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A

Tristram Shandy: Laurence Sterne's History of Ireland

by

Joan Meyler

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1998

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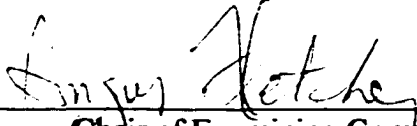
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Tristram Shandy: Laurence Sterne's History of Ireland

by

Joan Meyler

The major arguments are as follows:

1. Tristram Shandy is an allegorical work and the primary allegory, that of Ireland and her child, figured by "my mother" and Tristram, has never been perceived, or, if noted, never commented upon.
2. The fact that no one has observed this and the many other allegories that permeate the novel requires an explanation. Either the allegories are not present or there has been a failure on the part of criticism to determine the meaning/s of the novel, at least to the extent of accurately saying what it is about.
3. If the allegories are, in fact, verifiably embedded in the text and can be recognized once they are pointed out but have remained unremarked, then such a belated discovery of them can shed light on our understanding of language use and definitions of meaning.
4. Extending Eva Fedder Kittay's concept of "semantic fields"

(Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure 33)

to include what I have called "key word semantic fields" has great explanatory power and allows us to understand how Sterne creates intertextual references through systems of logically or associationally concatenated though textually separated key words.

5. Importing the theory of "analytical hypotheses" (Word and Object 1-79) that Willard Van Orman Quine uses in connection with radical translation can give a name and some conceptual content to the process by which we formulate and accept or reject interpretative hypotheses in the process of interpreting a complex work such as Tristram Shandy.

6. The major frequently interlocking allegories that are focused on include:

a. "My mother" and Tristram as representatives of Ireland and her progeny;

b. The Lesson in how to read furnished by Sterne's hitherto unnoticed structural incorporations of Milton's Paradise Lost and polemical prose and Shakespeare's plays;

c. The allegories relating to war, including William and Anne's Wars and the war that William Pitt was prosecuting on the continent when the first volumes of the novel were published; and

d. The allegories relating to the "fall" (that of man in Paradise Lost, England in the Glorious Revolution and the falls of Ireland at various historical moments).

Acknowledgments

Many are the debts incurred in completing a project such as this. To Laurence Sterne, for writing a novel that could provide so much intellectual satisfaction, I am obliged. As I would sit in the pre-dawn hours puzzling over the meaning of some phrase that seemed odd in Tristram Shandy and then laugh when I understood the joke our author was offering, I continuously reexperienced a sense of wonder that Sterne could write at such a considerable distance in time and yet remain so immanent. I hereby enlist myself in the ranks of Tristram's readers whose hearts he has turned to marble tablets, inscribed with his words, as a memorial to his genius, wisdom and compassion.

To Eva Fedder Kittay I am grateful for the clear and convincing examination of metaphor in Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure, perhaps the best analysis of metaphor since that of Aristotle. Likewise, Willard Van Ormon Quine's concept of analytical hypotheses, although formulated in connection with radical translation, appears to be a singularly useful contribution to our understanding of interpretative hypotheses in the case of any complex language use.

To Professors Marlies Danziger, the late Robert Day, Speed Hill, Angus Fletcher, and Stuart Prall, I owe incalculable debts. It was in Professor Danziger's course on "Eighteenth Century Literature" that I began work on Slawkenbergius's Tale in Tristram Shandy. When I would have been content to explore the parody of Milton in the invocation to the Tale and go no further, Professor

Danziger, with the true intellectual curiosity of the scholar, insisted that "Of course, you can explain how this relates to the Tale and explain the Tale itself." Humph!!! Each time I would have said, "Enough!" Professor Danziger would pose another question that would foment curiosity and we all know to what this leads.

It was Professor Speed Hill, in his class on "Renaissance Poetry," who first generated and encouraged my interest in theories of metaphor and the question of how language is used to produce meaning. It was he also who bruited the possibility of a systematic study of metaphor. I am particularly grateful to Professor Hill for seeing the work he helped to initiate to fruition, as he continues to provide invaluable insight, advice and assistance as one of my readers.

As befits a Joycean, the late Robert Day, my first adviser, shared Laurence Sterne's gift of a boundless imagination and a mind open to the universe. There was nothing I or anyone else could say that he did not immediately "get" and expand upon. It was the greatest pleasure to work with a mind so nurtured on hypotheticals and so ready, like Sterne, to turn the divine light of humor on life's vicissitudes.

To Professor Stuart Prall, my reader from history, I am extremely grateful for the great intelligence, kindness and patience with which he has explained, from the point of view of an historian, the appropriateness of sources and discussed with me questions relating to English/Irish relations, and the respective roles of religion and economics in influencing England's policies

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Professor Prall has saved me from many egregious blunders relating to factual information; remaining errors, particularly those concerning the interpretation of religious and economic motivation, are entirely my own. Since Sterne wrote from 1759 to 1767, I have tried to recapture that earlier point of view, and this endeavor has had a tendency to play havoc with any attempt to use more modern, and perhaps more theoretically and factually accurate, sources. I am particularly grateful for Professor Prall's forbearance in recognizing the reasons for deviating in this study from the path that one would take were one an historian.

Professor Angus Fletcher, my adviser, has proven to be the Socratic figure throughout my years of graduate study. Participating in his classes on Allegory, Shakespeare and Marlowe, the Metaphysical Poets, Milton, and Tristram Shandy has provided an apprenticeship in "how to think." It would seem an insuperable undertaking to replicate the atmosphere of common intellectual endeavor characteristic of the Greek Academy in the twentieth century just a block from Times Square; but perhaps that is where it should be reduplicated, at today's crossroads of the world, and Angus Fletcher has succeeded in this task.

To John Meyler, Bernadette Meyler, and Helen Healy Fischer--my husband, daughter and mother--and to Patricia Zaccardo and Robin Reeve--colleagues at the Graduate Center--I am indebted for unstinting logistical and moral support, as well as for invaluable suggestions and insights in the course of many discussions of Tristram Shandy.

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"O good Horatio, what a wounded name
 (Things standing thus unknown) shall live behind me!
 If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
 Absent thee from felicity awhile,
 And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
 To tell my story.

(Shakespeare, Hamlet, V, ii, 367-373)

"That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once."

(Shakespeare, Hamlet, V, I, 75)

At last she calls to mind where hangs a piece
 Of skilful painting, made for Priam's Troy,
 Before the which is drawn the power of Greece,
 For Helen's rape the city to destroy,

For much imaginary work was there,--
 Conceit deceitful, so compact, so kind,
 That for Achilles' image stood his spear
 Gripp'd in an armed hand; himself behind
 Was left unseen, save to the eye of mind;
 A hand, a foot, a face, a leg, a head
 Stood for the whole to be imagined.

.

To this well-painted piece is Lucrece come,
 To find a face where all distress is stell'd.
 Many she sees where cares have carved some,
 But none where all distress and dolour dwell'd,
 Till she despairing Hecuba beheld,

On this sad shadow Lucrece spends her eyes,
 And shapes her sorrow to the beldam's woes,
 Who nothing wants to answer but her cries
 And bitter words to ban her cruel foes;
 The painter was no god to lend her those,
 And therefore Lucrece swears he did her wrong,
 To give her so much grief, and not a tongue.

'Poor instrument,' quoth she, 'without a sound,
 I'll tune thy woes with my lamenting tongue,
 And drop sweet balm in Priam's painted wound,
 And rail on Pyrrhus that hath done him wrong,

Show me the strumpet that began this stir,
 That with my nails her beauty I may tear!
 Thy heat of lust, fond Paris, did incur
 This load of wrath that burning Troy doth bear;
 And here in Troy, for trespass of thine eye,
 The sire, the son, the dame and daughter die.

Why should the private pleasure of some one
 Become the public plague of many moe?
 Let sin alone committed, light alone
 Upon his head that hath trangressed so;
 Let guiltless souls be freed from guilty woe:
 For one's offence why should so many fall,
 To plague a private sin in general?

(Shakespeare, The Rape of Lucrece, 1365-1485)

"Had I but served my God with half the zeal
 I served my king, he would not in mine age
 Have left me naked to mine enemies."

(Cardinal Wolsey to Thomas Cromwell in Shakespeare,
Henry VIII, III, ii, 455-457)

"'Shankee' (Gaelic, 'seanchuidhe')--a historian,
 genealogist, storyteller" (Maxwell 341, n. 4).

"You may raise a system to account for the loss of my
 nose by marriage articles,--and shew the world how it
 could happen, that I should have the misfortune to be
 called *Tristram* . . . " (II, xix, 180).

Introduction

The genesis of the present project was the realization that Sterne was parodying John Milton in the invocation to Slawkenbergius (III, xxxv) and Slawkenbergius' Tale (IV)¹ in Tristram Shandy together with the discovery that no one else seemed to have noticed the parody. When it first became evident that the presence of Milton had remained unperceived, the first question that presented itself was "How is it possible for meaning and information to be present in a text and yet, so to speak, to hide themselves?" Mikhail Bakhtin, in "Discourse in the Novel," provides part of the answer when he observes:

Except in those cases where it is grossly apparent, the presence of parody is in general very difficult to identify . . . without knowing the background of alien discourse against which it is projected, that is,

¹All citations, unless otherwise noted, are to the original volume and chapter in upper and lower case roman numerals respectively, followed by the page number reference to the two volume text of The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, in The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, volumes 1 and 2: The Text, ed. Melvyn New and Joan New (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1978). References to the annotations, vol. 3 of The Florida Edition, edited by Melvyn New with Richard A. Davies and W.G. Day, are cited as The Notes followed by the page number. Bold face type is my throughout to show the Joycean character of Sterne's diction in the novel and to alert the reader to words and phrases that Sterne seems to link by an association of ideas.

without knowing its second context. In world literature there are probably many works whose parodic nature has not even been suspected.

(373-374)

That the Miltonic allusions should have remained undetected became understandable since they are drawn more extensively from Milton's less read polemical prose than from the poetry. Complicating the question, however, was the finding, in the course of demonstrating the Milton nexus, that neither I nor anyone else had recognized that Sterne, in a non-parodic style, had also incorporated, interpreted and adapted Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Othello, and The Winter's Tale to define and comment on issues in Tristram Shandy. Each close reading of the novel to prove one point seemed inevitably to yield new connections, insights and explanations. Surely, having read these Shakespearean works, and having been given a broad hint from Sterne of possible Shakespearean connections through the overt inclusion of a descendent of Hamlet's Yorick as one of the central characters in the novel, one asks oneself: "Should I not have been more alert to the possibility of allusions to other works of Shakespeare?"

In Persecution and the Art of Writing Leo Strauss indicates one factor that gives rise to what he calls writing "between the lines" (25). He theorizes that in

a society where there is persecution or in which certain views are unacceptable it is necessary to write to be understood by only the "thoughtful" and those who are willing to work to achieve understanding. He then asks, "But how can [one] perform the miracle of speaking in a publication to a minority, while being silent to the majority," and responds by saying that, as a general rule, thoughtful persons are careful readers; hence, a writer wishing to address such readers "has to write in such a way that only a very careful reader can detect the meaning . . ." (25). He characterizes as "exoteric" a book that "contains two teachings: a popular teaching of an edifying character, which is in the foreground; and a philosophic teaching concerning the most important subject, which is indicated only between the lines" (36). Strauss explains that the reader is led to the "truth which is merely and purely theoretical" through "certain obtrusively enigmatic features in the presentation of the popular teaching--obscurity of the plan, contradictions, pseudonyms, inexact repetitions of earlier statements, strange expressions, etc." (36).

Two general effects follow when one finds that Sterne has interjected these authors in a way that has hitherto eluded our grasp. First, we become extremely self-conscious as readers and examine the text with the idea in mind that it is far more contrived than we previously supposed. For example, when the ordinarily

accurate Tristram seemingly makes a mistake about the date of Dryden's **Book**, "Essay of Dramatick Poesie (1668)" (The Notes 107), and places it, as Tristram says, "about the middle of king William's reign . . . (if I mistake not)" (I, xxi, 71), or in 1695, almost thirty years after its actual publication, and two pages later denies that it is in his interest to "think of dropping a riddle in the reader's way" (I, xxi, 73), we no longer accept either the "mistake" or the disclaimer of a riddle at face value. Instead, we mull. "Hrumph! A book in the middle of a reign?" After considering a myriad of possibilities, we might check the middle of the book we are reading. There we find that the middle chapter of the middle book of Tristram Shandy begins: "King William, said my uncle Toby" (V, xxvi, 455). Ah yes, the reign of King William in the middle of a book! This little riddle might then serve to confirm other evidence indicating that Tristram Shandy, at one level, is a "History of King William's and Queen Anne's Wars" (Sterne, A Political Romance 35). It also supplies very strong support to those like Wayne Booth who argue that Sterne completed the novel and had at least a general outline of the plan of Tristram Shandy during the writing of the first volume (Booth 172-183).

Second, the reader becomes aware that aspects of the form of the novel--its riddling, its reliance on almost perverse but finally ascertainable associations, and its

dependence on even partial roots and etymologies of words that flit about but finally resolve themselves into recognizable connections--become a content that could be called "demonstrative epistemology." Having to establish each link in the chain that leads to knowledge renders the thinker far more conscious of the process of figuring out what there is to know and how it is that we know it. The convoluted and tangled form in which information is embedded in Tristram Shandy mirrors the complex and often unfathomable way in which our mind stores its encounters with varying phenomena and permits memory to supply, as needed, the crucial bits of information necessary to furnish insight. In An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, John Locke deprecates "Something unreasonable in most Men . . . from a wrong connexion of Ideas" (II, 33, 394). He elaborates:

Some of our Ideas have a natural
correspondence and Connexion one with another:
It is the Office . . . of our Reason to trace
these, and hold them together Besides
this there is another Connexion of Ideas
wholly owing to Chance or Custom; Ideas that
in themselves are not at all of kin, come to
be so united in some Mens Minds, that 'tis
very hard to separate them. (II, 33, 395)

Unlike Locke, who considers the "wrong Connexion in our Minds of Ideas in themselves . . . independent one of another" to be "a great Cause of Errors" (II, 33, 397), Sterne appears to be asking "What are natural associations of ideas?" and to be answering himself by saying "Any association of ideas is natural if, in fact, it does work to effect communication or to invest some combination of elements with discernible meaning." Even though Sterne criticism has paid lip service to the philosophical divergence of Sterne from Locke on the question of the role of the association of ideas in the acquisition of knowledge, in practice, when reading and interpreting Tristram Shandy, critics, with few exceptions, are locked into rigid and unitary modes of associating disparate elements of the novel and rely on the Lockean epistemology when they are being proffered the Shandean (features of which were later to become, in varying forms, Freudean, Joycean, Wittgensteinean and Derridean) psychology and epistemology.

One might ask whether it matters if Sterne and the reader are following the same trains of association in relating ideas. When Walter Shandy speaks of "auxiliaries" and is thinking of auxiliary verbs and Uncle Toby and Trim respond as though Walter is talking about "auxiliaries" as hired troops, what are the consequences? One result is that for each of the

various participants the discourse is "about" something different. Whose interpretation of what the subject under discussion is, is correct? It is possible to respond that if we are reading an author, and it was that writer's intention to direct his readers' attention to certain facts, information and issues, curiosity if not courtesy might insure our close attention to those features. Readings and interpretations of Tristram Shandy to date, I am claiming, have overlooked the central interlocking allegory of the novel, the constituents of which remain protean, viz., Tristram as a representation of Ireland; "my mother" as the country herself; Walter, an image of parliament who "assume[s] and fight[s] it out behind . . . a variety of characters" (I, xviii, 55); great Aunt Dinah, Walter's aunt and Toby's aunt or mother, as England at the times of Cromwell and the Commonwealth and the Settlement Act of 1701; Toby, at times, the epitome of the good-hearted, war-like and unthinking English people (John Bull), and, at others, the Pretender; James Butler, or Trim, as the faithful Irish Protestant butler of the English people, seeking his own self-interest as well as that of his master; Slop as Pope, Catholic Bishop/Cardinal or Doctor of Divinity; and the Widow Wadman as England in late 1713 and early 1714 before the death of Anne when Jacobite hopes for the monarch's help in securing the succession in favor of the Pretender,

James, the son of James II, rather than the foreign George I, ran high. Likewise, the central theme of the text has remained largely unperceived. It is an exhortation against war, particularly against conflicts founded on religious differences grounded in doctrinaire positions claiming to know the will of God, including the war between Catholic and Protestant Europe being prosecuted by William Pitt when the novel was begun.

In Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode, Angus Fletcher points out that "when metaphors are tied in to each other . . . [t]he addition of every new figure diminishes the surprise for the reader, and the whole is increasingly abstracted from sense experience" (77). Recalling "the classic distinction between trope and figure, the former a play on single words, the latter on whole groups of words, on sentences and even paragraphs" (84), Fletcher then proposes that we consider allegory to belong to "figure". He notes that "[t]he best instance of truly figured speech would be an extended piece of ironical discourse, in which the complete discourse is pervaded by doubt, double meaning, and ironic detachment" (84). In such a case, Fletcher contends the "whole may determine the sense of the parts, and the parts be governed by the intention of the whole. This would yield a concept of a teleologically ordered speech" (85).

The aspect of Tristram Shandy which Angus Fletcher identifies as “teleologically ordered speech” is what has remained unnoticed in almost two and a half centuries of critical scrutiny. One reason for this appears to be the fact that Sterne encodes the text with key words which mean different things at the same time. Thus the same word in one identifiable textual location and context can generate a number of meanings, even at that location, depending on which cued words it is aligned with in the text and/or our mind as we read and re-read the novel or, to say it differently, depending on which semantic fields are active in either the text or our mind when we are determining the meaning of any particular segment.

In Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure, Eva Feder Kittay defines a semantic field as follows:

When a set of words, a *lexical set*, is applied to a domain unified by some content, a *content domain*, we have a *semantic field*. The semantic fields are comprised of terms which cover some specifiable conceptual ground and which bear certain relations of affinity and contrast to one another. Any experiential phenomenal, or conceptual domain may be a content domain, for example, colour, fishing, electricity, etc. (33-34)

Likewise, because of the referential complexity of the text, our mental model of what the novel as a whole says, i.e., as a teleologically ordered speech, must constantly shift to accommodate perceived changes of meaning at the local level as we reconcile anomolous data and fit it in on that as well as more global levels.

Major interrelated shortcomings in critical thinking emerge in dealing with a protean text like Tristram Shandy. The first, the Procrustean bed dilemma, relates to forming a mental paradigm concerning what the novel or a segment of it is "about": the deficiency in this case is taking a provisional model and treating it as final without considering its ability to accommodate disparate information in the text and without a recognition that the model is subject to revision to accommodate new information as it becomes available or to assimilate parts that initially do not seem to fit the model. The second, the incoherence assumption, results from perceiving each part of the novel as an isolated fragment that bears no relation to the whole or to other parts of the text. The unwillingness to hypothesize concerning what the work in its entirety might be saying leaves the reader with no mental paradigm to keep, even temporarily, the parts together or to test the paradigm in relation to the parts or the parts in relation to each other as elements of some potentially discernible

pattern. At various times, Uncle Toby exhibits both the inability to change his paradigms and the fragmentation in thinking concomitant with the failure to perceive seemingly isolated parts within the boundaries of a larger scheme and to fit his and others' activities into that larger paradigm.

More specifically, Toby's and Trim's model of William III is that of a hero. Their inability to change that paradigm based on their own knowledge of the facts and ability to draw inferences is evident when Toby and Trim [James Butler] recount the events at the battle of Landen. Trim recalls that after the fighting he, with the other wounded, was "left upon the field . . . [until] noon the next day" when prisoners were transferred and he was "put into a cart with thirteen or fourteen more" to be carried to the hospital (VIII, xix, 695). Trim reminds Toby of "the total rout and confusion of our camp and army . . . every one was left to shift for himself; and if it had not been for the regiments of *Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway*, which covered the retreat over the bridge of *Neerspeeken*, the king himself could scarce have gain'd it" To Toby's cry, "Gallant mortal! . . . Brave! brave by heaven! . . . he deserves a crown" Trim shouts, "As richly, as a thief a halter" Tristram informs us that "My uncle Toby knew the corporal's loyalty;--otherwise the comparison was not at all to his mind----it did not

altogether strike the corporal's fancy when he had made it . . . " (VIII, xix, 694). Even though Toby and Trim accept full responsibility for the orders they gave that resulted in the accident with the sash window and march together at the head of the deputation to tell Walter the consequences of their actions, they are unable to evaluate the mounted William III's behavior in saving his own life but abandoning the foot soldiers because the two have a rigid paradigm of war and of their own and their leaders' role in it. With their scant knowledge of history other than that relating to the geographical location of past battles and the mechanics and actual execution of battles, they also fail to note who is killing whom and for what reason. At the seige of Limerick (1690-1691), and the battles of Steenkirk (1692) and Landen (1693), they are warring under the banner of William, Duke of Orange, now William III, the recently acquired *de facto* King of England, against, among others, the *de jure* King of England, James II, and his Irish and other loyalist troops. Toby and Trim never question the usurpation of the crown based on religious differences in England between Catholics and Protestants and the legitimacy of the religious war in Ireland and Flanders among Christians, the fungibility of whom Tristram emphasizes when he translates "*christianus*" as "true catholic" in Slawkenbergius' Tale (IV, Tale, 290-291). Likewise, when he speaks of "the

knowledge of arms" Toby conflates actual war with his and Trim's games--their activities on the bowling-green--and says, rightly for an anti-war position, that the effect of war has been to "intrench the lives and fortunes of the *few*, from the plunderings of the *many*," not realizing that in repeating this war propaganda slogan he has changed the places of the "few" and the "many." Toby complacently observes:

[A]s the knowledge of arms tends so apparently to the good and quiet of the world----and particularly that branch of it which we have practised together on our bowling-green, has no object but to shorten the strides of AMBITION, and intrench the lives and fortunes of the *few*, from the plunderings of the *many*, whenever that drum beats in our ears, I trust, Corporal, we shall neither of us want so much humanity and fellow-feeling as to face about and march. (IX, viii, 753)

The statement is ironically true since, regardless of for whom or why they fight, they have shown themselves ready to follow the drummer to entrench the property and power of the Protestant aristocracy at the expense of the people of whatever religious persuasion. Toby and Trim are consistently shown to be good and kind, so the problem arises not from a lack of sympathy on their part but from a lack of thought and an Othello-like ability

to be deceived by the nearest Iago as long as he comes equipped with a drum.

The reader's memory and ability to note cues become important in relating parts of the novel, i.e., words, episodes, stories, factual situations or odd or notable characteristics of individuals, etc., to each other and to the whole and vice versa since the prompted associations in the novel are meaningless unless they are held together at appropriate moments in the reader's mind. Significant words can belong to a number of different meaning groups (semantic fields) depending on which context for them set up in the novel we are examining at any particular point. For example, the word "ass," the only beast with whom, says Tristram, "I can commune forever," in the story of the ass and the french Post Office official, means at the same time: a literal beast, Tristram's "****", Mr. *** (Pitt), as well as the reader being fed Tristram's conceits. Walter also uses the word "asse" for the passions, including love, hate, zeal and ire. Hobbes described words as "wise men's counters" since they use them "to reckon" (Leviathan I: 4). In the case of the words in Tristram Shandy, each such counter maintains multiple values which can be recalculated at any time by the reader. By using words in such a way that pinning them down to just one meaning is avoided, Sterne is able to retain the element of surprise in the metaphors that he devises and

in the interlocking allegories that he creates with various set of metaphors. The anesthetizing and coercive effect on the reader of some highly coded allegories² is obviated if there are multiple interlocking codes and cues to juggle simultaneously and if the reader is free to choose from a variety of paths to and from the multiple centers Sterne has created in his labyrinth. It is when seemingly disparate elements of the novel are perceived by the reader to cohere that the reader, like Archimedes, can shout, "Eureka," and partake of the surprise arising out of the insight Sterne has prompted and the laughter or sorrow coincident with the perception. The willingness of the reader's mind to collect and recall new information, to integrate and assimilate such acquired data with what is already known, and to follow up on hints about which information outside the text is important to examine in order to understand the novel--all this becomes crucial in determining the meaning/s Sterne has deliberately and intentionally included in his teleologically ordered text. Hence, in much of Tristram Shandy Sterne is honing his readers' thinking, memory, and attention skills; he is performatively showing how to read and decode the text, and, consequently, the world of which the text is a part.

²See Fletcher's analysis in Allegory: A Theory of the Symbolic Mode, 75-84.

While Richard Lanham's Tristram Shandy: The Games of Pleasure serves the salubrious purpose of countervailing those readings that emphasize the serious aspect of the novel to the exclusion of the comic, and even though his individual lines of argument are highly insightful and work against his premise--not the imaginative insight that Tristram Shandy can be interpreted in terms of "game" as a root metaphor but the facile assumption that the game(s) have no serious purpose--Lanham's study offers conclusions that appear counterfactual. He writes:

Tristram deposes . . . that he lives not for Art but for Pleasure. . . . [H]e makes us play his game. It is a new one. We try to figure out what the rules are. He remains to us cavalier. . . . His particular pleasure lies elsewhere--in himself. In this sense the novel is not (pace Traugott) rhetorical at all. It turns in on itself. Tristram pleases himself. . . . At this game one can play. No audience needed. The implication of this stands central to our interpretation of Tristram Shandy. Both Tristram and his novel are auto-erotic not rhetorical. They aim not to persuade but to please themselves. We may admire their world but we are not asked to join it. In a limited but very real sense

neither novel nor narrator cares what we think Sterne explores the resources of pleasure to be found in the private life. The novel analyzes the private life. But it does not say this is all of human experience It is a closed system It is full of implications. But, as the history of Sterne criticism amply proves, each will grab his own handle. This is a matter of supreme indifference . . . to Sterne. It confirms his point He aimed to measure not accomplishment but contentment. It is the nature of the private life to seek pleasure. This is Sterne's point and the novel's. (97-98, 106)

But Sterne's satire is directed not only at private foibles but also at a number of public issues: the limitations of human understanding with respect to causation; religious zealotry and its consequences; the role of public and private opinion in determining whether a particular attribute or occurrence is a misfortune; and the war in the "cockpit" of Europe raging in 1759 which Pitt prolonged, as well as William's and Anne's earlier wars. It has its source in a nature that is gentle and charitable but also reflective, wily, tortuous and brilliant. Neither a demagogue nor a pedagogue, Sterne

might most aptly be termed a psychagogue--psyche, mind + agein, to lead--and it is our minds he leads through the nuances surrounding his protagonist's life and opinions in a book which, according to Tristram, "will do all your hearts good-----And all your heads too,--provided you understand it" (VI, xvii, 525). The very mildness of Sterne's satire has had the effect of beguiling Lanham, among others, into concluding that Sterne's assaults on certain ways of thinking, beliefs, and actions are a form of sparring with imaginary opponents, and that the incisive instructions and injunctions to the reader are mere persiflage inserted only to permit Sterne better to enjoy his solipsistic "ritual and game" (167), so that the reader too can "play games with [time and chance], capitalize on them, make them [their] own" (166-167).

In "Tristram Shandy's Law of Gravity" Sigurd Burckhardt is correct when he states that "Sterne's final joke is again and again that he is not joking" (61). As Burkhardt points out:

[Tristram Shandy] is shot through with admonitions that it must be read curiously and minutely, that its message is not for the vulgar, that the tradition to which it belongs is the esoteric one. We can discount all these, and reading will be a bawdy gambol, interrupted here and there by a sentimental

journey. But we can also attend to them and probe for the mystery of the very corporeal gravity which orders Sterne's strange universe. There is substance in Tristram Shandy, body--and we will not understand its wit unless we let it show us how it outwits gravity by a far from ordinary obedience.

(62)

After noting that "I write as a man of erudition;-- . . . even my similes, my allusions, my illustrations, my metaphors, are erudite,--" (II, ii, 98), Tristram contends: "I must sustain my character properly, and contrast it properly too" (II, ii, 98). To "sustain" one mask and to "contrast" it with others is part of the task Sterne set for himself in writing Tristram Shandy. When we attend more closely to the indications presented by Sterne under the guise of his several masks, we can better assess what is being questioned, affirmed and denied in the novel, understand how this is accomplished. So prepared, we can more adequately locate Tristram Shandy and its role, in terms of both form and content, in the history of ideas.

Chapter I: Textual Self-Contextualization

Laurence Sterne's The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman is a kaleidoscopic text in which the reader perceives different features emerge, depending on which elements of the novel display their beautiful (*kalos*) form (*eidos*) at any one time. Actualizing the potential patterns inherent in the kaleidoscope depends on knowing that the pattern present on a first viewing is not the only one available and that the tube can be turned to display form after form of beauty depending on the rearrangement of the same bits of colored glass. As applied to a written work, the term kaleidoscopic indicates that the bits on which the text depends to create its patterns--its words--frequently have more than one meaning attached to their use in the text and in the associations triggered in the reader's mind--the instrument for viewing the varying arrangements or patterns. Latent word meanings or associations that initially seem dormant in the context, therefore, remain capable of reactivation by a subsequent context to encompass any of the possibilities inherent in their original full multiplex of meanings, including dictionary definitions, etymological potentialities, slang or cant usages, and any associated or suggested words or expressions to which they have been or could conceivably be linked. The author in the kaleidoscopic

text is the lepidopterist who studies the subject dynamically on the wing rather than statically pinned to the paper; living words can be subjects, objects or participants in complex plays upon some or all of their possible meanings.³

In the almost two-hundred-and-forty years since publication of the first two volumes of Tristram Shandy Sterne critics have failed to rotate the tube of the toy that Sterne so cunningly constructed with the result that a number of significant patterns present in the work have been neither perceived nor discussed. For example, critics have canvassed the question of the respective roles of John Locke's and David Hume's epistemologies in Sterne's thinking. No reference to Hume by Sterne has heretofore been noted in Tristram Shandy, but Sterne has indeed included Hume in the novel and measured his stature as a philosopher against Locke's by way of a joke. In The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688, to Which Is Prefixed a Short Account of His Life, Written by Himself (I: 3), David Hume informs us that "My fathers's family is a branch of the Earl of Home's,

³For the concept of "living words" see Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981) 275-285.

or Hume's" (3). In Tristram Shandy, Tristram quotes the example of the **philosopher**--Locke--of using a yardstick to determine that two men's houses are equal when they cannot be placed in "juxta-position" but instead of using "houses"/**homes** as Locke does, Tristram makes a substitution that allows him to insert the actual name of Hume's/**Home's** home, **Ninewells** (Kahn 696), into Locke's illustration: "a man, as Locke **well** observes . . . finds two mens **nine-pin-alleys** to be of the same length, which could not be brought together, to measure their equality" (T.S., III, xl, 281). If the conversation is about **measuring equality**, about a **philosopher** (Locke), about an example given by him, and about **homes**, and if we find that our author misquotes the example to include the **name** of another philosopher's **home** (Hume's Ninewells), and if we discover that that **philosopher's name** is **Home/Hume**, what might we conjecture? We might reason that since the point of Locke's illustration is to find if two men's houses are equal, the point of Sterne's joke may be to raise the question of whether the two philosophers included in his illustration--one overtly, the other subtly--are equal. This simple example and a myriad of other more intricate and profound but hitherto unnoticed cases suggest the extraordinarily complex nature of Sterne's text and the intentionality it displays, as well as the difficulties inherent in dealing with an

ironic, satiric and comic narrator who "fronts for" an author who shares these attributes.

The metamorphosis of content made possible by such a kaleidoscopic text depends on "textual self-contextualization," a process used extensively by James Joyce in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake, but which has not been identified as one of the guiding principles in the composition of Tristram Shandy and has hitherto been left unnamed or allowed to fall under the rubric of intertextuality. Though useful, the term intertextuality is far too general to capture the extent to which writings of this nature are actively and intentionally engaged in providing their own contexts and using other works and information not as mere objects of allusion or reference but instead as integrated components to further their own meaning.⁴ For example,

⁴See Michael Riffaterre, "Compulsory Reader Response: The Intertextual Drive," Intertextuality: Theories and Practices, ed. Michael Worton and Judith Still (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 1990) 56-78, and Fictional Truth (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1990); for a history of the term "intertextuality" and theory relating to it, see Worton and Still, "Introduction," Intertextuality 1-44. See also: Gerard Genette, The Architext: An Introduction, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Berkeley: U of California P, 1992) 81-85 and Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982); Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," The Dialogic Imagination 259-422; and Umberto Eco, Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language (Bloomington: U of Indiana P, 1986).

Sterne uses key words drawn from Shakespeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona to let the reader of "Slawkenbergius' Tale" know that in reading the Tale-- as Julia comments to Valentine in the Two Gentlemen of Verona about a letter he is perusing--it is as plain as the nose on a man's face that he himself has written what he reads. So, if in reading "Slawkenbergius's Tale" we are scandalized at its bawdiness, we have only ourselves to blame: it is because of what we ourselves have read into the words in the Tale that it has whatever meaning it acquires. Likewise, Sterne has utilized key words and fact situations from Othello to create a strong association between Uncle Toby and Shakespeare's tragic hero. In this case, the reader is led to ask: Who is the Iago who has so misled the credulous and simple Toby? The prime candidate winds up to be King William.

What I have termed textual self-contextualization is a form of authorial direction whereby a writer indicates, within a single text or body of texts, the benchmarks against which the sequence of actions, events, and ideas contained in the work or works is to be judged, assessed, and re-evaluated. Textual self-contextualization is a highly self-conscious mode by which an author deliberately and intentionally attempts to define the contexts within which and against which the work can be understood and interpreted, to set forth

indicia that permit the locus of authorial concerns to be discerned and to furnish keys to the elucidation of textual meaning.

Unfortunately, critical expectations concerning Sterne's *modus operandi* and the organization of Tristram Shandy have resulted in inattention to significant and repeated verbal cues indicating that aspects of the novel can and ought to be read at another level. No one has dealt with crucially important but heretofore unremarked elements present in a text that has been widely read and the subject of considerable commentary and scrutiny since its publication. There has been a failure of interpretation with regard to features of Tristram Shandy stemming from the lack of recognition of the fact that the author self-contextualizes the novel to incorporate key words, phrases, concepts and facts of Western philosophy, history, theology and literature in order to tell another story that complements, alters, contradicts or reinforces the meaning of the sequence of events understood at the literal level. The brilliant exegetical accomplishments of Wolfgang Iser's Laurence Sterne: Tristram Shandy, Mark Loveridge's Laurence Sterne and the Argument about Design, John Stedmond's The Comic Art of Laurence Sterne: Convention and Innovation in Tristram Shandy and A Sentimental Journey, Melvyn New's Laurence Sterne as Satirist, Richard

Lanham's Tristram Shandy: The Games of Pleasure, James Swearingen's Reflexivity in Tristram Shandy: An Essay in Phenomenological Criticism, and Jonathan Lamb's Sterne's Fiction and the Double Principle are in no way diminished by positing "a failure of interpretation" with respect to aspects of Tristram Shandy. Suggested instead is the extraordinarily complex nature of the novel and the intentionality it displays, as well as the difficulty in dealing with a text that is, like Toby's town, "a veritable Proteus."

Artfully integrated into the "contexture" of Tristram Shandy to subvert the apparent meanings of the novel and produce other incompatible meanings are: the writings and attitudes of Milton; the ideas of Locke and Hume relating to human knowledge and ways of communicating and apprehending; the birth, christening, and misfortunes of Ireland resulting from religious and economic imperialism as well as treaty breaches by England; the issue of war in relation to the actions of William III and those who promoted his accession, and to William Pitt's rejections of proposals to end the Seven Years' War; Hobbes on war, sovereignty and equality; and the plays of Shakespeare, particularly with respect to the questions of reading signs and the relationship between reader and writer or speaker and auditor.

By relying on the protean nature of the word and consequent plasticity of the metaphors of which this

Proteus is a constituent, Sterne has constructed a text capable of sustained and continuing metamorphosis. To fully grasp the many levels of meaning that Sterne has wrought, the reader of Tristram Shandy must be agile and open to its implications. One of the problems radiating from the text is how to respond to the wise "fool;" like Jaques in As You Like It, who would adopt Touchstone the fool's "motley coat" (AYLI, II, vii, 42-45), or Juvenal, who acknowledges that "All the doings of mankind . . . form the motley subject of my 'book'" (Satires, I, line 86), the emblem of Tristram's work is "motly" (III, xxxvi, 268). What stance does the critic adopt to confront the irrepressible satirist and "fool" who claims and keeps our attention by prodding and provoking us and answers our questions but in so riddling a manner that, on occasion, we notice neither the riddle nor the answer? Given a text of this nature, any one interpreter's view, my own included, must necessarily be partial. One might even argue that an author who raises the question of whether Hume is equal, as a philosopher, to Locke by a word play on Hume's name and on the name of Hume's house is so perverse, he ought not to be understood. On the other hand, this is one of the reasons that the text is able to demonstrate that ways of conveying information and constructing meaning are as varied as the range of human ingenuity and limited only by our own preconceptions.

If the reader were to adopt flexible points of view to accommodate the changes of meaning concomitant with unstable and shifting contextual frames set up within the text, but frequently drawing on information both inside and outside the work, the variable word configurations in the novel would display themselves from the myriad of aspects embedded in the text. Friedrich Nietzsche, who considered Sterne "the most liberated spirit of his century! . . . in comparison with whom all others seem . . . boorishly direct," aptly defines Sterne's mode of composition as "the 'endless melody' . . . an artistic style in which the fixed form is constantly being broken up, transposed back into indefiniteness, so that it signifies one thing and at the same time another" (Nietzsche, Human All Too Human 238, cited in Iser, Laurence Sterne: Tristram Shandy 126).

Insight into the way Sterne manipulates key words and phrases enables us to perceive the transformations in emphasis that the novel undergoes once it becomes apparent that latent and displaced content rather than more transparent connections frequently define the major questions explored by the work and the writer's stance towards these issues. Melvyn New appears to be the first critic to have used the expression "key phrase" (Fla. Ed., Vol 2, Appendix Six, 943) in connection with Tristram Shandy. He also recognized and demonstrated

the care Sterne took to alter source texts slightly to cue the reader semantically to important words or phrases on which he would later depend to drive home a point or joke.⁵ Unfortunately, New did not extend his recognition of the presence of key words in relation to source texts to an identification of the similar process Sterne exploited to key unnamed, but nonetheless recognizable, facts, information, ideas, and texts throughout the novel.

A close examination of Sterne's use of key words and phrases reveals systematic strategies designed to prompt the reader to establish connections between

⁵For example, New notes that, with respect to the "Memoire" of the Doctors of the Sorbonne on the question of intrauterine baptism included in Tristram Shandy (I, xx, 65 et seq.), Sterne's text "is an almost verbatim transcription of the French text" but it is "the substantive changes made in the Deventer text that prove most interesting" (Fla. Ed., 2: 940 and 942). New catalogues seemingly minor alterations in the copy-text's reading to show how Sterne could "be sure his reader did not miss the repetition of the phrase" (942), constitute "the phrase exactly the same in four occurrences . . . [to] reinforce . . . the location of the infants" (943), and prepar[e] for his climax by forcing this key phrase into his reader's head [so that] [w]hen the joke finally breaks we are prepared for it" (943). Likewise, in Appendix Eight to The Florida Edition, Melvyn New and Norman Fry detail Sterne's changes in The Gentleman's Magazine version of "Ernulphus's Curse," arguably the copy-text which Sterne incorporated into Tristram Shandy (III, xi, 202-211) with some variants. New and Fry explain that, for instance, Sterne's change in The Gentleman's Magazine's translation of "heavenly host" to "heavenly armies" permits Toby's hobby-horsical interjection, "' Our armies swore terribly in *Flanders*:'" with the effect that the "introduction of the word 'armies' [is used] to

elements of the Western tradition and what is transpiring in Tristram Shandy; by this means Sterne also creates new sets of linguistic associations regarding facets of the work *inter se*, connections and associations which, when raised to a conscious level, enable the reader to bring forth meaning inherent in the novel. Through such appropriation of key words and phrases of the Western tradition Sterne has incorporated certain elements of thought as structural components with the result that the novel says and means what it does only when we recognize the intercalations. Observation of these features at the microscopic level can prevent misidentification at the macroscopic level of what the novel is "about." For example, the mythic paradigm that critics, with the exception of Sigurd Burckhardt and Erwin Wolff, have treated summarily but that is tested in Tristram Shandy is the myth of "The Fall and Its Consequences."⁶ The pervading iconography of the Fall that Burckhardt and Wolff detail is made comprehensible when it is considered in connection with Sterne's hitherto unremarked incorporation of Milton and Paradise Lost.

key the 'hobby-horse'" (Fla. ed. 2: 955).

⁶ See Sigurd Burckhardt, "Tristram Shandy's Law of Gravity," *ELH* 28 (1961): 70-88 and Erwin Wolff, "Falling and the Fall in Sterne's Tristram Shandy," Telling Stories: Studies in Honour of Ulrich Broich on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday. ed. Elmar Lehmann and Bernard Lenz (Amsterdam: B.R. Gruner, 1992) 97-108.

Through an understanding of the patterns of implications and inferences that Sterne has established in textually self-contextualizing his kaleidopoeic and mythopoeic work we are led to recognize the antagonism between the assumptions surrounding the myth of the Fall and man's resultant incapacity, particularly as they appear in Paradise Lost, and the assaults leveled on that myth by individual episodes in Tristram Shandy and by the work in its entirety. Moreover, no one has taken seriously the claim that Tristram Shandy "laid the corner stone" (VII, xxxv, 638) for the "Articles of Peace" of 1763⁷ that ended the Seven Years War, but in forming public opinion during 1760, 1761 and 1762 before the signing of the Treaty, the novel may well, in fact, have helped, at least temporarily, to stymie Pitt's ambitions and achieve peace.

Textual self-contextualization is not an idiosyncratic form or method unique to Sterne and Joyce: the theory, in fact, applies to the works of a number of other writers, including Aristophanes, Shakespeare and Samuel Beckett. However, the central focus of this study is the textual generation of meaning at a level other than literal, viz., inferential, ironic, metaphorical and allegorical, in Tristram Shandy, and

⁷ Ian Watt was apparently the first to recognize this statement as a reference to the Articles of Peace of 1763 (Watt 403).

the aims in treating this covert aspect of the work are both theoretical and thematic. In terms of theory, a foundation will be provided, through the concept of textual self-contextualization, for the explication of certain types of writings that contain within themselves the principles and clues to their own interpretation. The forms of textual self-contextualization will be related to the theory of metaphor proposed by Eva Feder Kittay and to the question of the interrelationships of sense, reference, and meaning in such a complex and highly self-conscious novel. An enquiry into Tristram Shandy grounded in this theoretical framework will permit a more accurate view of thematic emphases in the text and a greater understanding of Sterne's art as well as his didacticism. Such a study can also contribute to an understanding of mechanisms for the creation of metaphor and the role of reference in ascribing meaning.

The forms of textual self-contextualization, which are not mutually exclusive, include incorporation by direct or indirect reference, the paradigmatic story, and deliberate deconstruction of literal meaning. Incorporation by direct or indirect reference depends on explicit or implicit allusion--through the appropriation of key words or symbols, parodic representations, the use of foreign words and phrases, etymological and orthographical linkages, synonymy, *ad hoc* associations created by the author in the reader's mind,

literalizations of adages or representations of the acting-out of mandates or injunctions contained in the incorporated icon or text, etc.⁸ All these enable a text, through its own language, to site itself at the interstices of a broad range of philosophical, literary, theological, psychological and political issues chosen by the author. Bringing the idea or work to which reference is made into a symbiotic relation with the incorporating text requires more than a mere passing allusion. Instead, incorporation by reference depends on the fact that the text, idea, or notion alluded to is used structurally to advance the patterns of thought in the incorporating text.

With respect to writing, Tristram muses:

Shall we for ever make new books, as
apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring
only out of one vessel into another? Are we
for ever to be twisting, and untwisting the
same rope? for ever in the same track--for
ever at the same pace? Shall we be destined
to the days of eternity . . . to be shewing
the relicks of learning . . . without working
one--one single miracle with them? (V, i,

⁸See Jonathan Lamb, Sterne's Fiction and the Double Principle (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) for an analysis of Sterne's use of the performed pun.

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It is just such a "miracle" that Sterne himself has wrought through his incorporations of particular themes, factual situations, and the works of other writers. The systematic use of such a global form of self-contextualization enables the author to draw on ideas, thought and facts in a tradition to establish a pattern of affinities or disclaimers concerning prevalent modes of belief or conceptualization and to define the issues with which the text will concern itself. Tristram claims, when creating a narrative, the author will have

Accounts to reconcile:

Anecdotes to pick up:

Inscriptions to make out:

Stories to weave in:

Traditions to sift:

Personages to call upon:

Panygericks to paste up at this door:

Pasquinades at that;---

(I, xiv, 41).

