives*. Plutarch wrote of Romans and Greeks placing them side by side. For Plutarch, the battle mattered more than who won. Woolf uses Percival as an epitome of all these famous soldiers. Plutarch emphasizes greatness and his book parallels Jacob's essay about *The Lives of Great Men*. As with the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the men who are included in the Dictionary are constructed as great, and therefore remembered as great. Women were excluded, and therefore excluded from history.

By listing Alcibiades first, Neville also prizes the most destructive of the three heroes. Alcibiades is most well known for his beauty, noble birth, extravagance with horses, and his exploits of women. Horses were expensive to own and therefore a symbol of wealth. In the Olympic Games, Alcibiades holds the record for entering the most chariots suggesting his wealth. He loved the pomp and circumstance, the attention, the extravagance, and the money. The city of Athens itself felt threatened by his greatness. He was often accused of spending money that was not his own. Alcibiades is the epitome of a man born to privilege and a man who squanders it. Doors opened for him, but he took advantage. He commissioned paintings of himself and some of the townsfolk considered this a "movement towards tyranny" (244). He was a master of speech and could compel armies of men to follow him. Socrates loved him and the town awarded

him with a medal that others thought Socrates deserved. In Plutarch's writing, he is referred to twice as a lion, linking him with the lions in Trafalgar Square and Richard the Lionheart (234; 243). His history parallels the history of Elvedon. He was well known for throwing extravagant hunting parties and breeding horses for the Olympic Games. The city created him but once he became all of what the city imagined, he was a threat and ostracized from the city (Plutarch & Hughes-Hallett). He is thought of as a blessing and a liability. He is either a hero or a villain depending on what the city of Athens needs. Because he is constructed as so great, as a man he will likely disappoint those who have constructed him. He was exiled. Likewise, Singh was referred to locally as 'the Black Prince.' He associated with Queen Victoria and was a local celebrity.

Ajax is a grand hero whose image inspired a grand statue. He is worshipped in Athens and second only to Achilles. He is well noted for his strength in battles because he was never wounded. However, he slaughters a flock of sheep by accident. Once he realizes what he has done, he is so ashamed of himself that he kills himself. Louis notes that the public who follows Percival like sheep will also "be shot like sheep" (37). Louis emphasizes how the public follows Percival blindly just as Ajax slaughters those sheep blindly. Both stories end in tragedy. From his blood sprang a red flower, the Hyacinthus, and this may be the flower Bernard refers to when the six have dinner. Ajax's opponent is Hector, also from the *Iliad*. Unlike Alcibiades, Hector is a reluctant fighter, but still one of the greatest warriors of all time. Like Percival, he is a pagan but still worshipped in Christianity. He is of noble birth linking him to a man of privilege or a "boasting boy" (46). Ajax throws a stone at Hector and hits him and Ajax kills everyone who tries to

bring Hector fire. It is Hector's destiny to be killed by Achilles, however, while wearing his armor. Percival is linked to all these soldiers making him a composite soldier with a collective identity.

The sentimentality present in *The Waves* is the programmed sentimentality Woolf despised. In *Jacob's Room*, the women cry while the men, even if they are sentimental, do not. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Peter Walsh and Clarissa Dalloway cry. In Woolf's essay on Stephen, "Leslie Stephen," Woolf points out that Stephen "hated sentimentality and gush" and that a son could do whatever he wanted except join the Army or Navy (Bradshaw 113). Though he hates it, he is guilty of it as others have pointed out, complicating the gender of sentiment for Woolf. In *The Waves*, the men cry but not all the women do. At school, Susan and Louis cry. Louis "cried with fury" (35). Susan's "eyes swell" and "prick with tears" (33; 53). Though Bernard does not refer to himself crying directly, he later notes that the tears the boys shared at school were "unmanly" (124). This suggests that Louis, Neville, and Bernard cried. Bernard also reveals that as an adult, he recognizes those tears as unmanly though he may not have recognized that when he was young. Once they graduate, both Susan and Neville cry. Susan thinks, "I tremble. I cry" (53; 62). Neville notes, "my eyes fill with tears" (82). Neville is also the first to cry when Percival dies, noting "I sob, I sob" (152). Bernard, struck by the cycle of life with the birth of his son and the death of Percival, notes, "my eyes fill with tears and then are dry" (154).