Incorporation by direct or indirect reference permits the historicization of the work according to an intellectual and factual context determined by the writer and invests characters, ideas and issues with more universal significance. Through the incorporation of the ideas of certain literary antecedents and philosophers chosen by the author, a dialogue can be

established with the hypotheses and proposals of those who have most interested the author. As Tristram explains it, "when a man sits down to write a history . . . there are archives at every stage to be looked into, and rolls, records, documents and endless genealogies, which justice . . . calls him back to stay the reading of" (I, xiv, 41-42). While the critic or reader may want to situate the text in its own locale and historical period, textual self-contextualization wars with attempts to confine such works to their own physical and temporal framework. The parodic representation and indirect incorporation of John Milton and a number of his polemical prose works in Tristram Shandy are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 where I show how the incorporations comment on Milton's ideas and, at the same time, create the text that constitutes Tristram Shandy. Moreover, through this use of Milton and other incorporations, Sterne was able to submerge the genealogy of the Irish and the history of Ireland in the text. An identification of Walter and Trim with their Irish namesakes and/or offices, Walter Hely and the James Butlers ["his real name was *James Butler*," says Tristram of Trim (II, v, 108)], Earls of Ormond, is crucial to an understanding of what the novel is saying. Likewise, Tristram's family, which has "felt the turn of the wheel" (261) but which "rank'd very high in king

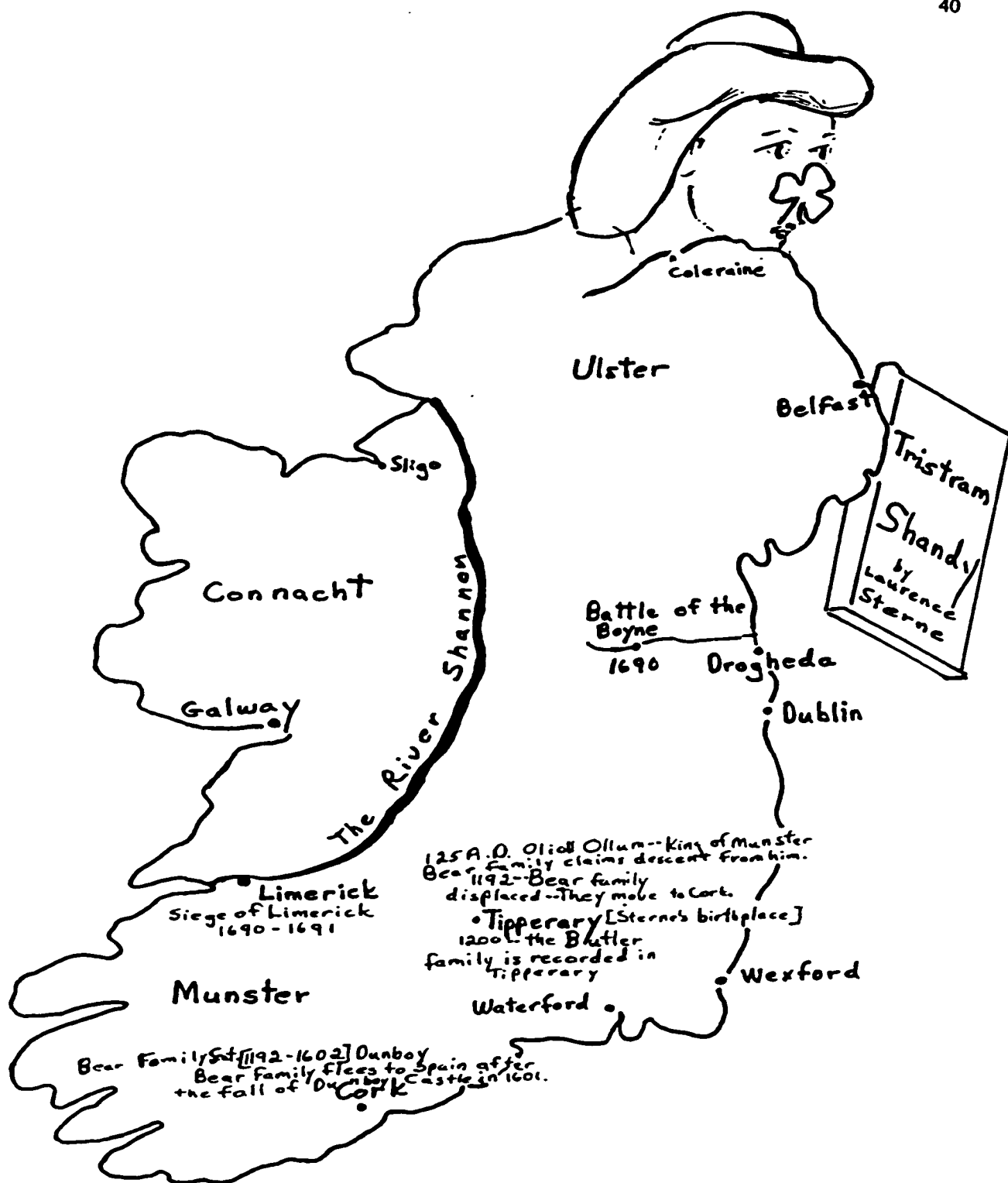
Harry the VIIIth's time . . . had never recovered the blow of my great grandfather's nose----It was an ace of clubs" (III, xxxiii, 261), says Tristram. Both the ace of clubs and the shamrock are "trefoils" or emblems taking the shape of a "cloverleaf," one such figure being used to represent a suit of cards and the other "used as the floral emblem of the Irish" (Webster's New World Dictionary). The shamrock that is Tristram's ancestry becomes, as Tristram says in the case of a French two sous piece, "as plain as [his] nose" (VII, xvi, 598), or as he later literalizes it in "Slawkenbergius' Tale," as plain as the nose on a man's face. Tristram, we recall, also chides himself for having forgot--as if "Nature had plaistered me up, and set me down naked upon the banks of the river Nile, without one" (V, xi, 438)--his "mother." While admitting that he has "cost [her] a great deal of trouble," Tristram protests, saying "you have left a crack in my back,--and here's a great piece fallen off here before,--and what must I do with this foot?----I shall never reach *England* with it" (V, xi, 438). In this instance, "my mother," at one level, is "Nature," and the remarkable disabilities with which Tristram accuses her of having afflicted him bear a striking resemblance to those of an anthromorphized map of Ireland with the Shannon river appearing as a "crack" in the back. Thus, Tristram's odd self-description in the

context of speaking about a country--England--and a topographical feature of the land--the Nile river--might prompt the reader to look at a map, and, in the configuration of Ireland, we find Tristram's infirmities made visible (See Illustration 1, p. 40).

Equally importantly, the interjection or incorporation by reference, directly or indirectly, of the ideas of other authors and thinkers or of pertinent themes or fact situations permits writers to speak across the ages to raise or re-raise questions of timeless import, garner support for their own perceptions, refute theories with which they disagree, strip away what they consider false and reinforce what is true, and allow the reader to share their vision of the tradition that has been handed down.

The paradigmatic story,⁹ another form of textual self-contextualization utilized by Sterne in Tristram

⁹ The paradigmatic story is similar to what Michael Riffaterre terms the subtext based on syllepsis [paronomasia] (See "Compulsory Reader Response" 56-62, 70-77, and Fictional Truth 53-78) but I contend, *contra* Riffaterre, that the paradigmatic story/sylleptic subtext does indeed constitute an extended metaphor; that what Riffaterre calls the sylleptic subtext need not be inter-textual but can redefine the work through ordinary language choices as long as there is an incompatible semantic field; and, that Riffaterre's substitute type of overdetermination or subtext (Fictional Truth 70-77) is essentially different from the paradigmatic story/sylleptic subtext because in the absence of a semantic nexus connecting two disparate fields the reader can never be certain "to what" in the main text the substitute or parallel subtext is analogized, with the result that the substitute subtext operates as a symbol or floating signifier that cannot



I am a Turk if I had not as much forgot my mother,
as if Nature had plaistered me up, and set me down
naked upon the banks of the river Nile, without one.
---Your most obedient servant, Madam--I've cost you
a great deal of trouble--I wish it may answer;--but you
have left a crack in my back,--and here's a great piece
fallen off here before,--and what must I do with this foot?
---I shall never reach *England* with it. (V, xi, 438)

Shandy, furnishes a "story," "tale," "conceit," or "macaronic paper" that constitutes an extended metaphor or allegory as a guide to how to construe what has been presented in the text, rather than, or in addition to, drawing on information outside the work to provide an interpretative standard against which to determine and resolve issues underlying the work in its entirety.

The paradigmatic story can be intra-textual or inter-textual. An intra-textual paradigmatic story is an embedded narrative that relies on ordinary language choices rather than intertextually significant key words to indicate, explicitly or implicitly, that the entire work is to be framed within or against the context of the information, theme, guides to interpretation, or constraints established in the paradigmatic story. Plato's "Allegory of the Cave," which comments on all other discussions concerning the acquisition and certainty of human knowledge in The Republic, is the most widely know example of the intra-textual paradigmatic story.

In contrast to Plato, Sterne relies primarily on the inter-textual paradigmatic story. Examples of this include the account of Trim's story of the "King of Bohemia and his Seven Castles," Tristram's story of his

be said to represent or parallel some determinate feature of the text in which it is inscribed. Theories of the symbol can account for the substitute subtext while theories of metaphor and allegory are necessary to explain the paradigmatic story/sylleptic subtext.

conversations with the ass and the Post Office Official, the story of the dinner for the Bishop's Visitation, and "Slawkenbergius's Tale" at the beginning of volume IV of Tristram Shandy. Interwoven in the tale, for example, are, among other themes, Milton's version of the Fall in Paradise Lost and his arguments for free speech in Areopagitica, the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the continuing controversy between Catholics and Protestants in England, and Christ's words to Saul regarding persecution: "Do not kick against the pricks" (Acts 26:14-15).

At issue in both Plato's and Sterne's paradigmatic stories are the groundings of knowledge: Plato in "The Allegory of the Cave" illustrates that fixed convictions about reality gleaned from unenlightened sensory perceptions can be based on no more than mere shadows of the truth. Conversely, Sterne in "Slawkenbergius's Tale" shows how information that is clear from the evidence of the senses and reason can be manipulated to induce strongly held views about chimeras, like Diego's nose or which religion God prefers, by the rhetoric, theorizing and rumor-mongering of those who do not have additional facts. Plato's caution in his paradigmatic story relates to sensory data which is available but unreliable and leads us to doubt the basis of our certainty; his point is that one should adopt the stance of the non-knower in continuously testing the validity

of received wisdom and the evidence of the senses. Sterne's caveat deals with situations in which we have partial grounds for our judgments about reality; he demonstrates that the credulous can always be led by the nose since they are unwilling to rely on information confronting their own senses or to tolerate doubt concerning phenomena about which no direct evidence is available.

The paradigmatic story depends for its efficacy on the implicit existence of recognizable semantic fields which Eva Feder Kittay explains "are comprised of terms which cover some specifiable conceptual ground and which bear certain relations of affinity and contrast to one another" (33-34). It is when the author draws on the vocabulary of a particular semantic field to create a story and then systematically breaches the boundaries of that semantic field in the same story to incorporate what Kittay calls an "incompatible" (70) semantic field that another level of meaning, attributable to the interjected semantic field, is produced. Thus, the generating device for creating another level of meaning or meanings is the introduction into one semantic field of a concatenation of words drawn from an alien semantic field.

In the case of the intra-textual paradigmatic story the alien or interpolated semantic field is comprised of words from the realm of ordinary language. What does

not appear to have been noted before in the literary realm is the existence of what could be called "key word content domains." The inter-textual paradigmatic story utilizes a unified system of key words or facts drawn from specific texts, fact situations or events and thus creates a "key word content domain," i.e., a particular referent or set of referents--text, theory, person, significant date, icon, etymology, orthographical connection or some combination of these--that can be identified. In connection with Slawkenbergius's Tale" in Tristram Shandy, for example, "dross," "silver," "ducats," "prick," "casket," "bleed," "scymetar" and "stoops" are key words associated with Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. Taken together, these key words constitute a reference to Shakespeare's text. To understand more fully Sterne's inter-textual paradigmatic story, familiarity with some of the issues in the play, i.e., the rejection of eloquence in the casket plot and the question of religious difference in the merchant plot, is necessary. Another set of key words in the novel constitutes a reference to William Pitt, Prime Minister of England when the first volumes of Tristram Shandy were being published: in the beginning of Tristram's story of uncle Toby's amours (Walter's "asses" or "passions") dedicated to Mr. ***, Tristram uses an "ailment in the foot," "a gladiator," a rejection of favorable peace terms, and water drinking

to create a reference to Pitt to whom this story is particularly dedicated. Knowledge of the referent and its associations and the assimilation of pertinent features of the referent in terms of their significance within the context of the incorporating story permit the ascription of another sense or level of meaning to the tale: a sense or level of meaning that depends on knowledge of the outside referent.¹⁰

¹⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, in "Discourse in the Novel," is particularly instructive on the question of the function of references, the issue of the extended digression, for which he cites Sterne as an example of the "extreme use . . . of this device" (374, n. 44), and on the need to discover, where indicated, the "second context" against which to judge what is occurring in a text. Bakhtin postulates that "We do not know, for instance, the functions performed [in the Sophistic novel] by the countless, highly various references that fill such novels: is it something else, perhaps prosaic (that is, such references *may* be double-voiced formulations)? Are pronouncements and maxims always directly intentional, semantically integral? Might they not frequently have an ironic or directly parodic character? Thus, where lengthy and abstract discussions serve a retarding function and interrupt the story (especially where pedantically proliferating discussions are hooked up with pretexts that are obviously arbitrary) . . . [we are] forc[ed] to suspect the presence of parodic stylization" (373-374).

¹¹ Mitchell Stephens rhetorically asks, "Why would someone want to 'read' . . . like that?" and responds by saying, "[i]n order to experience the impossibility of anyone writing or saying . . . something that is perfectly clear, the impossibility of constructing a theory or method of inquiry that will answer all questions or the impossibility of fully comprehending weighty matters, like death. Deconstruction . . . guards against the belief--a belief that has led to much violence--that the world is simple and can be known with certainty. It confronts us with the limits of what it is *possible* for human thought to accomplish" (New York

The third type of textual self-contextualization employed by Sterne is deliberate deconstruction. In his article "Jacques Derrida," Mitchell Stephens provides a succinct explanation of deconstruction. He says, "To deconstruct a text' . . . means to pick it apart, in search of ways in which it fails to make the points it seems to be trying to make" (New York Times 23 Jan. 1994, VI: 22). What Stephens posits of Derrida is equally true of Sterne: "he finds *too much* meaning lurking in the roots, etymologies, connotations and sounds of words. His readings [writings in Sterne's case] focus on these excesses of meaning and the ways the points we are trying to make inevitably get tangled up in them, leading to contradictions and misunderstandings" (24). The phenomenon of deconstruction is to be observed when the truth claims of a work or any of its constituents, including at the most fundamental level a particular word or words, are opposed by other truth claims or practices within the text.¹¹ One reductive but

Times 23 Jan. 1994, VI: 22).

heuristically valuable analogical model for deconstruction, if we recognize the fluidity of the constituents of the binary oppositions which are subject to constant rearrangement and reformulation in much the same way that the bits (words) on which the kaleidoscopic text depends to generate multiple meanings remain protean, is the Hegelian dialectic's thesis and antithesis: in a deconstructive reading, the "thesis" is represented by textual truth claims and the "antithesis" or "antitheses" are embodied in textual practices or assertions that contradict or undermine the announced truth claims. Such deconstruction is deliberate when the text is not seduced by its own rhetoric but instead foregrounds the paradoxes associated with deconstruction or uses them to involve the reader in whatever synthesis or reconciliation of viewpoints, if any, is to be made. Derrida's description of Walter Benjamin's Critique of Violence, in "Force of Law: The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority,'" ¹² is also true of Tristram Shandy: "this deconstruction is . . . the operation or rather the very

¹²In Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice, ed. Drucilla Cornell, Michel Rosenfeld and David Gray Carlson (New York and London: Routledge, 1992) 3-67. What Derrida posits as the danger for deconstruction is its very "possibility" (emphasis in original). If, according to Derrida, deconstruction were to become "an available set of rule-governed procedures, methods, accessible approaches" (30), then "the interest of deconstruction, [that is,] . . . a certain experience of the impossible" (30) would be at risk.

experience that this text . . . first does itself, by itself, on itself" (30).

Shakespeare contributes a gem-like example of deconstruction in The Merchant of Venice. In Shakespeare's comedy, the "casket plot" questions all eloquence as "the seeming truth which cunning times put on/ To entrap the wisest" (III, ii, 100-101) while the merchant plot relies on eloquence purportedly to prioritize mercy over justice. The paradox thus foregrounded presents the viewer with the choice of accepting the truth claim of the casket plot--reject eloquence--while discounting the eloquence that supports Portia's solution to the merchant plot, or embracing the silver-tongued message of the merchant plot--"The quality of mercy is not strained;/ It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven/ Upon the place beneath" (IV, i, 182-184)--while ignoring the warning against just such eloquence contained in the casket plot; both cannot be accepted unequivocally or simultaneously. Sterne undertakes an analogous type of deconstruction throughout Tristram Shandy even going so far as to deconstruct the author's dedications to Mr. Pitt and Mr. ***.

In Myth and Metaphor Northrop Frye acknowledges our theoretical debt to deconstruction with respect to Finnegans Wake but his observations seem equally

applicable to texts such as The Merchant of Venice and Tristram Shandy:

It was perhaps not until Jacques Derrida and his 'deconstruction' techniques that the theory implied by *Finnegans Wake* really came into focus. The deconstructing critic tends to approach every text in the spirit in which Joyce approached the first drafts of his *Work in Progress* fragments. *Finnegans Wake* is a book in which practically every word provides, in addition to a surface meaning that may or may not be there, a great variety of 'supplements' providing a number of further aspects to the meaning. Deconstruction implies a concept not far removed from Freud's concept of the censor, the process of achieving meaning by excluding unacceptable meanings; and Joyce's dream language, while the activity of censorship is certainly recorded in it, escapes, to a very unusual degree, from the kind of psychological gaps that mental censorship leaves in narrative-directed writing. (360-361)

Derrida himself has pointed out that deconstruction is not something new (NYT, VI: 25). What Derrida succeeded in doing was naming the phenomenon of deconstruction in much the same way that Freud

identified rather than created the existence of the unconscious.¹³

With respect to Tristram Shandy, I shall maintain that "deconstruction" is a particularly apt way of characterizing what Sterne attempts to accomplish in the case of the Miltonic concept of "The Fall" as it is presented in Paradise Lost; his endeavor to demythologize the glories of war, particularly William and Anne's wars and the war on the continent carried beyond any reasonable measure after 1759 by Pitt; as well as the strategy Sterne adopts to destabilize received meaning from the level of the word, whether the word be "names," "noses," or "God," to the level of the concepts that the words presumably represent: concepts ordinarily received as determinate but metamorphosed in Tristram Shandy to exhibit their multiplicity, and, in some cases, indeterminacy.

Sterne attributed to Divine Providence a capacity for "unostentatious organization undreamed of by our generals"; that Sterne partook of a measure of this capacity is what my theoretical framework is intended to demonstrate. In "On Criticism, Hermeneutics, Method," Antonius Guillelmus Amo observed that:

¹³ Mitchell Stephens of The New York Times interviewed Jaques Derrida for an article which appeared on January 23, 1994 (NYT, VI: 25).

'The art of interpretation or hermeneutics is the *habitus* of the contemplative intellect of probing into the sense of a somewhat special text by using logical rules and suitable means.' (cited in Gates, Figures in Black 3)

In the case of Tristram Shandy, available theories in their present form have not proven commensurate to the task of supplying "logical rules and suitable means" to "inquire into the true and false reading" (Amo in Gates 3), and the consequence is that a novel, which, taken together with Sterne's other writings, Thomas Jefferson described as "the best course of morality that ever was written" (Howes, Sterne: The Critical Heritage 216), is too frequently abandoned by readers today since parts of it can appear frivolous, prurient or, worst of all, incomprehensible. It is because the organizing elements of Sterne's text are insufficiently understood or thought to be non-existent that any attempt to relate parts to the whole often appears futile. The framework for analysis developed herein is meant to fill the theoretical vacuum surrounding textually self-contextualized works in order to furnish the exegetical tools that can constitute a theoretical objective correlative to complex and kaleidoscopic writings such as Tristram Shandy.

Chapter II Metaphor, Macaronic Writing, Conceits, Key Words, Analytical Hypotheses, Reference, and Meaning

Within the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter I, representative episodes in Tristram Shandy show how the characteristic use of key words results, in certain instances, in highly complex metaphors that convey meaning at a level other than the literal. The working definition of metaphor relies on Eva Feder Kittay's identification, in Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure, of the role of context and semantic fields in the generation of metaphor, and can be stated as follows: a metaphor is an expression relying on terms drawn from two or more "semantic fields" (Kittay 33) or contexts, which requires processing [coordinating the analogous field and/or contexts] to create and ascribe meaning.¹⁴ Likewise, Kittay's insights and methodology with respect to

¹⁴This definition presupposes that: 1. all metaphors, even naming metaphors, are based on analogy, including those cases in which we are certain of only two of the terms of the analogy; 2. figurative similes are metaphors (Kittay 18-19). If an element of a text conforms to the definition of metaphor, the presence or absence of the words "like" or "as" should not transmogrify the essential nature of the textual entity; and, 3. motives (for example, naming) and effects (liveliness, surprise, etc.) of metaphor do not appear to be essential to a definition of metaphor but seem rather to pertain to a typology of metaphor after a definition has been established.

defining and interpreting metaphor have a bearing on both meaning and reference.

Kittay proposes "*a relational theory of meaning in which contextual features are constitutive of meaning*" (97). She rightly observes that the recognition of language as metaphorical can only occur "by virtue of linguistic and contextual conditions that require that we interpret it differently from its surrounding discourse" (40). Kittay argues that the rules of discourse govern interpretation and that these rules give rise to first and second order meanings depending on the characteristics of the utterance.

The first order meaning of a combination of words is obtained from the first order meaning of its elements within a given context or "*as they are understood within a default frame of background default assumptions*" (144). It is when the reader or hearer perceives that the first order meaning is unavailable or inappropriate or inadequate in the context that second order meaning is sought (144). To this we can add that second order interpretation also seems to be required when the speaker or writer provides cues that a second order meaning is intended. These cues, in Sterne's case, take a number of forms, including what appear to be factual mistakes, such as the error in the date of Dryden's book, the etymological error in the spelling of "disasterous" or the inaccurate number of asterisks in

Pitt's name in the final dedication, viz., Mr. ***; misquotation, for example, the substitution of nine-pin alleys for houses in the passage from Locke; use of the same adjectival modifier to link two opposites or adversaries; or, an overt or implicit statement by the author or narrator that a "breech" is taking place, and the "breech," for the writer and reader, is the breech in semantic field boundaries that is made when words are to be read, not only consonant with their first order meaning in the semantic field in the story in question to give the sense of that story, but also in connection with the other semantic fields with which they have been or could be associated in any other part of the novel or in life to recognize cued second order meaning.

Sterne provides a paradigmatic story delineating the operation of this phenomenon in his account of the narrator's meeting with the ass and the French Post Office Official, and the Articles of Peace resulting therefrom. Tristram has been communing with the ass when the beast is unexpectedly bastinadoed by "a person coming in" (VII, xxxii, 632). At this point, the osier, or flexible willow reed, in "the contexture of the ass's pannier" (VII, xxxii, 632)¹⁵ seized Tristram's

¹⁵It is important to note in connection with "osier" that Daedalus, the legendary Greek artist who designed the labyrinth for King Minos, wove wings of osier to get out of the labyrinth in which he and Icarus had become trapped. See Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist, "A sense

"breeches pocket [the repository of his remarks, viz., Tristram Shandy, which he has been writing] . . . and rent it in the most disastereous direction you can imagine" (632).¹⁶ Tristram cries, "Out upon it," originally to the ass that has just been bastinadoed¹⁹ but "the interjection was equivocal----and . . . wrong placed too" (632), since it could equally apply to Tristram's "breeches pocket" (632) and its contents, whether "the paper" or Tristram's "***."¹⁷ The appropriate placement of the interjection, Tristram says, he will leave to the "The REVIEWERS of [His] BREECHES" whom he "has brought . . . along" (632) with him, i.e., his readers.

At one level, the contents of the pocket that are "OUT" are the clues given in this story to the threads

of fear of the unknown moved in the heart of his weariness, a fear of symbols and portents, of the hawklike man whose name he bore [Daedalus] soaring out of his captivity on osierwoven wings, of Thoth [Hermes Trismagistus], the god of writers, writing with a reed upon a tablet and bearing on his narrow ibis head the cusped moon" (The Portable Joyce 494).

¹⁶ It is not inadvertent that this strike ("bastinado") is in Spanish since Mr. *** [Pitt] was finally "out" as Prime Minister in 1761 after he advocated war with Spain before the Spanish had offered any provocation (Lecky, England III: 36-37).

¹⁷ The pocket in question appears to have been a back pocket: Tristram laments that the officials have first rendered him bare-----, and then taxed him, whereas it would have been better to have taxed him and then left him "bare a--'d after" (VII, xxxv, 636-637).

of several of the semantic fields established and set out throughout the novel and here exposed. Tristram has advised us that when we dissect his brain, viz., Tristram Shandy, we will find a "thread running through the whole **contexture**" so that you "cannot cut out so much as an ** but it will be seen or felt" (VI, xxxiii, 558). Recalling the sequence of events in this episode we find: 1. Tristram meets an ass, the only animal with whom he can "commune forever" (VII, xxxii, 631), and the prologemenon to this encounter centers on the theme of "conversation," "discourse," and "dialogue" (630). 2. Tristram offers the ass a **macaroon** [a sweet] from the "paper" of **macaroons** ["macaronic"--a type of writing utilizing two or more languages] he has just pulled out of his pocket. 3. The ass eats the macaroons, and has digested the contents of the pocket [the **paper of remarks** and/or the **paper of macaroons**]. 4. He regrets that there was more of curiosity than benevolence in the "**conceit**" [an elaborate metaphor] of giving the ass the macaroon. 5. The osier, from the "**contexture**" of the ass's pannier [bread basket or baggage holder, perhaps including the reader's referential and semantic baggage]¹⁸ rips Tristram's

¹⁸ In Animadversions (1641), Milton accused the Bishops of figuratively carrying too much "luggage," viz., "Yor are not arm'd . . . your are not dieted, nor your loynes girt for spirituall valour, and Christian warfare, the **luggage** is too great that followes your camp" (Milton I: 665-666)

pocket where the "papers of mine" (639) containing his remarks had been stored. 6. The ass is **bastinadoed** [physically struck or verbally abused]¹⁹ by someone coming in. 7. "Out Upon It, he cries," and foregrounds the "equivocal" nature of this interjection and its inappropriate placement. 8. Our narrator advises us that he will leave it to the "Reviewers of His Breeches" [his readers whom he has "brought . . . along with [him]"]²⁰ whether this interjection should have been placed when the ass was struck [verbally or physically] or after his own breeches were rent, i.e., if it is

¹⁹In The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon Touching Duells (London 1614) (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo P, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum [facsimile edition] 1968) in discussing exacerbating circumstances relating to injuries to the person, Bacon writes:

And if there be extraordinary circumstances of **despight and contumely**, as in case of libells and **bastanadoes**, and the like, this Court taketh them in hand and punisheth them exemplarily (20).

This seems to indicate that "bastanadoes" can consist of verbal insults as well as corporeal beatings.

²⁰We recall that Tristram writes "one half full and the other half **fasting**." Isaiah 58, entitled "True Fasting," declares that **true fasting** is "releasing those bound unjustly, untying the thongs of the yoke; /Setting free the oppressed, breaking every yoke; /Sharing your bread with the hungry, sheltering the oppressed and the homeless;" (38:6-7). One who engages in true fasting, according to the account in Isaiah (58:12), will be called "'Repairer of the **BREACH**.'" "The Reviewers of [His] Breeches" might well call Sterne "Repairer of the Breaches" insofar as he seems to be following the biblical injunction once we understand what he is saying.

placed at the time of the bastinadoing, then it is the ass (animal) that is physically out or the insult to the ass [reader or "Mr. ***"] that is out [obvious], but if it is inserted after the osier from the contexture of the ass's basket rends his breeches then the contents of his pocket are out [evident]: his posterior or his paper of macaroons [linguistic cues to the languages involved in creating the macaronic conceit] or his remarks [the pages of Tristram Shandy which he has been carrying in his pocket and the clues to the novel's overall interpretation embedded in this section]. 9. Tristram meets the Post Office official who is analogized to the ass in terms of his inability to understand "IRONY." 10. Tristram reads the "printed paper" (637) that the official gives him, comments that the "prolegomenon" is "pithy" (637) and then "read[s] on" (639). 11. Tristram attributes the peace with the French [which William Pitt vigorously opposed] to Tristram Shandy and says that Tristram Shandy is to blame if it is not acceptable. 12. Tristram looks in his pocket for his paper so he can immediately record his remarks to the official but discovers that his "remarks were stolen" (638) and requests of the Post Office representative "pray did I drop any remarks as I stood beside you?" (638). Readers are by now aware of the many remarks Tristram has dropped, figuratively and literally, to his unfortunate interlocutor, and as the "Reviewers" of our

narrator's "breeches" we note that there are several semantic fields in which the words of this story are operative. Among the significant semantic fields that converge in this episode are: war/peace/breaches; reader/ass/writer/conversation /breaches; and Mr. *** [Pitt]/ Post Office/reader/ass/peace/war.

At this juncture our primary interest is in words attributable to the semantic fields of communication, literature and writing; we find the words: "communing," "conversation," "discourse," "paper," "remarks," a "macaroon" [piece of macaronic writing], "a paper of 'em [macaroons]," a "conceit," "bastinado" [a verbal insult], "reviewers," "remarks," "a printed paper," "read," "prolegomenon," "irony," Tristram Shandy, and "contexture." Our narrator has earlier informed us that: "Writing, when properly managed, (as you may be sure I think mine is) is but a different name for conversation . . . " (II, xi, 125).

The conversation with the ass in this story then, in the sense established earlier in the novel, thus becomes for the writer, the "writing" of Tristram Shandy, and, on the part of the reader, the reading of the papers the writer is producing. In this episode the branch from the **contexture** of the ass's baggage has encountered the pocket containing the remarks constituting this section of Tristram Shandy. The linguistic thread running through the **contexture** of

Tristram's brain, of which we cannot so much as "cut out an [asterisk] but it is seen or felt," thus is brought up short by something from the **contexture** of his reader's baggage (the contexture of the world).

Tristram has created associations of ideas that converge at this juncture: there was established a connection between his own brain [to which the novel is linked as a brain child] and the ass's baggage through the use of the word "contexture" to describe the constitution of both. An association of ideas concomitantly ties writing to conversation since they are explicitly identified as synonymyous in Tristram's mind. When we dissect Tristram's **brain** we have been told we will find a large uneven thread running through the web; we are thus dealing with a metaphor involving weaving, as was the case with the basket on the ass's back. Unweaving the threads from the textual "web" of Tristram Shandy and the contexture of our own pannier/baggage/luggage, we find elements of the macaronic writing we have digested. The two or more languages on which the macaronic writing depends are the different semantic fields to which words in the story belong and which we, as readers, are cued by Sterne to recognize. What Tristram is indicating is that the novel, at this point, is a paper of macaroons--macaronic writing--which he is feeding to the ass--his readers, including "Mr. ***"--and that we might find some of

his remarks to be Art to Choke, which, like the ass with his artichoke, we find difficult to swallow. The different semantic fields to which even one word can belong make possible the metaphors grounded in wit, with its word play, upon which Sterne, in this instance, primarily depends to create second order meaning for the writing/reading metaphor.

It is frequently difficult, however, to recognize such wit and to see its more serious purport; hence, it is on the question of the relationship of wit and judgement, "with every thing which usually goes along with them,-----such as memory, fancy, genius, eloquence, quick parts and what not," (III, xx, 228) that Tristram claims that even "the great Locke, who was seldom outwitted by false sounds,----was nevertheless bubbled" (III, xx, 237). Sterne leads us on a merry chase through his remarks where "plain stories" are not "plain," simple or obvious stories but rather stories relating to topological features of the land (VII, xliii, 648) and where "plain" meaning is not the simple or obvious meaning but rather the meaning that depends on our use of judgment and a recognition of his wit and its topical referentiality. One of the problems in interpreting the text is there are insufficient cues to the reader to prompt second order interpretation despite Tristram's injunction to Madam to "read over" the text to draw the necessary inferences when he gives the

requisite information "as plain as words by direct inference could tell such a thing" (I, xx, 64).

It is, however, not only because Sterne uses language in a witty way not consonant with our expectations as readers, and because we, as readers, do not accommodate our methodology or analytical hypotheses to Sterne's directions regarding how to read his work that many of both the global and particular points the novel is making have remained as unexplored as the planet Mars. Even more significant seems to be the loss of what Bakhtin calls the "second context": the people, places, events, ideas and trends relevant to Sterne, and to which what seem to us to be mere grammatical constituents, words without their referential baggage, in fact, refer. The cues to the numerous references to history and its issues, for example, the accession of William III and flight of James II, and to contemporary personages and events, like William Pitt--associated with the Post Office as his source of patronage--and the Seven Years War, that Sterne is giving on almost every page of the novel have lost their ability, with the passage of time and fading of the events from memory, to insinuate the second order meaning to be found in connection with them.

Kittay points out that the second order meaning involved in metaphor relies on the fact that "a single label, that is, an orthographic or phonetic sequence,

simultaneously carries two conceptual contents
 [which] come from two distinct semantic fields" (149)
 or, alternatively, "the relations of contrast and
 affinity from one semantic field are mapped on to a
 distinct content domain" (149). Sterne's technique
 permits him to associate multiple conceptual concepts
 within "a single label" or even fact situation, but if
 we fail to follow his frequent injunction to "read over"
 his text these multiple concepts are never apparent.

The extension of the theory of textual self-
 contextualization involving key words to the text
 of a literary work such as Tristram Shandy is
 not as great a step as it might appear; in
 literary research key words are already used in a
 limited way with respect to titles and subject matter.
 Moreover, the concept of key words as applied to the
 body of texts is one that has long been utilized in
 legal research to locate a line of cases that contains a
 significant word, phrase, or combination of words which
 are considered to define and comment on a particular
 issue. The expansion of this method to complex literary
 texts that, like legal decisions, consciously and
 intentionally refer to other texts or facts to support
 or to distinguish themselves does not seem unwarranted.
 unwarranted step.

Somewhat complicating the task of engaging in key
 word analyses in the case of literary texts is the fact

that modes of reference in literature are, in some cases, for artistic reasons or considerations of tact, or because of the prospect of censorship or retaliation by dominant political, cultural or religious groups or individuals, far less overt than the more clear-cut methods of referring in court holdings. The editors of A Practical Guide to Legal Writing and Legal Method²¹

point out:

The 'plain meaning' rule is a keystone of statutory construction. Courts presume that words and phrases in a statute have a meaning common to drafter and reader alike and that reasonable persons would not disagree over what the meaning is. Courts will therefore not stretch the meaning of a term or phrase beyond its ordinary understanding. Courts also assume that statutory drafters have followed commonly accepted rules of grammar and punctuation. (87)

This "plain meaning" formula is antithetical to any endeavor to follow the play of language (including multiple, arcane, and associational hypotheses concerning word meaning and any conceivable associations at the level of ideas, etymological or orthographical references, as well as violations of grammar and

²¹Ed. John Denbach, Richard Singleton II, Cathleen Wharton and Joan Ruhtenberg. Littleton, Colorado:

punctuation rules) when, as directed, we "read over and make wise reflections" as we attempt to construe the meanings of the kaleidoscopic text. Likewise, the employment of key words in legal reasoning does not ordinarily involve the crossing of semantic field boundaries and the resultant creation of metaphor, whereas this is frequently the case when key words are incorporated into a literary text.²²

In "The Poetics of Legal Interpretation," in Interpreting Law and Literature: A Hermeneutic Reader, Jessica Land provides an excellent analysis of the significance of authorial intention in interpreting texts, whether legal or literary (in Levinson and Mailloux, 269-284).²³ In arguing against Ronald Dworkin's attempt to undermine intentionalist interpretation, Land points out that "all interpretation involves the explication of the intention of the text's

Rothman, 1994.

²² But see, FCC v. Pacifica, 438 U.S. 726, a case involving a complaint granted by the FCC for broadcasting "indecent but not obscene" speech against Pacifica radio station for airing a monologue, George Carlin's "Filthy Words," as part of a program on language. In confirming the right of the FCC to take action against such broadcasting the Supreme Court stated: "As Mr. Justice Sutherland wrote, a 'nuisance may be merely a right thing in the wrong place--like a pig in the parlor instead of the barnyard' We simply hold that when the Commission finds that a pig has entered the parlor, the exercise of its regulatory power does not depend on proof that the pig is obscene."

²³ See also, Ronald Dworkin, "How Law Is Like Literature" in A Matter of Principle, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985.

author, whose 'intention to mean' *x* or *y* is embodied in the text. The very thing that makes a text a text . . . is the fact that an author or authors, meaning something by the words, wrote them down" (276). Land rightly emphasizes that

Reading is the process of delineating the reach of the associative net that words cast out into the language. But only the belief that marks on a page stand for the intention of their author to use words in precisely the way that that author would use them--to refer to that context in precisely that way--tells an interpreter how to cast the net. Hence, contextuality is constructed around, and then insinuates meaning back into, texts. . . . The author, then, embodies the idea of the integrated identity that informs the text. (280).

How to deal systematically with these differences in the ways and effects of referring in literature is one of the issues explored in this study.

An allied issue which the complexity of Sterne's metaphors in Tristram Shandy raises is that of the relation of sense and reference to meaning--a problem that is currently fueling much debate among philosophers

of language²⁴ and beginning to be addressed by literary interpreters. With regard to the question of reference, the critic Anna Whiteside deprecates the absence of any "overall theory of referring in literature," and observes that philosophers and linguists who have considered the question of reference in "literary discourse . . . are more interested in accounting for the fact that literary texts can indeed refer . . . than in discussing the specifics of literary referring . . . [including], the ways in which it functions and how these affect interpretation" ("Theories of Reference" in On Referring in Literature 176). Whiteside crystallizes the issue when she contends that "surely, to claim to discuss the meaning or meanings of this or that text, as most of us do at some time or other, is necessarily to imply the whole question of reference" (176).

By exhibiting some of the ways that Sterne spawns meaning through variable unique, multiple, and keyword references we can show at least certain cases where knowledge of the referent is essential to ascriptions of meaning. Since the sense of what is said in terms of "first-order meaning" in Tristram Shandy is frequently different from the sense associated with "second-order meaning" (Kittay, Metaphor 42), it is possible that some

²⁴See, for example, the collection of essays in Meaning and Reference, ed. A.W. Moore (Oxford and New York:

of Sterne's inter-textual metaphors, which depend on knowledge of an outside referent, can provide counter-examples to philosophers like Donald Davidson, who claim that sense and meaning can be independent of reference.²⁵ To posit that meaning can be severed from reference is to miss the integrated meaning of a text such as Tristram Shandy which produces entirely different senses and meanings once references are ascertained and examined. One conclusion that becomes obvious from Sterne's examples is that, at least in some cases, knowledge of the referent must occur prior to or simultaneously with understanding of second order meaning.

Moreover, if language is viewed as a game with certain rules, as Wittgenstein suggests, then determining the rules and their possible variations becomes a task of the first urgency if we are to ascertain meaning. Wittgenstein asserts that the "connection between 'language and reality' is made by definitions of words, and these belong to grammar, so that language remains self-contained and autonomous" (Philosophical Grammar 97), but a close examination of Tristram Shandy indicates that this may not always be

Oxford UP, 1993).

²⁵ See Donald Davidson, "Reality without Reference," Reference, Truth and Reality, ed. Mark Platts (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980) 131-140.

the case; sense and meaning, in Sterne's text, are frequently dependent on knowledge of a unique referent. More apt seems to be Wittgenstein's claim that "a reason can only be given within a game. The links of the chain of reasons come to an end, at the boundary of the game" (Philosophical Grammar 96-97). In the "self-contained and autonomous" games of language a certain logic is operative; sense and rationality are possible within but not beyond the limits of the language game, but "real world" information is frequently crucial to the operation of the logic of the game. The rules of the language game that constitutes the text of Tristram Shandy can, after adequate articulation, shed light on our understanding of the practices of the more general game of language. It seems that in some cases the language game depends to an extent on knowledge of the "content" of reality, for example, that Pitt had a foot ailment, and this knowledge, in turn, relates to reference and ultimately to meaning, viz., there are more elements than are found in a dictionary that contribute to meaning, if not to first order sense.

Similarly, the problem of radical translation set up by Williard Van Ormond Quine in Word and Object is basically akin to that encountered in interpreting Tristram Shandy so that the theory of "analytical hypotheses" Quine's postulates in connection with

radical translation could be equally useful in the intralinguistic case as well. Although Quine posits the situation of different translators attempting to translate a completely foreign language with no known cognates, the rules developed for deciphering and understanding such a language are little different from the analogous endeavor in the case of Sterne's novel. Beyond the case of observation sentences, where the reactions of present observers can be scrutinized, Quine shows that translating from the foreign language and producing a translation manual from which other non-observational sentences could be understood or derived would require the translator to develop and rely on analytical hypotheses. The interpretation of a text such as Tristram Shandy, in which second order meaning is frequently more significant than first order meaning, also requires the formulation of analytical hypotheses.

In the Post Office episode, Tristram says he took out "a paper of macaroons" to give to the ass, raising the issue of macaronic elements in what he is feeding his readers in the paper that constitutes the novel. Tristram is treating metaphor or allegory in this intralinguistic instance as a case involving two languages. The word "macaroon" itself becomes one of those single labels that, in Kittay's words, "carries two conceptual contents [which] come from two distinct semantic fields" (149). One of the semantic fields is that of foods and the

other is that of writing. Likewise "artichoke" is a food but sounds like "art to choke" to the alert listener. In a novel rife with representations of semantic field breaches and consequent misunderstandings --Walter Shandy's comment to Toby and the rejoinder of Toby illustrate the problem: "'Tis a pity . . . that truth can only be on one side . . . considering what ingenuity these learned men have all shewn in their solutions of noses.----Can noses be dissolved? replied my uncle Toby (III, xli, 282)--the reader plays the part of the naive Toby if s/he does not realize that "the conceit" [elaborate metaphor], in which Tristram claims there was more of "pleasantry . . . in seeing how an ass would eat a macaroon" than "benevolence in giving him one" (VII, xxxii, 632), relates both to the ass in the story eating the macaroon and to us and William Pitt as readers being fed the macaronic writing that constitutes this section of Tristram Shandy. The literal ass is eating the "paper" of macaroons that Tristram is feeding him while the reader is attempting to digest the "conceits" or "paper of macaroons" that makes up the story of the ass and the Post Office agent.

This leads to an inquiry into exactly which elements of the text constitute the first and second languages that are necessary to macaronic writing. To interpret this section of Tristram Shandy the reader must devise analytical hypotheses if any meaning, other than the

literal, is to become available. We recall that as a prelude to the disquisition on "Bears" and auxiliaries, Walter first contrasts the use of metaphor and that of auxiliaries by contending:

The highest stretch of improvement a single word is capable of, is a high metaphor but when the mind has done with it--there is an end,--the mind and the idea are at rest,--until a second idea enters;----and so on.

Now the use of the Auxiliaries is, at once to set the soul a going by herself upon the materials as they are brought her; and by the versability of this great engine, round which they are twisted, to open new tracks of enquiry, and make every idea engender millions. (V, xlii, 485)

Walter's analysis provides the reader with the theoretical underpinnings of Sterne's own methodology in creating the metaphors upon which the kaleidoscopic text depends to complicate and multiply meanings. To put it simply: the metaphors that Sterne creates rely not only on the disparate meanings of individual words but also on the associational references that are recognized when the reader "twist[s]" the "materials as they are brought" to the mind by asking hypothetical questions in order "to open new tracks of enquiry . . ." (V, xlii,

485). When the hypothetical questions that the reader posits supply answers that render transparent aspects of the text which had been opaque then analytical hypotheses become available which can be utilized to further uncover and clarify meaning.

With respect to the novel, we are guided by authorial cues indicating the need to decode or unweave what has been written, just as there would presumably be speaker cues important in the analogous development of analytical hypotheses for radical translation. Quine points out that, since each translator would generate different analytical hypotheses, these might be so varied that the translation manuals which are produced would yield entirely different translations of the same sentence from the native language. Quine claims that we would then have no way of knowing which of the translations was correct. From this, Quine argues that reference is inscrutable and meaning is indeterminate in the case of radical translation. With respect to Tristram Shandy, however, different analytical hypotheses do indeed produce incompatible meanings for the same text. If we interpret the language as though it were contained in a statute where the "plain" meaning is some meaning already "common to drafter and reader alike" (Legal Writing 87), we get an entirely different interpretation from that yielded when we follow Sterne's cues to seek second order interpretation. What a study of these

instances demonstrates is that not all meanings are equally valid: certain provisional or earlier meanings can be rejected; they are preliminary stages and we are expected to discount them when we arrive at the next level of meaning. This indicates that the process of determining meaning, like the process of arriving at scientific truth, is never, even in what would ordinarily be considered the intralinguistic case, quite complete. To say that radical translation and ordinary interpretation are both provisional, that they rest on the best available evidence at any particular time, and that they are subject to further verification by empirical tests and new analytical hypotheses as they are refined, need not, however, force us to the conclusion that reference is inscrutable and meaning indeterminate. Translation manuals that yield different translations for the same native sentence would be a cue indicating that one or the other is mistaken and that further investigation is required. Quine asserts that in such cases there would be no way to verify which of the translations, if any, were correct. Certainly the native speakers should, if it is a case of a living language, be able, by answering questions which would exclude one or more of the translations, to give some indication as to which of the translations is appropriate.

The problem in the case of both radical translation and interpretation arises when what the speaker/author means is not the same as what the hearer/translator/reader understands, because of a lack of information necessary for conceptualization or insufficient experience with a referent and its characteristics or inadequate knowledge of its associations in the speaker's mind, and then this misalignment becomes evident. The rules of reason, viz., the principles of non-contradiction and maximizing coherence, are the mechanisms that permit us to recognize and acknowledge a lack of certitude in such circumstances.

The premise in this study is that we use the same means for correction and revision of our understanding in interpretation as in translation. To maximize coherence, where a coherent account is apparently intended, our paradigms or models in both cases must keep altering to account for as many elements as possible and to accomplish an entire revision of the paradigm when a barrage of new insights shows the old paradigm to be inadequate. Quine's point is that reference, meaning, and truth are relativized to a system based on analytical hypotheses. The task of those who deal with such systems relating words *inter se* and words to the world then becomes one of defining the parameters of the system, exposing the hypotheses upon which interpretation, translation and truth conditions

are based, and saying how the system in question relates to the world.

Quine apparently thinks that such an endeavor is unnecessary in the intralinguistic case, but the widely disparate interpretations of the text of Tristram Shandy, as well as the numerous instances within the novel where Sterne demonstrates misconstruals of ordinary language because of the different backgrounds and interests of those who attempt to communicate, indicate otherwise. It is evident that one impasse centers on the definition of "meaning." Is meaning what a speaker/writer intends to convey by uttering a certain concatenation of words? Is it what is translated or understood [by a competent speaker of the language], or is it both? Were one to define meaning as what a speaker/writer intends to convey, then for the speaker/writer at least reference is not inscrutable nor meaning indeterminate. It is on the reception or hearer/translator side that any inscrutability or indeterminacy arises. It is not language itself that is indeterminate but language use that gives rise to uncertainty. What Quine says of analytical hypotheses is that they are not right or wrong but they are rather a method for extrapolating from the known to the unknown (78). More than one such method or set of analytical hypotheses, he argues, may work to explain the parts of the system to which it applies, but the differing

methods may yield conflicting translations, and we might add interpretations, for identical sentences (78). Hence, meanings derived for individual sentences within any one such system cannot be thought to be valid except within the context of that system (78). This leads Quine to the further conclusion that the objective reference of individual terms in radically different languages cannot be compared (79). On empirical grounds Quine distinguishes between the cases of translation and the analogous situation involving a shared language acquired uniquely by each individual; he maintains that, when there is a shared linguistic background, semantic indeterminacy is not a problem: "if two speakers match in all dispositions to verbal behavior there is no sense in imagining semantic differences between them It is [in] the interlinguistic case . . . that semantic indeterminacy makes clear empirical sense" (79). It is because native speakers work within the same system of language, says Quine, that "the parameters of truth stay conveniently fixed most of the time. Not so the analytical hypotheses that constitute the parameter of translation" (76) because these hypotheses can differ to produce incompatible translations.

Quine remarks that the actual situation borders on "visibility when the sentences concerned are extremely theoretical" and asks "who would undertake to translate

'Neutrinos lack mass' into the jungle language?" (76). In the first place, we should ask how a meaning that is determinate when the utterance is spoken by one English speaker to another can become indeterminate when said by an English speaker to a person speaking the jungle language. This is locating meaning on the reception side, and the conclusion that meaning depends on the hearer's understanding of the utterance is questionable. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that an English speaker will "understand" the statement.²⁶ Whether two persons, one a non-physicist speaker of English and the other a native of a radically different language, would understand either the English statement or the native translation of the assertion "Neutrinos lack mass" would depend on the accompanying explanation. Analogizing neutrinos to wind or breath or a type of storm in terms of energy and weight might be equally effective or ineffective in conveying the concept to the English or native speaking person depending on the his/her interest in such abstruse entities.

The entire process of radical translation or interpretation of any complex utterance or text is actually little different from the framework for

²⁶We might also ask for an example of a concept that would be analogously difficult to translate from the jungle language since the point of view Quine adopts is, for the most part, that of the English speaker attempting to translate "jungle language."

establishing the data of science that Quine so skilfully explains in From a Logical Point of View, where he claims that the body of human knowledge "is a man-made fabric which impinges on experience only along the edges" (42). The sum of human knowledge and beliefs "is like a field of force whose boundary conditions are experience" (42). At the center, where there is minimal contact with the world, the givens of science and knowledge will change little. At the periphery, however, it is to be expected that the frequent interactions of the data of knowledge and exigencies of empirical reality will necessitate modifications in our understanding and conclusions. Drastic revision at the borders of knowledge could foreseeably require modifications throughout the entire system of knowledge--even at its center (42). Quine's insights emphasize the systemic or paradigm building aspects involved in linguistically and conceptually forming manageable, integrated world views in science and other spheres where it is important for humans to organize their knowledge.

What Quine accomplishes through his exploration of disparate readings in the case of radical translation is to demonstrate a problem, not otherwise readily apparent, that occurs in most uses of language. Throughout Tristram Shandy, Sterne exhibits the same type of misinterpretation that Quine associates with radical translation, but in Sterne's case the problem

focuses on divergent interpretations resulting from breaches of semantic field boundaries in the case of a language common to the interlocutors. Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim are consistently presented as interpreting homonyms and paranomastic words in terms of a semantic field incompatible with that within which the speaker is conducting the conversation. Their preoccupation with the semantic field of war/battle/armies is the usual cause of error, but they are shown to be reasonably misconstruing speaker meaning with regard to other semantic fields as well. Their linguistic naivete permits Sterne to demonstrate that communication, even simplistically viewed as determining the meaning meant by a speaker, even in the case of speakers of the same language, is complicated and requires projections by the hearer at least relating to the semantic field/fields the speaker is occupying. This mirrors the situation of the reader of Sterne's novel who must make projections regarding Sterne's methods of conveying information and meaning. If these modes are as complicated and as varied as they seem to be, and if, as is claimed, Sterne meant, or had the intention to say, something entirely different from what many critics have said he meant, then the projections by the reader required in analyzing the text of Tristram Shandy are essentially similar to what Quine means by analytical hypotheses in the case of radical translation.

What there is to know and how it is that we know it in the novel is, arguably, quite different from what has been claimed for its meaning/s. If the information and meaning generated by utilizing the analytical hypotheses developed in the course of interpreting Tristram Shandy and set forth in this study are convincing, and it is conceded that for almost 240 years important aspects of the novel have never even been suspected, then the ramifications for our understanding of language use can be significant. There is a long record of criticism and its conclusions about the meaning of Tristram Shandy. To this can be contrasted the meanings that emerge when further study is undertaken to understand Sterne's general methodology and the variety of methodologies he details in the novel in order for him to convey--and for the reader to extract--meaning. Once the method by which an understanding of certain key passages is detailed, the necessary research and analysis can be undertaken to shed light on how meaning is produced in the many other cases in the text where meaning still appears to be embedded and unperceived. Comparing the extrapolated analytical hypotheses of those studies missing the point of Tristram Shandy and those analytical hypotheses that seem to yield meaning that was there from the beginning, and which can be recognized when pointed out, could yield great insight into how the mind (both writer's and

reader's) creates meaning, how the mind (reader's) apprehends a text, and to what degree understanding is achieved: fully, partially, vaguely, incorrectly, and/or counter to the import of the text. This indicates that circumscribed definitions of meaning [first order/second order, speaker/hearer/reader, etc.], sense [local (the utterance)/global (the text or texts), specifically, the frame in which an utterance is considered to have a certain sense], and reference [grammatical/real world] need to be developed if such definitions are to have any value.

Another important facet of Sterne's use of language relates to the cues to, and varied means of, associating ideas. Hobbes, Locke and Hume set forth a number of the operations by which the mind associates ideas. Sterne, on the other hand, spends very little time talking about the association of ideas but expends a great deal of effort illustrating on what links or anomalies it is possible to capitalize to evoke ideas or associations in the reader's or listener's mind. Even the choice of a name, i.e., **Hobby-horse**, for uncle Toby's preoccupation with feats and broils of battle evokes associations if we recall that in Leviathan Thomas Hobbes stated "the condition of man . . . is a condition of war" (Part I, Chapt. XIV, 189). The cues to associate ideas sometimes connect word to word or link the world of words to the actual world and

include, for instance, inverse operations with words (book in the middle of a reign--reign in the middle of a book), recondite word associations (Hume/home, house/home, Ninewells/Locke/well/nine-pin alley), antonyms (gay and spleen) or actual antagonists (Hall and Milton; Charles I and Milton; Thomas Butler, the Black Earl of Ormond and O'Sullivan Bear; "The Irish Rebels and Papists" and Milton), association through parody (Milton), associations through known characteristics (Pitt--a foot ailment/Post Office/rejection of favorable peace terms/gravity) and association through key words (dross/silver/casket and The Merchant of Venice).

Relating theory to practice, the function of certain key words, phases, ideas and facts in Tristram Shandy can be viewed in terms of themes they establish: the history of Ireland; the issues of war and persecution; the limits of human knowledge respecting causation and the nature and attributes of God; the question of "The Fall"; the metamorphosis of the word; and the roles of reader and writer. Such a scrutiny demonstrates that altered patterns of language and meaning emerge when authorially indicated links connecting disparate elements are recognized. Tristram considers the question of meaning when he conjectures "[w]hat Yorick could mean by the words *lentamente*,-- *tenute*,--*grave*, and sometimes *adagio*,-- . . . with which

he has characterized some of [his] sermons"

Tristram concludes:

All I know is, that they are musical terms, and have a meaning;---and as he was a musical man, I will make no doubt, but that by some quaint application of such metaphors to the compositions in hand, they impressed very distinct ideas of their several characters upon his fancy,--whatever they may do upon that of others. (VI, xi, 515)

Like Tristram, we can posit of the author of words or of a text that s/he had something in mind--a meaning--in utilizing certain language choices. The reader's task becomes that of puzzling out by what "quaint application" of word selections and metaphors "to the composition in hand" the varied word configurations in Tristram Shandy have a meaning in their author's mind and what that meaning is.

I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant, and that's the only way of insuring one's immortality.
James Joyce

(Quoted in Ulysses Annotated. Ed. Don Gifford with Robert Seidman. 2nd ed. Berkeley: U California P, 1988, v).

Read, read, read, read my unlearned reader! read . . . for without *much reading*, by which . . . I mean *much knowledge*, you will no more be able to penetrate the moral of the next **marbled page** (motly emblem of my work!) than the world with all its sagacity has been able to unraval the many opinions, transactions and truths which still lie mystically hid under the dark veil of the **black one** (Tristram Shandy. III, xxxvi, 268).

. each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalu'd Book
Those Delphick lines with deep impression took,
Then thou our fancy of it self bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceaving;
(John Milton, "On Shakespear," 10-14)

My sorrows are too dark for day to know:
The leaves should all be black whereon I
write.

(John Milton, "The Passion," 33-34)

Chapter III: Slawkenbergius and John Milton, the Black Page and the Marbled Page

The connection between Slawkenbergius and Milton is established by exhibiting the parody of Milton's style, diction, autobiographical details and the focus on certain themes, i.e., causation, the fall, truth, disputation and zeal. Analytical hypotheses: 1. A parodic representation constitutes a reference to the one who is parodied. 2. Tristram's injunction to "read, read, read, read" if we are to understand the moral of the next marbled page any better than we have been "able to unravel the many opinions, transactions and truths which still lie mystically hid under the dark veil of the black one" does not consist of empty words. Taken together, the parody of Milton, the mention of Saint Paraleipemenon, i.e., "something omitted", and the direction to read, are cues. No one has realized, however, that what we should read is Slawkenbergius, viz., Milton, the author who has been parodied and whose name has been omitted, if levels of meaning in addition to the literal in Tristram Shandy are to be recognized.

Describing one of his endeavors in writing Finnegans Wake, James Joyce said he was trying "to build many planes of narrative with a single esthetic purpose." He then asked, "did you ever read Laurence Sterne?"¹⁷ Joyce's question foregrounds a recognition of the similarity between his own strategy in structuring Finnegans Wake and that of Sterne in the composition of The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman. What, however, are the "many planes of narrative with a single esthetic purpose" in Tristram Shandy to which Joyce alludes? No critic, with the exception of Mark Loveredge in The Argument about Design, has appeared to

identify any plane of narrative other than the literal in interpreting the novel. Moreover, on February 9, 1768, little more than one month before his death, in a letter to Dr. Eustace, an American admirer, acknowledging receipt of the gift of a three-handled walking stick, Laurence Sterne asserts that:

1. Tristram Shandy, like the walking stick, has "more handles than one" and readers of the novel take the handle that suits their "passions, their ignorance or their sensibility";

2. "it is too much to write books, and find heads to understand them"; and

3. a person of sensibility "always brings half the entertainment along with him; his own ideas are . . . called forth by what he reads, and the vibrations within him entirely correspond with those excited.--`Tis like reading himself----and not the book" (Letters No. 229, p. 411). Critics frequently cite these dicta to justify disparate readings of the novel. No one, however, has recognized that all of these observations are contained, in a far more elaborate and artistic form, within the novel itself, nor that Sterne, in structuring the text to include appeals to our baser as well as our higher nature, our "passions [and] ignorance" as well as

²⁷Eugene Jolas, "My Friend James Joyce, James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism, ed. Seon Givens (N.Y.: Vanguard P,

our "sensibility," was committed to the proposition that his readers, though tempted by, and, in fact, following the garden paths down which he leads them, would ultimately, from a recognition of the errors made in being so led and driven by Sterne's rhetorical pyrotechnics, learn to think as well as to read.

The first volumes of *Tristram Shandy* had already been widely circulated for eight years by the time Sterne penned his epistle regarding the difficulty of finding "heads to understand" his work. Even today, since there is not yet an appreciation of the fact that reading Milton's writings is essential to an understanding of what Sterne undertook from the very first page of the novel, what the novel is "about" and what Sterne accomplished in writing it, are still not adequately recognized. The reader legitimately asks, "Even if it is in the text, why is it so important to recognize the parody of Milton and then to read Milton?" If Sterne's instructions are not followed, many of the political, philosophical, theological and epistemological dimensions of Tristram Shandy are not evident, nor is it possible to perceive that the novel is about Ireland without the excursus through Milton. Milton was as important to Sterne in structuring his text as Homer was to Joyce in the composition of Ulysses. Joyce, of course, in Ulysses

1963) 12, cited in Loveridge, The Argument about Design.

but not in Finnegans Wake, yielded; rather than just relying on the reader's ability to draw inferences, he gave more explicit information concerning the nexus between The Odyssey and his own novel. Nevertheless, the method of composition is essentially the same in the two authors.

At the outset of Tristram Shandy, for example, the reader is amused by Walter's exasperation when Mrs. Shandy interrupts his Sunday night concerns to ask: "Pray, my dear . . . have you not forgot to wind the clock?" (I, i, 2). If we read Milton we find him referring to a similar night of interruption. In 1659, Milton speaks of the preceding period when Parliament was suspended under Cromwell as "a short but scandalous night of interruption" (Considerations [1659], Milton VII: 274). If it is true that Sterne in his instructions facing the next marbled page meant that his readers should read Milton, and should also "read over" Tristram Shandy itself, what conclusions might be drawn about the similarity between Milton's description of Parliament's "night of interruption" and Walter Shandy's like experience that carries us into the novel? Taken together with the meaning of Walter's "beds of justices," i.e., originally, in France, the King's throne when sitting in parliament and then the parliament itself, a very strong association is established between the character Walter Shandy and the

English Parliament. This connection of Walter and Parliament is reinforced by the meaning of "Walter," both etymologically, i.e., "waldan"--"to rule" and "heri/hari"--a host or army, and through the office of "Walter" [a type of governor] existing in Ireland and England from at least the twelfth century (Carte xxvii-xxviii).

Milton described the six year suspension of Parliament from 1653 to 1659 as a short night of interruption. Milton, of course, was speaking figuratively but Sterne refigures Milton's metaphor by first literalizing it through the representation of Parliament as a person, Walter--a husband and procreator--and through a literal interruption, viz., "my mother's question." The beginning of the novel's metaphoric nature goes unperceived unless Tristram's directions regarding reading Milton and reading over the novel are followed. The possibility of noticing the establishment of the metaphoric level relating to the night of interruption occurs at a later point in our reading when inferences are drawn about the associations between Walter and the Parliament and the presence of Milton as a second context contributing to the figurative meaning of the text. After these facts have been observed, one can then ask, "If, at one level, Walter is Parliament, who is 'my mother'?" Is she one of the lands ruled by "my father"? In 1659, the English

Parliament governed England and Scotland, and, also, despite the protests of the Irish, claimed the right to rule Ireland. Who is the Tristram conceived during this night of interruption? Do Parliaments father children or nations? Is Tristram a person or a country? Is he both? If "my mother" is the mother-land, could she be Ireland? Could the ill-fated Tristram represent her people?

Tristram's troubles, according to Walter, began before conception, that is, at the stage when he was still a HOMUNCULUS. By the third page of Tristram Shandy, we are given to understand that even the lowly HOMUNCULUS is "a BEING guarded and circumscribed with rights . . . and . . . [is] as much and as truly our fellow creature as my Lord Chancellor of England" and may likewise "be benefited . . . injured . . . obtain redress [and] . . . has all the claims and rights of humanity, which *Tully*, *Puffendorff*, or the best ethic writers allow to arise out of that state and relation" (I, i, 3). By contrast, in 1649 Milton had argued that the Irish were a conquered people and hence made "vassalls" to the English with no rights to equality with their "Conquerours" (Articles of Peace Made and Concluded with the Irish Rebels, and Papists, by James Earle of Ormond, For and in behalfe of the late King, Milton III: 259).

By page five of the novel, after the discussion of the rights of humanity, Tristram avers that he is going

to let his readers into "the whole secret" of everything which concerns him since he expects his life and opinions to "make some noise in the world" (I, i, 5). "For which cause", he says, he is going to trace the history of himself "as Horaces says, *ab Ovo*" (I, i, 5). Horace, Tristram admits, "does not recommend this fashion altogether: . . . [he] is speaking only of an **epic poem** or a **tragedy**;--(I forget which)" (I, i, 5) and, in fact, Horace advises beginning an epic "*in medias res*" (The Notes, 49-50). The Editors of The Notes translate the relevant passage from Horace as follows: "Nor does [Homer] begin . . . the war of Troy from the twin eggs. Ever he **hastens** to the issue, and hurries his hearer into the story's midst . . ." (50). Once the reader knows that Tristram has advised us to read Slawkenbergius/Milton and also adjured us to read over the novel, then it is evident that not only the interrupted night on the first and second pages, the question of injury to a being and the rights of humanity on pages three and four, but also the discussion of literary conventions uses Milton as a foil.

The passages on page five are redolent with the aroma of Milton's concerns about reputation, genre, supplying biographical information, and "hastening into the midst" of the story. Milton was the only writer to have furnished both an epic poem and a tragedy in English by the time Sterne was writing. "For which

cause" is even a phrase that Milton uses in his biographical digression, beginning practically *ab ovo*, occupying pride of place in the middle of The Reason of Church Government, and telling of his ambition to write an epic or other type of heroic poem in the future (Milton I: 810-820). The author of an anonymous pamphlet, A Survey of That Foolish, Seditious, Scandalous, Prophane Libell, the Protestation Protested had accused his adversary, in rejecting tradition in Church matters, of beginning "*ab ovo*" (Milton, I:94). In responding in An Apology for Smectymnuus, Milton claimed to have deduced the identity of the author of A Survey to be Bishop Joseph Hall because of a similarity of three lines on the seventeenth page of A Survey to something Hall had earlier written in the Humble Remonstrance that read: "What a death it is, to think of the sport and advantage these watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our sins and shame." (Milton I: 906, n. 52). Milton may also have thought that Hall was the author of A Survey because of its defense of him: "You mention Dr. Hall, and his learned paines; out upon thee for a fool, and a babler!" (Milton I: 906, n. 51). Tristram calls attention to the phrase "Out upon it" in his story of the ass and the Post Office functionary when he asks "THE REVIEWERS OF MY BREECHES" (VII, xxxii, 632) to reflect upon this equivocal expression and decide where it should be placed. Once the reader reads

the appropriate texts of Milton, the presence of his writings as a second context throughout Tristram Shandy becomes manifest.

In the case of Tristram Shandy the identification of both the kaleidoscopic nature of the text and the significance of certain themes becomes clear once we realize the kind of novel that Sterne has orchestrated: one that problematizes the Miltonic version of the myth of "The Fall," and the nature of the God posited in Paradise Lost, by the parodic representation of John Milton as "Hafen Slawkenbergius" [Chamberpot Dross Mountain] in the invocation to Slawkenbergius (III, xxxvii, 272-275), and that includes biographical details in the invocation and key words, phrases and concepts associated with Milton's prose and poetry in the tale itself, to reinforce the association of Milton with Slawkenbergius. James Aiken Work, whom later editors generally follow (See, for example, Tristram Shandy, ed. Ian Watt 168, n. 5, and The Notes 267), points out that "'Hafen Slawkenbergius' is, of course, Sterne's creation. 'Slawkenbergius' (cf. German *Schlacken*) means 'pile of slag,' or 'offal,' or possibly 'excrement,' and 'Hafen' is a colloquial term for 'chamber-pot'" (230). Langenscheidt's New College German Dictionary defines the noun "*schlacke*" as "dross . . . slag" and the verb "*schlacken*" as to "(form) slag, be drossy". Peter du

Moulin had addressed Milton as a "dung heap" in his Cry of the Royal Blood against the English Parricides (Milton, IV(2): 1078). We also recall that a chamber pot [~~Hafen~~] and sash window figure prominently in Tristram's accidental circumcision which necessitates "my mother's" remedy of Lint and Basilicon, a name suspiciously akin to that of James I's Basilicon Doron, Charles I's Icon Basilike and Milton's refutation of Icon Basilike, viz., Eikonoclastes.

Sterne thematizes the questions of the Fall -- moral (the fall of man) and political (of England to Cromwell in 1649 and to William III in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and "the sad fall of Ireland"²⁸ as a result of treaty breaches at various points); the effects of the Glorious Revolution on Ireland, Flanders and England; the attributes of God and the limits of human knowledge concerning these attributes; and, the trivial nature but divisive civil, political and social effects of religious and dogmatic differences, by using Milton's writings as the primary milieu for his own interrogation of these issues.

Sterne has specifically mentioned several of his literary and philosophical progenitors in a catalogue that includes Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare and

²⁸ Philip O'Sullivan Bear in a poem published with his Decas Patritiana, Madrid, 1629, as reported in Byrne, xvi.

Locke, but Milton is conspicuously absent. With what certainty can we then affirm that Hafen Slawkenbergius and John Milton are associated in the Shandean world? A number of indications, including biographical information, self-depicted personality traits, and literary and philosophical output and diction are just the beginning links in the chain of evidence and associations connecting Slawkenbergius with Milton.

That Sterne does not overtly mention Milton is not controlling to our conclusions; this is similar to what occurs in the case of Robert Burton. Although Burton is not named in Tristram Shandy, as early as 1798 John Ferrier noted Sterne's extensive borrowings from Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy (See The Notes 13). Allegations of plagiarism were frequently bruited as the appropriations from Burton and other writers were discovered. In a typical gesture, Tristram quotes Burton's strictures on plagiarism without attribution to rail against plagiarism, a jest noted by James Aiken Work (V, I, 408; The Notes 338). Plagiarizing a text deprecating plagiarism has two effects when the reader discovers the theft: an emotive reaction (laughter or, in your graver gentry, a frown) and a deconstruction of the meaning of the straightforward condemnation of plagiarism. Sterne's already known and discussed incorporations are now better understood, in part, because of Joyce's explanations after the

publication of Ulysses of what he was accomplishing through the use of the various items that contributed to his text and his formulation of a schema to show how the elements of the novel worked synergistically to produce meaning.

Consonant with Tristram's injunctions to his flock to "read, read, read" (III, xxxvi, 268), and not merely to read Tristram Shandy, is an examination of Milton's polemical and poetical works, prompted by the parody of Milton in the character Slawkenbergius. Subsequent to imposing a penance on the unfortunate "Madam" who failed to recognize that his mother was not a Papist, after he had told her "as plain, at least, as words, by direct inference, could tell . . . such a thing" (I, xx, 65), Tristram reminds the reader "of the deep erudition and knowledge which a book of this cast, if read over as it should be, would infallibly impart The mind should be accustomed to make wise reflections, and draw curious conclusions as it goes along" (I, xx, 65). In considering "this same book of mine," Tristram laments in his usual semi-ironical style:

nothing but the gross and more carnal parts of a composition will go down: -- The subtle hints and sly communications of science fly off, like spitits, upwards; -- the heavy moral escapes downwards; and both the one and the

other are as much lost to the world, as if they were still left in the bottom of the inkhorn. (I, xx, 66)

Likewise, Tristram indulgently speaks of the error into which Madam has lapsed--failing to draw an inference from the information made available--and expresses the hope that "all good people, both male and female, from her example, may be taught to think as well as read" (I, xx, 66). Like "my father," our author is a "man of deep reading--prompt memory . . . proceeding from period to period, by metaphor and allusion, and striking the fancy as he [goes] along" (V, vi, 428-429), and the reader is expected to consider these attributes and their consequences in interpreting and understanding every aspect of Sterne's text.

Tristram's identification of the nature of Locke's An Essay Concerning Human Understanding as "a history-book . . . of what passes in a man's own mind" (II, ii, 98) is correspondingly true of Tristram Shandy, and while Locke wrote systematically as a philosopher standing on the promontory of logic and Sterne often metaphorically and allusively from the vantage of the literary and experiential, both are fundamentally concerned with the sources, extent and validity of human knowledge. Our reading of Sterne differs from our

consideration of Locke's Essay inasmuch as, in the case of Sterne, we are not only required to pursue the chain of reasoning but must also follow our noses in tracking down allusions, "subtle hints and sly communications" (I, xx, 66), "direct inference[s]" (I, xx, 64), and indirect inferences and, in addition, are enjoined to "read over," "make wise reflections and draw curious conclusions" (I, xx, 65), as we attempt to understand the full implications of what has been wrought in Tristram Shandy. We are also expected to follow the threads of the chains of word and referential associations Sterne establishes in the novel. Tristram's challenge to the reader is so crucial to an understanding of the text that it warrants repetition:

Who was *Tickletoby's* mare! -- Read, read, read, read my unlearned reader! read . . . for without *much reading*, by which your reverence knows, I mean *much knowledge* you will no more be able to penetrate the moral of the next marbled page (motly emblem of my work!) than the world with all its sagacity has been able to unravel the many opinions, transactions and truths which still lie mystically hid under the dark veil of the black one. (III, xxxvi, 267-268)

Tristram invokes "the knowledge of the great saint *Paraleipomenon*" (III, xxxvi, 268), patron of "something

omitted" (The Notes 269), on his readers' behalf for help in decoding the meaning of the next marbled page because if, as readers, we do not conjecture correctly concerning the name of the author and works we should read in order to understand this icon, then, as has been the case, we will never figure out its moral. Equally germane to what follows are the questions: who was Prignitz? Who was Scroderus? More significantly, who then was the writer, the great and learned "*Hafen Slawkenbergius*" (III, xxxv, 267), introduced two paragraphs earlier as an acquisition of "my father" to add to his collection of scholarly tomes on long noses?

Who then was Hafen Slawkenbergius? Suggesting the identification of Slawkenbergius with Milton is the diction of the invocation to him (III, xxxviii, 272-273), as well as that purportedly found in the last tale of Slawkenbergius's tenth decad when Tristram registers his difficulty in translating "lambent pupilability . . ." (IV, I, 326). Diction is, however, a notoriously evanescent and elusive quality. Juxtaposing what seems to be a "normal" invocation in Tristram Shandy with the Slawkenbergius invocation that appears to parody Milton illustrates the point. In requesting the assistance of "ye POWERS"

who would direct the author in the telling of a story,
Tristram writes:

O ye POWERS! (for powers ye are, and great ones too) -- which enable mortal man to tell a story worth the hearing, -- that kindly shew him, where he is to begin it, -- and where he is to end it, -- what he is to put into it, -- and what he is to leave out . . . will you do one thing? I beg and beseech you , (in case you will do nothing better for us) that wherever, in any part of your dominions it so falls out, that three several roads meet in one point, as they have done just here, -- that at least you set up a guide-post, in the center of them, in mere charity to direct an uncertain devil, which of the three he is to take. (III, xxiii, 244-245)

The more simple, although not entirely straightforward, diction of the preceding stands in contrast to that of the invocation to Slawkenbergius:

O *Slawkenbergius!* thou faithful analyzer of my *Disgrazias*, -- -- thou sad foreteller of so many of the whips and short turns, which in one stage or other of my life have come slap upon me from the shortness of my nose, and no other cause, that I am conscious of. -- Tell me, *Slawkenbergius!* what secret impulse was

it? what intonation of voice? whence came it?
 how did it sound in thy ears? -- art thou sure
 thou heard'st it? -- which first cried out to
 thee,-- go, -- go, *Slawkenbergius!* dedicate
 the labours of thy life, -- neglect thy
 pastimes, -- call forth all the powers and
 faculties of thy nature, -- -- macerate
 thyself in the service of mankind, and write a
 grand FOLIO³⁵ for them, upon the subject of
 their noses. How the communication was
 conveyed into *Slawkenbergius's* sensorium,----
 so that *Slawkenbergius* should know whose

³⁵A similar ironic reference to "folios" occurs in Milton's Apology. Milton, criticizing the choice of the word "convocation" which he at this point attributes to the son of Joseph Hall, Bishop Hall himself having been earlier in An Apology derided by Milton for his satires, says:

One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye beare any zeale to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd Decorum in the writing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloister'd Lubber according to his deserts. Where didst thou learne to be so agueish, so pusillanimous, thou lozel Bachelor of Art, as against all custom and use of speech to terme the high and sovran Court of Parliament, a Convocation? was this the flower of all thy Synonyma's and voluminous Papers whose best *Folios* are predestin'd to do no better thaen to make winding sheetes in Lent for Pilchers [fish]? How well dost thou now appeare to be Chip of the old block that could finde *Bridge street* and *Alehouses* in heav'n [a reference to Bishop Hall's Satires];" (Milton I: 920).

finger touched the key, -- -- and whose hand
it was that blew the bellows (III,
xxxviii, 272-273).³⁰

In the language of the invocation to Slawkenbergius we
can hear a variation on the theme of the "cause" of

³⁰The use of the word "touch" occurs often and stands out in Milton's prose and the analogy to music appears frequently. For example, speaking in an Apology about his praise of the Long Parliament to which he will now turn his attention, Milton joins the two when he notes the transition from the preceeding matter by saying:

although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, . . . that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string, awhile to entertaine my selfe and him that list, with some more pleasing fit ["'a strain of music,'" n.23] (Milton I: 922)

When the interpolated matter is concluded, Milton again presents the problem of changing his key:

Thus farre I have digrest, Readers, from my former subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightfull then the rode way I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes . . . I must be wary, unlesse I can provide against offending the eare, as some Musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another without breach of harmony. (*Ibid.* 928)

³¹It is not inappropriate that Tristram should reckon the years since Milton's death in scores since in both the Animadversions and An Apology directed at Bishop Hall, Milton calculates the time "since Reformation began" as "fourscore years" (Milton I: 703). In the Animadversions he accuses the bishops, after saying Hall's confutation of the Smectymnuans' book has "achiev'd nothing against it, and left nothing upon it, but . . . a more perfect and distinguishable odour of your socks, then of your night-cap," of serving up their

mans' vicissitudes at the beginning of the Argument to Book I of Paradise Lost, as well as echoes of the style and form of address of Milton's invocations to his "Heav'nly Muse" and to "Thou O Spirit" at the outset of Paradise Lost:

This first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole Subject, Mans disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac't: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the Serpent;

(The Argument to Book I)

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal taste
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe

. . . .

Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire/ That
Shepherd

Say first . . ./ . . . say first what cause
Mov'd our Grand Parents . . ./ . . . to fall
off from thir Creator, . . . Who first
seduc'd them to that foul revolt?

Th'infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
The Mother of Mankind

(Book I, 1-36)

Instead of again relying on "ye POWERS" (III, xxiii, 244-245), Tristram, in seeking the "cause" (III, xxxviii, 272) of his fall "away from" ("Dis") "grace" ("grazias") and consequent misfortunes, facetiously requests the aid of a man, "the great and learned Hafen Slawkenbergius" (III, xxxv, 267), who "has been dead and laid in his grave above four-score and ten years" (III, xxxviii, 273),³¹ only three years longer than the eighty-seven years since Milton's interment. If, as James Aiken Work and Melvyn New conjecture,³² Slawkenbergius is not a parody of an actual person, why would Tristram³⁹ give us the information that he died circa 1674? As Uncle Toby tells Trim when Trim is narrating his story "----Leave out the date entirely, . . . leave it out entirely . . . a story passes very well without these niceties, unless one is pretty sure of 'em----" (VII, xix, 687).

Like Milton in his plea for inspiration, Tristram, who had earlier relied on the less formal "Ye" in entreating the "Powers," now addresses his muse as "thou," and both are primarily concerned with the "cause" of the fall from grace, in Milton's case with man's fall, and in Tristram's, his own "(d)isgrazias."

³² See The Notes 267.

In Sterne's parody of Milton, short noses become the very devil. Milton has identified Satan as "the prime cause" of man's fall (P.L. Argument to Bk. I) and of "all our woe" (P.L., I, 3) while "the shortness of my nose" and "no other cause" is the source of Tristram's "(d)isgrazias" and the "many whips and short turns" (III, xxxviii, 272) that have beset him. Moreover, the question raised by Milton in Book IX of Paradise Lost about the source of his inspiration, "if all be mine,/ Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear" (47-48), i.e., "my Celestial Patroness, who deigns/ Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,/ And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires/ Easie my unpremeditated Verse" (22-25), is foregrounded and interrogated in Tristram's invocation to Slawkenbergius. Tristram states:

Slawkenbergius was played upon, for aught I know like one of *Whitfield's* disciples, -- -- that is, with such a distinct intelligence, Sir, of which of the two *masters* it was, that had been practising upon his *instrument*, -- -- as to make all reasoning upon it needless.
(III, xxxviii, 273)

The question of the origin of Slawkenbergius's inspiration, called to the reader's attention by Tristram, is left to our imagination after Tristram's assertion regarding the ambiguity concerning "which of

the two masters . . . had been practising upon his instrument."

Further correspondences between Slawkenbergius and Milton are evident in the self-reflexive pronouncements of Slawkenbergius regarding "his motives and occasions for writing" (III, xxxviii, 273) and those of Milton set forth in The Reason of Church Government (1642) and An Apology for Smectymnuus (1642). After outlining the favorable reception of his verse both at home and in Italy, where his recitation of poems "composed at under twenty or thereabout" was rewarded with "written encomiums," Milton reflects on his career as a poet and promises some type of heroic poem when his public duties no longer compel his attention:

I began thus farre to assent both to them [the Italians] and divers of my friends here at home, and not lesse to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joyn'd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possest me For which cause . . . I apply'd my selfe to . . . fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue . . . to be an

interpreter and relater of the best and sagest
 things among mine own Citizens throughout this
 Iland That what the greatest and
 choycest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern
 Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their
 country, I in my proportion with this over and
 above of being a Christian, might doe for mine
 Time serves not now, and perhaps I
 might seem too profuse to give any certain
 account of what the mind at home . . . hath
 liberty to propose to her self, though of
 highest hope, and hardest attempting;
 [discusses the possibility of writing an epic
 or another type of heroic poem in the future].
 The thing which I had to say, and those
 intentions which have liv'd within me ever
 since I could conceiv my self anything worth
 to my Countrie, I return to crave excuse that
 urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an
 abortive and foredated discovery. And the
 accomplishment of them lies not but in a power
 above mans to promise; but that none hath by
 more studious ways endeavour'd, and with more
 unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare
 almost averre of my self, as farre as life and
 free leasure will extend (The Reason

of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty I:
810-820).

Once the stylistic connection between Milton and Slawkenbergius is recognized--the clue lies in the style and diction, the epiphany, the insight into the part that Milton, his war with the bishops, defenses of the regicide, his devils, Paradise Lost, truth, Areopagitica, zeal, An Apology for Smectymnuus and The Reason of Church Government play in Tristram Shandy--Sterne prompts the reader to draw an association between the alternately naive and pompous reflections of Milton concerning the influences that led him to become a poet and his projections respecting the heroic or epic poem he is going to compose, and Slawkenbergius's similar pronouncements. If with Sterne we ask what writer ever gave so copious an account as Slawkenbergius to "the world of his motives and occasions for writing, and spending so many years of his life upon this one work" (T.S. III, xxxviii, 273), we might find our response to be Milton.

In his invocation, Tristram has exhorted Slawkenbergius to reveal what induced him to "dedicate the labours of thy life, -- neglect thy pastimes, -- call forth all the powers and faculties of thy nature, - - macerate thyself in the service of mankind, and write a grand FOLIO for them" (III, xxxviii); in

these details are resonances of Milton speaking of "the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth" (Apology 869) and Milton's reflection that "none hath by more studious ways endeavour'd and with more unwearied spirit that none shall" (R.C.G. 820) prepared himself "by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life)" (R.C.G. 810) to attain the goal of doing for his country "what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome or modern Italy . . . did for their country" (R.C.G. 812). In Milton's Apology leveled against "the great and learned Joseph Hall" we find Milton expatiating about these efforts:

[I]f . . . it be but justice not to defraud of due esteeme the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption. . . . I . . . was not unstudied in those authors which are the most commended I thought with myself by every instinct and presage of nature which is not wont to be false, that what imboldn'd them to this task might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appeare, and best value it selfe, by how much more wisely, and with more

love of vertue I should choose (let rude eares
 be absent) the object of not unlike praises. .
 . . And long it was not after, when I was
 confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would
 not be frustrate of his hope to write well
 hereafter . . . ought himselfe to bee a true
 Poem, that is, a composition and patterne of
 the best and honourablest things

(An Apology against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest
 Confutation of the Animadversions upon the
 Remonstrant against SMECTYMNUS I: 868-869 and
 889-890)

Tristram draws our attention to an unusual textual
 feature of The Reason of Church Government to confirm
 the conclusion that Milton is to be identified with
 Slawkenbergius. In the middle of The Reason of
 Church Government, a 120 page text in the Complete
 Prose Works of John Milton which sets out to
 deal with the authority of bishops, Milton digresses to
 furnish information about his life. In Slawkenbergius'
 serious tome too, there is an incongruous placement of
 supererogatory biographical details in the middle rather
 than at the beginning of the work. With respect to
 Slawkenbergius's "account . . . of his motives for
 writing" (T.S. III, xxxviii), Tristram specifically
 draws our notice to the fact that these autobiographical

details are found "[t]owards the end of his prologomena, which by the bye should have come first" but has been "most injudiciously placed . . . betwixt the analytical contents and the book itself" (III, xxxviii). It is analogously "towards the end" (T.S. III, xxxviii) of the twenty-three pages of what Milton terms "this digression" (R.C.G., I, 823), which could be considered a prologomena, so oddly inserted between the two books constituting The Reason of Church Government, that Milton provides autobiographical information explaining the factors that prompted him to become a poet and his preparations for the undertaking. In An Apology, also, there is an autobiographical section, replete with self-praise, interrupting the execration of Bishop Hall to whom Milton addresses the Apology in the belief that it was he who authored the pamphlet Milton is answering. Likewise, a contemporary, Alexander More, in his The Public Faith of Alexander More . . . against the Calumnies of John Milton (1654), suggests that because Milton talks so much about himself in his Second Defense of the People of England that he should "change and revise the title" to call it "*Milton upon His Own Life*" (Milton IV(2): 1097).

Tristram further observes that Slawkenbergius:

informs his reader, that ever since he had arrived at the age of discernment, and was

able to sit down coolly, and consider within himself the true state and condition of man, and distinguish the main end and design of his being -- -- or, to shorten my translation, for Slawkenbergius's book is in Latin, and not a little **prolix** in this passage, -- -- ever since I understood . . . anything, -- -- or rather what was what, -- -- and could perceive that the point of long noses had been too loosely handled by all who had gone before; -- have I . . . felt a strong impulse, with a mighty and an unresistible call within me, to gird up myself to this undertaking.

(III, xxxviii, 273-274)

A stichomythic exchange between Milton and Slawkenbergius based on this passage from Tristram Shandy and those cited infra from Milton's The Reason of Church Government could consist of the following:

Slawkenbergius: "(E)ver since I understood . . . any thing, - - -- or rather what was what" (III, xxxviii, 274).

Milton: "(T)hose intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceiv my self any thing worth" (R.C.G. I: 820).

Slawkenbergius: "I . . . felt a strong impulse" (III, xxxviii, 274).

Milton: "I began . . . to assent . . . to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me" (R.C.G. I: 810).

Slawkenbergius: "I . . . felt . . . a mighty and unresistible call within me" (III, xxxviii, 274).

Milton: "These thoughts at once possess me" (R.C.G. I: 812).

If we add Tristram's gloss we find:

Tristram: "Slawkenbergius's book is . . . not a little **prolix** in this passage" (III, xxxviii, 274).

Milton: (P)erhaps I might seem too profuse" (R.C.G. I: 812).

Tristram: "Slawkenbergius's book is in Latin" (III, xxxviii, 274).

Milton: "And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion" (Apology I: 890).

One might also conjecture whether the name Slawkenbergius was not, in some measure, inspired both by Milton's adoption of the titular acronym of those he was defending -- SMECTYMNUUS -- in An Apology for Smectymnuus, and by Milton's throwing down the gauntlet by saying therein: "I could not . . . honor a good cause more . . . then by defending it . . . notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong . . . an honest meaning" (I: 869). One might further reflect upon whether Sterne's direct form of address to both male and female readers -- "dear Sir" (I, ii, 3), "Madam" (I, xx, 64), "my fair Lady" (I, xx, 65), "Gentle critick!" (II, ii, 100), "gentle reader!" (III, xxxiii, 262), "my dear girl" (III, xxxvi, 267), "your reverences and worships" (III, xxxvii, 271) -- may not have been in response to Milton's strict injunctions against such a practice, at least in matters of religion. In An Apology for Smectymnuus, Milton castigates Bishop Hall

for addressing "a Letter to a prosopopaea [to] a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother" (I: 877) and Milton points out that:

[we] finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches speaking to them as a number of faithful brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigration of the sexes in such a familiar way of writing . . . leaving the track of common adressed, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphorical compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. (I: 877)

Another reader of Tristram Shandy, Immanuel Kant, seemingly lends support to the thesis linking Slawkenbergius and Milton in an enigmatic entry in one of his notebooks: "'Klopstock is very easy to imitate, Milton difficult, because his images are original. Sterne.'" (Fabian 196). The entry suggests that Kant identified Sterne's imitation of Milton and attributed its lack of general recognition to the problems inherent in matching Milton's images. If, as Fabian conjectures, Kant meant that Sterne was also difficult to imitate, Kant could simply have written, "Milton and Sterne are difficult

to imitate, because their images are original."

What does Sterne achieve by so secretively incorporating Milton by reference? If the Miltonic allusions are recognized, what emerges, at one level, is a sophisticated literary, philosophical, and theological criticism of Milton's life and work. Still, while the parodic elements predominate, Sterne's judgment is, on the whole, not entirely negative. Referring to Slawkenbergius, Tristram points out:

And to do justice to [him], he has entered the list with a stronger lance, and taken a much larger career in it, than any one man who had ever entered it before him, -- -- and indeed, in many respects, deserves to be en'nich'd as a prototype for all writers, of voluminous works at least, to model their books by,-- (III, xxxviii, 274)

One set of inferences regarding Sterne's attitude toward Milton that we might draw grows out of Slawkenbergius's name--Ger. "*schlacken* " - slag, dross; "*bergius* " - Latinized form of Ger. "*berg* " - mountain--and leads to: "dross mountain"?; "dross"? We recall Morocco's words in The Merchant of Venice, "A

golden mind stoops not to shows of dross" (II, vii, 20), but perhaps the metaphor is not always quite accurate and a "golden mind" sometimes does so "stoop." We then note Tristram's last words before giving up the attempt to translate the final tale of Slawkenbergius's tenth decad, "What is left . . . is not worth **stooping** for." Milton himself, in his Animadversions, berating Hall for having brought up the point that the "Areopagi" was a place and not a person, writes that a "soar-Eagle, would not stoope at a flye" but, even after this explicit acknowledgement of the pettiness of the point, Milton cannot resist the temptation and he continues to so stoop in making a matter of great moment out of Hall's correction of the error (Milton, I, 667); hence, we see the dross exhibited with respect to Milton but, by inference, what lies behind the dross is a golden mind.