Bernard is characterized as a man of feeling who wishes to live a life "impossible to those who act" (114). As a young adult, Bernard reflects, "pressing our new bowler

hats tightly over our eyes to hide our unmanly tears, we drove through streets” (124-5). After he completes his education, he thinks about tears differently. He may learn to perceive his tears as unmanly, but he is a man of feeling throughout. He is characterized as “trembling with strange oscillations and vibrations of sympathy” (114). Bernard is also “joined to the sensibility of a woman” (76). He notes, “I sympathise effusively” (76). He thinks, “I have been sensitive ... My eyes fill with Susan’s tears” (289). His eyes filling with Susan’s tears show his empathy and his ability to feel for others, placing him in a privileged position. He also thinks of his hand and its “infinite sensibility” (291). Bernard notices that he is moody and that he goes back and forth: “Already I no longer cry with conviction” (155); and “I ... vacillate weakly” (156). Similar to Yorick and Jacob, Bernard is a traveler with a “sympathetic heart” (158). He notices the suffering of others (158). He is trained to express his sentiments for people not as fortunate as him. Despite his sympathetic heart, he is prone to judge others: “How much, let me note, depends upon trousers” (112). Sterne illustrates through Yorick that sentimentality has a down side and that is how it is used to display superiority.

Bernard is also, however, the creator and perpetuator of the empire, illustrating a programmed sentimentality. As a storyteller, he perpetuates the glory of the Empire. When Percival dies, only Bernard and Rhoda are given the opportunity to truly reflect on the experience and Bernard constructs of Percival something greater than he is. Bernard is assigned to sum up the entire novel. When he is young, he tells a story of a military gentleman and the military gentleman is paired with his horse (80). This construction matches one that Woolf tells as a young woman found in *The Hyde Park Gate News* (28-

30). If Woolf says that Sterne rides the hobby horse to death, Bernard does too. He is constantly constructing images of soldiers and horses. He thinks of “warriors” and their “eternal life” (281-2). Bernard ends the novel as if he is going to ride a horse into battle against death. Bernard thinks:

I am aware once more of a new desire, something rising beneath me like the proud horse whose rider first spurs and then pulls him back. What enemy do we now perceive ... ? It is death ... It is death against whom I ride with my spear couched and my hair flying back like a young man's, like Percival's (297).

Though an outsider, Louis learns to inherit, perhaps as a way to fit in. He notes, “we have inherited traditions” (58). Critics believe that Louis is a representation of Leonard Woolf or T. S. Eliot. His outsider status links him to Leonard Woolf and his references to his father being a banker link him to Eliot (Eder). Woolf refers to him as a “caged tiger,” and Tracy Savoie believes that he is a “colonial subject” as a result (Woolf 128; Savoie 16). Rhoda consistently sees a tiger and if Louis is the caged tiger, he is the caged version of himself that Rhoda used to see. He is the outsider trying to make his way in an English world. He resents the world, but he is a perfect scholar and so will inherit more of England's traditions. Another indication of him being an outsider is his lack of athleticism, like Woolf's father. Louis says he was not “trained” as the other boys were (48). The lack of training may be another allusion to Napoleon. He cries as the other boys do, but he also deliberately attempts to gain sympathy from women, like Leslie Stephen. He starves himself to gain the “sympathy” of Jinny (128). He cries at the death

of Percival and at school. He is sentimental to extremes. The narrator notes, “My eyes running water” (170). He finds it “difficult not to weep” (228).

Louis desires more than anything to fit in. He wants his name on the wall and he says that Percival is “what Neville and I wish to be” (47). When he ages, he notes how he consistently signs his name indicating his success. Unlike Jacob and Peter, Louis is the successful ambassador hoping to “inherit an arm-chair and a Turkey carpet” for his reports on China (168). Louis also notes, “If I press on, from chaos making order, I shall find myself where Chatham stood, and Pitt, Burke, and Sir Robert Peel” (168). He measures himself against greatness and he finds that he measures up. He is also the most explicit when he locates Percival in a heroic past. He says, “Percival has died; (he died in Egypt; he died in Greece; all deaths are one death)” (170). Bernard notes that Louis will “shepherd” them and “smooth out the death” (160). Both he and Jacob write, and Louis shows his essay (39). Also like Jacob, Louis constantly links Plato and Shakespeare together, a result of his training. Even if Louis does not attend the university, his desire to fit in would make him more apt to learn what is taught at the university. In order to pose as having gone to university, he must appreciate Shakespeare and Plato. By admiring Shakespeare, he again admires Plato because Shakespeare too admires and uses Plato.