The "dross" to which that particular golden mind stooped is what Sterne so relentlessly parodies, for example, the hubris and self praise: Tristram mentions that the "learned [like the "learned *Hafen Slawkenbergius*," III, xxxv, 267] Bishop Hall . . . tells us in one of his *Decads* [both Hall, the elderly cleric who was the target in the two Smectymnuus phamphlets, and Slawkenbergius, like Milton in the originally published version of Paradise Lost, write *Decads*] . . . 'That it is an abominable thing for a man to commend

himself;' -- and I really think it is so" (I, xxii). An association may be created in the reader's mind between Hall and Slawkenbergius through the use of the same adjectival modifier for both, namely, "learned." Also called into question by Sterne's parody are Milton's presumption in claiming to know the cause of "all our woe" (P.L. I,3), his militancy in contending questions of religion (one effect of which was to foment an increase in anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment in England), the attribution of evil to the devil and his avowed purpose of "justif(ying) the wayes of God to men" (P.L. I, 26). Merritt Hughes in his discussion of "The Style of the Regicide Tracts" notes that Milton's defenses of the regicide "were to illustrate the fact that 'great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand'--as he said in The History of Britain that they do" (Milton III: 128).

Sterne's satire is directed at Milton's misuse of eloquence, dismissal of charity or religious toleration as significant values, scorn of the masses, and vision of a vengeful God acting as a *deus ex machina* in the events of history and meting out punishments to the ungodly. Some of these attributes are particularly in evidence at the conclusion of Milton's Eikonoclastes, his answer to the recently beheaded Charles I's justification of his own actions in the posthumously published Eikon Basilike:

But God hath eminently begun to punish those, first in Scotland, then in Ulster who have provok'd him with the most hateful kind of mockery, to break his Covenant under pretence of strictest keeping it [Charles I] glories much in the forgiveness of his enemies; so did his grandmother [Mary Queen of Scots, also beheaded] at her death. . . . But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his charity* over us. And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as glorious as Trumpets before the almes of Hypocrites; and more especially the Trophies of such an aspiring charitie as offers in his Prayer to share Victory with God's *compassion*, which is over all his works. Such Prayers as these may happily catch the People, as was intended: but how much they please God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in secret, much less written to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gaine him after death . . . not what he aims at, to stirr the constancie and solid firmness of any wise Man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian . . . but to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble; (that like a credulous and hapless herd, begott'n to servility,

and enchanted with these popular institutes of Tyranny, subscrib'd with a new device of the Kings Picture at his praiers [the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike* shows a picture of Charles I kneeling at prayer], hold out both thir eares with such delight and ravishment to be stigmatiz'd and board through in witness of thir own voluntary and beloved baseness.) (III, 600-601).

MEMORIALS (THE BLACK PAGE AND THE MARBLED PAGE),
ELOQUENCE, TRUTH AND SEDUCTION BY WORDS

Sterne seems to have both used and criticized Milton in the description of Slawkenbergius and the redaction of his Tale. In the incorporation of Milton by indirect reference inheres the information necessary to respond to Tristram's challenge to "penetrate the moral of the next marbled page (motly emblem of my work)" (III, xxxvi, 268). Hafen Slawkenbergius has first been mentioned in the last sentence of the chapter preceding that introducing the marbled page. The reader has then been adjured to "Read, read, read, read" (III, xxxvi, 268) otherwise we will be no more able to decipher the riddle explicating the moral of marbled page "than the world with all its sagacity has been able to unravel the many opinions, transactions and truths which still lie mystically hid under the veil of the

black one" (III, xxxvi, 268). If we, at some point, "get" the Miltonic allusions and thus associate the just introduced Slawkenbergius with Milton, we may then reexamine Milton and find the following lines:

each heart
 Hath from the leaves of thy unvalu'd Book
 Those Delphick lines with deep impression
 took,
 Then thou our fancy of it self bereaving,
 Dost make us Marble with too much conceaving;

(On Shakespear 10-14)

John Shawcross's gloss on these lines in The Complete Poetry of John Milton is particularly felicitous:

"Shakespeare's readers are an everlasting monument to his greatness with his lines engraved on their hearts" (94). Like Shakespeare, in Milton's account of him, Sterne aims figuratively to turn us, his readers, to marble if we partake of the fertility of his mental conceptions and join in his flights of imagination. Unlike Shakespeare, however, our author in Tristram Shandy is dressed in motly, so perhaps we shall find, as "my father" observed of "(e)verything in this world" (V, xxxii, 470) that he "is big with jest, -- and has wit . . . and instruction too, -- if we can but find it out" (V, xxxii, 470). Thus without overt self-praise, Sterne has perhaps conveyed to us, in what can only be called

an extremely "sly communication," that in the marbled page we are to find a representation of our fancy mourning its own loss, thereby creating for Sterne a figurative--if not a living--monument to his memory. The reintroduction of the theme of the black page by Sterne at the point where he presents the marbled page suggests that the two are derived from the same source. Sterne's mention of Slawkenbergius immediately before the incorporation of the marbled page, and the subsequent identification of Slawkenbergius with Milton, appear to be Sterne's attempt to give more explicit information regarding the *fons et origo* of the iconic pages. Frustrated at the inability of his readers to unravel the mystery of the black page--possibly derived from Milton's lines in "The Passion," i.e., "My sorrows are too dark for day to know:/ The leaves should all be black whereon I write" (I, xii, 33-34)--Sterne asserts that we should "Read, read, read, read" (III, xxxvi, 268) in order "to penetrate the moral" of these enigmatic pages. Once we recognize that Slawkenbergius is a parodic image of Milton, we realize, too, that it is Milton whom we should read in order to understand, at the least, the moral of the next marbled page, if not the primary meaning of the black one.

The critical treatment of Milton permits Sterne, in whom, like "my father," "Nature . . . had sown the seeds

of verbal criticism as deep . . . as she had done the seeds of all other knowledge" (III, xxxvii, 272), to comment upon certain key concepts of Milton's theology and philosophy. Among the most significant are: the nature of truth and the role of disputation and zeal in achieving it as outlined in Milton's Areopagitica and An Apology for Smectymnuus; the source of misfortune and evil in the world which Milton, in Paradise Lost, attributes to the effects of Satan and the fall of man; and the respective roles of reason and intuition in human understanding and that of higher beings as mentioned in Paradise Lost. In terms of form, Sterne mocks certain attributes characteristic of Milton, particularly as they are manifested in his literary output, including Latinate diction (Tristram must "translate" the work from Latin), a fundamental cleavage in Milton manifested by the Scroderus element and Prignitz aspect (Tristram has noted that Scroderus like Prignitz is "all comprehended in Slawkenbergius," III, xxxviii, 275), and a certain tendency toward supererogatory explanation of stylistic elements found in such writings as an ode To John Rouse and the prefatory remarks, "Of That Sort of Dramatic Poem Which Is Call'd Tragedy," and "The Argument" to Samson Agonistes.

In considering the implicit criticism of Milton, we find that in Slawkenbergius's Tale Sterne has literalized two particularly strong metaphors found in Milton's Areopagitica. Milton writes:

Truth indeed came once into the world . . .
and was a perfect shape most glorious to look
on [T]hen . . . arose a wicked race of
deceivers, who . . . took the virgin Truth,
hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces,
and scattered them to the four winds
(II: 549)

"[T]is the most glorious nose!" (T.S., IV, 319) cries Jacinta of the "courteous stranger's nose," but its fate in Slawkenbergius's Tale is quite similar, with some Shakespearean variations, to that of Truth in Milton's account. Tristram translates:

queen Mab, like an elf as she was, had taken
the stranger's nose, and without reduction of
its bulk, had that night been at the pains of
slitting and dividing it into as many noses of
different cuts and fashions, as there were
heads in Strasburg to hold them. (IV, 319)

Earlier we found Tristram associating noses, by direct inference, with the devil as a cause of misfortune, and now a severed and divided nose is analogized to truth;

further, the Tale discloses that the day following this distribution of the nose [whether now in the form of truth or of the devil we are no longer certain] the Strasburgers "flocked to . . . lectures; not promiscuously -- but to this or that . . . as faith and credulity marshal'd them -- . . . and every Strasburger had the intelligence he wanted" (IV, 305). At the same time, Sterne may also have had in mind the expression "slitting noses" found in An Apology for Smectymnus (1694) where it is noted as a torture; if so, in an instance of what Stephen Greenblatt in Shakespearean Negotiations calls "repetition as transvaluation" (121), Sterne has appropriated the phrase and adapted it in a non-vituperative setting, simultaneously reminding his readers of its original denotation while subtly altering its connotation. In defending himself during the battle of the pamphlets against the response to his attack on Bishop Hall ["the famous Dr. Joseph Hall" (T.S., I, xxii, 79)], Milton avers that in Hall's -- or his supporters' -- pamphlet:

I am met with a whole ging of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a slye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that booke where I set them. For

certainly this tormenter of semicolons
 is as good at dismembring and slitting
 sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates
 have bin at . . . at slitting noses. (Apology
 I: 894)

Behind Sterne's lighthearted treatment of "slitting"
 noses there may well be, when we recognize the
 association, a reminder of the reality of the physical
 consequences resulting, at earlier times, from dispute about
 seemingly trivial points of theological, political or
 philosophical dogma. In this case, Sterne renders
 figurative and ridiculous a practice that had formerly
 been literal. Likewise, even though Areopagitica
 contains such an impassioned plea for free speech, there
 is an irony in the fact that its message of toleration
 is not extended to Catholics. Milton explains:

Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks
 they should be? this doubtles is more
 wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian
 that many be tolerated, rather then all
 compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and
 open superstition, which as it extirpates all
 religions and civill supremacies, so it self
 should be extirpat (II: 565)

Reading again in Milton's argument against
 licensing, we note:

. . . when a city shall be as it were
 besieged and blocked about, her
 navigable river infested, inroads and
 incursions round, defiance and battle
 oft rumored to be marching up even to her
 walls and suburb trenches; that then the
 people, or the greater part, more than at
 other times, wholly taken up with the study of
 highest and most important matters to be
 reformed, should be disputing, reasoning,
 reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a
 rarity and admiration, things not before
 discoursed or written of, argues . . . a
 singular goodwill, contentedness, and
 confidence. . . . (Areopagitica II: 556-557)

In his tale Slawkenbergius has described Strasburg as a
 well fortified city:

What a fool am I, said the traveller to
 himself . . . to think of getting into
Strasburg this night Strasburg, a
 sovereign state! Strasburg, garrisoned with
 five thousand of the best troops in the world!
 -- Alas! If I was at the gates of Strasburg
 this moment, I could not gain admittance into
 it for a ducat, -- nay a ducat and half. (IV,
 318)

Despite its more than adequate defenses, however, the stronghold of the Argentorati, those silver tongued orators, falls to the French. Emphasized throughout the Tale is the preoccupation of the inhabitants of Strasburg with debates -- just such "disputing, reasoning, . . . inventing, discoursing . . . things not before discoursed . . ." as that suggested by Milton -- regarding the actual nature of Diego's nose or as Slawkenbergius couches it, while "the unlearned . . . were all busied in getting down to the bottom of the well, where TRUTH keeps her little court -- were the learned . . . busy in pumping her up thro' the conduits of dialect induction -- they concerned themselves not with facts --they reasoned" (IV, 306). Correspondingly, regarding the need for polemic, in An Apology for Smectymnuus, Milton argues for a "true and lively zeale [in defending] a good cause" (I: 869) and in The Reason of Church Government, to justify his own entry into the acrimonious religious controversy then raging, he observes that:

[S]urely to every good and peaceable man it must in nature need be a hateful thing to be the displeaser, and molester of thousands But when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in mans will what he shall

say, or what he shall conceal. (I: 802-803)

Tristram expresses his disinclination for such absolute conviction and prophetic blasts from one who professes to communicate the truth; he instead notes his own habit of self-doubt and suggests a mutual quest for knowledge:

For my own part . . . so often has my judgment deceived me in my life, that I always suspect it, right or wrong,-- . . . I reverence truth as much as any body; and when it has slipped us, if a man will but take me by the hand, and go quietly and search for it, as for a thing we have both lost, and can neither of us do well without, -- I'll go to the world's end with him: ---- But I hate disputes, -- and therefore (bating religious points, or such as touch society) I would almost subscribe to any thing which does not choak me in the first passage, rather than be drawn into one
(V, xi, 439).

It is consequently not surprising to find a trumpeter and his wife, actual witnesses to the point of contention -- the true nature of Diego's nose -- assuming significant roles in Slawkenbergius's Tale. As Tristram informs us, Slawkenbergius almost waxes lyrical in concluding his remarks on the trumpeter, his wife and her lectures: " [W]hen a demonstrator in philosophy (cries *Slawkenbergius*) has a trumpet for an apparatus,

pray what rival in science can pretend to be heard
besides him?" (IV, 305)

Likewise, the fact that the "master of the inn" and the "trumpeter" in the Tale have wives who fantasize extravagantly in their conceits about the courteous stranger's nose may be related to a typographical error in which the word "wife" is substituted for "wise" on the title page of Milton's Colasterion. At the outset of Colasterion, Milton admonishes the anonymous adversary who had replied to his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce for spelling errors that were not "scor'd upon the Printer" (II: 724-725 ["included in the list of errata," 725, n. 15]). On Milton's own title page, however, the saying from Proverbs 26:5, viz., "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit," appears as, "Answer a Fool according to his folly, lest hee bee wife in his own conceit" (II: 720).

Whether or not Milton meant his metaphors to be taken to such literal lengths, Sterne, in Slawkenbergius's Tale, has, at one level, demonstrated that however highly desirable free dispute and reasoning might be to the health of the polis, as a practical matter, in certain situations, action and attention to immediate duties and concerns might be more expedient. Slawkenbergius purportedly analyzes why the seemingly strongly defended city of Strasburg fell to the French. In the words of Tristram's translation, in "trac[ing]

the true **springs** of this and such like revolutions--The vulgar look too high . . . --Statesmen look too low--Truth (for once) lies in the middle" (IV, 323). We recall in Paradise Lost, it is Satan from whom such discord springs, i.e., "whence,/ But from the Author of all ill could **Spring**/ so deep a malice, to confound the race/ of mankind" (P.L., II, 369-382). Slawkenbergius attributes the opening of Strasburg's gates not to the French but to curiosity; he laments, "'twas CURIOSITY pushed them open -- The French . . . when they saw the Strasburgers . . . follow the stranger's nose -- each man followed his own and marched in" (IV, 324). He concludes "Alas! . . . it is not the first . . . [and] will not be the last fortress that has been either won -- or lost by NOSES" (IV, 324). Just as curiosity inspired by Satan led to the loss of Paradise and "all our woe," so curiosity inspired by "NOSES" led to the fall of the Argentorati and their consequent inability to "follow their business" (IV, 324).

At a more fundamental level, Slawkenbergius's Tale is concerned not with a political fall but rather with the use and abuse of words and the loss of individual liberty that is occasioned by succumbing to rhetoric and the flourishes of language instead of maintaining an affinity for, and intuitive grasp of, "the thing in itself," whatever that might be at any particular time. Noses, devils and truth are words, and Sterne in "Slawkenbergius's Tale" and the chapters framing it has

demonstrated their fungibility and arbitrary nature. In Paradise Lost Milton attributes "all our woe" to Satan, Slawkenbergius connects the fall of the Argenterati with their curiosity about "NOSES," Tristram finds the origin of his misfortune to reside in the shortness of his nose and "no other cause," and Walter Shandy's disquisition on the "solutions of noses, . . . the various accounts which learned men have given . . . of the causes of long and short noses" prompts Uncle Toby's retort, "There is no cause but one . . . but because God pleases to have it so" (III, xli). Sterne's jest makes manifest that while we give a "name" to causes or concepts that are beyond our ability to know or verify, as well as to what is known and ascertainable, that is all that we are doing, i.e., naming, but in no way changing or affecting their actual nature. Ascribing some type of causation to a short nose, or curiosity about noses, or names, or the devil establishes no ontological connection between the signifier and signified. At first glance, such broad attributions of causation appear to operate only at the intellectual level where the issue resolves itself into the question presented to reason of the truth or falsity of the proposition. Sterne's satire reminds us, however, that a belief in a particular etiology also operates at the practical level, can influence attitudes and behavior and, in such cases, may be pernicious. Sterne demonstrates that the words,

names, noses and the devil [of which "my father," since he "could not have the honour of it, in the literal sense of the doctrine . . . took up with the allegory of it" (V, xvi)] can all constitute an elaborate displacement of that which they ostensibly represent and can, in fact, mislead us, insofar as we deceive ourselves by thinking that naming adds to our fund of knowledge regarding that which is named. If Uncle Toby, in considering "my mother's" reluctance to be attended by Dr. Slop, were to mention her "covered way," no reader of Tristram Shandy would fail to smile or to understand precisely what he meant, and, if we understand, it does not particularly matter with what words or gestures the information was communicated. Sterne shows that insight into meaning demands more than dictionary knowledge of what a word stands for; it requires contextualization on the part of the recipient of a communication, and this contextualization consists, in part, in projecting our knowledge of the nature and interests of the disseminator of the information onto the communication itself, as well as contextualizing the word or phrase with our own experience and with the situation in which it is uttered. Moreover, Sterne makes clear that there are many roads to truth, and that logic and eloquence do not necessarily provide the most direct paths; he demonstrates that words and charming metaphors that beguile the fancy, fire the imagination

and light up noumenal reality may, upon closer examination, be found to show considerable flaws when subjected to the test of phenomenal reality or to have little or no relevance in the empirical world. In fact, in one sense, Sterne's ascription throughout the novel to Walter Shandy and Tristram of an obsession with the length of noses and with names as a cause of misfortune, and to the Argentorati in Slawkenbergius's Tale of curiosity about noses, appears to be an extremely recondite but ingeniously crafted response to the attribution by Milton in Paradise Lost of "all our woe" to curiosity inspired by Satan. The stance Sterne seems to be adopting is one in which indeterminacy is preferable to false notions of causation--"so often has my judgment deceived me . . . that I always suspect it" (V, xi, 439)--and words are devalued in favor of meaning. The reader is induced humorously to indulge Walter and Tristram in their far-fetched speculations about causation; likewise, if we perceive the Miltonic references, Milton's devils become causes as specious and impotent as short noses and ill-chosen names. The reader knows that one's fate is not determined by a given name or the length of a nose and that Walter and Tristram's concerns are misplaced; analogously, one is led to question one of the bedrocks of Milton's cosmology, i.e. his identification of evil with the devil and projection of a militaristic God prompt to

engage in battle and mete out punishment to his adversaries. For an alternative vision Sterne does not presume to depict God, but, in his description of Uncle Toby's reaction to the provocations of the fly that torments him, shows the behavior of a man of good will. One is then led to consider whether Sterne's God could act less generously than one of his creations--the benevolent, if imperfect, Uncle Toby.

MILTON, SHAKESPEARE, AND THE READER SEDUCED BY WORDS

Turning from Sterne's parody of Milton, we observe another facet of Sterne's examination of words and metaphors in connection with Slawkenbergius's Tale, that is, his titillating priming of the reader to expect double entendres with respect to the word "nose." Tristram says that in "books of strict morality . . . such as this," he must depend "upon the cleanliness of [his] reader's imaginations" (III, xxxi, 257-258); after mentioning that there are "two roads . . . a dirty and a clean one" (III, xxxi, 258), and cautioning his readers "to guard against the temptations and suggestions of the devil, and suffer him by no art or wile to put any other ideas into their minds" (III, xxxi, 258) than what we shall find in his definition of a nose, the reader who does not actively seek and find prurient meanings and

sexual connotations with respect to every further reference to the word nose, or anything else which could have such connotations, is a paragon of virtue/repression or devoid of imagination. The rest of us inquire: is "lost his scabbard" the only way to translate "vaginam perdidisse," and, more importantly, was it only Diego's nose that "stood in his way" to prevent him from placing "the heart in jeopardy . . . of every virgin who had cast her eyes upon him" (IV, 304)?

In his humorous treatment of the double entendre, Sterne achieves a didactic end that pages of learned discourse might fail to accomplish; he creates in the reader an almost hypersensible awareness of the multiple connotations of words, and this heightened consciousness begins to extend not only to words with possibly indecent connotations but to all the words he uses, particularly those that are odd or frequently repeated. One consequence of the intensified sensitivity to words that Sterne has attempted to engender in his readers is that we tend to pay greater attention to his diction than would ordinarily be the case. For example, when we focus closely on Sterne's word choice in *Slawkenbergius's Tale*, we recognize that Sterne has contextualized the story not only with Milton's Paradise Lost, Areopagitica and The Reason of Church Government, but also in terms of Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. What? How? When? . . . Did we notice,

fellow reader, the sly insinuation of the Shakespearean allusion into the passage on Strasburg, when Diego said he "could not gain admittance into [it] for a ducat" (IV)? A "ducat" is presumably meant to direct us, if we have not already been so guided by noticing that "schlacken" in German means "dross," to The Merchant of Venice, the first reference cited under "ducat" by Johnson in the 1755 edition of his Dictionary. We recall that the stem of the Latin name of the people of Strasburg is "Argentum," i.e. silver. To win her hand, Portia's suitors in The Merchant of Venice must choose one of three boxes, gold, silver or lead; each casket contains a portrait and, to each, is attached a riddle. One of the claimants observes:

What says this leaden casket?

'Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.'

Must give -- for what? for lead! hazard for lead?

This casket threatens: men that hazard all
Do it in hope of fair advantages.

A golden mind stoops not to shows of dross: .

. .

What says the silver with her virgin hue?

'Who chooseth me shall get as much as he
deserves.'

(II, vii, 15-23)

The suitor who opens the silver casket finds the image of a fool, presumably what he deserves for selecting silver, just as the Argentorati, the silver-tongued disputants in Slawkenbergius's Tale, earned what they deserved for not attending to their legitimate business. While Bassanio, the successful suitor, is musing over the choice of gold, silver or lead, the stage directions indicate that a song is sung:

Tell me where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?
Reply reply.
It is ingend'red in the eye,
With gazing fed, and fancy dies

In the cradle where it lies. (III, ii, 62-68)

Tristram Shandy is itself a child of fancy; we have learned how he was begot and nourished and have come to believe he is the progeny of both his author's head and heart. Moreover, we realize that this is one child of fancy who has not died in his cradle even though Walter Shandy bewails "the injuries done us by my child's coming head foremost into the world . . . when all I wished . . . was to have saved this little **casket** unbroke, unrifled --" (IV, xix, 355). There is a qualitative difference between the fancy inherent in such a child of the brain and heart, as is Tristram Shandy, and the purely cognitive chimeras that beset the

imagination of the inhabitants of Strasburg, and also those of the reader who follows the flights of fancy initiated by Sterne but fails to reflect on what they mean. Reading signs, whether they be in the form of words, gestures or other indicia, and whether they be found in a book or in life, is an essential skill in communicating with others, and in the account of Slawkenbergius's Tale, it would appear that Sterne is honing his reader's abilities in what we might term risktaking reading. Tristram has earlier expressed the hope that by his pointing out "Madam's" error, "all good people may be taught to think as well as read" (I, xx, 66). The degree of thought on the part of the reader sought by Sterne requires not only cognition based on the evidence of the five senses, but also the operation of intuition or a "sixth sense" (IV, I, 326), like that displayed by Tristram in translating Slawkenbergius, as well as common sense and a sense of nonsense. Either of the latter may perhaps constitute that enigmatic seventh sense to which Tristram refers when he mentions that we are not "angels . . . but men cloathed with bodies and governed by our imaginations; and what a junketing piece of work of it there is, betwixt these and our seven senses . . . " (V, vii, 432).

Readers of Slawkenbergius's Tale become the counterparts of the suitors in The Merchant of Venice who must decide whether to choose the gold, silver or

lead. In our interpretation of the Tale we find a portrait of ourselves; we get what we desire, deserve or "give . . . [and] hazard for" (M. of V., II, vii, 16-17); this is Sterne's "jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,/ As a nose on a man's face . . . " (The Two Gentlemen of Verona, II, i, 125-126). One of the points of the jest becomes more apparent in the course of Bassanio's reflections during the song and leading up to his choice of the lead casket. Bassanio comments:

So may the outward shows be least themselves;
The world is still deceived with ornament.
In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt
But being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil? In religion,
What damned error but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve it with a text
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?
.....
. . . ornament is but the guiled shore
to a most dangerous sea . . . in a word,
The seeming truth which cunning times put on
To entrap the wisest.

(III, ii, 73-101)

To the leaden box Bassanio confides, "Thy paleness moves me more than eloquence" (III, ii, 106).

Sterne, like Bassanio, perceives "ornament" as a possible source of deception. Signs -- words, metaphors, language -- that are bedecked and bejeweled

by glib tongues and minds, but that mislead, displace and bear little connection to empirical reality, are the ultimate targets of his satire in Slawkenbergius's Tale. Sterne's parody of Milton's self-commendation in the Reason of Church Government and An Apology for Smectymnuus, and of the idea of the devil in Paradise Lost as a causative agent in man's frequently infelicitous lot, is aimed at gently mocking Milton's self-aggrandizing reflexivity and hubris and reflects Sterne's dissatisfaction with magniloquence that perhaps serves to conceal the fact that it might not contribute to gaining a better understanding of the human condition. The greater the distance of words from their function in communication, the more suspect they are in the Shandean world. A simple "Humph" or drop of a hat can, we have been made to realize, be of more value in the transmission of meaning than mountains of words. This is illustrated in Tristram's description of an interchange between Dr. Slop and Uncle Toby:

Humph! replied my uncle Toby. Dr. Slop, who had an ear, understood my uncle Toby as well as if he had wrote a whole volume against the seven sacraments.

-- -- Humph! replied Dr. Slop, (stating my uncle Toby's argument over again to him).

(II, xvii, 150)

Likewise, when Bobby dies and Walter Shandy is assuaging his grief with philosophy in the parlor, Trim is able to drive the thought of the "green sattin night-gown of my mother's" (V, vii, 429) from Susannah's head, and her satisfaction in her own continued existence from the scullion's and to focus their attention on the enormity of what has occurred, by the mere drop of a hat.

Tristram recounts: "Nothing could have expressed the sentiment of mortality, of which it was the type and forerunner, like it . . . it fell dead, -- the corporal's eye fix'd upon it, as upon a corps, -- Susannah burst into a flood of tears" (V, vii, 432).

From the nature of the eloquence displayed by Trim's hat, with which we can contrast that found in certain aspects of Milton's work and in Slawkenbergius's Tale, Tristram implies that a lesson should be drawn. He exhorts:

Ye who govern this mighty world and its
concerns with the *engines* of eloquence, - who
heat it, and cool it, and melt it and mollify
it, -- and then harden it again to your
purpose -- --

Ye who wind and turn the passions with this
great windlass, -- and, having done it , lead
the owners of them, whither ye think meet --

Ye, lastly, who drive -- -- and why not, Ye
also who are driven, like turkeys to market,

with a stick and a red clout -- meditate --
 meditate, I beseech you, upon *Trim's* hat. (V,
 vii, 433)

In Slawkenbergius's Tale, we, as readers, have been led and driven, but Sterne has also prompted us to create our own story by our interpretation of the Tale. In so doing, he has made us more conscious of all the other acts of interpretation in which we are engaged and has perhaps enhanced our skills in reading the signs by which we determine our course through life as well as literature.

The incorporations of Milton and his polemical and poetic writings, together with the iconography of the fall pervading the text, permit Sterne first, to contrast the benevolent and providential God projected by Toby, Trim, Yorick and Tristram, who articulate the limitations of their knowledge concerning His nature and attributes, with Milton's image of a mighty, bellicose, and vindictive God, and, second, to question whether the consequences of the Fall/falls have not been greatly exaggerated and exist more in the mind of the interpreter--whether that be Milton, Tristram, Uncle Toby, Walter Shandy, or the reader--than in the intrinsically incapacitating effects of the particular fall in question. Sterne thematizes the questions of the Fall--moral (the fall of man) and political (the fall of England to Cromwell in 1649 and in the Glorious

Revolution of 1688³³ and Ireland's multiple falls); human knowledge concerning the will and attributes of God and the limits of this knowledge; the question of damnation in the absence of Baptism; and, the nature and significance of dogmatic differences, by using Milton as a foil for his own interrogation of these issues.

³³David Hume, in The History of England, revised edition vol. VIII [originally published in 1756 as vol. II] gives a sympathetic account of James II and the rumors and events which led to his flight.

Chapter IV--What Reading Milton Reveals with Respect to Tristram Shandy

We find: first, Milton's disputes with the Bishops and particularly with Bishop Joseph Hall; second, Milton's defenses of the regicide, his answer to Eikon Basilike refuting Charles I's claims for tolerance for the Irish, and Milton's *ad hominem* attacks on Salmacius and Alexander More for allegedly denouncing his defenses of the execution of Charles I; third, Milton's answer to the accusation that he was seeking a "rich Widow" in his address on behalf of the three kingdoms; fourth, Milton's opposition to the Articles of Peace of 1649 with the Irish; and, finally, Milton's communication to Parliament in 1659 describing the prior six years when Parliament had been suspended as "a short but scandalous night of interruption".

The reader might ask why it is necessary to take these Miltonic detours through Sterne's labyrinth. One might inquire: Is the novel itself not complex enough without juggling Milton's writings as well? What purpose is served by examining a myriad of incorporations of Milton by Sterne? We might even hear cries of "There is nothing outside the text" in the bookstalls or find libraries echoing with the words: "There is no such thing as a more correct or true reading!" Reader response critics might be heard murmuring sotto voce, "The novel means whatever its readers say it means!"

Those interested merely in finding out what Tristram Shandy is about can skip over to Ireland and see the "green sattin night-gown of my mother's, which had been twice scoured" (V, vii, 429)--by Mountjoy at the end of Elizabeth's reign and Cromwell in the 1650's--in the next chapter. Readers curious to see the scholia to Sterne's text and the map detailing the route to Ireland are encouraged to navigate through this chapter.

If, as instructed, we read Milton, we find three sets of tracts relating to controversies in which Milton was engaged, elements of which Sterne has incorporated in writing Tristram Shandy. They cover the disputes with the Bishops; the regicide of Charles I and Articles of Peace with the Irish; and the address to Parliament after its suspension. The first group of these is the so-called Prelatical Tracts, including Of Reformation (1641), Of Prelatical Episcopacy (1641), Animadversions (1641), The Reason of Church Government (1642) and Apology against a Pamphlet (1642).³¹ The second series

³¹Dates are drawn from the "Chronology of Milton's Prose Works" (Milton I: xv and xvi).

of publications, dealing with the regicide, the Articles of Peace with the Irish and Milton's defences of himself and the English people relating to the execution of Charles I, is comprised of The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (1649), Observations upon the Articles of Peace (May 1649), Eikonoklastes (October 1649), A Defence of the English People (1651), A Second Defence (1654), and Defence of Himself (1655). The final polemic, Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means, published in August 1659, was addressed to Parliament and refers to the period from 1653 to 1659 when Parliament was suspended by Cromwell under whom Milton held office, as a "short but scandalous night of interruption."

Milton's disputation with the Bishops, according to Rudolf Kirk's Preface and Notes to Milton's Animadversions, began with Joseph Hall's support of the Bishops in his 1640 Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted, the arguments of which he supplemented in the next year in An Humble Remonstrance (January 1641). Milton treated the same topics in Of Reformation and Of Prelatical Episcopacy (Spring 1641). Battle was joined when five presbyterian clergy, whose initials spelled

Smectymnuus, berated Hall's Remonstrance in An Answer to a Book Entitled An Humble Remonstrance in March 1641. The next month Hall replied to the Smectymnuans in A Defense of the Humble Remonstrance and the Smectymnuans volleyed back A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance in June 1641. At some point, before Hall's countercharge on July 28th, 1641, i.e., A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus, Milton entered the lists "against Hall's Defense with a fierce attack entitled Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defense against Smectymnuus" (Kirk, Milton I: 653). At this juncture, Joseph Hall, "sorely tried by what he undoubtedly regarded as the unfair and scurrilous tactics of his several opponents, dropped the dispute" (*Ibid.* 653-654). That winter, however, an anonymous champion of Hall's published A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell, Entituled, Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defense against Smectymnuus (1641) and Milton replied to this in 1642 in An Apology against a Pamphlet Call'd a Modest Confutation.

Section 1--Milton against the Bishops and Phutatorious and the Chestnut at the Bishop's Visitation Dinner in Tristram Shandy [Milton deduces the anonymous adversary from his style of writing; Milton and Hall's supporters

trade accusations of licentiousness; and Milton answers allegations that he hounded opponents with his charges against them].

Milton began his personal attack on Hall and the other Bishops in Animadversions by implying that they spent "their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions, and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition, and idlenesse, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases" (Milton I: 676-677). Hall's anonymous supporter in A Modest Confutation, in a jesting attempt in like kind "to form a judgment of the character of the Animadverter [Milton], deduces the portrait of this unknown opponent, who must have known evil ways from having lived them while at the university . . . " (*Ibid.*, 677). Let this be a lesson to all who would drop a chestnut in the presence of your graver gentry! "At this satiric deduction . . . Milton took offense" (*Ibid.*, 677), prompting his renewed invective against Hall in An Apology and defense of himself as having led a chaste life. In discussing his education in An Apology, to give the reader some idea of his own remarkable sexual probity, Milton states:

. . . . even those works which to many others

have bin the fuell of wantonnesse and loose living, I cannot think how unlesse by divine indulgence prov'd to me so many incitements as you have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of that vertue which abhorres the society of Bordello's. Thus . . . the ceaselesse round of study and reading led me . . . to the divine volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon*. Where if I should tell ye what I learnt, of chastity and love, I meane that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only vertue which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy. The rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion which a certaine Sorceresse the abuser of loves name carries about; and how the first and chiefest office of love, begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation knowledge and virtue, with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time

(An Apology, Milton I: 891-892)

Milton attributed not only the Modest Confutation, but also another anonymous publication, A Survey, to Hall, because of similarities of its style and diction

to Hall's Remonstrance. Don Wolfe in his "Introduction" to The Complete Prose Works of John Milton relates that in May 1641 when antagonisms between King and Parliament were intense and shortly before Parliament's execution of the Earl of Strafford [Thomas Wentworth] a number of members of both houses of Parliament signed a "Protestation" in which they "pledged their continued zeal in the cause of reformation and punishment of traitors" and bound themselves "to defend 'the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England* against all *Popery* and *Popish Innovations*'" (Milton I: 94). To those like Henry Burton, author of The Protestation Protested (1641), who favored recourse to the individual conscience alone in matters of faith, the Protestation erred in granting legitimacy to the Church of England which in Burton's words was the "'perfect image of the Papall Beast, from horne to hoofe'" (*Ibid.* 95). An anonymously published response to Burton's pamphlet appeared shortly thereafter, A Survey of That Foolish, Seditious, Scandalous, Prophane Libell, the Protestation Protested, which began "'Goodman Cobler, (it is you that hath stitched together this Tubb-Sermon,'" and in decrying the dismissal of tradition asserted that "'You therefore begin *ab ovo*'" (*Ibid.* 98). Readers of Tristram Shandy recall Tristram's assertion at the inception of the

history of his life and opinions that he, too, is beginning *ab ovo*, unlike Milton who tells us in the "Argument" to Paradise Lost that "the poem hasts into the midst of things" (Complete Poems 250) or Slawkenbergius who says "Haste we now towards the catastrophe of my tale" (IV, 316).

The question of style and the repetition or quoting of certain phrases became important in connection with the Survey since there was a great deal of interest in discovering its author. The Survey was considered by some, including John Milton, to be the work of Joseph Hall, although its authorship was never acknowledged (*Ibid.* 98, see Milton I: 906, n. 51 for a list of those attributing A Survey to Hall). Frederick Lovett Taft in his Notes to Milton's Apology suggests that Milton might have inferred Hall's authorship of A Survey from its defense of Hall:

You mention Dr. Hall, and his learned paines;
out upon thee for a fool, and a babler! The
workes of that reverend, painfull, and
judicious bishop, shall be entertained by the
posterity, with approbation and thankfulness,
when the better times shal hisse thee . . .
out of the Church, the quintessence of you al
do come short to the meane croatchet of his

learning, judgement, integrity & eloquence.

(Ibid. 906, note 51)

We recall that in the story of the ass and the French Post Office Official in Tristram Shandy the phrase "**Out upon it!**" is made prominent by Tristram through its repetition and by the request to the reader to decide where this interjection should be placed. Moreover, we also find elements of the Survey to be present in Tristram's account of Phutatorious and the chestnut at the Bishop's Visitation dinner. Milton claimed to have established Hall's authorship of the Survey by the likeness in its style to Hall's Humble Remonstrance; in An Apology Milton states that the two were the product of the same hand: "The child doth not more expresly refigure the visage of his Father, then that book resembles the stile of the Remonstrant [Hall], in those idioms of speech, wherein he seemes most to delight" (I: 906). Readers of Tristram Shandy might note that the type of search for stylistic similarities that Milton undertakes is as important in establishing a parodic relationship as it is in fixing authorship. Milton then alleges that on "the seventeenth page" of the Survey there is an almost varbatim three-line borrowing, as though the author had taken the words from his own work, i.e., from the Humble Remonstrance where Hall had written:

'What a death it is, to think of the sport, and advantage these watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our sins, and shame? What exprobrations, what triumphs of theirs, will hence ensue?' (Milton I: 906, n. 52)

Milton's comments about A Survey in An Apology show that the Survey's jests, if literalized, are reminiscent of the events and remedies in Tristram's story of Phutatorius and the chestnut at the **Bishop's** dinner. We recall in the novel that a chestnut drops and accidentally arrives at Phutatorius' nether reaches; he at first feels a not disagreeable sensation of warmth but as soon as his imagination is heated he is convinced that a reptile has its teeth clasped to the affected part. After comparing the style, diction and tone of the Humble Remonstrance and Survey, Milton claims that after adducing that are by the same writer, namely, the **Bishop**, if we distinguish the two we find that in the Survey "he bites" (Hall had called some of his satires "biting" satires and others "toothless" satires) while the Remonstrance "whines"; in the Survey, "*Vinegar in theinke is . . . the antidote of Vipers*" and "*[l]aughing in a religious controversie is . . . a thrifty physick to expell his melancholy*" (Milton I: 906). The contrast Milton draws in his literary analysis of **Bishop** Hall's writings--focusing on style

and content--emphasizes words that bring in semantic fields relating to vinegar in the ink, reptiles, their bites, and remedies for them; it is this semantic field that Sterne utilizes to talk about the hot chestnut that so incommodes Phutatorius. Is it surprising then to find that, at the **Bishop's** dinner, Yorick, like Hall, is accused of **dropping the chestnut**, whether he did or not; that "the copulator" feels the pain might originate from the **bite** of a "Newt or an Asker, or some such detested **reptile**" (IV, xxvii, 382) and that the "anodyne" is to be found in the **ink** of a recently printed paper wrapped around the affected part?

Milton's accusation that Hall and the other **bishops** had spent their earlier years in "**harloting**," and Hall's defender's **joke** that Milton must have frequented **bordellos** to have been so familiar with them further links Milton with **Phutatorius**, the **Copulator**. Milton had also recently written On the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce where he gave scriptural support for the proposition that divorce on a number of grounds was permissible; to the more orthodox this may well have appeared equivalent to the latest contribution to the world of print--de Concubinis retinendis--of that frequenter of **bordellos**, **Phutatorius**. Thus, Milton is aligned with the **Bishop's** Visitation dinner in Tristram Shandy through the incorporation by Sterne of significant elements of Milton's comparison of the anonymous Survey

and **Bishop** Hall's Satires, as well as the words Milton finds to link Hall with both publications, into the fact situation of the Bishop's Visitation Dinner and elsewhere in Tristram Shandy. Sterne fictionalizes a real life fact situation, including an accusatory naming, i.e., "copulator," and, as well, he literalizes the figurative, for example, "to drop a chestnut," i.e., to employ a worn out joke, and figures the literal, i.e., relates the heating up of the ire of the subject of the joke, i.e., Milton, as the literal heating of the unmentionable affected physical part of Phutatorius on which the chestnut drops.

Analytical Hypothesis: Milton in An Apology used style, tone and diction to establish Hall's authorship of the Survey. Sterne follows Milton's example but Sterne uses Milton's style and diction immediately preceeding Volume IV--which contains Slawkenbergius' Tale and the story of the Bishop's visitation dinner--to establish a link between Slawkenbergius and Milton in a parodic way. The further connection of Milton to Phutatorious is set up by Sterne through his use, in the story of the Bishop's Visitation Dinner, of the elements outlined by Milton in the Apology to prove his claim that Bishop Hall wrote the Survey.

In Tristram Shandy, the injured party surmises that "the chestnut was originally [Yorick's]"--just as Milton

deduces that the Survey was Bishop Hall's--and the jester's failure to "set [the] story right with the world . . . trust[ing] to time and truth to do it for him" leads to "the fixed resentment of Phutatorius, who . . . rose up from his chair a second time, to let him know it--which indeed he did with a smile; saying only--that he would endeavour not to forget the obligation. . . . --The smile was for the company. --The threat was for Yorick" (IV, xxviii, 383-386).

Milton's analogous practice of requiting the slights of chosen adversaries through his vitriolic public *ad hominem* attacks was well known and commented on by his contemporaries. The personal accusations against his opponents seem to have begun in the prelatial tracts but were continued with even greater exertion in his defenses of the regicide. The charge of defaming his opponents was raised, for example, in connection with Milton's dispute with Claudius Salmacius author of The Royal Defense of Charles I (1649) to which Milton responded in his Defence of the English People, by John Milton Englishman, Against 'The Royal Defence' by 'Claude the Nameless,' alias 'Salmasius' (1651). In the introduction to her translation of Salmasius' Defensio Regia Kathryn McEuen notes that the "second seriously disputed point in the Milton-Salmasius controversy is the cause of Salmasius' death. Some admirers of Milton and detractors of Salmasius seem

inclined to prefer the notion that it was owing to the rough treatment which he had received at the hands of Milton" McEuen quotes Milton's own reference to the subject in the Second Defense:

How he died, I shall not say Yet there are those who even place the responsibility for his death on me and on those barbs of mine too keenly sharpened. While he fixed them more deeply in himself by his resistance . . . they say at last, after a three-year illness, worn away by mental distress rather than bodily illness, he died. (Milton IV (2): 977).

Milton's castigations of Salmasius provoked Peter Du Moulin in his anonymous book, The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides, to ask of Milton: "Do you, you dung-heap [*Schlackenbergius?*], you blockhead, do you dare to gnaw away at men of Salmasius' caliber?" (Milton, IV(2), 1078). Like Tristram, Du Moulin conventionally directs an address "To the Christian Reader" (*Ibid.*, 1046) and his publication includes as well a specific section "Against that Foul Rascal John Milton: The Advocate of Parricide and Parricides" that begins mildly enough, viz., "Wither do you hasten with hurried feet unbidden, you brisk Iambics?" (*Ibid.* 1078) but moves on to apostrophize Milton:

Come hither, you impious tormentor, I want a few words with you. Has your poor little father, then, depriving himself of his own fondness for good living, brought you up to expect to suck out the milk of good arts? How much better it would have been for you . . . to bawl like an ox-driver, to drive a cart, or turn a hand-mill in the condition of an ass! At least you had been able, without harming your mother country, to keep your foolish talk to yourself . . . (*Ibid.* 1080).

Likewise, Milton's second attack on Alexander More for writing Regii Sanguinis Clamor, even after the publisher had written to Milton denying that More had dropped this chestnut, is, according to Kester Svendsen in the Preface to Pro Se Defensio (1655), Milton's "most sanguinary *argumentum ad hominem*; nothing in his treatment of the Halls equals its violence" (Milton IV (2): 687). Svendsen informs us that Milton, after hearing from the publisher and in expectation that More would reply to the accusations against him in Milton's Defensio Secunda, "collected evidence," much of which consisted of details of More's sexual indiscretions, to be used in his reply to More (*Ibid.* 688). Milton notes he had charged More with "two crimes . . . one is

insult and and outrage; the other, debauchery" (*Ibid.* 701). Milton asserts:

You deny that you are the author of this **pasquinade**; and so sedulously, so **prolixly** do you deny it . . . that to me you seem more afraid of being discovered as the author of that libel than of confessing to those many infamous acts charged against you. . . . A shrewd plan, perhaps; for it is more difficult to prove that anyone has written one libel than that someone has committed many acts of lewdness. (Pro Se Defensio IV(2): 701)

Prolix is a word Tristram associates with Slawkenbergius when he says "to shorten my translation, for Slawkenbergius's book is in Latin [as was Pro Se Defensio and many of Milton's other polemics], and not a little **prolix** in this passage" (III, xxxviii, 274). We also recall that Tristram, when writing his history, will have "personnages to call upon" and will "paste up . . . **pasquinades**" (I, xiv, 41), surely an uncommon word, at a certain door. Milton affirms that it was only out of pity for More and "partly mindful of the eyes and ears of [his] readers" (*ibid.*, 723) that he did not entitle his book "*Against Alexander More, Adulterer and Lecher*" (*Ibid.*). The depths to which Milton descends in exposing More's and his associates alleged

indiscretions to the world are evident when Milton writes:

There is a certain Claudia Pelletta, whom hereafter we shall call your mistress--I know not whether yours alone. When she was the maidservant in the house of an honourable man of Geneve, she was common to you, the footman, and the coachman. This poor woman, after she married, continued in adultery the commerce of lewdness which she had had with you. Let us hear, you say, your 'witnesses and proofs.' Trifler! why do you require witnesses of me where there were none, when you fled those places where you were? . . . Witnesses will not be lacking. First shall come forth that gardner who saw you when you entered alone with the woman into that little garden cottage; he saw when that Claudia of yours closed the doors; he saw you afterwards come out openly embracing with the shameless woman, and so wanton that he thought he had seen the ancient obscene custodiam of gardens, made not from a fig tree, as of old, but from a mulberry" (Milton IV (2): 756); Note 138 informs us that the custodian of gardens was "Priapus, who was always represented with a collosal penis. Horace, *Satires* . . . says

these figures were usually made of fig wood.
 'Mulberry' (Morus) therefore makes an apt pun"
 (*Ibid.*).

In Tristram Shandy, Eugenius, in his "lecture upon discretion," adjures Yorick to consider that even though his jests proceed from no "spleen or malice" that "a person laugh'd at, considers himself in the light of a person injured" (I, xii, 31). The result, says Eugenius, is

REVENGE from some baneful corner shall level a
 tale of dishonour at thee, which no innocence
 of heart or integrity of conduct shall set
 right.---- . . . --thy faith questioned,--
 thy works belied,--thy wit forgotten,--thy
 learning trampled upon. . . . CRUELTY and
 COWARDICE, twin ruffians, hired and set
 on by MALICE in the dark, shall strike
 together at all thy infirmities and mistakes:-
 -The best of us, my dear lad, lie open there,-
 -and trust me,--trust me Yorick, *When to*
gratify a private appetite, it is once
resolved upon, that an innocent and an
helpless creature shall be sacrificed, 'tis an
easy matter to pick up sticks anew from any
thicket where it has strayed, to make a fire
to offer it up with (I, xii, 32).

*Analytical hypotheses: In this and in a number of other instances we find: a. Milton's adversary uses a word or phrase or fact situation; b. Milton foregrounds the use by objecting to it; and, c. Sterne incorporates that contested word, phrase or fact situation with all its ordinary meaning plus all the semantic and referential baggage it has accreted in the course of the controversy between Milton and the bishops.*³⁵

Section 2--Milton's and Sterne's Gods; the Bishop's "[F]at [C]orpulencies", the Actually Thin but Figuratively Corpulent Joseph Hall, and the "[S]esquipedality of [B]elly" (II, ix, 121) of Dr. Slop.

In late 1641, twelve bishops had submitted a "Humble Petition" to request invalidation of the

³⁵ One might, in addition, ask whether it is significant that Yorick, who is tormented to death for his jests, and for speaking his mind without regard to his auditor's rank or reputation for spleen, is linked on his deathbed through the odd word "lambent" to Slawkenbergius, who, Tristram tells us, has used this word in one of his tales. The very similar "lambeth" is mentioned by Milton in Animadversions in his controversy with the Bishops, particularly, Bishop Hall, in connection with an earlier accusation he had made that episcopacy created "faction," a reproach which Joseph Hall's anonymous defender in A Modest Confutation had challenged. (Milton I: 673). **Lambeth** was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury and, hence, is a word associated with the bishops. Milton called the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission a "Gehenna ["to

proceedings of Parliament taken in their absence due to fear of the London mobs which had been stirred up against them. On December 30, 1641, the twelve bishops were "charged with high treason, the archbishop of York impeached, ten committed to the Tower [Hall among them], and two . . . turned over to the Black Rod" (Milton I: 860, n. 59). While they were thus imprisoned Milton, in the Reason of Church Government, addresses himself to Parliament about them saying:

[H]ow they stand affected to the law giving Parliament, your selves, worthy Peeres and Commons, can best testifie; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obscure and pernicious designes of the Prelats: until their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immur'd their haughty looks within strong walls. (I: 860)

Milton then considers the question of whether to grant mercy to or extirpate the Bishops:

[I]f you can finde after due search but only one good thing in prelaty . . . spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow, all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darken'd and

signify judicial torture," *Ibid.* 674-675, n. 46] at

obscurd. . . . [I]f she be found to be
 malignant, hostile, destructive to all these,
 as nothing can be surer, then let your severe
 and impartial doom **imitate the divine
 vengeance**; rain down your punishing force
 upon this godlesse and oppressing government:
 and bring such a dead Sea of subversion upon
 her, that she may never in this Land rise mor
 to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the
 elect people of God. (I: 861)

God features as a character both in Tristram Shandy
 and in Milton's prose and poetry. Milton's
 representation of God--here in terms of "divine
 vengeance"--presupposes attributes some might consider
 ungodly. In his Grounding for the Metaphysics of
 Morals, Immanuel Kant, for example, a reader of both
 Sterne and Milton, avers that in projecting God's will
 he would prefer the rational "ontological concept of
 perfection [which] is empty [and] indeterminate"
 to a theological concept since the latter can be
 based on "such characteristics as desire for glory and
 dominion combined with such frightful representations as
 those of might and vengeance" (Kahn, Classics of Western
 Philosophy 961). Sterne seems to have anticipated
 Kant's analysis. The God projected in the background of
Tristram Shandy, a rather unknowable shadowy figure,

Lambeth" in his Animadversions (*Ibid.* 674).

appears fleetingly as an image of benevolence surpassing Toby himself in good will. In connection with Trim's "Story of the king of Bohemia and his seven castles" (VIII, xix, 683), Toby claims that even God could not give the land-locked Bohemia a sea coast "without overflowing a great part of Germany, and destroying millions of unfortunate inhabitants who could make no defense against it" and this "would bespeak . . . such a want of compassion in him who is the father of it---- that . . . the thing could have happen'd in no way" (VIII, xix, 692). Sterne's contemporary readers would have been aware of the irony in referring: first, to the King of Bohemia, since there was continuing contestation over who was entitled to be King of Bohemia; and, second, to its "unfortunate inhabitants"--if they were to be inundated to give them a seacoast--because they had already been unfortunate for some time [their territory had been continually ravaged during both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by man-made wars fought to settle disputed claims to hegemony]. If the ironies are recognized, the reader becomes aware that Sterne, while particularly diffident about postulating the nature and attributes of God, only ascribes to God positive traits such as mercy and benevolence very unlike the revengeful God around whom Milton rallied. In Sterne's novel, it is human agency rather than Divine retribution that is the cause of man's frequently

unhappy lot. It would be unthinkable in Sterne's world, but not in Milton's, that any human would act as an agent to effect Divine vengeance. Likewise, it becomes clear in the course of the novel that it is individual human choices that set in motion the chains of events, whether at the level of the family or the nation, that frequently cause such human misery like that occasioned by the repeated wars in Flanders, Silesia, and Bohemia.

With regard to the question of reference, when we ultimately realize that the mentioning of Hall by Tristram ought to invoke Miltonic associations we can understand why Tristram inexplicably says Hall is corpulent, when, in fact, he was not (The Notes 461). When Joseph Hall had recommended, in his Defense of the Humble Remonstrance, that the Smectymnuans ask themselves if the Bishops had not done any good work, to see if there were "'no Colleges, no Hospitals built?'" or "'No seduced parsons reclaim'd?'" Milton, in his Animadversions (1641), answers by saying that there were "More reclaimed persons seduc'd" and asserts that the fault is not in the Smectymnuans' eyes as Hall alleges but in the Bishops blocking their view. He then adjures the Bishops to "Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light!" (Milton I: 732) and challenges Hall whom he calls the "Remonstrant" thus:

We know you feare, and are in an agonie at
this present, lest you should lose that

superfluity of riches and honour which your
 party usurp. . . . You are not arm'd
 Remonstrant, nor any of your band, **you are**
not dieted, nor your loynes girt for
 spirituall valour, and Christian warfare, **the**
luggage is too great that followes your
 camp; your hearts are there, you march
 heavily. How shall we think you have not
 carnall feare while **we see you so subject**
to carnall desires? (Milton I: 665-666)

Milton's adjuration to Hall and the other Bishops to
 "wipe your fat **corpulencies** out of our light," and
 Tristram's description of Hall as "corpulent" since he
 was not so, establishes another form of reference to
 Milton's contestation with the Bishops. Hence, the word
 "**corpulence**" serves a referential function when used in
 a counterfactual way to describe Hall's physical bulk;
 the associations of the word cue the reader to the
 dispute between Hall and Milton and the word "corpulent"
 also becomes at certain times synonymous for "bishop."

It is possible that in Tristram Shandy, Dr. Slop,
 the more than corpulent Catholic male-midwife,
 represents a Catholic bishop or archbishop because: 1.
 "Doctor" can signify a medical doctor or, as in the case
 of Dr. Joseph Hall, a **Doctor of Divinity**; 2.
corpulence in the novel frequently refers to Church of
 England **Bishops**; and, 3. Hogarth, after the first

volumes of Tristram Shandy were published, had furnished illustrations for the novel, including one with Dr. Slop, and he, in addition, represents the Archbishop of Cantebury as Dr. Cants, **Male Midwife** in an unpublished print dated 1762 (Shesgreen 97).

In the Milton-Hall dispute bad smells and odors are alleged by Milton to indicate that the "Bishops foot has been in the broth," i.e., that a bishop has been involved in whatever matter smells of the bishop's foot. Not inadvertently, Slawkenbergius is an authority on noses as one who has devoted so many years to sniffing out evidence of prelates and episcopacy.

Analytical hypotheses: 1. Sterne's use of Milton as a foil permits the reader to perceive the human action and consequences that result from an individual's projection of the nature of God: Milton envisions a militant God who exults over defeated opponents and this conception of God justifies Milton's like actions. The somewhat unknowable God represented in Tristram Shandy, on the contrary, is one of good will with whom any ill nature is inconsistent. 2. Sterne's representation of Hall with an attribute, viz., corpulence, that is literally untrue, requires the reader to ask why Hall is being misrepresented. Corpulence becomes a cue and when Milton's portrayal of Hall and the other Bishop's as "fat corpulencies" is located the description serves a referential function reinforcing other prompts pointing

to the Milton-Hall controversy. It also indicates a meaning of "corpulence" that is only found in the Milton-Hall controversy and in Tristram Shandy, viz., corpulence as indicating high church office. 3. The preoccupation in the novel with "noses" as external organs of smell is connected with the question of religion, particularly religious differences between Protestants and Catholics and Protestants inter se.

Section 3--Use of the Relation of Opposites to Invoke an Association of Ideas.

According to Tristram, "[t]he learned Bishop Hall, I mean the famous Dr. Joseph Hall, who was Bishop of Exeter in King James the first's reign, tells us in one of his *Decads*, at the end of his divine art of meditation, imprinted in London, in the year 1610, by John Beal, dwelling in *Aldersgate-street*, 'that it is an abominable thing for a man to commend himself; '--and I really think it is so" (I, xxii, 79). Moreover, Tristram later observes that as soon as one thinks of a word, "one" ("i.e., an author") tends to think of its opposite, so if he thinks of "gay" he immediately thinks of "spleen" (VII, xix, 603). If we remember this "undercraft of authors to keep up a good understanding amongst words, as politicians do among men--not knowing how near they may be under a necessity of

placing them to each other" (VII, xix, 603) when Tristram speaks of Bishop Joseph Hall, it should bring John Milton, Hall's great opposite in the pamphlet war, to mind. Hence, each time we encounter Bishop Hall in Tristram Shandy, we find as we read over the novel as we have been instructed to do a reference to Milton and something he said or did in the course of his controversy with Hall and the Bishops.

Analytical hypothesis: Sterne is using the relationship of opposites to create, through an association of ideas, a reference to the opponent each time the name of one of the known antagonists is mentioned.

Section 4--Authorial Self-Praise and Digressions

In Tristram's extremely precise description of Joseph Hall, we find Hall's deprecation of self-praise, an issue which came to the foreground when Hall and his supporters and Milton were inveighing against each other. Right after disparaging self-praise, Tristram states, "in this long digression which I was accidentally led into, as in all my digressions (one only excepted) there is a master-stroke of digressive skill" (I. xxii, 80). The word "digressions" or "digressive" occurs nine times in the three pages after Hall is mentioned. Tristram then says "I was just going . . . to have given you the great out-lines of my uncle

Toby's most whimsical character; when my aunt *Dinah* and the coachman came a-cross us" (I, xxii, 80). [My own readers, please note: Dinah and the coachman are associated with digressions.]

In his own time, Milton had been taxed with inappropriately digressing to praise himself. In John Milton, Englishman, His Defense of Himself against Alexander More (1655), Milton had accused More of authoring the anonymously published The Cry of the Royal Blood against the English Parricides. Milton deals with More's accusations:

You begin with lies: 'for,' you say, 'to start at this point, what is more lying than the title page of your libel? which,' you know not why, I call A Second Defense of the English People. 'In truth,' you say, 'you ought to call it a most foul satire against me and a most windy panegyric upon yourself' What if I should sometimes digress and should find from another source somewhat to revive the spirit of the reader, especially in material so trite and often so dismal? Are you a man so concise and so without indulgence as to think that no one is to be allowed to depart a nail's breadth from the limits of argument? . . . What if, as you object, in a

brief digression, I had praised myself? Who would not admit that often there are those times and occasions when appropriate praises are not indecorous, even to the most saintly and modest men, nor have ever been? If I should wish to illustrate this topic by a copious supply of examples, I might, indeed, easily prove myself to all men, and you would be struck dumb. But I have never praised myself; nor, as you charge, will you ever find a panegyric pronounced by me upon myself" (Milton IV(2): 733-735; see "Preface and Notes" 687 et seq. by Kester Svendsen for the genesis of this controversy).

Tristram, we have mentioned, has said that in writing his history he will hang up "panegyrics . . . at this door and pasquiunades at that" (I, xiv, 41). Moreover, the unnecessarily detailed nature of the description of Bishop Hall and his publication indicates that Sterne's is perhaps telling us something other than the obvious fact that Doctor Joseph Hall is being quoted on the question of self-praise. The complicated referentiality in this instance illustrates Sterne's ability to create references,³⁶ including a reference to Milton and the

³⁶ Words, phrases, references and emendations are

Articles of Peace with the Irish, by such means as an orthographical error, circumstantial information and an association of ideas focusing on self-praise, and the following key words: digressions, panygerics and pasquinades.

Analytical Hypothesis: Sterne's incorporation of Hall's deprecation of self-praise constitutes another reference to Hall's opposite, i.e., Milton, and to Milton's polemics, including those with Alexander More, in which the question of self-admiration was foregrounded.

Likewise, Sterne draws the reader's attention to the nature of literary digresssions--hence to Milton's

frequently clues directing our attention to another work of literature or philosophy; however, a recognition of the clue is not an end in itself but a means to an end. As Hugh Kenner has observed in connection with his study of Ulysses in Dublin's Joyce:

The clue is a bogus epiphany. In itself it has no ontological significance. It doesn't open to contemplative penetration the intelligible depths of some object; rather it suggests to the quick deductive wit discursive attention to the superficialities of a dozen other objects. . . . The sleuth's reconstruction . . . works at the level of efficient causes only; the epiphany implies an intuitive grasp of material, formal, and final causes as well. (176)

What the clue usually leads to in Sterne is more reading and then a greater understanding of the interrelationship of the many literary allusions, frequently at the level of a single word, with which he is working as well as those he is creating, and an augmented ability on the part of the reader to realize the parameters of the maze Sterne has established and the many paths that can be taken to reach some of the truth at the center of the labyrinth.

biographical digressions if we read Milton--by repeatedly mentioning digressions as well as including panygerics and pasquinades.

Section 5--Can a Person Be a Hinge or a Bridge?

Milton, with respect to More's charge that Milton's polemics interfered with the articles of peace with the United Provinces, responded:

[Y]ou say that 'with arms laid down you retain an armed spirit.' . . . [That] 'I seem to have lain in wait for that hinge of affairs, that I might decry the articles of peace when they came forth.' You, indeed, the hinge of affairs! Upon you turn the articles of peace! If you assault this man, it is all done with the peace! But what man? Of what rank? I believe he is a distinguished citizen Nay, he is not even a citizen, but a lodger, a foreigner, and a vile Gallo-Scot, odious and offensive to all, the enemy of the state; if he were expelled ejected, banished as a criminal, not even a tittle of the articles of peace would be harmed; nay, rather, they would be satisfied. (Milton IV(2): 742)

The Articles of Peace for which More claims to have been the "**hinge**" are those with the Dutch "signed April 5 and proclaimed April 27, 1654" (Milton IV (2): 706, n. 19).

The possibility of a human hinge in connection with Articles of Peace becomes important in Tristram Shandy in understanding the story of "the affair of **hinges**" (III, xxii, 240) which segues into the account of Dr. Slop's **bridge** for Tristram's crushed nose, "the affair of the jack-boots . . . [which] raised a train of military ideas in [uncle Toby's] brain" (252), and Trim's (James Butler's) and **Bridget's** (a diminutive of bridge so "little bridge") unintentional destruction of the Dutch draw-**bridge** (III, xxi-xxii, 239-253). Hinges and bridges are closely allied in the novel. Trim's namesake, James Butler, twelfth Earl of Ormond, was the "**hinge**" in the Articles of Peace with the Irish of 1649 which Milton publicly decried soon after they were published. James Butler, on behalf of Charles I, and, consequently, of England, was arm-in-arm with the Irish in bridging the animosities and establishing protections and fortifications for Irish religious freedom when, as was the case with Bridget and James Butler, i.e., Trim, the bridge collapsed. In the novel, it is the Dutch bridge that collapses but, in life, it was the Irish bridge, weakened perhaps by Milton's denunciation, negotiated by James Butler, that fell in 1649.

Analytical Hypothesis: Having been told to read "Slawkenbergius," i.e., Milton, and having been given indications of how trains of ideas work from the examples provided by Toby and Walter, the reader is expected to recognize and to associate ideas found in Milton's polemics with like words, concepts, phrases and fact situations in Tristram Shandy. Thus, when a "hinge" is problematized in both works, the associations and meaning in one work, namely, a person as hinge and Articles of Peace, etc., can become important in deciphering the meaning of the other.

Section 6--Spelling Errors and a Dispute between a Man and His Wife through the Key Hole of a Street Door; Correct Orthography; Milton, His Wife, England; England as Aunt Dinah; Charles I; Aldersgate Street; and Ireland. The Accusation of Attempting to Attract a Rich Widow, viz., England, and Toby's Courtship of the Widow Wadman.

When Milton defended at least one of his divorce tracts, he was living on Aldersgate Street in London: in 1645, Milton in Colasterion responded to the anonymous Answer to a Book, Intituled, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce . . . which contained a "reference to Milton's house on Aldersgate Street" (Milton II: 748, n. 114). In a sense the divorce tracts could be

considered a dispute between a man, Milton, and his wife, who was separated from him when the first divorce tract was written. It is in volume III chapter xxxiii of Tristram Shandy, ten pages after the introduction of Hafen Slawkenbergius, that Tristram says, "Such a ridiculous tale of a **dispute** between a **man** and his **wife**, never surely in any age or country got vent through the **key-hole** of a **street-door**" (277).

The intervening pages between the first attention to Slawkenbergius and mention of a dispute between a man and his wife through the key-hole of a street door contain the problematization of the name **Paraeus** which is another subtle cue pointing to the importance of Milton in this chapter. Paraeus becomes a locus of questioning in Tristram Shandy when we notice what seems to be a mistake on the part of our learned author, viz., the change of Paraeus's first name from "*Andrea*" on page 267--a first name itself transferred from Paraeus to Scroderus on page 275--to "*Ambrose*," which appears five times on pages 276 to 278. Could there be two Paraeus's? Has our learned author blundered? If there is only one Paraeus, what is his given name? Milton was fond of citing Paraeus without any first name, as though the name, like that of Aristotle or Cicero, would be familiar to all his readers. In "Of That Sort of Dramatic Poem which Is Call'd Tragedy" introducing Samson Agonistes, Milton states that "**Paraeus** commenting

on the Revelation, divides the whole Book as a Tragedy" (Milton, Complete Poetry 574). Professor John Shawcross explains that the Paraeus in question is "David Pareus (1548-1622), a Calvinist theologian, in his Operum Theologicorum" (574, n. 4). Can it be inadvertent that Tristram not only gives his reader two different first names for an author Milton frequently cited, viz., Paraeus, but also considers it necessary to explain who "Ambrose Paraeus" was? Tristram maintains that this information is provided not in order to inform the reader, but to make sure the reader knows he is aware of the fact himself: "I don't acquaint the learned reader,--in saying it, I mention it only to shew the learned, I know the fact myself.----" (III, xxxviii, 276).

The only street that seems to be mentioned in Tristram Shandy is Aldersgate Street, the street where Milton lived during at least part of the time when his dispute with his wife was publicly aired. In the copy-text of Tristram Shandy, the spelling of Aldersgate is **Aldergate**, without the "s," and the editors of *The Notes* inform us that the "work cited has never been located . . . so that it is impossible to verify the copy-text reading 'Aldergate-street.' The present reading is the usual spelling, as it appears on the title-page of Fynes Moryson's An Itinerary At London: Printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate

street, 1617 (The Notes 846). "Aldersgate" is also the spelling on the title page of Milton's 1649 publication and 1650 edition of The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (Milton III: 184 and 189).

The issue of correct orthography was foregrounded in the controversy between Hall on the one side and Milton and the Smectymnuans on the other concerning the authority of the Bishops. The question of spelling arose first in Milton's Animadversions when he defended the Smectymnuans against the Remonstrant's [allegedly Hall's] statement about their mistaking the name of a place, the Areopagi, for the name of a person. Milton quotes the Remonstrant who wrote, perhaps too sportively in such a grave controversy:

The Areopagi? who are those? truly my masters
I had thought this had beene the name of the
place, not of the men (*Ibid.* 666).

Milton girds his loins for the reply:

A soar-Eagle, would not stoope³⁷ at a flye,
but sure some Pedagogue stood at your elbow,

³⁷Yorick, like Milton's "soar-Eagle," because of a "singularity of his temper . . . would never . . . take pains to set a story right with the world, however in his power. In every ill usage of that sort . . . his spirit was above it; and besides he ever looked upon the inventor, the propagator and believer of an illiberal report alike so injurious to him,--he could not stoop to tell his story to them--" (IV, xxvii, 385). "We recall that Diego in Slawkenbergius Tale displays a similar disinclination to be "touched" (IV, 293) while the tale also manifests a literal preoccupation with

and made it itch with this parlous Criticisme they urg'd you with a Decree of the sage and severe Judges of Athens, and you cite them to appeare for certaine *Paragogicall* contempts, ["Mistakes in the letters of word endings," 666, n.10] before a capricious *Pedantrie* of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Mistake not the matter courteous *Remonstrant*, they were not making Latines: if in dealing with an outlandish name they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh forreigne termination, so they kept the radicall word, they did no mor then the elegantest Authors among the *Greeks, Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in scorne of such a servility use to doe. Remember how they mangle our Brittish names abroad; what trespasse were it, if wee in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not stick to doe so, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis* . . . with many other names strangely *metamorphis'd* from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words" (*Ibid.* 666-667).

To this, Hall's defender in the Modest Confutation replies that "Chaucer hath mollified a termination . . .

[but not] the name of a place into the name of a man" (*Ibid.* 667, n.12).

Milton himself, in Colasterion (1645), his defence against the anonymous refuter of his own Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce who had mentioned that Milton lived in Aldersgate Street, foregrounds the issue of spelling to tax his unknown adversary with ignorance. Milton writes:

[H]is very first page notoriously bewraies him an illiterat . . . bearing us in hand as if hee knew both Greek and Ebrew, and is not able to spell it; [in Note 14, Lowell Coolidge advises us that "the error consists in the substitution of short vowels for long in two Greek words . . . and in the general ommission of accents] which had hee bin, it had bin either writt'n as it ought, or scor'd upon the Printer The Licencer indeed . . . may licence much; but if these Greek *Orthographies* were of his licencing, the boyes at School might reck'n with him at his Grammar. (Milton II: 724)

There is a certain "tu quoque" irony in Milton's rebuke since there is what appears to be a typographical error on the title page of Colasterion so that the saying from proverbs 26:5 is rendered "Answer a Fool

according to his folly, lest hee bee wife in his own conceit."

By a metamorphosis from "true orthography" in the name of Aldergate/Aldersgate Street in a publication supposedly by Hall, Milton's opponent in the war against the bishops, Sterne captures our attention and we might find ourselves alert in our reading of Milton to see if we can find a reason for Sterne's orthographical cue. We noted earlier the possibility of such a spelling error in Tristram's rendition of the name of the street of Hall's publisher. If we look at Milton's publications we discover the same mistake in one of them. Hmmm! On the title page of Milton's **"ARTICLES OF PEACE Made and Concluded with the Irish Rebels, and Papists, by James [Butler] Earle of Ormond, For and in behalfe of the late King [the recently beheaded Charles I], and by vertue of his Authorite.** Published by Authority. London; Printed by Matthew Simmons in Aldergate-Streete. 1649" (Milton, III: 259 et seq.), we find the spelling of Aldergate Street that Tristram has linked to Bishop Hall, and, through Hall and Milton's antonymous relation, to Milton. Those of my readers who have been interested enough to peruse this scholium can now be let into the whole secret from first to last: the initial inkling that Tristram Shandy is about Ireland comes from the orthographical cue in the spelling of Aldergate Street. It is through what I

claim is a deliberate mistake on Sterne's part in the spelling of "Aldergate" that the link between Milton and the Articles of Peace with the Irish is emphasized. Once this connection is recognized other elements of Tristram Shandy tend to confirm the hypothesis that Tristram is a representation of Ireland and its history. We never get to this hypothesis, however, unless we follow the authorial instructions concerning the path through the labyrinth Sterne has devised, including the subtle directive to read Milton.

In inveighing against the Articles of Peace that would have granted religious liberty and freedom from the Supremacy Oath to the Irish, Milton, exponent of civil liberty for certain of the English, displays a persistent intolerance in matters of religion and his revengeful spirit. Milton denounces the Articles of Peace as granting to those "justly made our vassalls [the Irish]" (Milton, III: 302), "full liberty equall to their Conquerours, whom the just revenge of ancient Pyracies . . . had warrantably call'd over" (301-302). So, in connection with **Articles of Peace**, we find Milton recommending **breaches**. Such **breaches** of the treaty with the Irish, signed by James Butler, the first Earl of Ormond, with whom Trim shares his name, occurred almost immediately. Tristram ends his story of the French Post Official, the ass, his **breeches** and **The Articles of Peace** of 1763, for which he claims his

novel laid the foundation, with an injunction to the "REVIEWERS OF MY BREECHES" to draw certain conclusions. The war/peace treaty/breeches semantic field of that story is linked to the peace treaty/breeches/Ireland/Milton semantic field of the Milton/Hall controversy through the terms "breeches" and "Articles of peace". But what does this all mean to the Reviewers of Tristram's breeches? It is through the oddity in Milton's spelling of Aldersgate Street, Stern's association of this anomolous spelling with Hall, and then its appearance on the title page of Milton's diatribe against and recommendation to breach the Articles of Peace with the Irish, that the reader is led to Ireland, to a peace treaty and to its breaches, or, in other words, to what the novel at one level is about. It also indicates that one of the issues our author is concerned with is the question of peace and the causes of its breach--whether in 1649 or in 1763.

Analytical hypotheses: In the novel, discord in such grammatical matters as spelling and consonance or dissonance in cases of replication or quotation are generally purposeful and not inadvertent. A phrase lifted exactly from the controversies in which Milton engaged is probably not unintentionally repeated in Tristram Shandy. Likewise, a mistake in spelling that exactly matches an error found in a record of Milton's contentions, when the factual question of mistakes in

orthography has been raised in one of the controversies in question, serves, at the least, a referential function in Tristram Shandy.

Since Milton's attack in the Observations on the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels and Papists is, in part, an answer to Charles I's claims regarding his behavior with respect to Ireland, references are established through the orthographical error in Aldersgate Street to Charles I and his and Milton's recommended policies towards Ireland, to James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who signed the Ormond Peace and who shares his name with Trim in Tristram Shandy, to the breach of the peace treaty of 1649, and to Irish Catholics.

Milton, in Eikonoklastes, his answer to Eikon Basilike, the posthumously published self-defense of Charles I, derides Charles I's use of the phrase "prolix apologies." "Prolix" was a word Milton himself frequently employed and Milton's **Apology**, the profuseness of which even Milton deprecates, had berated Charles I for his support of the bishops. "Prolix" is, as was noted earlier, also a word associated by Sterne with Slawkenbergius in Tristram Shandy. Charles I used the phrase in connection with his charge that those who had stirred up so much trouble in his other kingdoms were also "guilty of the blood of Ireland." Since

Milton had written an Apology, and because "prolix" is one of those "idioms of speech, wherein he seemes most to delight" (An Apology 906), and judging by Milton's reaction to Charles I's use of the expression "prolix apologies," it is possible that Milton took the phrase as being personally directed towards himself.

The context in which Charles I fastened on the word "prolix" and stated he could not "stand to make prolix apologies" related to the disputed policy towards Ireland: Charles I had urged "compassion" and Milton had urg'd "just revenge." We recall Tristram's difficulties with profusion when he says "Slawkenbergius's book is . . . not a little **prolix** in this passage" (III, xxxviii, 274). Thus, **prolix**, a word in Charles I's defense of his actions in *Eikon Basilike*, written shortly before he was beheaded, to which Milton makes reference in his own *Eikonoklastes*, published c. October 6, 1649, to attempt to rebut the King's self-justification and *apologia* (Milton III: 147), is a particularly resonant word in connection with the beheading of Charles I, the King's posthumously published defense of his actions especially as they related to Ireland, and Milton's refutation of it. Milton in discussing Charles I's attitude in *Eikon Basilicon* toward Ireland quotes Charles I assertion that:

'all of them [*Irish Catholics*] he would have

*protected from the fury of those that would
have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to swim
down the popular stream.'* (III: 482)

To this, Milton replies:

These expressions are too oft'n mett, and too
well understood for any man to doubt his
meaning. . . . Those who would have refus'd
to swim down the popular streame, our
constant key tells us to be Papists, Prelats,
and thir faction: these . . . he would have
protected against his Puritan Parliament: And
by this who sees not that he and the Irish
Rebels had but one aime, one and the same
drift, and would have forthwith joyn'd in one
body against us. He goes on still in his
tenderness of the Irish Rebels fearing least
*our zeale should be mor greedy to kill the
Beare for his skin then for any harme he hath
done.* (482-483)

Milton speaks of a "constant key" during this period.
One element of the "key" or "code" is the Irish, another
is the "Puritan Parliament" and others are the disputant
himself, Milton, and England, represented by the dead
Charles I. Through the key hole of Aldersgate Street, a
Street where Milton lived, the reader is thus witnessing
Milton's--a man's--dispute with England, the "wife"
Milton was, in 1642, accused of seeking to "marry" by

showing off his "good abilities" to in his "big mouth'd address on behalf of the three kingdoms."

Tristram gives an indication of one of the ways authors associate ideas when he says:

In mentioning the word gay . . . it puts one (i.e. an author) in mind of the word spleen---especially if he has any thing to say upon it: not that by any analysis--or that from any table of interest or genealogy, there appears much more ground of alliance betwixt them, than betwixt light and darkness, or any two of the most unfriendly opposites in nature----only 'tis an undercraft of authors to keep up a good understanding amongst words, as politicians do amongst men--not knowing how near they may be under a necessity of placing them to each other . . . (VII, xix, 603)

The effect of Sterne's associating "prolix" with Slawkenbergius is to link the word with Milton and then with one of the controversies in which this word had been so prominently on stage, viz., the polemics before and after the beheading of Charles I, in part because of his policies towards Ireland.

Analytical hypothesis: use of even a single word like "prolix," which has taken center stage in a dispute which we have other prompts to indicate is relevant to our understanding of the novel, becomes additional

evidence linking real-life and fictional characters through reference, as well as evidence weaving together the semantic fields dealing with *Slawkenbergius*, *Milton*, *Charles I* and *Ireland*.

The issue of **Dinah**, of Biblical fame, came to the fore in Charles I's Eikon Basilike and in Milton's Eikonoklastes. Merritt Hughes, in his notes to Section XII, "*Upon the Rebellion in Ireland*," of Eikonoklastes, apprises us that in Eikon Basilike Charles I

blamed the desperate resistance of the Irish rebels on the severity of the measures with which they had been threatened by Parliament. **Parliament**, [Charles I] said, deserved a curse such as Jacob had called down upon his sons . . . (Genesis 49:7) for their massacre of the men of Sechem (Genesis 34:25-26) in retaliation for the seduction of their sister **Dinah**. (Milton III: 481, n. 26)

What Charles appears to have objected to was the revengeful spirit of Parliament, similar to that of Dinah's brothers, for wrongs against the English by the Irish. The analogy Charles I sets up compares **Dinah** to **England**, **Parliament** to her **avengers**, i.e., her brothers, and **Ireland** to the **seducer** of Dinah who suffers from the indiscriminate reprisals. Merritt Hughes further advises that

Milton denies the parallel because he represents the seduction as an offense which was fully atoned for by honorable love and offers of a most generous marriage settlement. He then recalls that, with the divine guidance, the murder of a single Israelite woman was avenged . . . by the slaughter of twenty-five thousand men and the leveling of many cities by fire . . . and that twelve thousand men were sent to "smite the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead . . . with the women and the children" . . . simply because they had not rallied to the support of the Israelites against the Benjamites" (Milton III: 481-482, n. 26).

It seems clear that in the period around the regicide of Charles I and the rise of Cromwell, we find England being compared to **Dinah**, and **parliament** to her brothers, who are her **avengers** against her seducer, **Ireland**, whose residents suffer disproportionately for the transgression. It was Milton who answered this charge on behalf of Parliament thus associating Milton with Dinah.

In Tristram Shandy, Aunt **Dinah** and the coachman, we recall, are further associated with digressions, and digressions, in turn, are linked with self-praise. Self-praise and digressions then function referentially

in Tristram Shandy and are additional pointers to Milton and the subject matter of his digressions, viz., Milton's own life--"a most windy panegyric upon [him]self'" (Milton IV(2): 733-735).

Although one does not ordinarily think of a **country as a widow or even a godmother or godfather**, that a country can be a godparent is exhibited in Tristram Shandy when the French King and Minister discuss bribing Switzerland by allowing Switzerland to act as godfather to the King's next child. The problem that arises is not whether a country can be a godparent but the sex of the country. The Minister points out that the King would incur the strictures of the "**grammarians**" if he were to name Switzerland as godfather since Switzerland "as a republic being a female, can in no construction be godfather" (IV, xxi, 358). Easily remedied, says the king, "She may be godmother" (IV, xxi, 358). The charge of being a "**grammarian**" arose frequently on both sides in the course of Milton's disputes. At the beginning of his Defence, in 1651, for example, Milton accused Salmasius of being "a foreigner and--deny it as often as he will--a **grammarian**" (IV: 306). The gender of a country that chooses its own rulers, to follow the logic of the French King's argument, is female. It is Aunt Dinah and the Widow Wadman in Tristram Shandy who seem to be in the same position as Switzerland. Aunt Dinah [England],

to the disgrace of the family, chose the coachman: Oliver Cromwell was appointed "Captain of the Horse" by Parliament. In 1701, Aunt Dinah, England, was "got with child" when the Settlement Act of 1701 legislatively decided the heir to the British throne and established the succession on the Protestant Hanoverians to the exclusion of the Catholic Stuarts. Likewise, in 1714, England, the Widow Wadman, inquiring too closely into the wound in Uncle Toby's groin (for "groin," read "nose," and for "nose," read "religion") opted to maintain the Hanoverian succession and not to marry the Stuarts.

The theme of Milton attempting to attract a "rich Widow, or a Lecture" by exalting himself through his polemical writings is raised in Hall's defender's Modest Confutation. It is confronted by Milton in the Apology when he quotes the Modest Confutation's accusation against him that "'a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me.'" (Milton I: 929). Frederick Lovett Taft in his Notes to an Apology informs us that the author of the Modest Confutation had continued with his charge, i.e., "'To the first you make way, by a long, tedious, theatricall big-mouthed, astounding Prayer, put up in the name of the three kingdomes; not so much either to please God, or benefit the weal-publike by it, as to intimate your owne good abilities to her that is your *rich hopes*' " (Ibid. 929). Milton's answer to

Hall's defender's imputation in the *Modest Confutation* that Milton, in his "big mouth'd" address to the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, is seeking a "rich widow, or a lecture," if disingenuous, shows him to have interpreted this charge to mean that he was literally seeking, by showing off his abilities in a public controversy, a rich wife. The Modest Confuter's allegation, however, can, however, more plausibly be interpreted to imply that Milton's "rich hopes" reside in public office and that the "rich widow" to whom he is intimating his abilities is one of the countries in whose name he posits his prayer. That public office, rather than a literal "wife" is meant is also indicated by the other possibility bruited, i.e., a "lecture," since this is an official position in the church. Thus, the Modest Confuter's meaning regarding "*Her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla* ["A rich widow in Martial, Epigrams, Book I, No. 10" (*Ibid.* 930, n. 69)] is equivocal and could be interpreted to mean that Milton was seeking civil office with respect to the three kingdoms, or church office as "a lecture." A "Lecturer" was apparently "[o]ne of a class of preachers in the Church of England" and with regard to the allegation that he was seeking a position as one, Milton retorts "I am not altogether so rustick, and nothing so irreligious, but as farre distant from a Lecturer, as

the meereſt Laick, for any conſecrating hand of a Prelat that ſhall ever touch me" (*Ibid.* 931).⁴⁵

Analytical hypothesis: An examination of the Milton-Hall controversy problematizes the question of whether a "widow" can be a country/kingdom and thus raises the issue of the status of the Widow Wadman and Aunt Dinah. If these females represent, on one level, a country, it would appear that the country is England.

Section 7--Breaches/Breeches, Semantic Fields and the Association of Ideas.

Sterne has primed his readers to associate the words breeches/breaches with concepts drawn from a number of semantic fields: first, military; second, biblical; third, clothing; fourth, treaties or agreements; fifth, unity or probability of time; and, sixth, childbirth. The word "breeches" appears frequently in Tristram Shandy, for example, when Tristram dilucidates on being put into "breeches" after the accidental circumcision and Walter debates with "my mother" in his "bed of justice" whether Tristram should be put into breeches, and when Tristram informs us he will leave the question of where to put the expression "Out upon it!" in the story of the ass and the French

Post Office Official to the "REVIEWERS OF [HIS] BREECHES" who are accompanying him.³⁸

"Breeches" was also a charged term in the controversy between Hall and Milton. In An Apology, Milton's fifth and last pamphlet against the bishops, the dating of which is partially based on its reference to successes against the Irish rebellion begun in October 1641 (See Milton I: 862), Milton answers his opponents who in the "'To the Reader'" section of the 1642 Modest Confutation had said:

'Thou art acquainted with the late and hot bickerings between the Prelates and Smectymnuans: To make up the breaches of whose solemn Scenes, (it were too ominous to say Tragically) there is thrust forth upon the Stage, as also to take the eare of the lesse intelligent, a scurrilous Mime, a personated, and . . . a grim, lowring, bitter fool.'
(Milton I: 879, n. 54)

Milton's response to this insulting joke warrants quotation at some length since it exhibits many of the faults which Sterne's parody foregrounds, particularly

³⁸ See also, Jonathan Lamb who associates the use of the word by Sterne with its Biblical meaning in the Book of Job, 16:14 (22).

the passion for disputing every point, lack of charity, gravity and rhetorical questioning; Milton writes:

[I]n the next leafe he makes it his first
 businesse to tamper with his Reader by
 sycophanting and misnaming the worke of his
 adversary. He calls it a *mime thrust forth*
upon the stage to make up the breaches . . .
. Wherein while he is so overgreedy to fix a
name of ill sound upon another, note how
stupid he is to expose himself . . .
likening those grave controversies to a piece
of Stagery Nor yet doth he tell us
what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern
from ancient writers except some fragments,
which contain many acute and wise sentences.
Scaliger describes a Mime to be a poem
initating any action to stirre up laughter.
But this being neither Poem, nor yet
ridiculous, how is it but abusively taxt to be
a Mime? [I]n an ill houre, hath his
unfortunate rashnesse stumbl'd upon the
mention of miming. . . . Could he not beware,
could he not bethink him, was he so
uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no
*sooner would that word *Mime* be set eye*
on in the paper, but it would bring to
minde that wretched pilgrimage over

**Minshevs Dictionary call'd Mundus alter
& idem** [Hall's Satires published 1597], the
idlest and the paltriest Mime that ever
mounted upon banke. (Milton I: 879-880)

Milton's serious answer to the jest of his anonymous adversary in calling his work a "*mime . . . to make up the breaches*," his attribution of the joke to Hall, and his denunciation of Hall's satires as well as his implacable animosity to Hall are recalled in Phutatorius' attitude toward Yorick in the story of the Bishop's Visitation Dinner. Whoever dropped the chestnut, Milton blamed Hall for it just as Yorick was blamed by Phutatorius. The anonymous author of Hall's defense in A Modest Confutation alleged that Milton had interjected a "Mime, . . . a grim, lowring, bitter fool," into the scenes of "hot bickerings between the Prelates and Smectymnuans" in order to "make up the breaches." Milton, in an *Apology*, repeats the charge against him saying of the Modest Confuter, whom Milton claims to be Hall or his son: "He calls it a *mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches*" When the word "breaches" is used in the Hall-Milton duel, it is noteworthy that even though it is a theological controversy, Milton does not think of "breaches" in the biblical semantic field. There he would find that one could be called "**repairer of the breach**" for, among other good works, "remov[ing] from your midst . . .

false accusation and malicious speech" (Isaiah 58) Milton, instead, foregrounds the concept of **the association of ideas**--"no sooner would that word *Mime* be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to minde [Hall's Satires]"--but then proceeds to focus on the literary associations of the word "mime," to create a jest about Bishop Hall as a mountebank.

Tristram at the conclusion of the story of the ass and the post office official mentions that he has brought along with him the **"REVIEWERS OF [HIS] BREECHES."** Tristram has also mentioned that he writes one half full and the other half fasting creating a reference to Isaiah 58, entitled "True Fasting," and the reward for true fasting, i.e., being called **"REPAIRER OF THE BREACH."** Thus, **breaches**, a charged word in the Milton-Hall controversy, plays an equally prominent role in Tristram Shandy. Through the word "breeches" semantic fields relating to the bible, Hall-Milton, treaty breeches, clothing-as-coming-of-age, birth, Tristram's breeches' pocket, fortifications, and "breaches in the . . . probability of time" are linked in the novel.

Sterne's use of the word "breaches" in Tristram Shandy reinscribes the biblical associations of the word, i.e., "releasing those bound unjustly, untying the thongs of the yoke;/ Setting free the oppressed, breaking every yoke;/ Sharing your bread with the

hungry, sheltering the oppressed and the homeless;/
 Clothing the naked when you see them, and not turning
 your back on your own" (Isaiah 58:6-7). It also
 highlights the multiple meanings of the word "breaches"
 and is particularly important in connection with treaty
 breaches--especially the Articles of Peace with the
 Irish (1649) and the Treaty of Limerick (1691)--and
 finding ways to repair "breaches" according to the
 Biblical injunction in Isaiah.

*Analytical hypotheses: Certain words, like
 "breaches/breeches," "Hinges," and "bridges," become
 foci or points from which different stories radiate and
 back to which they converge in Tristram Shandy. These
 words are associated with a number of semantic fields,
 naturally, through their dictionary meaning or ordinary
 or past circumstantial associations, or by art, through
 contrivance in the novel when the author aligns them
 with other semantic fields. An accurate identification
 of all the semantic fields to which these key words cue
 the reader is important to an understanding of the
 several levels of meaning that Sterne is creating in the
 novel.*

Section 8--Milton's Left Hand against the Bishops

Milton published his polemical prose writings

between 1641 and 1659. These Milton characterized as having been written with his 'left hand' since his metier--"right hand"--was verse. Don Wolfe entitled Chapter X of his Introduction to The Complete Prose Works of John Milton "Milton's Left Hand against the Prelates" (Milton, I:107-128). In The Reason of Church Government, Milton says:

I should not chuse this manner of writing
 wherin knowing my self inferior to my self,
 led by the genial power of nature to another
 task, I have the use, as I may account it,
 but of my left hand. . . . For although a
 Poet soaring in the high region of his fancies
 with his garland and singing robes about him
 might without apology speak more of himself
 then I mean to do, yet for me sitting here
 below in the cool element of prose, a mortall
 thing among many readers of no Emphyreall
 conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things
 of my selfe, I shall petition of the gentler
 sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say
 therefore that after I had from my first
 yeeres by the ceaselesse diligence and care of
 my father, who God recompence, bin exercis'd
 to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age
 would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers

both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choise in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live (*Ibid.* 808-809).