In *Titus Andronicus*, the Roman soldier Titus pledges loyalty to his King and fights with his hands, but when he sacrifices his own hand to save the lives of his sons, he is rejected. A soldier who cannot fight is not worth anything. Shakespeare constructs Titus as a man with a fatal flaw and his flaw is loyalty to his King rather than loyalty to his family. Shakespeare bases the play on the legend of Troy, but he also invokes Plato’s

Allegory of the Cave with the shadows representing a false reality. After his daughter has been raped and his sons have been murdered, Titus sits at a banquet with Marcus, and Marcus swats at a fly. Titus cries and mourns displaying sentiment by seeing the fly as an innocent like his children. Titus relates, “A deed of death done on the innocent” (3.2.56). Titus rarely showed empathy and even kills his own son but he is empathetic toward the fly and it seems out of place. Suddenly, Titus’s perception of the fly changes and he sees the fly as Aaron, the black moor, and not his innocent children. As Aaron, the fly deserves death and Titus swats at it. Marcus responds, “He takes false shadows for true substances” (3.2.80). Whether the fly represents his innocent children or Aaron, Titus takes false shadows for true substances and this is Plato’s point. For Woolf, the phantom riders also represent those false substances and Percival is a phantom rider.

Titus Andronicus is a sentimental play with many of the characters weeping and sobbing at the loss of their loved ones. Additionally, the fly scene is adapted by Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* and called attention to by Woolf. In *Tristram Shandy*, the great soldier, Uncle Toby, cannot hurt a fly. Sterne characterizes Toby as a sentimental man of feeling without “want of courage” so his inability to hurt a fly is not because he lacks bravery (100). He has made sacrifices for his country. At dinner, a fly buzzes around his head and Toby catches it, but does not kill it. Instead, he says, “I’ll not hurt thee . . . rising from his chair, and going a-cross the room, with the fly in his hand,--I’ll not hurt a hair of thy head” and he assists the fly in escaping (*sic* 100). Toby’s inability to harm a living creature is in complete contrast with his identity as a soldier. In “Sterne,” Woolf opens with a critique of biography and how biography cannot see the works of a man and the

man's life as a "whole" (280). Woolf points out the weakness in sentimentality by emphasizing that though Sterne can "feel acutely," he also calls attention to his ability (285). Woolf believes that Toby's inability to hurt the fly is his own great feeling. Woolf also calls attention to Sterne's comment, "there is no disputing against HOBBY-HORSES ... according as the fly stings" (*TS* 14). Toby takes the fly for a false substance and intends it to mean more than it does.

The fly that Titus kills and Uncle Toby cannot, is transformed into a bee that interrupts the graduation ceremony. Bernard notices it and wonders if it will sting the General's wife's nose (58). The bee does not, but Bernard continues to watch the bee instead of pay attention to the ceremony. Bernard wonders if the General, unlike Toby, will automatically respond by killing the bee. The Headmaster "would flick it off with one magnificent gesture" (58). Then the bee becomes "insignificant" (59). Bernard indulges in a moment of rebellion and that is not insignificant.

Titus's fatal flaw is his loyalty to the King and this flaw is also exposed by Sterne. Shakespeare does not glorify Titus as a hero, but undermines him. He is loyal to his King but he is not repaid and the King uses his loyalty against him. When Louis conflates Shakespeare and Plato, he fails to recognize Shakespeare's point about the play just as Bernard fails to recognize Byron's mockery. The boys glorify the hunt and Elvedon but Shakespeare exposes the hunt as a space where violence is likely. Aaron traps everyone under the pretence of a hunt. Aaron says that the forest is the perfect location for rape and murder: "By nature made for murders and for rapes" (4.1.58). Likewise, Rhoda witnesses a hunt for a stag and she compares what she sees to the savages who use "assegais," or an

ancient spear (140). Rhoda likens Englishmen as savages hunting with spears. Rhoda notes that the “forests” are full of “howling jackals and moonlight” (145). Woolf characterizes her subjects with the fatal flaw of not understanding Shakespeare. The hunt trains young men to be Percival and those who cannot be Percival, become Louis, Bernard, or Neville. One is an Ambassador serving the same ends as Percival, another a biographer writing about the greatness of men’s lives, and the other a Professor of classics perpetuating epic stories.