With regard to handedness, Diego is described by Slawkenbergius as "touching the forepart of his cap with his left-hand, as he extended his right" (IV, 289); as lifting "the reins of his bridle with his left-hand, and putting his right-hand into his bosom" (IV, 295); and, as "stroking down the face of his mule with his left-hand" [Milton uses his "left hand," or prose, to support Parliament and smite the Bishops, Charles I, and the Peace Treaty with the Irish.] (IV, 295-297).

The works published during this period fill seven large volumes. In his addresses on matters of state Milton did not doubt the rectitude of his own opinions and argued with what he considered to be a Christian zeal that foreclosed considerations of charity, compassion or mercy. His paradigm of God, so evident in both Paradise Lost and in the prose writings, is that of a warrior quick to take offense and to perceive slights to his dignity and power. It was in the ranks of the army of this projected God that Milton expended his efforts. In his first major public controversy, with

Bishop Joseph Hall and Hall's defenders, Milton contested against the power of the bishops even after ten of the leading bishops, including Hall, were imprisoned in December 1641 (Milton I: 203) and their benefices confiscated or despoiled. When, in 1649, Articles of Peace with the Irish were signed by James Butler, Duke of Ormond, on behalf of Charles I, Milton fanned the flames of public opinion against the treaty. Public feeling in England became so fixed against those in Ireland that no outcry was heard when Cromwell instituted a scorched earth policy wiping out the food supply and inducing widespread famine, nor is there evidence of public dissatisfaction in England with Cromwell's program of forcing the transplantation from their homes after the cessation of hostilities of those Irish who had not been killed or transported. In 1649 Milton wrote Eikonoclastes against the posthumously published Eikon Basilike, Charles I's self-defense and explanation of his policies, particularly towards Ireland.

One of the points Sterne seems to be making in his incorporations of Milton is to show the futility and human consequences of doctrinal differences. Milton's rhetoric demonizing the Irish and "Papists," together with Cromwell's vision of his sacred mission to carry out the will of God meant: first, that Cromwell could justify massacres of civilian populations at Drogheda

and Wexford in 1649 (Foster 101-102); second, authorize his troops to burn the crops to induce famine; third, in order to neutralize the Irish and pay the soldiers and the loans floated on the security of Irish land to carry on the war with the Irish, arrange for the distribution of all the land in Ireland, with the exception of reservations in the West (Connacht and Clare) where the Irish would be confined "within a *cordon sanitaire* imposed by the Shannon and the sea" (Foster 110); and, finally, force the "transplantation" of the Irish from their homes from time immemorial to the designated locations in the West.

The longer range result of all the religious disputes that Milton engaged in, parodied by Sterne, was to render anti-Catholic sentiment on the part of many of the English people so sclerotic that it became possible for those self-appointed leaders who claimed that toleration of Catholicism would be inimical to England's best interests to drive the Catholic, James II, from the throne as soon as a male heir, who might show similar Catholic leanings, was born. We recall the curiosity fomented about *Diego's* (James's) nose in Slawkenbergius' Tale and the fall of Strasburg because the inhabitants were not attending to their legitimate business. In 1688, *Diego* (James)--the nature of whose nose [religion] could not be determined--was deposed and, from the accession of the foreign William III, up to the time of the writing

of the novel by Sterne, except during the reign of Anne, from 1701 to 1714, the throne was held by foreign rulers merely because they were Protestants.

The literal centrality of William III's accession to the novel is underscored, as was noted earlier, by the presence of the reign in the middle of the book, viz., the middle chapter of the middle book of Tristram Shandy begins with the words "King William". In Slawkenbergius' Tale, the result of misplaced eloquence is shown to be foreign domination. The point our author is making is that Milton's polemics contributed, in part, to the long-standing anti-Catholic sentiment that made it possible in 1688 to drive James II from the throne and prevent his son, the Pretender, from reclaiming it--merely because of their Catholicism. The demonization of Catholics in the 1640's also resulted in a situation in which the Irish, predominately Catholic, could be debarred by the English Parliament from enjoying almost any civil rights in their own country for almost one hundred and fifty years. Our author's concern with human rights is asserted at the very commencement of the novel but at that point--rights of a homunculus???--since these rights are asserted on behalf of such a curious entity the assertions are not meaningful to the reader and appear to be a joke. It is when we re-read the text with the knowledge that it is about Ireland in mind that the words about the homunculus resonate and

become significant. When we grasp the fact that Tristram is a representation of the Irish we might ask whether the "BEING guarded and circumscribed with rights . . . and . . . as much and as truly our fellow creature as my Lord Chancellor of England" and who may likewise "be benefited . . . injured . . . obtain redress [and] . . . has all the claims and rights of humanity, which *Tully, Puffendorff*, or the best ethic writers allow to arise out of that state and relation" (I, i, 3) is not the Irish.

The moral of Slawkenbergius' Tale appears to be that rabid inquiry into the nature and attributes of the courteous' stranger's nose (for "nose" in the tale, read "religion") leads to the "fall" of the country and a futile preoccupation with a matter (religious belief) which ought to be private and which should not determine matters of state. One of the points of the novel is that nothing is more important than the life and integrity of an individual and the life of a family: any doctrinal differences that result in war, or in the infringement of human rights, or that interfere with the ordinary course of the life of the person or the functioning of the family are shown to be pernicious.

Section IX--Milton, the Articles of Peace with the Irish and Charles I

In Eikonoclastes, Milton declares that in Eikon Basilike Charles I said "He cannot stand to make *prolix Apologies*" (484). Milton then answers Charles's allegation that "*it will at last appeare that they who first began to embroyle his other kingdoms, are also guilty of the blood of Ireland*" (484) and concludes his refutation of Charles on the Irish question by saying that:

[Charles I] finishes with a deliberat and solemn curse upon himself and his Fathers House. Which how farr God hath alreadie brought to pass, is to the end that men by so eminent an example should learn to tremble at his judgements; and not play with imprecations" (485).

"My mother," in circumstances somewhat anologous to those of Ireland when the ax fell on Charles I, is distressed at her son's misfortune when the sash window falls on Tristram, because all the counterbalancing weights that have kept the window up have been removed. Like Charles I, however, she thinks in terms of "basilicon": not an image--"Eikon"--of the king--"Basilike"--but "Lint and Basilicon," i.e., "lint" (a bandage) and "basilicon," an unguent (VI, xxvii, 459). Sterne, through an association of ideas (Eikon Basilike versus Lint and Basil [king] Icon [image]) and a

referential hint in the word "Basilicon," which contains basil and icon, viz., **Icon Basilike** in another form, and, means derivatively "King's image" or in the medical lexicon, a salve, has provided an interpretation of the regicide and its effect on Ireland in his story of Tristram's inadvertent circumcision.

Section 10--Milton and Parliament: Milton's and Walter Shandy's "Short but Scandalous Night of Interruption"

Milton, in his preface addressed to "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," describes the time between 1653 when the Rump Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell and 1659 when it was recalled by the Army, a period when Milton served "as Secretary for the Foreign Tongues or 'Latin Secretary'" to the the Protectorate (V(2): 469), as "**a short but scandalous night of interruption**" (Considerations (1659), Milton VII: 274). Pray, my dear Mr. Milton, "have you not forgot to wind up the clock?" (T.S., I, i, 2). Walter Shandy, who suffers at the outset of the novel a night of interuption similar to that endured by the English parliament, is associated through this reference with parliament. The association is reinforced by the description of Walter's bed of justice. *Black's Law Dictionary* defines a "**Bed of Justice**" as, in Old French law, "[t]he seat or throne upon which the king

sat when personally present in the parliament; hence . . . the **parliament itself**" (196). After the counterbalancing weights have been removed by **James Butler** (Trim) and the unfortunate fall occurs, we have noted "my mother's" proposed restorative is Lint and **Basilicon**, a remedy like that of Charles I when the axe fell, viz., **Eikon (image) Basilike** (of the king). Walter's solution is a debate; in his bed of justice Walter discusses both sides of the question of **breeches** with "my mother." The treaty signed by **James Butler** (Ormond) on behalf of both the Irish and Charles I was **breached** soon after the execution of Charles I; hence, Ireland, without home-rule, was in the same position relative to the English Parliament as "my mother" in Walter's bed of justice. Likewise, just as Walter in his bed of justice decides after the fall of the sash window to put Tristram into breeches, after the fall of the axe, parliament determined to put the Irish people into breeches, namely, of the Articles of Peace of 1649 signed by James Butler.

Analytical hypothesis: The telescoping of time that Milton undertakes in characterizing a six year period as one night is mocked but also used by Sterne in Tristram Shandy. In the novel, time is not only telescoped but one period is superimposed upon another. This is made possible through, for example, Sterne's use of key words

such as breeches/breaches to link different periods when Articles of Peace were signed and breaches took place.

The five most prominent of epochs the novel deals with through "the train and succession of . . . ideas," viz., "the true scholastic pendulum," for which Tristram has "prepared the reader's imagination, rather than through the more conventional "probability of time" (II, viii, 119-120), are:

1. the interval beginning with Robert, Earl of Essex's, treaty with Tyrone, and including the surrender of Tyrone and treaty of 1603 between the English and the Irish, the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 to blow up the parliament, and the sequent "false alarms";
2. the interim from 1641 to 1660 encompassing Milton's war with the bishop the Articles of Peace with the Irish of 1649, the regicide of Charles I, and Cromwell's conquest and "plantation" of Ireland during which the populations of Wexford and Drogheda were decimated and many of the survivors of Cromwell's scorched earth policy in other areas "transplanted";
3. the period leading up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 when the birth of a male heir who might in the future become a Catholic ruler forced the flight of James II and the accession of William III. This resulted in the war fought by William III in Ireland, brought about the Treaty of Limerick which was

subsequently breached, and led to the Settlement Act of 1701 bestowing the British throne on the basis of religion to the firmly Protestant Hanoverians to the exclusion of the Stuart line;

4. the period surrounding Queen Anne's "last Ministry" (Swift, "An Enquiry into the Behavior of the Queen's Last Ministry," Political Tracts 1713-1719, 129-180), the "Barrier Treaty" of 1712 between Queen Anne and the Dutch creating an alliance wherein the "States-General" were to guarantee "*the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain, in such manner as it is now established by the Laws of the Kingdom [in the House of Hanover]*" and England was to insure to the Dutch "*a strong and sufficient barrier against France . . .*" (Swift, "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty," Political Tracts, 1711-1713, 98), and the accusations against Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who was "command[er] of the Army" and allegedly "design[ed] to employ it in bringing over the Pretender" and Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, of conspiring to restore the Stuarts (Swift, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" Political Tracts 1713-1719, 47-48), and

5. the time immediately prior to and up until the completion of the novel when England was, at first, engaged in the Seven Years War under William Pitt until 1763 when "*the Peace was Made*," for which Tristram Shandy "*laid the cornerstone*," and, subsequently,

vacillating over whether to reinstate Pitt, with his aggressive war policies, as Prime Minister.

Reading Milton as directed by our author achieves two objectives. First, it permits a recontextualization of words that appear significant in Tristram Shandy in a way that is both richer and more historically referential than is ordinarily the case. Second, it makes apparent the repetition of significant occurrences, such as breaches, the "courtship" of a country by narrow interest groups, the choice of peace negotiators lacking some essential ingredients to achieve their objectives, an emphasis on religious conflict, and the misuse of eloquence, that divide and destroy rather than unite people and nations in mutual amity.

By demonstrating the repetition of the same forms of human folly in successive periods in English history, Sterne works against the collective amnesia that permits this seemingly endless cycle to perpetuate itself without any thought of seeking a solution to recurring problems that cause so much human misery and needless death.

[T]he clock of the civil government is now well set, and all the wheels thereof do move in order. The strings of this Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune . . . and make a good harmony in this commonweal. So as we may well conceive a hope that Ireland (which heretofore might properly be called the "**land of ire**" because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of 400 years together) will from henceforth prove a land of peace and concord.

(Sir John Davies. A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued [And] Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England Until the Beginning of His Majesty's [James I's] Happy Reign (1612). Ed. Myers.)

The poet Orpheus in the 6th century B.C. called the land now know as Ireland, "*Ierena*," [Greek "peace"] as did Aristotle in the Book of the World. Another of its early names, later transferred to Alba, was *Scotia*. Plutarch referred to it as "*ogygia*" or "the most ancient" and the Romans named it "*Hibernia*" (History of the Irish Race). Greg Darling, a colleague, ventured on an etymology for the Irish name "*Eire*," conjecturing that it is congate with Sanscrit "*arya*" or "noble." Whatever the true etymology, the name "Ireland," containing as it does two radix words, "Ire" and "land," that both have an already established meaning in English, lends itself to such wordplay and connotations as those advanced by Sir John Davies in 1612.⁴⁷

You may raise a system to account for the loss of my nose by marriage articles,--and shew the world how it could happen, that I should have the **misfortune to be called Tristram**. (Tristram Shandy, II, xix, 180)

I cannot by the Law of Nations, quarrel with a Man, because he, going before me in the Road, finds a Piece of Gold, which possibly, if he had not taken it up, I might have light upon and gotten. 'Tis true, we often see Wars commenced on this Account *under-hand* . . . but then this is never made the *Open Pretence*, some other Colour it must receive, or else it would not look fair; which shews plainly, that this Pretence of *being Prejudicial* . . . is not *justifiable* in itself. But granting that it were a good Justification of a War with a *Foreign Nation*, it will make nothing in the Case between *England* and **Ireland**; for if it did, why does it not operate in the same manner between *England* and **Scotland**, and consequently in like manner draw after it

England's binding Scotland by their laws at Westminster: We are all the same King's Subjects, the Children of one Common Parent (William Molyneux, The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated [1698], 146-147)

If the hypercritick . . . is resolved after all to take a pendulum, and measure the true distance betwixt the ringing of the bell and the rap at the door;--and, after finding it to be no more than **two minutes, thirteen seconds, and three fifths**,--should take upon him to insult over me for such a **breach** in the unity, or rather probability, of time;--I would remind him, that **the idea of duration** of its simple modes, is **got merely from the train and succession of our ideas**,--and is the true scholastick pendulum,--and by which, as a scholar, I will be tried in this matter,--abjuring and detesting the jurisdiction of all other pendulums whatever.

I would, therefore, desire him to consider that it is but poor eight miles from *Shandy-Hall* to Dr. Slop, the man-midwife's house;--and that whilst *Obadiah* has been going those said miles and back, I have brought my uncle Toby from *Namur*, quite across all *Flanders*, into *England*;--That I have had him ill upon my hands near **four years**;--and have since travelled him and Corporal Trim, in a chariot and four, a journey of near two hundred miles down into *Yorkshire*; all which put together, must have **prepared the reader's imagination** for the entrance of Dr. Slop upon the stage,----as much, at least, (I hope) as a dance, a song, or a concerto between the acts. (*Tristram*, II, viii, 119-120)

What is the character of a family to an hypothesis? Nay, if you come to that --what is the life of a family How many thousands of 'em are there every year that come cast away (in all civilized countries at least)----and consider'd as nothing but common air, in competition of an hypothesis" (*Walter Shandy*, I, xxi, 77).

Chapter V: Ireland and Its History as Semantic Field in Tristram Shandy--Signifiers with Multiple and Shifting Significations: Tristram as a representation of Ireland and its people; "my mother" as the country itself; Walter as Parliament; Uncle Toby as the British public, and, at times, as James II and as the Pretender; the Widow Wadman as England in 1713 and 1714; Aunt Dinah as England at the time of the Cromwellian Protectorate and Settlement Act of 1701; James Butler (Trim) as James Butler, the first Duke (1610-1688) and second Duke of Ormond (1665-1745), hinges and bridges in affairs of state; and Dr. Slop as papal representative and, more specifically, the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, in Ireland between October 12, 1645 and February 23, 1649 (Foster 600).

How can you be so obtuse, Madam, as to think that Tristram Shandy is about Ireland? For two hundred and forty years learned men have been discussing this novel and hypothesizing about what it means. Not one of them has mentioned Ireland! You must have been as "inattentive in reading" the whole book as your predecessor, who claimed to "know nothing at all about the matter" when asked to draw a "direct inference," was in reading "the last chapter." "[A]s a punishment for it, I do insist upon it, that you immediately turn back,

that is, as soon as you get to the next full stop, and read the whole [book] over again" (I, xx, 64-64).

I have "read over again" as directed and am more firmly convinced than ever that you, Mr. Shandy, are a figure for Ireland and I shall tick off on my fingers the reasons why I think so. You come from a family of men whose noses have become successively flatter. Why does an organ such as a nose atrophy? From disuse! The Milton references that are foregrounded in the chronicle of your life and opinions make clear that the primary use of a nose is to smell Bishops. In the controversy with Bishop Hall, which you have secreted in your novel, Milton claimed that the Smectymnuans could see better if the Bishops would "Wipe [their] fat corpulencies out of our light" (Milton I: 732) and observed that the Bishop's socks had been in the broth leading to a smell. From the time of Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church, Catholic clergy were suppressed in Ireland; Elizabeth continued her father's policy, and, from the accession of James I and the time of Cromwell's conquest of Ireland--except under James II-- Catholic bishops, and, frequently, any Catholic clergy, were forbidden to set foot in Ireland. Your great-grandfather, Sir, not unnaturally had no need of a large nose since no Bishops could possibly be within smelling distance. Hence, the atrophy. Likewise, though you characterize his "external organ of smelling" as an "ace of clubs" (III,

xxxiii, 261-262; III, xxxii, 259) we are not misled. The trefoil, clover or shamrock, the floral emblem of the Irish, that is one of your most prominent physical inheritances has not escaped notice. Moreover, do you think you can mystify us by apostrophizing Mother Nature for having left you with a "crack" in your back, "a great piece fallen off here before" and saying "what must I do with this foot?----I shall never reach *England* with it" (V, xi, 438)? Fiddlesticks! 'Tis nothing but the map of Ireland you are describing. We know that the crack in your back is the river Shannon. Hrumph! I apologize Mr. Shandy. Upon reflection it does look as though a piece has fallen off by Drogheda and Dublin and the missing foot in the South East would make it a task to step over to England. But, Mr. Shandy, there are other readers besides yourself. Allow me to pick up the threads of the narrative without distraction.

Whilst Mr. Shandy is sulking, we can examine the evidence for the conclusion that the novel is an allegory of the history of Ireland. And bye the bye, before he returns and in his absence so as not to distress him, it might be well to consider the black page and "the many opinions, transactions and truths which still lie mystically hid under [its] dark veil" (III, xxxvi, 268).

The black page seems to derive from Milton's lines in "The Passion," namely, "My sorrows are too great for

day to know/ The pages should be black whereon I write." Reinforcing this hypothesis is the fact that unlike the marbled page which is narrower than a page of type in Tristram Shandy, the black page appears to be the exact same size as the printed portion of the other pages and Sterne was careful about typographical features. If it is true that our author meant "the pages should be black whereon I write" what is the content of these black pages? Two pages after the black page, Tristram says he will furnish a "map" (I, xiv, 40) to help the reader to interpret the novel and the only map provided is Tristram's self-description as a map of Ireland. Evidence thus suggests that the iconology of the black page represents the history of Ireland from the time of Henry VIII's break with Rome--"the Shandy family rank'd very high in king Harry the VIIIth's time . . . [but] it had felt the turn of the wheel, and had never recovered the blow of my great grandfather's nose.----It was an ace of clubs" (III, xxxiii, 261)--to the date of the completion of the novel in 1767.

Section 1: Names, Genealogies, Icons and Maps.

The concept of genealogy is mentioned twice by Tristram, i.e., when as a historian he announces that he has a duty to examine "rolls, records, and endless **genealogies**" (I, xix, 41) and when as an author, in

connection with the association of antonymous ideas--gay/spleen--he denies that such opposites will be apparent from "any table of **interest or genealogy**" (VII, xix, 603). The first reference to genealogies is found in the brief chapter immediately after that facing the black page in which Tristram promises he will eventually furnish a "**map**" that, he says, will act as "commentary, scholium, **illustration**, and **key** to such passages, incidents, or innuendos as shall be thought to be either of private interpretation, or of dark or doubtful meaning after my life and my opinions shall have been read over, (now don't forget the meaning of the word) by all the world" (I, xiii, 40). The only **map** Tristram furnishes is that found after Tristram begins chapter xi of Volume V by rebuking himself for having forgot--as if "**Nature had plaistered me up, and set me down** naked upon the banks of the river Nile, without one" (V, xi, 438)--his "mother." Here, on one level, "my mother" is "Nature." Tristram addresses this benefactress as "Madam" and while acknowledging that he has "cost [her] a great deal of trouble" he cavils and says "you have left a crack in my back,--and here's a great piece fallen off here before,--and what must I do with this foot?----I shall never reach **England** with it" (V, xi, 438). Some of the semantic fields in this account relate to Nature and her works, viz., **geographical location**, a **river** (the Nile) and

a **country** (England). Tristram's physical disabilities sound incredible if applied to a man, i.e., what could "a great piece fallen off here before" possibly refer to? They make perfect sense, however, if one is examining a map of Ireland. Viewed anthropomorphically, **the map of Ireland** could be likened to a man with a crack, i.e., the **river** Shannon, in his back, and, if, as **country**, he is considered to be facing another country, England, there does seem a significant chunk missing "here before" in the southeast. The **map of Ireland** thus becomes the **illustration** and **key** to those passages "of private interpretation, or of dark or doubtful meaning" (I, xiii, 40) in the novel that is first mentioned right after the black page.

Walter is depicted as having a hobby-horsical obsession with his progeny's manner of coming into the world, **names**, noses and system of education. After Bobby dies and "Susannah had got possession of my mother's **green** sattin night-gown," Tristram recounts that the first thing his father did was to begin a "TRISTRA-paedia," that would "form an **INSTITUTE** for **the government** of my childhoold and adolescence" (V, xvi, 445). Tristram reminds the reader: "I was my father's last stake . . . he had lost, by his own computation, full three fourths of me--that is, he had been unfortunate in his three first great casts for me--my geniture, nose, and **name**,--there was but this one

left" (V, xvi, 445). Tristram points out "I was all that time totally neglected and abandoned to my mother; and what was almost as bad, by the very delay, the first part of the work, upon which my father had spent the most part of his pains [he "was so long in his acts of resistance" (V, xvi, 449)], was rendered entirely useless" (V, xvi, 448). Likewise, Tristram tells us on March 26th that about sixty years ago, or around the time of the song from which "*As war begets poverty, poverty peace,*" "a popular catch" of 1701 (T.S., ed. Watt, 49), is quoted, that his "great aunt DINAH . . . was married and got with child by the coachman, for which my father, according to his **hypothesis of Christian names,**" said she could thank her godmothers and godfathers (I, xxi, 73). Together Walter's and Tristram's preoccupations with names and genealogies ought to notify the reader of the possibility that in a novel in which the main characters are fixated on names or genealogies, that the names found in the novel and the genealogies attached to them could be more significant than would otherwise be the case.

Tristram's mother is named "**Elizabeth Mollineux**" (I, xv, 43). The name Molyneux is associated with a Survey of Ireland (1682-5) and with advocacy of **home-rule** for Ireland through William **Molyneux**, a member of a prominent Dublin family who was known for his part in

the debates on Irish home rule, who organized and mapped a highly detailed collection of reports about Ireland from local residents in areas throughout the country (Simms in Moody, ed. 447), i.e., "**the Molyneux Survey, 1682-5,**" (Andrews in Moody, ed. 456) and whose book the **Case of Ireland Stated, 1698** attained fame in "nationalist martyrology" (Foster 118, n. v) after allegedly being burned by the hangmen. Mollyneux argued that throughout her relationship with England, Ireland had retained her status as an independent kingdom with the right to legislate for herself until recent events, including the War of the Three Kingdoms (1641-1649) and the Revolution of 1688 had resulted in the aggrandizement of this power by the Parliament in England.

On March 25, 1689, James II, then in Dublin, called for a meeting of the Irish parliament on May 7, 1689. According to J.G. Simms in **Jacobite Ireland 1685-1691**, the parliament "that James summoned in Dublin had a better claim to be considered legitimate than had the Williamite parliament in Westminster" (78). James approved the Declaratory Act of 1689 that stated that England did not have the right to legislate for Ireland. Simms reports:

The act declared that Ireland had always been a kingdom distinct from that of England; its people had never sent representatives to a

parliament held in England, but had their laws made in their own parliament: 'yet of late times (especially in **times of distraction**) some have pretended that acts of parliament passed in England, mentioning Ireland, were binding in Ireland'. (80)

This act preceded the long campaign of William Molyneux, Jonathan Swift and Henry Grattan for Irish home rule. Grattan was the only one of the three who dealt with the issue of the reproaches against Ireland for its support of James II and fighting against the forces of William III (*Ibid.* 80) in return for the home-rule provisions of the Declaratory Act of 1689. This appears to be related in Tristram Shandy to "my mother's" marriage settlement and the provision for false alarms. Walter is associated, at times, in the novel with the English parliament which in Milton's words, had a "night of interruption" from 1653 to 1659 under Cromwell and the Protectorate, similar to that of Walter at the outset of the novel when Tristram/Ireland is conceived. Walter is the Parliament which interferes with home-rule: after the accidental circumcision of Tristram, for which my mother relies on Lint and Basilicon--associated with Charles I's Eikon Basilike--he argues both sides of the question of breeches, viz., treaty breaches, in his **bed of justice**, namely, **parliament**, with "my mother" (who does not have home rule).

Names prominent in the geneology of the Walter/Butler family are attached to Trim and to all the male members of the Shandy family into which Tristram is born. **Walter, Toby, and James Butler** (Trim) have names that are associated with the oldest family in Ireland for which uninterrupted public records exist from about 1200: the **Walters** or **Butlers**, members of which served the Kings of England as **Butlers** from the time of Theobald Le Boutllier and who may also have served as or been "**Walters**," governors, chiefs or foresters to the King. "**Walter**" or "**Butler**" was the first surname of the family. Tristram informs us that Trim's "**real name was James Butler**" (II, v, 108) and Trim himself says that he "fought just as well . . . when the regiment called me *Trim*, as when they called me James Butler" (IV, xviii, 352). Likewise, Tristram adjures the reader not to think that "in the story of my father and his christen-names" with regard to Trim,--that I meant the duke of Ormond-- . . . "[1st Duke (1610-1688); 2nd Duke (1665-1745)]. When Uncle Toby is advising Trim about the conventions of story-telling, he says "----Leave out the date entirely, . . . leave it out entirely . . . a story passes very well without these niceties, unless one is pretty sure of 'em----" (VIII, xix, 689). What is true of the date--it can be omitted--is equally true of a character's "real name" unless for some reason it is significant;

likewise, the disclaimer about the "duke of *Ormond*" appears to be inserted not because the reader thought that our author meant the "duke of *Ormond*" but so the reader can be alerted to the possibility of a connection between Trim and the Ormonds. Finally, Sir **Toby** Butler was one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Limerick on behalf of the Irish in 1691.

Even the presumably non-referential subject of Trim's hypothetical discourse on auxiliaries, "Did my father, mother, uncle, aunt, brothers or sisters, ever see a white **bear**? Is it better than a **BLACK ONE**?" (V, xliii, 487) is associated with an Irish family lineage and genealogy older than, though not as well documented as, that of the Butlers, i.e., the **Bear** family. Walter's ostensibly inconsequential discourse on "auxiliaries" that ends volume V illustrates how Sterne uses names and ideas associated with the names to tell a completely different story from the one occupying the linguistic surface. Immediately after Walter's theorizing about language, thought and discourse, Trim, denizen of his usual war semantic field, interjects: "The *Danes*, an' please your honour, quoth the corporal, who were on the left at the siege of **Limerick**, were all auxiliaries" (V, xlii, 485). Two chapters earlier, Trim, in proposing to give his medical lecture on "radical heat" and "radical moisture" mentions the seige

of Limerick in which he took part under William III. As soon as Trim and Toby noticed mention of "radical heat" and "radical moisture," our narrator informs us, they could not have been more interested if the subject had been "[t]he description of the **siege of Jerico**" and Trim is heard to murmur in response to a question from Uncle Toby: "It was at the **siege of Limerick**, an' please your honour" (V, xxxvii, 476). This talk about siege warfare in Ireland might bring to mind another siege in Ireland, that at Dunboy during Elizabeth's reign. Limerick, Tipperary and Cork are contiguous counties; in the late 1100's the Bear family was supplanted in Tipperary by the Walters/Butlers and they established themselves in Cork with their family seat at Dunboy. One of the most famous sieges in Irish history is the siege and massacre at Dunboy Castle, home of the Bears, in County Cork. Trim and Toby together supply the information that "The city of *Limerick* 'Tis quite surrounded . . . with the *Shannon*, and is, by its situation, one of the strongest fortified places in *Ireland*.----" (V, xl, 480). Dr. Slop contributes his observation: "I think this is a new fashion . . . of beginning a medical lecture" (V, xl, 480). Those exposed to Walter's discourse on auxiliaries have been primed to think of a number of semantic fields, viz., "auxiliaries" as hired, often foreign, troops used in war; "auxiliaries" as verb forms or constituents of

language; the possibility of a medical lecture being about war and sieges, and warfare in Ireland.

The subject matter of the discourse that Trim-- James Butler--ought to be able to give with the aid of auxiliaries, according to Walter, is "A WHITE BEAR!" The relevant "Bear," to a James Butler, who has a persecuted brother, Thomas Butler, could be the animal or it could be a member of the Bear family. Many of the O'Sullivan Bears perished in Ireland during the fighting in the last years of Elizabeth's reign when Thomas Butler was waging war as "lieutenant-general of [Elizabeth's] army in Ireland" (Dictionary of National Biography 81) against Tyrone and the Bears, among others. Thomas Butler³⁹, tenth earl of Ormond (1532-

³⁹ Thomas Butler (1532-1614)--tenth Earl of Ormonde, the "Black Earl." Bitter rival of the Earl of Desmond, his father, James Butler, died and Thomas succeeded to the Earldom and estates when he was fourteen (Carte VIII: 79). In 1554, at the age of twenty-two "Ormonde set foot in Ireland . . . and from the first attempted to act as mediator between the native Irish and their English rulers [but] though openly avowing strong Irish sympathies, [he] resolved to throw the weight of his influence on the side of [English] law and order [and in] 1651 he sought . . . to extract from Shan O'Neill, the virtually independent ruler of Ulster, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English crown" (79). When there was a rising of the Desmonds in Munster "Ormonde was appointed military governor of the province [by Elizabeth] [and i]n March 1580 he marched from Kilkenny to Kerry, ravaging the country with fire and sword" (80). In his July 1580 report on the action "he claimed to have put to the sword within three months 46 captains, 800 notorious traitors and malefactors, and 4,000 other persons." In 1583 a price was put on Desmond's head and Ormonde "attack[ed] with his former rigor all the known adherents of Desmond Ormonde thus succeeded in pacifying Munster [and

1614), was called the "**BLACK EARL**," while an earlier member of the family, James Butler (d. 1452), the fourth Earl of Ormonde, had been called the "**WHITE EARL**." Adjectivial modifiers have already been used by our author to link the "learned" Bishop Hall and his adversary, the "learned" Hafen Slawkenbergius, namely, Milton. In a similar type of word transference, the modifier black or white attached to the adversaries of the Black and White Earls, namely, the Bears, should refer the reader back to the original holders of these appellations, i.e., the Black Earl of Ormond and the White Earl of Ormond, Thomas Butler and James Butler ["Trim"].

According to Matthew Byrne, translator and editor of Ireland Under Elizabeth: Chapters towards A History of Ireland in the Reign of Elizabeth--Being a Portion of the History of Catholic Ireland by Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear ([Lisbon: Peter Crasbeeck, 1621] Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, [1903] 1970), the O'Sullivan Bears claimed descent from Olioll Ollum, king of Munster circa 125 A.D. In 1192 the O'Sullivan's were displaced from

in 1588 he helped to capture and kill the Spanish refugees who had escaped the wreck of the Armada" (VIII, 81). In 1597 Ormonde became "lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland, and he supported the English troops in their . . . attempts to repress the rebellion of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, [and] in 1598-99. . . . Ormonde complained that Essex did not honestly strive to crush Tyrone In 1602 Elizabeth granted him much confiscated lands in Munster" (VIII, 81).

Tipperary [Sterne's birthplace; the Butlers later became heirs to the county palatine of Tipperary] by Anglo-Norman invaders, and the O'Sullivan Bears settled in Cork. Byrne writes: "At what time our author's family assumed the cognomen '**Bear**,' I have not been able to ascertain. It first occurs in the Annals of Four Masters under the year 1485" (xiv). Byrne reports that Philip O'Sullivan Bear says in a poem affixed to his Decas Patritiana ["A Life of St. Patrick, divided into ten books of ten chapters each [indicating that Bear was a writer of "decads"] published in Madrid, 1629," Byrne, xvi] that after "the sad fall of Ireland," he was taken to Spain in 1602 by his parents with their three other remaining children, after "thirteen of his brothers having reached man's estate perished in the dark days of Ireland . . . the wars of the closing years of Elizabeth's reign" (xv). The deaths of the Bear children were, in part, the result of the successes of the **BLACK EARL** of Ormond, **Thomas** Butler, who had been "brought up at the English court with a view to alienating his sympathies from Ireland, and was the first of his family to adopt protestantism" (Dictionary of National Biography 79).

In the seemingly trivial, innocuous and non-referential scene in which Walter attempts to show Trim—who we remember has James Butler for his real name and

has a persecuted brother Thomas--that he can discourse forever using auxiliaries, is an account of what happens to "the life of a family" when religious differences become the hypothesis upon which people act. In his History of Catholic Ireland, Philip O'Sullivan Bear writes that in the 1580's, the "earldom of Desmond is said to have been promised to **Thomas Butler**, Earl of Ormond, if he would speedily bring the war to an end. [Elizabeth] was afraid that Eugene O'Sullivan, chief of Bear, my kinsman, would join in the war, and so ordered him to be seized unexpectedly and put into prison" (23). O'Sullivan Bear then describes **the seige** and massacre at **Dunboy** and the surrender to Grey on condition that the "soldiers might march out safe with soldiers, arms, bag and baggage" (24). After laying down arms the "defenders . . . were slain by the English" and "'Grey's faith,' became a proverb for monstrous and inhuman perfidy" (25). After the success of the those fighting the Irish in the service of England, including the Black Earl of Ormond, many Irish fled and were to be found subsequently fighting as **auxiliaries** in the service of the continental powers against England. O'Sullivan Bear, who wrote Tenebriomastix arguing in "the Dempsterian controversy" that **Ireland** rather than Scotland was entitled to the name **Scotia** (Byrne, in O'Sullivan Bear, xvii), served in

the Spanish navy after receiving a commission from Philip III (Byrne, in O'Sullivan Bear xiv).

Further genealogical cues, particularly those relating to military auxiliaries, are embedded in the text if we rely on the concept of genealogical opposites. Towards the end of the same century, at the seige of Limerick in 1690-1691, James Butler, the first Duke of Ormond, fought under William against the Irish until the Treaty of Limerick was negotiated, which guaranteed that the Irish could have the same religious freedom that they had enjoyed in the time of Charles I. The terms of the Treaty also provided that those Irish troops who remained loyal to James II, together with their families, were to be transported to France. This removal served William III's interests since it meant that those most able to oppose him would be uprooted from Ireland. Fourteen thousand Irish soldiers, Patrick Sarsfield among them, chose to embark for France and to fight in the army of James II, which was financed by France and which remained intact until the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, when the Irish army was absorbed into the French army.

In 1688, James II, King of England, had been driven out of England after the birth of a male heir. To ensure a Protestant succession, William III was invited to rule England with Mary, James' daughter, by a small but powerful group. James fled to France and then

embarked for Ireland where his Irish supporters, from the accession of William III, fought for and with the deposed King against William's forces led by the Dutch General, Ginkel. James II again fled to France after his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The last stronghold of James II's supporters in Ireland was Limerick which had been under seige in 1690 by William's troops and appeared to be able to hold out for another winter. The author of a contemporary anonymous pamphlet, "Light to the [B]lind," termed it "a 'mock seige'" (Simms 256) and "in a long and interesting analysis discusses the pros and cons of the surrender" The writer argued that "the defences of Limerick were stronger in 1691 than they had been at the time of William's seige in the previous year . . . [and that t]here were plenty of provisions and ammunition, and a fleet from France was daily expected" (Simms 256).

Engaged in the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697), called "King William's War . . . in America" (Cowie 76), in order to free his troops to fight with the League against the French and James II in Flanders, William III authorized Ginkel to propose a Treaty with the Irish and Anglo-Irish troops controlling Limerick and fighting for James II. In the fall of 1691 the Treaty of Limerick was negotiated on behalf of the Irish by General **Sarsfield** "[Lord Lucan], . . . the Catholic archbishops of Armagh and Cashel and Sir **Toby Butler**,

the solicitor-general" of Ireland (Simms 250). The same Sir Toby Butler was later to argue in 1704 before the House of Commons against the "[P]opery [A]ct" of 1704" which prohibited Catholics from buying or inheriting land in Ireland or signing leases of more than thirty-one years (262-263) by saying that "these provisions would make for 'the destroying of the said articles [Treaty of Limerick] granted upon the most valuable consideration of surrendering the said garrisons at a time when they [Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics] had the sword in their hand and for anything that appeared to the contrary might have been in a condition to hold out much longer'" (262). ⁴⁰

Between the occurrence of Tristram's accidental circumcision in Volume V, chapters xvii et seq., which⁵¹ raised the question of "breeches"--in the case of a country, breeches would mean treaty breaches rather than trousers--and the chapter on auxiliaries which closes Volume V, Trim and Toby hypothesize about responsibility and mention that had Count Solmes [a German auxiliary in the service of the English], Commander of the forces fighting under William III, including Toby and Trim, at

⁴⁰The Treaty of Limerick was first breached in 1697 when "William and his council . . . approved a bill to banish [Catholic] bishops and regular clergy" from Ireland contrary to the guarantee of religious toleration for Catholics contained in the Treaty" (J.G. Simms, 263).

the Battle of Steenkirk, obeyed orders and marched the foot soldiers then the cavalry regiments would not have been decimated. **Solmes's** opposite number at the battles of Steenkirk and Landen was General **Sarsfield** [Patrick Sarsfield fighting as an Irish auxiliary in the service of Louis XIV], who was one of the negotiators on behalf of the Irish of the Treaty of Limerick in the fall of 1691.

In 1692 at the battle of **Steenkirk** (T/S, V, xx-xxi), which left 5,000 of the Allies alone dead, wounded or taken prisoner (*The Notes* 370), "the Irish army distinguished itself [and] **Sarsfield** was mentioned in dispatches as having shown 'the valour of which he gave such proofs in Ireland'" (Simms 260) in fighting against the army of William III, including Toby and Trim, under "'Heinrich Maastricht, Count Solms . . . [who] commanded the main body'" (James Aiken Work, cited in *The Notes*, 369) and "'the Prince of Wirtemberg commanding the attacks'" (Tindal, cited in *The Notes*, 369). Solmes at Steenkirk is spoken of by Toby and Trim and this reference, by an association of ideas should bring his opposite number, Sarsfield, to the reader's mind. Uncle Toby and James Butler (Trim) never ask what they are fighting for or whom they are killing. Although Tristram bruits and rejects the idea that opposites will be apparent from "any table of **interest or genealogy**" (VII, xix, 603), the mere mention of the

possibility of genealogical opposites by an ironic author should be sufficient to induce the reader to hypothesize about their possibility and significance. When Toby and Trim mention events surrounding Count Solmes at the battles of Steenkirk and Landen, we might recall this "undercraft of authors" of associating opposites and consider Patrick Sarsfield, one of Count Solmes's prominent opponents at these battles. Trim essentially argues that Solmes should have let the foot soldiers act as cannon fodder and concludes that if they, with presumably himself and Toby among them, had been sacrificed, then the next battle, that at Landen, would have been unnecessary. Trim would not have been wounded at Landen if there had been no battle, as he believes, or if he had been killed at Steenkirk, which apparently would have been the case if Solmes had obeyed orders and marched the foot soldiers. At Landen, where Trim was wounded, **Sarsfield** was killed and Count **Solmes** "had his foot shot off," according to Trim, for not obeying orders at Steenkirk! *Sic gloria transit mundi!*

At Limerick, Steenkirk and Landen, William III, as *de facto* King of England, with Toby and Trim among his troops, was fighting against, among others, James II whom many thought, his Irish followers among them, to be the legitimate and *de jure* King of England. The attempt by the monarchy in England to co-opt the Butlers to the

Protestant cause, beginning with Thomas, the Black Earl, resulted in Thomas's taking arms against and driving other Irish families out of Ireland so that many Irish began to appear as **auxiliaries** fighting against England in wars on the continent. Thomas's heir was Walter Butler, a Catholic, who was imprisoned in the Fleet for eight years on a pretext, and not permitted to raise his grandson James, who was taken to Court to be educated as a Protestant. This Protestant James Butler, who became the first Duke of Ormond, wound up fighting against many of his Catholic kinsmen in the Civil Wars during the 1640's. The next heir, the Protestant James Butler, the second Duke of Ormond, like Trim, his namesake in the novel, fought under William III in Ireland against his kinsmen and the bulk of the Irish who remained loyal to James II and in Flanders at the battles of Steenkirk and Landen, where, like Trim, he was wounded. The Black Earl, Thomas Butler, and the James Butlers, Dukes of Ormond, frequently acted, in effect, as pawns of Protestant rulers in persecuting those of their own family and neighbors who did not convert to Protestantism. Responsibility for a situation in which it was impossible for many Irish to remain in their homeland and in which they were forced to flee and to serve as **auxiliaries** abroad rested in considerable measure with the leaders of the family with whose name Trim is associated and, in turn, with those in positions

of authority who used religion as an instrument to maintain their own power and that of their successors.

Obadiah and **Dinah** are Biblical names, and the stories attached to them in the Bible become associational references or genealogical cues that are important in understanding the novel at a level other than the literal. For example, the reactions of the various *dramatis personae* in the Shandy menage to the announcement of the death of Bobby are depicted in Chapters vii-xi of Volume V. The notion that events in the family circle allegorize national events is bolstered by the name of the messenger who occupies center stage at pertinent points in the novel: Obadiah. The extremely brief Old Testament Book with which Obadiah shares his name contains the prophecy of "measure for measure," not as between individuals, but as between nations, viz., "For near is the day of the Lord for all **the nations!**/ As you have done, so shall it be done to you" (Obadiah 15).

In the Book of Obadiah, the names of the brothers who were the sons of Isaac are used, at times, for the lands they ruled, i.e., Judah and Edom, and the point is that a nation, Edom, that does "violence to [its] brother" will find itself at "war" with other nations and made "small among the nations" and "held in dire contempt" (Obadiah 1-2; 10). Edom is enjoined not to watch over another nation "on the day of his disaster,"

not to exult on "the day of their ruin," not to gaze on "your brother,/ the day of his disaster"; the Book of Obadiah further speaks of Jacob, and the nation of Judah and its people and "the day of distress," "the day of their calamity," and "his misfortune on the day of his calamity" (12-14). Obadiah, then, is the prophet who uses allegory to describe nations in terms of family members and who cautions nations not to exult over their brother nations in the time of their distress.

When Obadiah, prophet of harmony among nations, is heard, "My young master in London is dead! said **Obadiah**.----" (V, vii, 429), Susannah immediately thinks of a "**green** sattin night-gown of **my mother's**, which had been **twice scoured**" (V, vii, 429). One meaning of "**scour**" is "to pass over quickly . . . as in search or pursuit" (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary) and this word aptly describes the passage through Ireland of both Mountjoy at the end of Elizabeth's reign and Cromwell in 1649-1650. Tristram, with respect to the association in Susannah's mind, mentions **Locke** and the "**imperfections of words**." Then Tristram asks us to note that despite the fact that it is Susannah herself who mentions "the word mourning . . . it excited not one single idea, tinged either with grey or black,--all was **green**.----the **green** sattin night-gown hung there still" (V, vii, 430). In the following brief chapter Tristram tells us that the foregoing was nothing but "a chapter

of chamber-maids, **green**-gowns, and old hats" (V, viii, 434). There is considerable evidence that by the 1790's "green" was the color associated with Irish nationalism.

In The Green Flag: The Turbulent History of the Irish National Movement (New York: Delacorte Press, 1972)

Robert Kee cites the following from the Military Instructions from the Leinster Provincial Committee of the United Irishmen, April 19, 1798: "A standard to be got for each company ten feet long with a pike in the end, the flag to be of **green** stuff, about two feet square" (xv), indicating the significance of the association of green with the movement for liberty in Ireland. Kee also quotes The Irish Volunteer of March 18, 1916 which stated that "The National Flag is an uncrowned gold harp on a plain **green** background" (xv). A fact sheet (2/91) issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Dublin, entitled "Ireland" informs us that

"[t]he national flag of Ireland is a tricolour of green, white and orange. . . . The three colours are of equal size, vertically disposed, and the green is displayed next to the staff. The flag was first introduced by Thomas Francis Meagher during the revolutionary year of 1848 as an emblem of the Young Ireland movement The green represents the older Gaelic and Anglo-Norman element in the population, while

the orange represents the Protestant planter stock, supporters of William of Orange. The meaning of the white was well expressed by Meagher when he introduced the flag. 'The white in the centre, . . . signifies a lasting truce between the 'Orange' and the 'Green' and I trust that beneath its folds the hands of the Irish Protestant and the Irish Catholic may be clasped in heroic brotherhood.'"

Kee documents the significance of the "green" and "orange" by the 1790's:

The wearing of some piece of green clothing had become a symbol of identification with the United Irish cause, and it was taken to be such whether so intended or not. One lady's maid in a loyalist party travelling from the North to Dublin, inadvertently wearing a green ribbon in her bonnet, was so pursued by waiters at the inns crying 'Success to your colours, ma'am!' that her employer made her remove it in a great hurry. The Orangemen invariably made the wearing of green a cause for provocation and reprisals (88)

The repetition of "green" and the mention of the association of ideas is meant to direct the reader to ask about the "green" gown and to associate it with Ireland.

Trim holds court in Chapter ix discoursing on death and the silence of Toby in the face of a loss such as that of Robert, and he refers in the first sentence to his service under "King William the Third . . . both in *Ireland* and *Flanders*" (V, ix, 434). The name Obadiah should dispose the reader to think of nations and their conflicts when Obadiah introduces the sequence of events and family members are discussed. England's two "children" were considered by William Molyneux to be Ireland and Scotland. In 1707 Scotland was united with England and lost her own Parliament; this loss of home rule, it appears, constitutes the "death" of a country, viz., Bobby/Robert/Scotland.

Charles I used the name and story of the Biblical *Dinah* to describe the relationships among England, Ireland and the Puritan Parliament in the 1640's. We recall that Charles likened England to Dinah, the Puritan Parliament to Dinah's revengeful brothers, and Ireland to those who suffered the retribution wreaked by the brothers. In *Eikon Basilike*, Charles I claimed that Parliament deserved a curse on it, like that of Jacob on his sons for their massacre of the people of Sechem in retaliation for Dinah's seduction, because Parliament's inordinate threats had called forth such extreme resistance on the part of the Irish (Merritt Hughes, *Milton* III: 481, n. 26). Milton, in Section XII, "Upon the Rebellion in Ireland," of *Eikonoklastes*, denied

Charles I's allegorical parallel likening Parliament to Dinah's vengeful brothers.

In Tristram Shandy, Aunt Dinah is a continuing source of contention between Walter and Uncle Toby. Tristram writes that approximately sixty years ago--he tells us he is writing this in 1759 (I, xxi, 71)--his great Aunt Dinah was married and got with child by the coachman. Tristram's rejoinder to "the hypercritick" who might cavil at his "**breach** in the unity, or rather probability, of time," (II, viii, 119) is apposite in this instance. The marriage of Aunt Dinah (England) and the coachman (Cromwell), who had been "Captain of the Horse," occurred in the 1640's but the "getting with child" took place in 1701 when the Settlement Act required that the heir to the English throne be from the Protestant Hanoverian rather than the Stuart line. Tristram has earlier cautioned his reader that his apparent disregard for the unities and connections of time in the instance of "the enterance of Dr. Slop upon the stage" should "**have prepared the reader's imagination,-----**as much, at least, (I hope) as a dance, a song, or a concerto between the acts" (II, viii, 120) for sleights of mind with time. In the case of Aunt Dinah, the "song" between the acts, viz., "*As war begets poverty, poverty peace,*" is associated with the year when the Settlement Act was adopted, i.e., 1701 (Ian Watt informs us the song was from a "popular catch (No

91, for 90, *A Pleasant Musical Composition*, 1701)," Watt, *T.S.* I, xxi, 49, but see, *The Notes*, 109-110). Our constant theme song and refrain between the acts, *Lillibullero*, which our author has named the "*Argumentum Fistulatorium*" (I, xxi, 78-79) appears in this chapter also to remind us of the date 1688 when the accession of the first Hanover, William III occurred. *Lillibullero* was composed by the Irish in 1688 to celebrate the appointment of the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnell as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and appropriated by the Protestant defenders of Derry in 1689 (O'Brien 72-73). Songs thus serve a referential function and become reminders of the year in which they were popular and the events, such as the arrival of William III, with which they are associated.

That great Aunt Dinah marries the coachman and is got with child is something "for which my father, according to his **hypothesis of Christian names**, would often say, she might thank her godfathers and godmothers" (i.e., those taking care of the state) (I, xxi, 73); Dinah is England between 1641 and 1701; and Tristram (as Ireland) has Dinah for a great Aunt. Walter would rail about Dinah to Toby (the English public, viz., John Bull) because, as Walter would put it, "construing the words to my uncle Toby, as he went along . . . Dinah was my aunt . . . but TRUTH is my sister" (I, xxi, 77). Toby repeatedly requests Walter

to desist from telling Dinah's story and to know how Walter "can have so little feeling and compassion for the character of our family". Walter's ironic reply merits repeating since it becomes one of the points of the novel: "What is the character of a family to an hypothesis? Nay, if you come to that --what is the life of a family How many thousands of 'em are there every year that come cast away (in all civilized countries at least)----and consider'd as nothing but common air, in competition of an hypothesis" (I, xxi, 77-78). Toby's response, "In my plain sense of things . . . every such instance is downright MURDER, let who will commit it," is parried by Walter with the rejoinder that in the forum of knowledge "there is no such thing as MURDER,----'tis only DEATH, brother" (I, xxi, 78). Toby would whistle *Lillabullero* at this point, the song composed when the Irish were fighting in 1688 on behalf of King James II to whose Catholicism the English ruling circles objected. After the English appropriated the song in the same year to use against the Irish, it became a great rallying cry in their fight to support the Protestant William III against James II in the sanguinary battles in Ireland against England's deposed king in which Toby and Trim participated. Each time Toby whistles *Lillabullero*, the "song . . . between the acts" (II, viii, 120) in Tristram Shandy,

the reader ought to be reminded of the events associated with the accession of William III in 1688.

Dinah, says Walter, can thank her godmothers and godfathers for all her troubles, the inference being that her name was the source of all the vexatious events of her life. If Aunt Dinah is England, those in power and who ruled her were responsible for her "bad" name. The possibility of a **country** being a "godfather" or "godmother" to a child--we recall that Dinah might thank her godmothers and godfathers for all her troubles--is bruited when Francis the First of France and his minister converse about maintaining amicable relations with Switzerland. To the minister's observation that the treasury is limited the king replies that there are other ways of "bribing states, besides that of giving money----I'll pay Switzerland the honour of standing godfather for my next child" (IV, xxi, 358). The minister comments on the strictures of the grammarians the king would thereby incur since Switzerland "as a republick being a female, can in no construction be godfather" (*Ibid.*). Easily remedied, says the king, "She may be godmother" (*Ibid.*). If countries can be godparents then the converse, i.e., that godchildren can be countries, is also presumably possible in the Shandean menage. Immediately after this chapter Tristram beseeches his readers to believe, as he says

that in the story of my father and his
 christen-names,--I had no thoughts of treading
 upon Francis the First--nor in the affair of
 the nose--upon Francis the Ninth--nor in the
 character of my uncle Toby--of
 characterizing the militating spirits of
 my country (IV, xxiii, 360)

In evaluating this denial, let us not take a position
 where Tristram can say of us, as he does of the French
 Post Office Official: "----The devil take the serious
 character of these people! quoth I they
 understand no more of IRONY than this----" (VII, xxxiv,
 634). It is Aunt Dinah--England from the 1640's to
 1701--in the novel who is most associated with the
 "militating spirits of my country" and even the
 militating spirit of Uncle Toby is abashed when she is
 mentioned.

Section 2: The Great Allegorized in the Trivial

"My mother's" labour in giving birth to Tristram
 lasted one very long day: from November 5, 1605 (the
 Gunpowder Plot) to November 5, 1688 (the arrival of
 William III in England). Great events played out on the
 stage of European politics during the periods when
 incidents relating to the history of the Shandy family
 occur are allegorized in the small happenings--such as

those in the back parlour when Walter, Toby, Dr. Slop, and, on occasion, Trim, await Tristram's birth--that transpire in everyday life. Seemingly trivial aleatory occurrences at home are illustrative of corresponding events played out at the macrocosmic level between nations. A minor or petty vexation on the domestic scene, for example, Walter's struggle to extract the **striped India** handkerchief from his pocket, mirrors a larger problem or lack of logic in international relations, while a death in the family--that of Bobby--signifies the end of Scottish self-rule. Hrumph! Nonsense! A man getting a handkerchief out of a pocket is a man getting a handkerchief out of a pocket!! And, Bobby? Scotland? Pshaw!

Walter is greatly agitated--there is a "prodigious suffusion of blood in my father's countenance . . . all the blood in his body seemed to rush into his face"--over his difficulty in getting his "**striped India** handkerchief" out of the pocket cut low-down in his coat as was the custom "[i]n the **latter end of Queen Anne's reign**, and in the **beginning of the reign of king George the first**" (III, ii, 188). To be sure we consider when this occurs, Tristram reminds us: "It was not an easy matter in **any king's reign** . . . to have forced your hand diagonally, quite across your whole body, so as to gain the bottom of your opposite coat pocket--(III, ii, 188-189). We might further associate

this rushing of blood to Walter's head with what Walter has earlier said about such unhealthy circulation.

Tristram tells us his father realized that

all political writers . . . had unanimously agreed and lamented, from the beginning of **Queen Elizabeth's** reign down to his own time, that the current of men and money towards the metropolis . . . set in so strong,--as to become **dangerous to our civil rights** . . . a *distemper* was here his favourite metaphor, and he would run it down into a **perfect allegory**, by maintaining that it was identically the same in the **body national** as in the **body natural** [or family circle?], where blood and spirits were driven up into the head faster than they could find their way down;----a stoppage of circulation must ensue, which was **death** in both cases" (I, xviii, 52-53).

"[L]aws were enacted in 1665 and 1680, absolutely prohibiting the importation into England from Ireland, of all cattle, sheep, and swine, of beef, pork, bacon, and mutton and even of butter and cheese" because Ireland's trade was prejudicial to that of the English and diminished opportunities for English farmers, producers, merchants and shippers (Lecky, Ireland I: 173). The Navigation Acts, beginning with that in 1673,

and their Amendments, precluded direct Irish participation in the colonial trade (*Ibid.* I: 174) and Ireland's lucrative commerce in woolens, which had replaced cattle as a chief trading commodity when cattle exports were forbidden, was ended when a "law of crushing severity, enacted by the British Parliament in 1699 . . . prohibited the Irish from exporting their manufactured wool to any other country whatever" (I: 177). The linen and hemp industries were to be encouraged to make up to the Irish for the loss of their prime exports. In 1705, legislation was passed permitting the exportation of "**white and brown linens**, but these only, to the British colonies, and [the Irish] were not permitted to bring any colonial goods in return" (I: 178-179). The "hempen manufacture was so discouraged that it positively ceased. . . [and] Irish checked, **striped**, and dyed **linens** were absolutely excluded from the colonies. They were virtually excluded from England by the imposition of a duty of 30 per cent" (I: 179). While trade languished, "'hunger and want'" increased and, meanwhile, the question of the encouragement of the "new manufacture" of linen ran afoul of the fear of the English wollen manufacturers that, if the Irish linen were sold in England and thus diminished Dutch linen sales in England, the Dutch might correspondingly reduce their imports of English wool to the detriment of the English

woolen trade. The extension of a patent for linen manufacture in Leinster was only permitted when a restriction was agreed to that "**no linen except the coarsest kind** should be made, and it was only after a prolonged struggle, and by the urgent representations of the Duke of **Ormond**, that this small concession was made" (I: 182). Lest we fail to think of the larger consequences concerning "**Whether my father [before attempting to extract the striped India handkerchief] should have taken off his w[h]ig with his right hand or with his left**" (III, ii, 187), Tristram cautions us that such matters "**have divided the greatest kingdoms**, and made the crowns of the monarchs who governed them, to totter upon their heads--" (*Ibid.*). With regard to crowns tottering, one might think of the W[h]igs reactions to the plans of some Tories for the return of the Pretender at the "end of Queen Anne and beginning of king George the first's reign."

Handkerchiefs are generally made of linen or cotton, but who would consider making a handkerchief of the coarsest kind of linen? Is it any wonder that Walter is represented as going halfway across the globe--well, struggling to reach diagonally across his body--for this **striped India** handkerchief? Where could he get a soft striped one closer to home? That Walter should be holding his **W[h]ig** with his other hand during

his efforts is also not surprising since it was the Whig producers, merchants, traders and shipowners who were the strongest supporters of efforts to bolster English trading profits at the expense of Irish subsistence.

In his History of England George Trevelyan points out that the terms "Whig" and "Tory" "were both originally hostile nicknames, 'Tory' meaning an Irish Catholic bandit, and 'Whig' a Scottish Covenanting zealot" that were given at the time of Titus Oates fabrication of a "'Popish plot'" and the debates surrounding the "Exclusion Bill" in 1678 (462; 464, n.1). Between 1714 and 1760 there were a succession of Whig ministries and the Tories were effectively proscribed. As Linda Colley's In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-1760 describes the situation:

In 1707 Robert Harley [first Earl of Oxford, 1661-1724] had recognised that the days when both whig and tory might be blended in a mixed administration were drawing to their close. What he anticipated would replace this uneasy arrangement was a self-regulating two-party system: 'like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges to let in each party as it grows triumphant'. In 1715 the door was slammed shut upon the tories and it remained jammed in that position for some forty-five

years. . . . It is seldom recognised how
extensive tory proscription was. (21)

We recall Walter was "originally a *Turkey* merchant" (I, iv, 6) and he displays a keen understanding of the role of commerce in supporting an economy when he objects to the use of Stevinus's chariot in England, which is propelled by wind and thus eliminates the need for horses and the expense of feeding them, when he says: "[I]t is the consumption of our products, as well as the manufactures of them, which gives bread to the hungry, circulates trade,--brings in money, and supports the value of our lands" (II, xiv, 137). Although we may regret the loss of the rest of Walter Shandy's "dissertation upon trade" because of Trim's interruption (II, xiv, 137), Sterne/Tristram's own opinion of the English practice of sacrificing any hope of the Irish for commerce in the consolation prize of linen when their cattle and wool industries had been suppressed because disadvantageous to the interests of their English competitors hardly needs elaboration.

It is on just this issue of the claim of Irish trade being "prejudicial" or not letting the English reap "Advantages which otherwise [they] might partake of" that William Molyneux describes *Scotland* and *Ireland* as being "the same King's Subjects, the **Children of one Common Parent**" (The Case of Ireland Stated [1698], 146-147). After being told so many times

of Walter's preoccupation with christian names it is not unreasonable for the reader to attach significance to both the christian and family names in the text. In "the article in my mother's marriage settlement" included in the novel, "my mother's" maiden name, **Mollineux**, is repeated ten times (I, xv, 42-46). Right before she learns of "Bobby's death," when she is listening outside the door and hears Walter say 'three children' in referring to Socrates, "my mother," who only knows of Walter's children, Bobby and Tristram, thinks he is talking about his own children and says "--Then . . . you have one more, Mr. Shandy, than I know of" (V, xiii, 442). If Mollineux can refer to Scotland and Ireland as the children of a common parent, England, and, if, as has been argued, in Sterne's text Tristram is Ireland, Bobby must be Scotland, the land of Robert Bruce. But when did Scotland die? In 1707 the Union of England and Scotland "involved the absorption of Scotland's Parliament and Privy Council in those of England" (Trevelyan, 481). Trevelyan explains that during the reign of Anne when Scotland was "more Jacobite than England, and she threatened to bring the exiled Stuarts to reign" in Scotland "on Anne's death, while the House of Hanover was being established in England the **Whig** statesmen of Anne's reign, supported by moderate Tories . . . offered Scotland the great material advantage of union and free trade, on

condition that the Crowns and Parliaments became one" (481).

Reinforcing the notion that the minutiae of life detailed in the case of the Shandy family correspond to analogous events at the level of the nation is the name of the messenger, viz., **Obadiah**, discussed above. It is an odd appellation heard to ring at crucial junctures in affairs of the family and, allegorically, on the parallel level of the state.

Walter's servant, Obadiah, who ties Dr. Slop's "green bays bag" [Sterne's spelling of "baize" as "bays" associates it with the flourishing of evil, viz., "I have seen the wicked in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree." (Psalms 37:35)] is thus linked by this biblical name with a nation that triumphs over, gazes at and participates in the ruin of its "brother" nation, viz., England over Ireland. The "day of their disaster" and "the day of their calamity" for the Irish was November 5th when each year some members of the clergy preached from the pulpits to rejoice about widely separated happenings on this day; November 5th became a commemoration to remind the Protestants of the perfidy of the Catholics involved in the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and to celebrate the guarantee of an exclusive Protestant ascendancy with the arrival of William III in 1688. Anti-Catholic sentiment was fanned even from the pulpits on November 5th each year by citing examples of

Catholic malevolence and depravity; the editors of the Notes quote from a sermon of Richard Bentley delivered on November 5 [("Cambridge, 1715)," 183] in which Bentley describes the tortures of the rack being inflicted and characterizes it as a "'regular system of ingenious cruelty'" (183). Such sermons were rendered questionable by Dr. Henry Sacheverell when he preached a sermon against the principles of the 1688 revolution but was impeached for his efforts. For almost one hundred years following the accession of William III in 1688, penal laws against the Catholics, the bulk of the population in Ireland, were enacted and, frequently, in the earlier part of this period, rigorously implemented. In 1714, Lecky reports, "a proclamation was issued for putting the [penal laws against Catholics] strictly in force, and the mayors and sheriffs all over Ireland were required to send in reports about the prisoners under the Acts, in their gaols" (Ireland, I: 260).⁴¹

⁴¹One of these reports from the high sheriff of Wicklow tells of rumours that a "riotous assembly" of papists was to gather at the shrine of St. Kevin on June 3rd, and of the efforts to suppress this unlawful gathering. The sheriff described the incident as follows:
 a *posse comitatus* was raised, and several of the magistrates, 'being accompanied with a great number of Protestants, inhabitants of the said county . . . rode all night, and met at the seven churches by four in the morning of the 3rd of June inst., the usual anniversary day for that purpose. On approach of our forces the rioters immediately dispersed. We pulled down their tents, threw down and demolished their superstitious crosses, filled up and destroyed their wells,

No Catholic could run a school in Ireland at the time, which meant the children had to attend a school where protestantism would be inculcated or remain uneducated [We recall that Walter has great plans for Tristram's education but never gets around to completing his "Tristrapaedia" before it is too late to do any good]; no Catholic child could be sent abroad for an education; no priest could say Mass without subscribing to an oath testifying to a belief in and loyalty to the protestant succession; and no Catholic mother, if the family had any property, could raise her child--"*the mother is not of kin to her child*"? (T.S., IV, xxix, 390)--if a Catholic father died. In such cases, it was required that a protestant guardian be appointed (See Lecky, Ireland I: 140-170). According to a statute enacted in Anne's reign, a Catholic landholder, who "happened to be seized with a mortal illness while his children were minors, . . . had the inexpressible misery of knowing that he could not leave them to the care of his wife, or of any Catholic friend, but that the Chancellor was bound to provide them with a Protestant

and apprehended and committed one Toole, a Popish schoolmaster. . . . The protestant inhabitants of this county . . . are unanimous in their inclinations and resolutions, and will exert themselves with all diligence and zeal for his Majesty's service in putting all the laws in every respect strictly in force against the Papists.' (Lecky, Ireland I: 263-264).

guardian, whose first duty was to bring them up in the Protestant creed" (Lecky, Ireland I: 154).

The story of the Bishop's Visitation Dinner treats the issue of acting in contravention to the wishes of both the mother and father in connection with errors by the cleric baptizing a child. Didius points out that, if the error in the name, viz., Tristram for Trismegistus, had occurred "before the reformation" (IV, xxix, 388), some remedies for the blunder might have been available. If the person officiating then were to baptize the child "in *Gomine* gattris, &c. &c. instead of in *Nomine* patris, &c" there would be no baptism since "the radix of each word is hereby torn up, and the sense and meaning of them removed and changed quite to another object; for *Gomine* does not signify a name, nor *gattris* a father" (IV, xxix, 388-389). Kysarcus points out that had the mistake occurred only in the inflected endings the situation would have been different, and, Didius adds further, that "the intention of the priest's pronouncing them gramatically must have been proved to have gone along with it" (IV, xxix, 389). Kysarcus endorses Didius' emendation and, as authority, cites a "decree of the decretals of Pope Leo IIIId" (*Ibid.*). To this uncle Toby responds:

'But my brother's child . . . has nothing to do with the Pope--'tis the plain **child of a Protestant gentleman**, christen'd *Tristram*

against the wills and wishes both of its father and mother, and all who are a-kin to it--' (Ibid.)

Toby's misgivings relate to a name being imposed contrary to the choice of the parents, but the objection applies equally to a religion being prescribed in opposition to the desire of the parents. Religion, which ought to be a force for unity and peace, was made by those ruling England and Ireland into a source of dissension even in the family.

The example of one of Trim's namesakes, **James Butler**, the first and second **Dukes of Ormond**, illustrates the problem. The Butler family was entirely Catholic until Thomas Butler (1532-1614) was raised at Court as a Protestant. His heir, Walter Butler, was a Catholic who was the grandfather of James Butler, later first Duke of Ormond. Upon the death of James's father when he was nine, the boy was at first placed by his mother with a Roman Catholic tutor in England, but the boy was taken away from his family and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury's to be raised a Protestant (Dictionary of National Biography VIII: 52). As a result, at the time of the **War of the Three Kingdoms** in the 1640's, James Butler was fighting on behalf of Charles I against the other members of his family who sided with the Catholic Confederacy. When he could hold out no longer in Dublin he surrendered to the Protestant

forces of Cromwell rather than to those of the Confederacy of Kilkenny.

Toby, a person of enormous "good-will," is unable to perceive that what he finds unacceptable at the level of family, friends and acquaintances ought to be equally objectionable at the level of the nation. He is unable to analogize or to generalize. The petty animosities played out in the back parlour and the misfortunes they occasion to Tristram because they act as a continual irritation to the parties assisting at the infant "hero's" birth are religious prejudices smoldering between Protestant and Catholic. "*Lillabullero*," the song composed and sung by the Irish in 1688 and adapted by the English and auxiliaries under William III fighting the Irish at the battle of the Boyne and the seige of Limerick in 1690 and 1691, celebrates English conquests in Ireland and is associated with William III and the establishment of Protestant ascendancy in England. This theme song and refrain between the acts of *Tristram Shandy*, *Lillibullero*, characterized by Tristram as the "*Argumentum Fistulatorium*" (I, xxi, 78-79), is associated with tragedy. One of the definitions of "*fistula*" is a "pipe, tube [or] Pan pipes" (*Collins Gem Latin Dictionary*). The god Pan in Greek mythology is represented with the legs and on occasion the ears and horns of a goat. "Tragedy," viz., *tragos*, goat and *oide*, song, etymologically, means the song of the goat

(Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language). *Lillabullero*, the otherwise kind but unthinking uncle Toby's *leitmotif*, becomes the tragic goat-song between the Acts punctuating the novel with a reminder of the events of 1688 when the question of religion determined the history of England, Ireland, and Scotland and that of much of Europe in the next century. Thus, Uncle Toby's seemingly inconsequential habit of whistling *Lillabullero* serves a significant cognitive referential function for the reader.

Undercut by happenings on the day of Tristram's birth are the dogmas of both the Catholic and Protestant religions on the question of salvation and baptism. The "Memoire" of the Doctors of the Sorbonne (I, xx, 66-69) shows an enormous charity in the face of strict church doctrine; however, to have the salvation of an infant depend on efforts with a squirt are shown to be ludicrous. Appearing equally absurd is the haste to get Tristram baptized a Protestant. Tristram's seemingly facetious solution to the problem of a doctrinal insistence on baptism for salvation--to baptize all the "HOMUNCULI at once, slap-dash, by *injection*" (I, xx, 70)--is no more foolish than the then existing expedients--Catholic or Church of England--for "saving" infants. What emerges from Sterne's representations of the problems associated with Catholic and Protestant positions on baptism is the idea that all such formal

considerations are inconsistent with the notion of the just and benevolent God in whom the characters in the novel and Tristram himself repose confidence.

To console himself after the death of Bobby, Walter reads Plato's Apology, containing Socrates' "defense" of his life. Whether the defense were addressed to the nation or to God, "justice" would seem to mandate salvation even if Socrates had never heard of baptism. Thus, the Miltonic representation of "the fall," and the notion of a God punishing the children of the children of fallen parents, is countered in the novel by Sterne's fleeting but memorable images of God: in Tristram's words, "That kind BEING, who is friend to the friendless" (VI, viii, 509); "that being who will injure none of us" (III, iv, 191); in Toby's view: "the best of Beings" (IV, vii, 332); "God Almighty is so good and just a governor of the world, that if we have but done our duties in it,--it will never be enquired into, whether we have done them in a red coat or a black one" (VI, vii, 506); with regard to why God could not give Bohemia a seacoast--because of the possibility of drowning the inhabitants--Toby says, there could not be "such a want of compassion in Him who is the Father of it" (VIII, xix, 692).

It is inconsistent with the nature of the good, just and benevolent God projected in the novel to require that the salvation of an infant or persons

without knowledge of the need for baptism depend on whether or not they are baptized. William Molyneux, in fact, uses the same argument, viz., that it is unjust to punish the children for the sins of the parent, not with respect to God, but, as between England and Ireland. In The Case of Ireland Stated he writes:

‘Tis unreasonable any Man should be punish’d but for his own fault. Man being a free Agent, is only Answerable for his own Demerits; and as it would be highly Unjust to Hang up the Father for the Son’s Offence, so the Converse is equally Unjust, that the Son shou’d suffer any Inconvenience for the Father’s Crime. A Father hath not in himself a power over the Life or Liberty of his Child, so that no Act of his can possibly forfeit it.
(22-23)

In his inability to remember the commandments except in sequence, Trim emphasizes the unified nature of the commandments where one precept works synergistically and in balance with the others. For Catholics the fifth commandment is “Thou shalt not Kill.” For Protestants it is “Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.” To some extent this was James Butler’s--Trim’s--dilemma as well as that of the Dukes of Ormond with whom he shares his name, viz., James Butler. We recall that Trim is questioned about the

commandments in the presence of the Catholic Dr. Slop and the Protestants, Yorick, Walter and Toby, and is asked to state the fifth commandment. But for the religious conflict since the Reformation, he could as well have responded as a Catholic and said "Thou shalt not kill," rather than giving the Protestant answer, "Honour thy father and thy mother." The dark shadow underlying Trim's, or James Butler's, effort to recite the fifth commandment is, that if he had been raised a Catholic, which the James Butler who was the first Duke of Ormond would have been without a pretext of the crown to educate him as a Protestant, he would not have answered, "Honour thy father and mother" but, instead, "Thou shalt not kill"--a commandment incompatible with the life of a soldier in any but a just war. The injunction against killing--whether it is called the fifth or the sixth commandment depending on whether the subject is Catholic/some Protestant denominations, Protestant or Jewish--seems irreconcilable with a military career such as Trim's or Toby's in which obedience to orders takes precedence over the decisions of the individual conscience regarding the morality of any particular military encounter or action.

Furthermore, for a person with a Protestant father and Catholic mother in Ireland, honoring thy father might mean dishonoring thy mother and vice versa at that time and a son whose father was Catholic could by

converting to Protestantism get title to and take over the father's property. Thus, instead of becoming a force for familial, national, and international harmony, as would be presumably consonant with the will of a benevolent and just God, religion became a divisive force fomenting strife and discord between individuals, groups, and nations. Joseph Lewis in The Ten Commandments, claiming that the Catholic Church suppressed the second commandment [with the result that the remaining commandments were moved up one number so that the Catholic fifth commandment is "Thou shalt not kill"], states that "Since the Seventh General Council, 787 A.D., the Second Commandment has either been omitted or falsely explained away. . . . [U]p to and even after the Reformation it was not discovered, and formed the Decalogue as accepted by the Anglican Church as late as 1563. So strongly was this mutilated version of the Commandments intrenched that even Martin Luther did not discover the imposition until several decades after his schism with Rome, and [this] accounts for the Lutherans' accepting the Catholic version of the Decalogue" (26). Thus, Sterne is showing how ironically true Walter's apostrophe, "What is the life of a family to an hypothesis!" became in the two centuries leading up to and including the time he was writing.

The hypothesis of fundamental differences based on religion held by many of the English--and others--at the

time Sterne was writing is continuously and vehemently undercut throughout Sterne's novel through his irony which has not been appreciated or sufficiently recognized. The Moor, the black, the Jew, and the Catholic are all represented in Tristram Shandy as objects of unreasoning and unchristian persecution, and the persecution that is ironically represented as happening elsewhere, in Portugal--to Trim's brother Tom who married the Jew's widow at Lisbon (II, xvii, 144); II, xvii, 161-163; VI, xxiv, 541-542) and to the "poor negro girl" who like Uncle Toby would not kill a fly (IX, vi, 747-750)--is at bottom the religious and racial prejudice then permeating the society of "John Bull."

"[T]he Moorish girl," in Tristram Shandy, will not kill a fly, concludes uncle Toby, because "she had suffered persecution . . . and had learnt mercy." Trim's analysis is that "She was good . . . from nature as well as from hardships" and he promises to tell her history "with the rest of Tom's story, for it makes a part of it" (IX, vi, 747). In answer to his own question "Why . . . is a black wench to be used worse than a white one?" Trim exclaims, "because she has no one to stand up for her----" Toby's responds:

----'Tis that very thing . . . which
recommends her to protection----and her
brethren with her; 'tis the fortune of war
which has put the whip into our hands now----

where it may be hereafter, heaven knows!----
 but be it where it will, the brave . . . will
 not use it unkindly.' (IX, vi, 748).

Linda Colley, in Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837,
 notes that it was not until 1807 that Parliamaent
 abolished the British slave trade and not until 1833
 that the 750,000 slaves in its West Indian colonies were
 freed (350). She also gives an account of one of the
 more egregious atrocities punctuating the late seventeen
 hundreds even after Sterne was writing:

[I]n 1783, the Zong, a British slave ship
 bound for Jamaica, had been hit by an
 epidemic. Afraid that his stock of water was
 running low and knowing that his insurance
 policy only covered slaves lost at sea, not
 those who perished as a result of unhealthy
 conditions on board, Captain Colingwood
 decided to solve both of his problems at one
 stroke. He ordered 133 sick slaves to be
 thrown alive into the sea in batches.
 Realising what was going to happen to them,
 the last thirty-six resisted. So the captain
 gave instructions for them to be shackled and
 then thrown overboard. At which point, ten of
 the slaves struggled free and jumped into the
 sea as a final desperate gesture of free will.
 (350)

Colley points out the ability of many of the British of the eighteenth century to rationalize the disjunction between their own desire for liberty and their enrichment through the enslavement of others. She points out:

For most of the 1700s, Britons had seen no inconsistency whatever between trumpeting their freedom at home and buying men, women and children from trading posts in Africa to sell into slavery abroad. From contributing perhaps 12,000 slaves to the 31,000 shipped annually to North America and the West Indies by the major slave-trading nations in the first decade of the century, the British went on to supply an average of over 23,000 slaves a year over the next eighty years. By the 1790s, when the French had been knocked out of the business by their own revolution and by the slave rebellion in St Domingue, British ships were exporting almost 45,000 blacks annually, which represented perhaps 60 percent of the total trade. (351-352)

In The Merchant of Venice, Shylock, when confronted with the charge of lacking mercy, responds to his Christian accusers:

You have among you many a purchased slave,

Which like your asses and your dogs and mules
 You use in abject and in slavish parts,
 Because you bought them. Shall I say to you,
 Let them be free! marry them to your heirs!
 Why sweat they under burdens? Let their beds
 Be made as soft as yours, and let their
 palates

Be seasoned with such viands? (IV, i, 90-98)

Shakespeare's comedy was written two years after Queen Elizabeth's physician, Dr. Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew was drawn, quartered and hung, for attempting to poison the Queen. Bernadette Meyler in "Bakhtin's Irony" (111-113) points out many of the ironies in Shakespeare's treatment of Shylock, among which are Shylock's adoption in his strongest speech of the words of St. Paul when St. Paul is speaking in the context of persecuting and being persecuted, "I am a Jew" (Acts 21:39 and 22:3), and Shylock's use of the Biblical key word associated with Christ and persecution, "prick," viz., after Christ has asked "Why are you persecuting me?" he says to Paul, "Do not kick against the pricks" (Acts, 26:14); this is echoed in Shylock's "If you prick us do we not bleed?" (III, I, 56).

Sterne incorporated The Merchant of Venice into Tristram Shandy to show that in Shakespeare's work and his own "eloquence is the seeming truth that cunning

times put on to entrap the wisest." Shylock's line regarding confirmation of poisoning in his best remembered speech, "If you poison us do we not die?" (III, I, 57) lets Shakespeare, in the play, cast grave doubt on whether Dr. Lopez attempted to poison his patient, the Queen, since she was, in fact, alive and thriving when the theatergoers, two years after Lopez's execution, heard this logical statement about evidence of poisoning. In the same speech, as if to prime the audience to think of injury, disease, cause and effect and the physicians role in healing, Shylock asks if the Jew is not "hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means" as the Christian, and lest those at the play forget what it was, in part, "about," the word "doctor" is repeated eleven times in the last one hundred lines of this play in which a Jew plays a prominent role. If no one got the point about evidence of poisoning, persecution and a Jewish Doctor, surely Shakespeare cannot be faulted.

In Tristram Shandy, Trim's brother Tom is represented as marrying the widow of a Portuguese Jew and being persecuted for failing to put pork in the sausages, eschewing pork having been a self-characterizing attribute of Shylock (M.V., I, iii, 30). The persecution in the novel is portrayed as occurring in Portugal but Sterne's incorporation of key words referring to Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice relates

the question of the persecution of Jews by Christians back to Shakespeare's play and to England. It is beyond the scope of this research to catalogue the history of the persecution of Jews in England and other "Christian" countries in the two hundred years prior to Tristram Shandy's publication--the period that the novel represents. However, pleas for complete toleration of all religions were vigorously debated in England, although not adopted, in the 1640s. In the Introduction to Volume Two of the Complete Prose Works of John Milton Ernest Sirluck details the arguments adduced by Henry Robinson in his Liberty of Conscience: or the Sole Means to Obtaine Peace and Truth (1644):

War, it begins, is the worst scourge of God, and the one which men have the greatest part in bringing down upon themselves; it is always a threat everywhere, but the attempt throughout most of Christendom to impose **religious uniformity** makes it worse there than anywhere else: 'Christendome, a spot of ground only, hath continually been the **Cockpit**, and all the world besides but as a breathing space.' . . . If it were not so tragic in its effects, the effort to compel uniformity would be ridiculous, since the whole history of Protestants in Roman Catholic countries, Roman Catholics in Protestant

countries, Jews and Moslems in Christian countries, attests the futility of forcible . . . conversion. (83)

In April 1645 Richard Overton, in urging complete toleration of all religious faiths argued

If the Papist knew the Protestant, the Protestant the papist to love [one] another: & would not molest or in the least injure one another for their Conscience, but live peaceably & quietly one by another; bearing one with another, and so of all Religions: What man would lift up his hand against his Neighbour? (Milton II: 91)

Ernest Sirluck points out that Overton "is equally explicit concerning the Jews" writing that "'this Incendiary hath caused our Kings, and our Rulers, our Bishops and our priests not to suffer a Jew by authority to live amongst them; how then can we complaine of the vengeance that is at this time upon us & our children, that have been so cruel, so hatefull, so bloody minded to them and their children'" (Milton II: 91).

By the time Sterne was writing, religious toleration for Jews, like that for Catholics, had increased in England but, even so, arguments such as that of Thomas Prowse in the Commons, viz., "There was a great difference . . . 'between that of giving the Jews the protection of the Laws whilst they live honestly and

peacably amongst us, and that of naturalising or associating them into our society'" (Colley, Tory Party 112), prevailed in 1753 to defeat the bill to permit the naturalization of Jews in England. Thus, Sterne, through the actions of and events recounted by members of the extended Shandy family demonstrates how perceptions of fundamental religious and racial differences lead to war, persecution, and enslavement and affect not only the nation but, more importantly, the lives of the individuals and families through whom such disputes are played out.

Section 3: The Actual and Allegorical Conception and Birth of the Irish Nation

The seemingly drawn out day on which Tristram is born and which begins the history of Ireland represented by the black page should occasion no surprise since our author has asserted that with regard to duration he will only be judged by "the true scholastic pendulum," i.e., "the train and successsion of our ideas" (II, viii, 119-120). Tristram has reminded the reader of the suspension of the ordinary rules of time in his "history" and has demonstrated that a linear account of events is not to be expected by showing that between sending Obadiah to Dr. Slop's house on his birthday, **November 5, 1718**, he has travelled with Uncle Toby back

in time to 1695, forward to 1701, and then returned to 1718. Tristram was born on **November 5th** and the history of Tristram's conception, birth, and early misfortunes mirror those of Ireland whose history is sketched below.

The year 1603 marked the defeat of Tyrone in the Nine Year's War in Ireland, the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James I. The exposure of the Gunpowder Plot of **November 5, 1605** laid the basis for future false alarms relating to popish plots. Although Henry VIII's defection from Roman Catholicism affected Ireland, a more decisive change in English-Irish relations took place at the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603. Writing in the first issue of the Literary Magazine in 1756, to give the readers of the magazine a "succinct account" of how Britain's contemporary relations and conflicts with its continental neighbors arose, Samuel Johnson began "An Introduction to the Political State of Great-Britain" by saying

The present system of English politics may properly be said to have taken rise in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At this time the protestant religion was established, which naturally allied us to the reformed states, and made all the popish powers our enemies.
(Johnson, Works X: 130)

In The History of Ireland, Stephen Gwynn proposes three reasons why peace was not achieved in Ireland under Elizabeth: first, her "parsimony" in failing to subsidize the troops she sent to keep order and to insure justice with the result that these troops frequently "became the worst source of disorder, living by pillage" (214). Second, the established church in Ireland was used to consolidate secular political power and all the "rewards [of the established church] were kept for Englishmen [even under the Catholic Mary] and for those who would side with Englishmen as against Irishmen" (215). This, together with the fact that those invested with the care of the established church in Ireland, with few exceptions, could not speak the language of the bulk of the population and contrasted poorly with the priests sent from Rome who "came, undertaking, in the cause of a religion which was no longer allied to the Government, to preach and teach without reward and at their deadly peril" (215), meant that "religious persuasion allied itself with natural dislike for the rule of foreigners" and "strengthened . . . the national spirit" (216). Finally, and most importantly:

It was one of those periods of imperial expansion when all sense of right is lost. . . .
 . . . the policy of conquest by private venture, to be subsequently taken over by the State,

was fully accepted. Elizabeth authorized its employment in Ireland, although it [was] conquest carried on at the expense of those whom she claimed as her subjects and to whom she had guaranteed protection. . . . In such a case cupidity is always allied with idealism. The bloody work is done by adventurous and often noble persons [Gwynn cites Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Richard Grenville]. . . . The condemnation of Elizabeth's rule in Ireland rests on the fact that no attempt was made to maintain justice as between her subjects in Ireland and her English subjects. Gross injustice led to rebellion, and rebellion was followed by confiscation . . . which . . . benefitted [those] who had power to provoke rebellion. Plunder was covered by a plea that there had been disloyalty. (216-217)

Sir William Herbert ["Heir . . . of the first Earl of Pembroke, and one of the most prominent of the undertakers in Munster" (Maxwell 247, n. 2)], writing to Lord Burghley on October 20, 1588, acknowledged:

'Our pretence in the enterprise of plantation was to establish in these parts piety, justice, inhabitation and civility, with

comfort and good example to the parts adjacent. Our drift now is, being here possessed of land, to extort, make the state of things turbulent, and live by prey and by pay.' (Maxwell 247, from Cal.S.P. Ireland 62)

In 1595 a Royal Proclamation against the Earl of Tyrone alleged that Hugh O'Neill, "commonly called the 'Great O'Neill,' in Tyrone" had "allured and drawn to concur with him in rebellion a great part of the chieftains of Ulster" (Maxwell 175). Battle was joined, and, in 1598, Elizabeth sent Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to subdue the rebellion. Instead of resoundingly defeating the Irish, Essex entered into a truce with Tyrone and returned precipitately to England to confer with Elizabeth. From that point, Essex was in disgrace at Court and his financial straits and fears that Raleigh and Robert Cecil were trying to ease him out of the position of favorite he had so long enjoyed led him and some other young nobles to an abortive palace coup. He was found guilty of treason and was dead in London as rapidly as the drop of a hat when the executioner's axe fell. With the departure of Essex and the arrival of Mountjoy, the last possibility of a peace that would not crush the Irish was gone as well. R. F. Foster, in Modern Ireland: 1600-1972, writes:

Montjoy, a humane man, devastated Ulster in 1601; the ensuing descriptions of starvation

and cannibalism made unbearable reading even then. The strategy was spoilation: 'when plough and breeding cattle shall cease, then will the rebellion end'

[R]ationalizations of the Irish as a population of beasts and vermin appear in the literature from the end of the sixteenth century The official view continued to stress that it was not a war of 'conquest'; the country was already loyal; a few 'unnatural and barbarous rebels' needed to be 'rooted out'. Yet theoretical suggestions were being made in 1599 for transferring the Irish population as a whole . . . and when Mountjoy was appointed in 1600, his plan was to make Ireland 'a razed table' upon which the Elizabethan state could transcribe a neat pattern. (34-35)

This appears to be the first occasion on which "my mother's" green gown was scoured. Tyrone's defeat in this Nine Year's War in Ireland, fought from 1594 to 1603, was followed by the "flight of the Earls" or Ireland's "Wild Geese," including Tyrone, to Spain in 1607 and the confiscation by James I of their lands.

Further cementing anti-Catholic sentiment in England in 1605, and giving occasion for frequent "false alarms" thereafter, was the Gunpowder Plot, a plan by a

small group of disaffected Catholics in England to blow up the Houses of Parliament in London. Although the scheme was thwarted when word of it reached the authorities, so great was the public consternation aroused by the idea of blowing up the Parliament that November 5th is still, almost 400 years later, a day of national celebration commemorated by burning effigies of Guy Fawkes, the instigator of the conspiracy. The date became doubly significant and a cause to mark another "salvation" of England from the Catholics when the Protestant William of Orange arrived on **November 5th** in 1688 to become King of England after James II, the last of the Stuarts to reign in England, was forced to flee the country because of his religion.

During the thirty-eight years of uneasy peace in Ireland between 1603 and 1641, under James I and even more blatantly under Charles I, there were expansions of the confiscations and plantations of Irish lands by the crown begun in Mary's reign and extended by Elizabeth after Desmond's rebellion (Gwynn 265). The pretext for the appropriation of land under Mary and Elizabeth was at the least, even if provoked, the disloyalty, rebellion, or treason of the chiefs of the clan holding title to the land.⁴² Under Charles I, Gwynn points out,

⁴² What happened to the O'Connors of Offaly and O'Mores Leix, which became King's and Queen's Counties respectively, was not unusual. In April 1607 the Lord deputy and Council wrote to the Privy Council asking

that a certain "Patrick Crosbie" be given additional lands in Munster to rent to those he wished to remove from Leix because he was "hindered in his particular estate" since "many of the septs [Irish clans that had owned the land] inhabit . . . his lands" which would "lie waste" (239) with the removal of their inhabitants. He was granted the land in Munster to rent to those he wanted to drive out of Leix, viz., the O'Mores and O'Connors, who according to the deputy and Council,

have lived discontented these 60 years since they lost those countries, within which compass they have entered in actual rebellion 18 several times . . . in regard whereof they [the English servitors] have sought by all means in their power to remove the cause thereof, especially the O'Mores, which they could in no sort do but by removing the old inhabitants, viz., the O'Mores and their followers, the Kelleys, Lawlors, McCoghlan, Claneboys, Dorans and Dolans, into some remote parts of the other three provinces; wherein they used as an instrument one Patrick Crosbie" (Maxwell 238-239).

In June 1607, a "humble petition" from the "O'Mores and the six other septs of Leix, otherwise called the Queen's County in Ireland" to the Earl of Salisbury read, in part as follows:

Declaring how they are daily troubled by the English freeholders of that county, and specially by one Patrick Crosbie, so that they are like to be banished from that country, to inhabit in some remote part of the Kingdom, notwithstanding that they hold land from them by leases which they have ready to show. Pray, therefore, as this is contrary to equity and law, and to his Majesty's general and gracious pardon bestowed upon them by public proclamation, that they may not be troubled in any interest or farms which they have now in that country until their full time be expired, and that then they may have licence to dwell in any place within his Majesty's kingdoms during their good behavior, or else a great many of them will starve, to the number of 300 or 400 poor persons, for want of their buildings and charges and the other means by which they live in that country, which they cannot have in remote waste places" (Maxwell 239).

that "new plantations were definitely started in a time of entire peace" (265).