Oddly, Jinny and Rhoda are not sentimental. Jinny is the most feminine, yet she does not cry. Jinny is also athletic like one of the boys and very sexual. As a young woman with sexuality, she is a part of this world but she feels outside it as she ages (103). Rhoda notes that she wants to “win their tears,” pairing her with Louis because of her need for sympathy (44). Rhoda understands how powerful tears are and instead of displaying them, she wants others to display them for her. Rhoda recognizes that the world is “immune from change” and she cannot “dislodge the weight of centuries” (107; 105). Rhoda, unlike the men, is unable to cope with the fact that the world is immune from change. She is never able to adapt. Woolf displays the men as learning the programmed sentimentality she so despised. The six construct Percival as something greater than himself and this construction allows the Empire to continue to expand and glorify itself in that expansion.

Conclusion

Virginia Woolf's use of sentimentality has not been fully explored. Woolf greatly respected Laurence Sterne and she perceived the eighteenth century as both a turning point and a point of stasis. For women, the eighteenth century represented an introduction into the professions and a struggle for the right to vote. It was also a period of experimentation for novelists. Literature was being published en masse for the first time and many scholars, such as Ian Watt, see the period as pivotal for the development of the novel. Sterne experiments with print by including a black and marbled page and he explores the inner consciousness of himself and his characters. He also played with the traditional linear narrative by constantly jumping back and forth in time. Sterne's experiments represent progress and Woolf re-visits the eighteenth century when she feels stifled by her immediate predecessors, the Victorians. Despite these indications of progress, in *Jacob's Room*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, and *The Waves*, the eighteenth century is a permanent fixture representing the lack of progress. Women did not earn the right to vote until more than one hundred years later. Woolf also sees it as the beginning of Britain's Empire and by the twentieth century, that empire was falling.

Though many used sentimentality in the eighteenth century, Sterne used it to critique the ravages of war. By 1780, sentimentality began to lose popularity because it was associated with a lack of masculine responsibility and feminine weakness. This general attitude was held by the Victorians, including Woolf's father, Leslie Stephen. Stephen detested the word and he characterizes his wife's sister, Anny, as sentimental. Stephen admits that he means sentimentality as an insult and he associates sentimentality

with femininity, foreignness, and weakness. In addition to calling her sentimental, he emphasizes Anny's Irishness as the embodiment of all her faults. Likewise, England perceived sentimentality to be associated with the French. Regarding Sterne, Stephen was disappointed in him because of his lack of morality and his sentimentality. In contrast, Woolf writes that only the "simple-minded public" did not appreciate Sterne (*CR* 78). Though Stephen detested sentimentality, he was associated with "sentimental excess" (Rosenbaum 38). To Stephen, being sentimental meant being weak and most of Woolf's assumption of sentimentality fits that type. Susan Searles calls Woolf's sentimentality "programmed sentimentality." Woolf characterizes various male characters with a sentimentality that is nostalgia for the empire. They learn this nostalgia from Oxbridge and other male institutions.

Despite this, Woolf and Sterne expose gender stereotypes associated with sentimentality. If Stephen was embarrassed by Sterne, Woolf respected him all the more. His bad jokes represented his "indifference to censure" and his willingness to "[shock] the lettered by the unconventionality of one's style" (*CR* 78). Sterne's indifference to censure allows him to tell the truth and Woolf admires that above all. Sterne transcends gender boundaries by exposing the abject position of soldiers and women. Yorick travels through France and the people begging on the streets for money are former soldiers. He focuses on how the general public is affected by war. The soldier is not a typical victim and his need for sentimentality illustrates his abject position. La Fleur is a former soldier and Sterne emphasizes that by acquiring this servant, he is acquiring an empire. His relationship with La Fleur models the relations between England and France. Yorick also

points out the abject position of another great soldier reduced to selling *patès* on the street (76). People would express sentimentality for the defenseless and Sterne illustrates that the defenseless in a society of war, are soldiers and their widows. Women are typically escorted by men, but widowed women are free to roam alone and this presents a danger. Sterne critiques the social system designed to protect these women by exposing how easily Yorick is able to compromise them. Sterne also uses Shakespeare, especially *Hamlet*, because of his protagonist's name. Hamlet is accused of being "unmanly" and "melancholy," just like Yorick (1.2.94). Hamlet's dilemma causes others to accuse him of lacking masculine responsibility, in the same way that Yorick and Peter are accused.

This critique is extended in Woolf. She characterizes Clarissa Dalloway as in danger because sentimental men have accepted the ideals of false institutions. Her feminine space is encroached upon by Peter Walsh who interrupts her day and plays with his knife as he sits in front of her. The home is the symbol and place of domesticity, but Woolf exposes this safe female space as one where men endanger women. Woolf suggests that the danger these women face is all the more terrible because it is behind closed doors. Peter is an Ambassador for the Empire and in the position of the colonizer and he assumes that position even in Clarissa's domestic and personal space. Likewise, Richard Dalloway brings her flowers, but bears them like a weapon. Woolf suggests that these men learn the position of the colonizer at Cambridge and other institutions reserved only for men. This behavior is extended to the home and family, where wives are subject to the domination of their husbands. In *Three Guineas*, Woolf writes, "[Education] is good if it produces a belief in the Church of England; bad if it produces a belief in the

Church of Rome; it is good for one sex and for some professions but bad for another sex and for another profession” (26). Woolf argues that education leads men to war and to adopt false loyalties to the nation and other institutions. The education of Peter and Richard allows them to adopt false loyalties and this programmed sentimentality.

In *Jacob's Room*, Woolf models the sentimentality found in *A Sentimental Journey*. Soldiers, such as Captain Barfoot, are characterized as “lame” or mangled, comparable to Sterne's soldiers (*JR* 22). She characterizes Betty Flanders as a sentimental woman of feeling expressing pity for the loss of her son and expecting the reader to mourn him as well. Betty is positioned as Yorick expressing sentiment for other. Despite this, Betty is exposed as supporting the institution and she fails to ask, “what for?” In *Three Guineas*, Woolf writes, “education makes a difference” (6). Betty has not been educated and her lack of education prevents her from recognizing her own programmed sentimentality. Jacob Flanders is also positioned as Yorick because he is the *voyeur* and the traveler expressing pity for others (64). Initially, Jacob rebels against conformity and is shocked by the world of Cambridge presented before him (34).

Jacob's shock is not continued. Woolf negates his sentimental journey and exposes how his journey leads him to his death. Though Jacob is to be mourned, Woolf complicates this by satirizing a typical man of privilege. He adopts programmed sentimentality where he feels nostalgia for the grandiosity of the nation. Though sentimentality is associated with the female, Woolf exposes that men are more prone to programmed sentimentality and it is because of their education. The narrator notes, “nothing was seen clearly at Cambridge” (44). Jacob's individual personality is sacrificed

for a collective identity as a soldier and a servant of the state. Though he begins as creative, he is also impressionable and he adopts the attitudes of Cambridge. He soon thinks, “the Queen of England seemed a name worth dying for” (68).

In *Jacob’s Room* and *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf includes two types of sentimentality. Woolf adheres to traditional sentimentality with Betty as she expresses sentiment for those that she has lost. Despite this programmed sentimentality, both Yorick and Betty express sentiment for a soldier. The soldier is complicit in war and has accepted his education, but Yorick and Betty expose how he has been abused by a system. Additionally, Jacob and Bonamy are infused with sentimentality that transgresses gender boundaries. Jacob’s initial rebellion suggests hope for his future but that hope is negated by Cambridge. Bonamy is characterized as a “dark horse,” suggesting he is an outsider and he is also emphasized as sentimental and lacking reason, making him feminine (174). In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Woolf characterizes Hugh, Peter, and Clarissa with a false sentimentality that expresses their class position over others. Hugh does things for people only to be thought better of. Peter accepts his position as the colonizer and follows women around the city imagining himself as a pirate. Clarissa throws a party so people will like her. These three display a false sense of sentimentality and they use it to position themselves as superior to others.

Despite this false sentimentality, Woolf challenges the Victorian attitude toward sentimentality by infusing Clarissa, Peter, and Septimus with sincere sentimentality. Clarissa connects with Septimus, however fleetingly, linking the two. Clarissa also exposes British society as false. Lady Bruton makes it clear that the woman’s position

revolves around elevating her husband's. Clarissa throws the party for herself, and not her husband. Her female contribution to life is taken for granted, exposing a hierarchical society that devalues women and their contribution. Her safe female space is violated by programmed sentimentality and masculinity. This is especially so when Dr. Holmes arrives at the party and announces the suicide of one of his patients. Clarissa is horrified by his intrusion and his behavior is likened to the colonizer invading personal and feminine space. Dr. Holmes is so insensitive that he does not realize how such news will affect Clarissa and the mood of her party.

Because Clarissa is female, her sentimentality is expected. For Peter and Septimus, however, sentimentality is a liability. It becomes a way for others to question their masculinity. Peter is perceived by others as weak and a failure. He is infused with feeling and it is described as his "undoing" (152). He returns to England only to beg Richard for a job. His class position is exposed as similar to Yorick's; at one moment he is a servant and at another, he is the colonizer. As a pirate pursuing women, he is a colonizer but when he has to beg for a job, he is the servant. Sterne reveals the dubious nature of the master-servant dynamic by constantly subverting who is in power. The rivalry Sterne alludes to between England and France is also a rivalry between two churches. Woolf suggests that sentimentality has more to do with personality than with gender. Though Peter has to beg for a job, he is in a position to do so and this contrasts him with Septimus. Woolf suggests that sentimentality has as much to do with gender as it has to do with class.

Septimus's sentimentality is also a liability. As a young man he loves Shakespeare and Miss Isabel Pole. His boss, Mr. Brewer, believes that he needs to learn "manliness" and he believes football will teach him (86). Mr. Brewer's suggestion reveals that masculinity is taught at the same institutions where young men play football. Rather than football, Septimus joins the war and it hardens him. He is unable to feel and he characterizes it as a crime. In a desperate attempt to feel something, he marries Lucrezia, but it does not help. She cries in front of him and he feels nothing. When the doctors come for him, he dives out a window. Janet Todd argues, "the sensitive, benevolent man [has] feelings [that] are too exquisite for the acquisitiveness, vulgarity, and selfishness of his world" (4). Peter and Septimus are sensitive and benevolent with feelings too exquisite for the selfishness of the world. Peter, on the other hand, learns masculinity from male institutions and he displays his learning when he visits Clarissa. Though he is positioned beneath Richard, he is able to assert his superiority over Clarissa. Septimus has not had the same training and without it, he cannot survive. For Dr. Holmes, his loss is a blessing because he distorts others' vision of Britain and its empire.

Septimus's love of Shakespeare illustrates a genuine feeling beyond the programmed sentimentality others suffer from. Septimus shares an appreciation for Shakespeare with Peter and Clarissa. Shakespeare uses the jester to reveal the truth. Sterne adopts this and chooses the persona for a Minister. In Woolf, the characters who read Shakespeare are true. In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Richard and Lady Bruton do not read a word of Shakespeare, but they are both characterized as pillars of the empire. In *Sentimental Journey*, Yorick visits a bookstore to buy Shakespeare to assert England's

superiority over France. Shakespeare then is used as a cultural icon to further the exploits of the empire. In *Jacob's Room*, Jacob upholds Shakespeare and the Greeks as the greats of civilization. Jacob, however, reveals that he has never finished a play of Shakespeare. In contrast to the people who do not read Shakespeare are Septimus, Peter, and Clarissa. Jacob's valorization of Shakespeare is to further the exploits of the empire and if Richard and Lady Bruton could see a way to do this, they would perpetuate the greatness of Shakespeare. For Clarissa, Shakespeare resonates as the clocks chime for death. Peter is horrified that Clarissa marries Richard because of what he said about Shakespeare.

By the time of *The Waves*, Woolf reveals that she associates sentimentality more and more with programmed sentimentality. The complexity of sentimentality in *Mrs. Dalloway* is lost. The men may feel exquisitely, but they do so in support of the empire. In *The Waves*, only the men attend formal school and all of them learn programmed sentimentality. Bernard, Louis, and Neville revolve around the center, Percival. These characters perpetuate the ideals of the empire. Bernard considers what makes a man great and he hires a biographer before he has even become great. If the women do not succumb, they are outside the circle and Rhoda commits suicide because she is outside. This extreme characterization of sentimentality suggests a lack of hope. In her preface to *Orlando*, Woolf is able to imagine a space where the eighteenth century ends. Woolf writes, "A turbulent welter of cloud covered the city. All was darkness; all was doubt; all was confusion. The eighteenth century was over" (111). The end represents change and a new beginning for the next century. By *The Waves*, this imagined end is no longer possible and all Woolf sees is the continuation and perpetuation of Empire. This

hopelessness seems to continue in *The Years* with North Pargiter and his blind acceptance of false ideals.

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