The imposition of English common law on Ireland provided an additional pretext for the wide-scale confiscation and redistribution of land held by the Irish from earliest times. The Brehon or Irish law had provided that title to land should be in an elected chief for his lifetime ["tanistry" (Gwynn 59)]. After the death of the chief, his successor was elected and this successor redistributed the land held by the clan among the various families ["gavelkind" (Gwynn 59)]. Those representing the interests of the crown claimed that since this system provided no perpetuities or fixed title to the land in a particular person for a definite term, when a chief who had showed disloyalty to the crown died or was attained, title to all the land which the clan had possessed from time immemorial vested in the King, then James I. In a letter dated November 8, 1610, Sir John Davies, a representative of James I in

Writing in 1614 an account of his services in Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester observed:

I have banished the O'Mores with other Irish septs, their ancient followers, of the Queen's County, and dispersed them into sundry parts (out of all the province of Leinster) into Munster and Connacht; upon consideration, that by their greatness and rebellions they had often disquieted and ruined the English colonies planted there; knowing by experience that they had made nineteen several insurrections against them and the State, since the first new plantation of that country in the time of Queen Mary (Maxwell 240),

the survey and redistribution of land taken by the Crown in Ulster and divided as to location at the pleasure of the King, which warrants citation at length since it makes clear the positions of the parties, explains the situation:

When the proclamation was published touching [the] removal [of the "inhabitants" of the Cavan which "border[ed] on the English Pale"] . . . a lawyer of the Pale, retained by them [the Irish], did endeavour to maintain that they had estates of inheritance in their possessions, which their chief lords could not forfeit To this the King's Attorney, being commanded by the Lord Deputy, made answer: that he was glad that this occasion was offered, of declaring and setting forth his Majesty's just title, as well for his Majesty's honour (who, being the most just prince living, would not dispossess the meanest of his subjects wrongfully, to gain many such Kingdoms) . . . for his Majesty's right, it shall appear, said he, that his Majesty may and ought to dispose of these lands . . . in law, in conscience, and in honour. In law, whether the case be to be ruled by our law of England, which is in

force; or by their own Brehon law, which is abolished and adjudged no law, but a lewd custom.

It is our rule in our law, that the King is lord paramount of all the land in the Kingdom, and that all his subjects hold their possessions of him, mediate or immediate. It is another rule of our law, that where the tenant's estate doth fail and determine, the lord of whom the land is holden may enter, and dispose thereof at his pleasure. Then those lands in the county of Cavan, which was O'Reilly's country, are all holden of the King; and because the . . . Chiefry of O'Reilly is abolished by Act of Parliament . . . and also because two of the chief lords elected by the country hath been lately slain in rebellion . . . these lands are holden immediately of his Majesty. If then the King's Majesty be immediate chief lord . . . let us see what estates the . . . possessors have, by the rules of the Common Law of England. Either they have an estate of inheritance, or a lesser estate; a lesser estate they do not claim . . . If they have an estate of inheritance, their lands ought to descend to a certain heir; but neither their

chiefries not their tenancies did ever descend to a certain heir [tanistry provided for election]; therefore they have no estate of inheritance. . . . [The] estate of the chieftain . . . hath been lately adjudged no estate in law [With regard to] their inferior tenancies . . . the chief of the sept did once in two or three years shuffle and change their possessions by new partitions and divisions; which made their estates so uncertain [that] this pretended custom . . . is adjudged and declared void in law. . . . If these men had no estates in law . . . it followeth that if his Majesty, who is the undoubted lord paramount, do seize and dispose these lands, they can make no title against his Majesty or his patentees These and other arguments were used by the Attorney to prove that his Majesty might justly dispose of those lands both in law, in conscience and in honour; wherewith the natives seemed not unsatisfied in reason, though they remained in their passions discontented, being much grieved to leave their possessions to strangers, which they had so long after their manner enjoyed; howbeit my Lord Deputy did so mix threats with entreaty . . . as they

promised to give way to the undertakers . . .

. (Maxwell 277-280)

With great legal nicety, therefore, were the Irish possessors of the land told why they no longer owned it and why a great part of it was available to be "planted" with the English and Scotch.⁴³

Under Charles I land claims by the crown increased; Gwynn points out:

Process of law succeeded in establishing first that all the land in North Wexford belonged by a legal fiction to the Crown. . . . The same process was repeated in Longford and Leitrim.

⁴³The "Orders and Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the escheated [forfeited] lands in Ulster" of January 1609 provided that "the greatest part of 6 counties, in the Province of Ulster, . . . namely, Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan, being escheated, and come to the Crown" would be distributed to three groups of "undertakers" as follows:

1. English or Scottish, as well servitors as others, who are to plant their proportions with English, or Inland Scottish inhabitants [such undertakers were to pay an annual rent of five pounds, six shillings and 8 pence].
 2. Servitors in the Kingdom of Ireland, who may take 'mere' ['pure,' p. 324, n. 1] Irish, English, or Inland Scottish tenants at their choice [such undertakers were to pay 8 pounds rent per portion but 'only 5 [pounds], 6 [shillings], eight [pence] for every proportion . . . which thy shall inhabit with English or Scottish tenants . . . '].
 3. Natives of Ireland ['They shall pay the yearly rent of 10 [pounds], 13 [shillings], and 4 [pence] for every portion . . . and so rateably for the greater proportions']
- (Maxwell 281-284).

Later still, in 1628, a further plantation was planned to cover South Wicklow and the adjoining territory. . . . Confiscation received a new and terrible impulse when . . . Strafford . . . claimed for the crown the whole of Connaught. (Gwynn 265-266)

In addition to the fixed resentment instilled in the Irish when their land was seized by the Crown under pretext of law, the question of religion became increasingly problematic between 1603 and 1641 both in terms of toleration and because the oath of supremacy prevented most Catholics from holding any office or engaging in any but the most menial occupations except medicine. In August 1604 the President and Council of Munster decreed "capital punishment" against "Jesuits and priests" (Maxwell 143). On July 4, 1605, A Proclamation against Toleration in Ireland was issued by James I which stated:

[James I] is informed that his subjects in his Realm of Ireland have since the decease of Queen Elizabeth, been much abused by an untrue suggestion and report to the effect that he purposes to give liberty of conscience or toleration of religion to his subjects in that Kingdom, contrary to the express laws and statutes therein enacted, and to that uniformity of religion which has ever been

constantly professed by him He has therefore thought meet to declare and publish to all his loving subjects in the Realm of Ireland . . . his resolve never to do any act that may confirm the hopes of any creature, that they shall ever have from him any toleration to exercise any other religion than that which . . . is established by the laws of the Realm. . . . And . . . he declares, publishes and proclaims, that it is his will and commandment that all Jesuits, seminary priests, or other priests whatsoever, made and ordained by any authority . . . from the See of Rome, shall, before the 10th December next, depart out of the Kingdom of Ireland He expressly forbids all his subjects within that Kingdom to receive or relieve any Jesuit, seminary priest or other priest who, after the said 10th day of December shall remain in that Realm or return to the same (Maxwell 143-144)

Gwynn writes of the Irish rebellion begun in 1641:

Ireland went to war in 1641 undoubtedly for two main reasons, and probably the more potent of the two was to recover lands which had been taken away from Irishmen; the other was to gain full recognition for the religion of

Irishmen. The first of these would not necessarily have united England against Ireland; the second did; and it was the second plea that, perhaps inevitably, the Irish put into the forefront. They joined their demand for religious liberty with a declaration that on the issue which divided England they were for the King and against the Parliament.

(283)

Section 4: Trim and the Dukes of Ormond and Dr. Slop and the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini--Figures in Life Allegorized by Characters in the Novel

War broke out in Ireland in 1641; in 1645, and from that point on, there were two pivotal figures who became the "hinges" in determining whether the disturbances in Ireland were to continue: James Butler, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormond, and the Papal Nuncio Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, sent by Pope Innocent X, who arrived in Ireland on October 21, 1645 (Casway 116). After the initial risings begun in Ulster in 1641 to recover land in Ireland appropriated and disposed of by the Crown, the Catholic "Confederation of Kilkenny" was formed in 1642 with two members from each province appointed to form a Supreme Council (Gwynn 292). In Confrontations: Studies in Irish History, F. C. Beckett observes: "The

union . . . was subsequently extended to include native Irish and Old English in almost every part of the kingdom" (49). Executive power was vested in a Supreme Council and legislative power in a General Assembly both of whose members were elected by province, and the individual members of the group took an "'oath of association'" stating "'we have bound ourselves to carry on the war for our faith, our king, and our country'" (Beckett 48-49). The enabling act setting up this arrangement further provided that there was to be "'no distinction or comparison made betwixt old Irish and old and new English, or betwixt septs or families, or betwixt citizens and townsmen and countrymen joining in union'" (Beckett 49-50). The Confederate Lords of the Pale in a letter written in February 1642 stated that they were "'fighting for the liberty of this our country, which the parliament of England (our fellow-subjects) seeketh to captivate and enthrall to themselves. . . .'" (Becket 54) and the "Humble Petition of the Catholics of Ireland" in July 1642 sent by way of James Butler, Earl of Ormond, to Charles I voiced a similar sentiment, viz., that they were fighting "'to that end only, that you, our gracious sovereign . . . might alone reign over us; and we, in the just freedom of subjects, independent of any jurisdiction, not derived from your majesty, live happily under the crown of England'" (Beckett 54-55).

James Butler, Earl of Ormond, had been negotiating a peace with the Irish on behalf of Charles I and after Charles' defeat by the Parliamentary forces at the battle of Naseby in June 1645, Charles gave directives to Ormond which authorized some concessions to the Irish Catholics but, according to Jerrold Caseway,

warned [Ormond] that the Irish should not 'unworthily take advantage' of his weakness by pressing for terms that he could not grant with a safe conscience. If forced to make a choice, Charles asserted, he would rather trust his chances to war than give such 'allowances' to 'popery.' Charles also . . . instructed Ormond to 'make what division you can among them [confederates] and leave it to chance of war between their forces.' (114)

The election of Innocent X spurred Charles to seek a peace agreement with the Irish Confederation before the new Pope who, unlike his predecessor, might take more active steps with regard to Ireland, could intervene. Charles sent his close friend, the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan, to Kilkenny "to negotiate major concessions on his behalf" (Fitzpatrick 189). In Fitzpatrick's analysis

Glamorgan's mission was . . . vital because the new pope would do what the last one had judiciously refrained from doing; he would

appoint a nuncio with the full papal power of excommunication. What the king needed desperately from Ireland was an army, and this single power of excommunication would prevent his getting it. (188).

Glamorgan was given greater authority by Charles I than Ormond to whom Glamorgan's instructions were not revealed, and a secret treaty was reached by Glamorgan and the Confederation on August 25, 1645, which Fitzpatrick describes as follows:

The king guaranteed complete toleration for Roman Catholics; all churches acquired since October 1641 were to remain with the Confederation [the governing body of Ireland since 1641] 'other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's protestant subjects'. . . . Roman Catholics were to be exempted from Protestant clerical jurisdiction, with no obstruction to their own; public office was to be open to Roman Catholics; and the treaty was to be ratified by an Irish parliament. . . . In return [Charles I] was to receive 10,000 men [Irish troops] under Glamorgan. (192)

The treaty was to be kept secret until a propitious time for its publication appeared, but before this could happen, the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini arrived, objected to

the treaty which, as Fitzpatrick points out, had not been negotiated with the Papacy but with the Irish Confederation (194)--Dr. Rinuccini, like Dr. Slop, ought to have been only "an auxiliary" in the affair (T.S., II, xviii, 168)--renegotiated some of its provisions in December 1645, and the "secret treaty" was subsequently published by "the Protestant English Parliament" (Fitzpatrick 116). With its publication, the Glamorgan Treaty was repudiated by Charles I, and the King's army holding out in Chester in the expectation of 10,000 Irish Confederate soldiers fell in February 1646 to the Parliamentary troops and the King surrendered to the Scots in May 1646 (Fitzpatrick 194).

The Confederation through its Supreme Council and James Butler, Duke of Ormond, again negotiated and reached an agreement in March 1646, "which was proclaimed in Dublin on 30 July and four days later by the Supreme Council at Kilkenny" (Fitzpatrick 196). Upon learning of the treaty, Rinuccini convened an ecclesiastical synod for August to decide what stance to adopt towards the Ormond Peace (Fitzpatrick 196). First, a decision was made to denounce the Peace, even though all the main demands of the Confederates had been met, and then an "interdict was laid on all territories adhering to it. This was followed on 1 September by the use of the ultimate power: the **excommunication** of all those observing the peace" (Fitzpatrick 198). On

September 18th, Riuncinni, leading the Irish Confederate army under Owen Roe O'Neill took the Nuncio's opponents on the Supreme Council prisoner and Riuncinni became President. It was immediately decided to attack Ormond's forces holding Dublin for the King and against Parliament (Fitzpatrick 199). As Fitzpatrick summarizes the situation:

On pain of excommunication, [General Thomas] Preston, the head of the Confederates' Leinster army, was forced to declare for Rinuccini, and together with O'Neill they set about taking Dublin. . . . By early November the nuncio's army was within a few miles of Dublin. Clanricard was delegated by Ormond to open negotiations with Rinuccini. . . . O'Neill dismissed the overtures made by Clanricard on Ormond's behalf, but Preston gave them serious consideration. When it looked as if he might agree on peace terms and indeed help Ormond, he was ordered, on pain of **excommunication**, to withdraw his army. The Confederate cause collapsed under the weight of Rinuccini's papal authority, and it was never to recover. Ormond was now the only leader in Ireland who, because he could not be threatened with excommunication by Rinuccini,

had not thus far compromised his loyalty to the king. (199-200)

On June 17, 1647, Ormond, who had attempted to hold Dublin on behalf of Charles I, whose negotiating position had ceased to exist when he fell into the hands of Cromwell's New Model Army, surrendered to the Parliamentary rather than to the Confederate forces and went to England (Fitzpatrick 201). Ormond finally negotiated a peace between the King and the Irish Confederates in January 1649, but the King was executed by Parliament two weeks later, Rinuncinni left Ireland in February, and Cromwell arrived in March (Fitzpatrick 204).

Fitzpatrick describes Ormond's position throughout these negotiations in terms of a "bridge":

Ireland's sorry history before the Confederates' collapse belongs to the realm of what might have been. The king's great governor of Ireland, the Earl of Ormond, was an Anglican-type Protestant, but he belonged to the political community of Ireland. He was a bridge between the Anglican king and his Roman Catholic subjects. The religious split in sovereignty was so great, however, that even Ormond had needed his own bridge to deal with the Confederation. This role had been well filled by the Catholic Earl of

Clanricard, but when these bridges had proved too narrow the king had appointed the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan with almost full sovereign powers. (204)

It does not seem adventitious that during "my mother's" labor Dr. Slop is induced by "my father" to read aloud "a form of **excommunication** of the church of Rome" (III, x, 201). The conclusion that Dr. Slop represents, at one level, the Papal Nuncio Rinuncinni is based on the associations developed by Sterne in the reader's mind in connection with Dr. Slop's reading of the oath of excommunication and with Dr. Joseph Hall, which leads to the following inferences: a "Doctor" can be a Doctor of Divinity"; "corpulence" is connected with high church office through Milton's adjuration to the Bishops to "wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light"; Slop is Catholic so, if he represents a prelate, it must be a Catholic rather than an Anglican clergyman; it is Dr. Slop who reads the oath of excommunication, as Rinuncinni so prominently does at the birth of the Irish nation, when "my mother" is in labor; and the object of Dr. Slop's anathema is Obadiah, Walter's servant, whose namesake is the prophet who announces the law of "measure for measure" with respect to nations and the penalties awaiting those nations that exult over their brothers on the day of their distress.

The female midwife, like the native Irish Catholic clergy who were willing to accept the peace with Charles I, was required to undo the damage Rinuncinni and a patriarchal church were causing in Ireland at the time of the Civil War. Walter--an office indicating the duties of a "governor" and also associated with parliament through his "beds of justice"--insists--as the good follower of Filmer's *Partriarchia* that he is represented to be--like the Pope--another believer in patriarchal authority--on his power of appointing the "midwife," who interferes with the birth of Tristram/the Irish nation.

November 5th commemorates Guy Fawkes day (1603) and the arrival of William III and Glorious Revolution (1688). It is between these markers that "my mother" in Tristram Shandy is in labor and attended by the midwife insisted upon by Walter Shandy and the one she herself chose; it also a period when events etiologically linked to Tristram's birth occur downstairs. Tristram tells us at the end of Volume II that "You may raise a system to account for the loss of my nose by marriage articles,--and shew the world how it could happen, that I should have the misfortune to be called Tristram" (II, xix, 180). By Parliament's repudiation of the Articles of Peace signed in 1649 by James Butler, Duke of Ormond, on behalf of both Ireland and Charles I, which were to guarantee religious freedom to the Irish, Tristram/

Ireland wound up with a crushed nose/religion. In informing Slop that "my mother" is to be attended by the "old midwife", Walter says:

'[B]y express treaty, solemnly ratified between me and my wife, you are no more than an auxiliary in this affair, and not so much as that . . . and in points of this nature, . . . where they bear the whole burden and suffer so much acute pain for the advantage of our families, and the good of the species, -- they claim a right of deciding, en Soveraines [as sovereign rulers] in whose hands, and in what fashion, they chuse to undergo it.' (II, xviii, 168)

By a series of similar treaties negotiated in the period between 1641 and 1649, the people of Ireland were to enjoy freedom of conscience in matters of religion. The interference of the English Parliament and the Papal Nuncio made it impossible to implement any of the agreements that were reached relating to freedom of religion. The "right of deciding, en Soveraines" what to believe and who should minister to these beliefs was thus foreclosed to the people of Ireland.

Sterne continually undercuts Walter's Filmerian patriarchal model of governance in the family, the state, and in the religious sphere, by showing how the

exercise of paternalistic power, which, in any situation, including the family itself, is shown to be inherently distant from the facts and circumstances of those who are its subjects, inures only to the benefit of those wielding the power and, with regard to those who it will presumably benefit, has the effect of interfering with their ability to conduct their affairs and live their lives according to the wisdom gleaned from their own experience. In the next chapter Tristram points out that his father frequently attributed error, both in "civil matters" and in the case of "speculative truths" to the neglect of small things and would lament that truth could be impeded as much "by a mistake in the dust of a butterfly's wing" as by a miscalculation in the "disk of the sun, the moon, and all the stars of heaven put together" (II, xix, 171). "[W]hy are we a ruined people?--Because we are corrupted.--Whence is it, dear Sir that we are corrupted?--Because we are needy;--our poverty, and not our wills, consent" (II, xix, 171).

Section 5: Whigs, Tories, and the Dukes of Ormond as Hinges in the 1640's and from 1713 to 1718 at the End of the Reign of Anne and Beginning of the Reign of George I

While "my mother" is in labor, Walter's repose is interrupted by the noise of the **hinge** when Trim enters.

Volume III, chapters xxi, xxii, and xxiii, dealing with the **hinge** and Dr. Slop's **bridge**, follow immediately after Volume III, chapter xx, containing "THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE" in which Tristram states that his book is based on wit and judgment even though Locke had said that these two faculties were opposites with wit consisting of assembling ideas in which there can be found any likeness [associating ideas on the basis of any resemblance] and judgment consisting of finding how one idea can be differentiated from another [distinguishing ideas on the basis of any difference]. Wit and judgment, insists Tristram, are meant like the chair knobs he uses for an illustration "to answer one another" or, when only one is present, to call forth the corresponding faculty," viz., wit or judgment. The chapter ends: "As for great w[h]igs, upon whom I may be thought to have spoken my mind too freely . . . I write not for them" (III, xx, 238). Judgment requires that "wig" be distinguished from the homophone "w[h]ig while wit directs us to associate the similar sounds and think of "Whig," as well as its opposite, Tory, when "wig" is mentioned.

This so oddly placed AUTHOR'S PREFACE details what would happen if there were an admixture of wit and judgment:

In the foreground of this picture, a statesman turning the political wheel . . . against the

stream of corruption In this corner,
 a son of the divine Esculapius, writing a book
 against predestination In that
 spacious HALL, a coalition of the gown . . .
 driving a damn'd, dirty, vexatious cause
 before them, with all their might and main,
 the wrong way;----kicking it out of the great
 doors, instead of, in,----and with such fury
 in their looks, and such a degree of
 inveteracy in their manner of kicking it, as
 if the laws had been originally been **made**
for the peace and preservation of
mankind (III, xx, 233-234)

At the end of Volume III, chapter xxxiii, Tristram
 invokes the "POWERS . . . which enable mortal man to
 tell a story worth the hearing" to ask that when "**three**
several roads meet in one point, as they have
done just here," that they set up a "guide-post" to
 tell which road to take (III, xxiii, 245). Before
 concluding the discussion of wit and judgment in the
 AUTHOR'S PREFACE, Tristram reproaches Locke for not
 realizing the importance of wit but acknowledges that

The cry, it seems, was so deep and solemn a
 one, and what with the help of great wigs,
 grave faces, and other implements of deceit,
 was rendered so general a one against the poor
 wits in this matter, that the philosopher

himself was deceived by it This has been the *Magna Charta* of stupidity ever since,--but your reverences plainly see, it has been obtained in such a manner, that the title to it is not worth a groat;---which by [sic] the bye is one of the many and vile impositions which gravity and grave folks have to answer for hereafter. (III, xx, 237-238)

Tristram observes that "there was not a subject in the world upon which my father was so eloquent [We recall Milton's eloquence on Alexander More who claimed to be the *hinge* in the Articles of Peace with the Scotch], as upon that of door-hinges three drops of oyl with a feather, and a smart stroke of a hammer, had saved his honour for ever" (III, xxi, 239). This is followed by Tristram's apostrophe:

----Inconsistent soul that man is!--
languishing under wounds, which he has the power to heal!--his whole life a contradiction to his knowledge!--his reason, that precious gift of God to him--(instead of pouring in oyl) serving but to sharpen his sensibilities,----to multiply his pains and render him more melancholy and uneasy under them! . . .

By all that is *virtuous*! if there are three drops of oyl to be got, and a hammer to be

found within ten miles of *Shandy-Hall*,--the
 parlour-door **hinge** shall be mended this
reign. (III, xxi, 239-240)

After mentioning Trim's [James Butler's] motive in
 entering the parlour, Tristram proceeds by saying
 that

next to the **moral lesson** I had in view in
 mentioning the affair of the hinges, I had a
 speculative consideration arising out of it,
 and it is this.

Had the parlour-door open'd and turn'd upon
 its hinges, as a door should do----

--Or for example, as cleverly as our
**government has been turning upon its
 hinges**,--(that is, in case things have all
 along gone well with your worship,--otherwise
 I give up my simile)--in this case, I say,
 there had been no danger either to master or
 man (III, xxii, 240)

Immediately following the disquisition on wit and
 judgment follow the two chapters (xxi and xxii) dealing
 with the parlor door "hinge" and the false alarms
 occasioned by it, and the five chapters relating to
 "bridges."

Like the hinge which Trim precipitates into motion,
 Ormond or James Butler, is, on one level, the "hinge,"
 that, like the "hinge" that so incommodes Walter, needs

a little "oyl." Milton had excoriated Alexander More for calling himself the "hinge" in connection with the peace treaty with the Scots. This bruited the possibility that a person can be a "hinge" with respect to a peace treaty. The first Duke of Ormond became in the 1640's the hinge that lacked "oyl." In Tristram's encounter with the French priest who sees Tristram as "pale" as death in his "distress" and asks him if he needs the last rites [the Catholic sacrament of Extreme Unction or anointing with oil], Tristram jests that the priest would make him pay for going by "oyl" [administering the Catholic last rites to the dying] when he goes by "water" [as a Protestant]. James Butler was the son of the Protestant Thomas, the Black Earl of Ormond, and the grandson of the Catholic Walter. On the death of his father, the boy's guardian ought to have been his Catholic grandfather, but because of this Catholicism, Walter's grandson was taken away from the family and raised at Canterbury. "*When things move upon bad hinges, an' please your lordships, how can it be otherwise?*" (T.S. III, xxii, 241).

Some of the "three several roads" or semantic fields which overtly converge in the "affair of the hinges" relate to:
 first, government and history: "reign," "Magna Carta," "the civil wars" (1641-1659), "battle of Marston-Moor" (1644), "Sir Roger Shandy," "the good of the nation,"

"Trim" (James Butlers, Earls of Ormond), the period around 1718--the year of Tristram's birth; second, the law of property: titles, hereditary, "our great-grandfather's," "cut off the entail," "perpetuities;" third, war: "jackboots," "military operations," "seige," "expenses," "military operations," "money," "Dutch-draw-bridge," "ruin your fortune," "make a beggar of you," "breeches," "Trim" (James Butler, Earls of Ormond); and, fourth, religion: oyl (Catholic religion).

Thus, these semantic fields--war, religion, government and history in the period of the Civil Wars and circa 1718, and property law--tell the reader what the novel is "about" in the section on hinges and bridges.

With regard to "bridges," there is first, Dr. Slop's bridge for Tristram's nose [a religious bridge] and, second, the Dutch draw-bridge that Bridget and Trim cause to break down and "splinter. . . all to pieces" [a political bridge] (III, xxiv, 248). The Dutch draw-bridge is at first to be replaced by a bridge with two hinges [found unacceptable because half the bridge could fall in the enemy's possession] or by a thrusting bridge; ultimately, it is supplanted by a bridge of the "marquis d'Hopital's invention" to which "a lead weight is an eternal balance" (III, xxv, 252).

The historical contexts set up for the discussion of hinges and bridges are: first, the period of "the

civil wars" [1641-1649] (III, xxii, 242), and, second, the time from "the demolition of Dunkirk in the year [17]13, to the latter end of my uncle Toby's campaign in the year [17]18" (III, xxiv, 247) when the bridge gives way under Bridget and Trim. England, the widow Wadman, is represented as rejecting "John Bull" [Toby, the Pretender, the son of James II], in the spring of 1714 upon the death of Anne and the Hanoverian succession with the crowning of the foreign George I. Trim is portrayed as maintaining relations, at least in terms of setting up a blockade so no one else could approach, with the Widow's maid, Bridget, from 1714 to 1718 when Tristram is born. Trim, "his real name was James Butler," is strongly associated with the first and second Dukes of Ormond. The first Duke acted on behalf of both Charles I and Ireland as the hinge in the peace treaty negotiations during the Civil Wars. Had this "hinge" been oyled [invested with any Catholic sympathies] perhaps greater success would have attended his attempts to reconcile disparate Catholic and Protestant interests.

James Butler's, the second Duke of Ormond's, efforts between 1714 and 1718, involved intrigue to restore the Stuarts. His life is summed up in the Dictionary of National Biography in a fashion true to the principles of Uncle Toby when he called 1712 the very worst year because of its sad stain on our history,

i.e., the year of the retreat from **Quesnoy**: “[James Butler, Second Duke of Ormond] never accomplished anything of importance except when by separating the British troops from those of the allies in Flanders [at **Quesnoy** in 1712] he enabled his **tory** colleagues to conclude peace with dishonour” (VIII: 65).

As a bridge, James Butler, second Duke of Ormond, vacillated in his loyalties. He first represented the interests of William III, when, like Trim, he took part on William’s side in the Battle of the Boyne, and fought at Steinkirk and at Landen where--just like his namesake in Tristram Shandy, who was also wounded at Landen, and, in his own words, “left upon the field [and] it was noon the next day before I was exchanged” (T.S., VIII, xix, 695)--“after nearly losing his life amidst the terrible carnage of the day . . . was taken prisoner by the French; but after a brief captivity at Namur . . . was exchanged for the Duke of Berwick” (Dictionary of National Biography VIII: 61).

In 1713 and 1714, it was unclear “to what extent Ormonde was prepared to further the Jacobite designs rife in the last years of [Anne’s] reign. He was not a man usually capable of acting for himself, and he seems to have followed the lead of Bolingbroke When Bolingbroke . . . intended to form an essentially Jacobite administration of his own, Ormonde was to have been included in it. Instead of this, his name together

with Bolingbroke's figured among the signatures under the proclamation notifying the death of Queen Anne and the accession of King George" (Dictionary of National Biography VIII: 63-64). In June 1715 Ormond was impeached--it had been alleged he "acted in concert with, if not received orders from Marshal Villars" (64)- and on August 8th, after a "parting interview with Oxford in the Tower" where Oxford was being held, he followed Bolingbroke who had fled to France. "Ormonde, who had not yet lost heart, and was still, in Bolingbroke's phrase, 'the bubble of his own popularity', took a prominent part in the unfortunate enterprise of 1715," viz., the anticipated risings in England to restore the Stuarts and put the Pretender on the throne. After 1715, Ormonde never set foot in England again. Both Dukes of Ormond's careers illustrate all the problems with bridges and hinges that are encountered in the Shandy family. They also show the human consequences when religious affiliation is linked to political power and to the granting or deprivation of property and civil rights.

In Tristram Shandy the courtship of the Widow Wadman occurs in 1713 and early 1714. Trim and Bridget's encounters leading to the destruction of the drawbridge take place during the "five years . . . from the demolition of Dunkirk in the year [17]13, to the latter end of my uncle Toby's campaign in the year

[17]18" (III, xxiv, 247). Between 1713 and 1715, party machinations involving **Whigs** and **Tories** were at their height. In 1713 Tories dominated Parliament but by 1715 they were in a minority. In March 1714 the Pretender stated that he would not become an Anglican (Colley, Tory Party 177). Like Uncle Toby with his non-disabling wound, James III was rejected by England/Wadman not for some actual incapacitating impairment--his religious beliefs--but because his religion was perceived to be a disqualifying impediment to carrying out his duties as King. At this point in the novel, uncle Toby represents both John Bull, the British public, and James III, the Pretender. The Widow's/England's rejection of James III in 1714 on specious grounds is followed by Trim's negotiations with the Pretender's followers in England and abroad. Trim and Bridget, whose namesake is a fourteenth-century Swedish nun, splinter the Dutch draw-bridge. The plan of a few Tories in 1716 for a Swedish invasion to restore the Pretender was exposed in February 1717 (Colley, Tory Party 190). The almost complete proscription of the Tory party, begun in 1714--the year represented in the final scene of the novel--lasted until the time of the publication of the first two volumes of Tristram Shandy.

The prospect of the ascendancy of one party when Anne's death was falsely rumored, and that the party that was perceived as opposing peace, was greeted by

Jonathan Swift in A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Sett of People, upon the Spreading of a Report of He Majesty's Death [1715] with prodigious irony. He writes: "I think I have briefly enumerated the Causes of their ["Whiggs"] Joy: viz.,

A Prospect of a new Foreign War.

A fair Chance for a Civil War.

The Expectation of the Monopoly of the Government.

The Hopes of having the Tories all Hang'd. And

Their Consciousness that they ought to be so

themselves. (Swift, Political Tracts: 1713-1719,

Ed. Davis, 195-196)

Thus, during the relevant period from 1713 to 1718, Trim and Bridget play out the intrigue that was occurring between the Whigs and Hanoverians on the one hand, including those relating to the Barrier Treaty with the Dutch to assure a Protestant succession in England, and the Tories, Jacobites, and their supporters on the other.

But Madam, you inquire, how did the history of Ireland that you began with segue into the history of England? What has the Pretender to do with Ireland?? Hrumph!!! My dear reader! The rhetoric of religion that became so virulent during the period of the English Civil War was continually invoked throughout the first half of the eighteenth century to forestall the return of the Stuarts. This rhetoric focused on the

differences between Protestants and Catholics and the patriotic duty to guarantee a Protestant succession. Propaganda intended to maintain the existing power structure played on the fears of the people and rendered English public opinion extreme on the issue of religious differences and the threat that they posed. Furthermore, such emphasis on the opposition between Catholics and Protestants made it possible for Britain, even when not herself engaged in war on the continent, to garner support for huge subsidies to Protestant allies to prosecute wars they might otherwise not have been able to afford. The cycle of wars so supported between 1700 and 1760 resulted in innumerable deaths and the impoverishment of the areas to which these wars laid waste, such as Silesia, Bohemia and Flanders.

Ireland suffered from this rhetoric of religion in two ways: first, its predominately Catholic citizenry was not permitted to participate in most occupations or freely practice its religion because that religion was viewed as a political threat, and, second, as Ireland suffered periodic famines because of exploitative policies of British merchants, the unopposed Whig interests in England were able to direct funds that became available to help mostly Protestant allies on the continent and to crush each of Ireland's industries without any outcry over unfairness from the people in

England since the inhabitants of Ireland were demonized as essentially disloyal, i.e., Catholic, and thus undeserving of any sympathy or any share in a spirit of cooperative enterprise. Each "false alarm" relating to the Pretender justified greater repression of all Catholics regardless of their demonstrated actions or protestations of loyalty to the crown.

The surname "Butler" is attached to two characters in Tristram Shandy: the first is Trim--"his real name was **James Butler**" (II, v, 108); "I fought just as well . . . when the regiment called me Trim, as when they called me **James Butler**" (IV, xviii, 352)--and the second is Trim's brother "**Tom**" or **Thomas Butler** ("my brother *Tom*," IX, iv, 464). Tristram has informed us that in writing a history such as his there will be "archives . . . to be looked into, and rolls, records, documents, and endless **genealogies**, which justice ever and anon calls him back to stay the reading of . . . " (I, xiv, 41-42). Tristram's disclaimer "that in the story of my father and his christen-names,--I had no thoughts of treading upon *Francis the First* . . . nor by *Trim* [James Butler],--that I meant **the duke of Ormond**" (IV, xxii, 360) directs the reader, in case s/he had not noticed the connection, to the history of the real world family of those two James Butlers who were raised to the position of Dukes of Ormond.

The genealogy of one prominent family in the novel is thus associated with the character Trim.⁴⁴ The 1886 edition of the Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen, sets forth the life history of some of the prominent members of the Butler family⁴⁵ and

⁴⁴In 1328, the same year that he was created Earl of Ormond [he had been "earl of Carricke" (Carte lxxv)], the first James Butler to become Earl of Ormond was granted, "the rights of a palatine in Tipperary" [Sterne was born in Tipperary] and was described in that patent as "Jacobus le Botiller de Hibernia, quem in Comitum de Ormounde in Hibernia praefecimus" (Carte lxvi).

Carte informs us that the immediate subject of his study [and the James Butler so prominent as the hinge of state from 1641 to 1649], "James Butler, son of Thomas viscount Thurles and Elizabeth Poyntz, was the twelfth earl of the family that enjoyed the title of Ormond, and seventh who bore the name of James" (5). When James Butler's father Thomas died in 1619 the estate was entailed on Sir Walter Butler, grandfather of the nine year old James. By a stratagem of Sir William Parsons, according to Carte, the young James' wardship was made an entitlement of the king "to which otherwise the young nobleman was not properly subject, having inherited from his father no lands that were held in capite of the crown" (7). The boy was placed in the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury to be instructed as a Protestant since the boy's father had been a member of the Church of England and his grandfather, "sir Walter Butler, now become head of the family, . . . was a strict Roman Catholic, as all the younger branches of it were" (8). When Walter Butler, the heir to the titles and estates, attempted to take possession he was opposed in a lawsuit by James' favorite, who Carte stated "could have no pretence to [the county palatine of Tipperary]" (10). On Walter Butler's refusal to acquiesce in the king's decision he was imprisoned in London "in the Fleet, where he was confined in a most shameful want of all things for eight years together, and reduced to the last extremity, not having any benefit from the rents of his own estate" (10). After the death of King James I, the Earl was released from prison, and he and his grandson, James Butler, lived together in London (12).

⁴⁵James Butler (1331-1382)--second Earl of Ormonde. "On 18 April 1359 he was made viceroy of Ireland as lord justice When Lionel, duke of Clarence was sent

to Ireland as viceroy in 1361, he was appointed one of the three chief officers of his army He did great service in assisting the prince, and . . . slew at Teagstoffin, in the county of Kilkenny, 600 of MacMorrogh's men on the feast of St. Kenelm, 1362"

(VIII: 50).

James Butler (d. 1452)--fourth Earl of Ormonde, the "White earl"; "attended Henry V in his French wars" and, at various periods from 1420 until his death, was appointed and served as lord-lieutenant of Ireland

(VIII: 50).

Pierce or Piers Butler (d. 1539)--eight Earl of Ormonde. He "took a prominent part in suppressing the Irish rebellions [and] for crushing the insurrection of his brother-in-law, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and after the latter's execution, he was rewarded by a large grant of lands." Described as a man of "'great honour and sincerity, infinitely good-natured'" he brought over to Ireland workers from "Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, whom he employed in working tapestry, diaper, Turkey carpets, and similar industries" (VIII: 82-83).

James Butler (fl. 1631-1634)--"one of the many members of the Irish house of Butler who in the seventeenth century gained reputation as soldiers. Not less than six officers of the name appear to be distinguishable in the imperial service during the Thirty Years' War" (VIII: 51). As a mercenary, he may have fought with the Poles in 1627 and 1628 and it was "certainly he who early in 1631 opportunely brought up his regiment, which was largely officered by Irishmen, including his kinsman Walter Butler [d. 1634--"a younger son of James, third Earl of Ormonde" (VIII: 86)], to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in Silesia, where the imperialists . . . were awaiting the approach of Gusvus Adolphus . . . (VIII: 52). He apparently missed the battle of Frankfort while seeking additional soldiers and supplies, and before a retreat into Bohemia, "appears to have taken part in the siege of Magdeburg, the result of which terribly avenged the fall of Frankfort" (52). In November 1631, at Nimberg on the Elbe in Bohemia, when the enemy army took up position on the other side of the river, James Butler, "with his Irish regiment, as it is now called, sent across a wooden bridge to fortify and hold the tete de pont on the enemy's side; and his defence, ending with the burning down of the bridge, was so vigorous" the enemy retreated to Prague (52). After leaving the Imperial service he returned to Poland "where he fought against the Muskovites in the war which lasted from 1632 to 1634 (52).

Walter Butler (1569-1633)--eleventh Earl of Ormonde after the death of his uncle Thomas in 1614. Following his refusal in 1617 to acquiesce to an award in a case involving his estates made by James I accommodating one

furnishes the following information about the James Butlers, Dukes of Ormond, who are Trim's namesakes in the novel:

James Butler(1610-1688)--twelfth Earl and **first Duke** of Ormond. After his father died "he became, by some legal subtlety, a royal ward, although holding no lands in chief of the crown. Anxious to bring up the head of so powerful a family as a protestant, the king placed him at Lambeth under the tutelage of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbuty, where, however, he appears to have received a very meagre education, and where, the whole estate of his family being in sequestration, he was in great want of money" (52). In 1625 he went to live with his grandfather, Walter Butler, after the latter's release from prison. When rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1641, Charles I made Ormonde the lieutenant-general of his army. In March 1642 he "fought and won the bloody battle of Kilrush with great slaughter of the rebels, displaying sound generalship and personal courage. In June . . . he was employed in quieting Connaught." Charles authorized Ormonde along with others to hear and convey to him the statements of

of James' favorites, he was "committed to the Fleet prison by James, where he remained for eight years in great want, no rents reaching him from his estate. James meanwhile brought a writ . . . against him for the county palatine of Tipperary, which had been vested in the head of the family for nearly four hundred years . . . [King] James took the county palatine into his own hands [and i]t was not restored until 1663. . . . Earl

grievances of the Catholics in the Confederation of Kilkenny and a meeting for this purpose was held at Trim on March 17, 1643. When efforts to reach a peace with the Catholics failed in 1646 partly because of opposition by the papal nuncio and it appeared that Dublin, which Ormonde was holding in the King's name, would fall to the "Irish rebels" Ormonde agreed to surrender it to the forces of the English parliament. Ormonde "succeeded in bringing about a general peace between the royalists and the Irish rebels on 17 January 1649 [and u]pon the death of the king Ormonde at once proclaimed Charles II" (56). After futile fighting with the parliamentary forces, Ormonde withdrew to the continent where he remained primarily in the service of Charles II until the restoration. In 1656 "when the king was residing at Brussels, [Ormonde] had the command of one of the six regiments formed out of the English and Irish on the continent for the service of Spain" (57). In March 1661, "he was created Duke of Ormonde in the Irish peerage [and a]t the same time the county palatine of Tipperary [where Sterne was born] seized by James I from his grandfather Walter, was restored to him, and he recovered his own Irish estates,

Walter, however, was set at liberty in 1625, and a large part of his estates restored to him" (VIII: 86).

which had been parcelled out among the adventurers . . .
 ." (57)⁴⁶

James Butler (1665-1745)--second Duke of Ormond.
 The first Duke of Ormond died on July 21, 1688 and his grandson was elevated to the "dukedom at a very critical moment; for three weeks previously . . . the invitation to William of Orange [had been] dispatched. . . . Together with Prince George he supped at King James' table at Andover 25 Nov. and then . . . accompanied the prince in his ride to the quarters of the Prince of Orange. . . . [A]t the coronation of William and Mary he acted as lord high constable, and declared defiance against all who should deny the title of the new

⁴⁶**Thomas Butler (1634-1680)**--eldest son of James Butler, first Duke of Ormond and father of James Butler, second Duke of Ormond. Taken to France in the spring of 1648 where he remained until 1652, he and his brother spent a year "in the house of a French protestant minister at Caen . . . and were subsequently sent to the academy of M. de Camp at Paris" (81). The brothers were left in London in 1652 and upon their mother's return in 1654 they lived with her "at Wild House" (81). In the spring of 1655 he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell and "his mother in vain appealed to Cromwell for his release or for information as to his crime" (82). After eight months he contracted an illness and secured a partial release; when freed in the spring following his incarceration he fled to Holland where he remained for four years. After the restoration, he was elected to the English House of Commons as a member for Bristol and to the Irish Parliament, first in the House of Commons and then in the House of Lords (82). In 1665, he was appointed "lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland" and later fought in Flanders where he was present in 1671 "at the seige of Brunswick" (83) and took a prominent part in the "Dutch war" (84). He had been "appointed general, by the prince's patent, of the British forces in the pay of the States [Dutch]. In that capacity, he was present [in 1678] at the battle of Mons" (84).

sovereigns. . . . His name had been included in the great Act of Attainder passed at Dublin in May 1689, and his vast Irish estates . . . had been declared confiscate to the crown [i.e., the *de jure* government of James II]. The cruel intolerance of the act against popery was little to the taste of the lord-lieutenant, though he promised to do his best for it in England [where], however, much to the vexation of the [protestant] Irish parliament, a clause devised on the principle of the Test Act was added which bore hardly upon the presbyterians" (62). Ormonde in 1711 was appointed to succeed Marlborough, who had been "dismissed from all offices," in pursuing the campaign in Flanders. He was instructed in secret orders to take part in no seige or action without "further commands" with the result that at the seige of Quesnoy, which was within the scope of authority he received, he was required to "proclaim a cessation of arms for two months" (63). Quesnoy fell despite this but only the British troops followed Ormonde's orders to withdraw; the officers of the German auxiliaries in Queen Ann's service refused to "follow him to Dunkirk where Louis XIV had agreed provisionally to give up to Great Britain" (63). "A general impression, more complimentary to [Ormonde's] integrity than his intelligence, prevailed that he had been employed because he did not at first penetrate the motives of his

employers" (63). Many years afterwards--in 1740--he was again in the Spanish capital, where he and Earl Marischal "hoped to take advantage for the Jacobite cause of the breach between Spain and England. He was once more disappointed" Throughout his life Ormond remained committed to the Protestant faith and apparently refused to join Bolingbroke in urging the Pretender to change to the Protestant religion or in himself converting to Catholicism in return for "large domains offered to him in Spain" (65). James Butler died in 1745 and "with the death of his brother Charles . . . in 1758 the titles of the family became extinct."

Predominating features of the Butlers in the account given in the Dictionary of National Biography are their loyalty and willingness to unstintingly serve the English crown, frequent rewards for their valour that further their own self-interest, military preoccupations, recurrent appearances as auxiliaries fighting on the continent in places such as Flanders, Bohemia, Silesia, Spain, and Holland, roles as hinges in the governing of Ireland on behalf of the English, function as bridges in mediating between competing interests in Ireland and formulating peace treaties, and change of religion to Protestantism, beginning with Thomas Butler (1532-1614), through the interference of the crown.

Trim's outstanding characteristics in the novel are unsurpassed loyalty to his "master"--Toby--and army leader--King William; a military point of view; a practical knowledge of the Protestant fifth commandment; a willingness to use his ingenuity to further the schemes and preoccupations of his master together with a blindness to the human consequences of his actions, for example, the injury to Tristram when he removes all the counterbalancing weights from the sash window; a readiness to take responsibility for his mistakes--when he marches at the head of the delegation after Tristram's accidental circumcision; and a quick sympathy for those who are or who think like him--Le Fever and his son--but not for those who are or who think differently--Dr. Slop and Count Solmes.

With regard to Trim, the description in Tristram Shandy--"His real name was James Butler"-- is one which can serve a real world referential function. This real world referential function is reinforced when Tristram connects Trim with the "Duke of Ormond" whose real "real" and not fictional "real" name was James Butler. It is this James Butler who was the "hinge" in the Articles of Peace with the Irish of 1649, which he signed on behalf of the Irish and Charles I.

Section V: Ironic Breaches

In the story that Tristram tells of his encounter with the ass and with the french Post Office official he deprecates the gravity of those people who "understand no more of IRONY than this [ass]" (VII, xxxiv, 634). He berates the French for taxing his fickleness in choosing to go by sea when he had originally said he would go by land. Immediately after this Tristram apostrophizes England saying "O England! England! thou land of liberty, and climate of good sense" (VII, xxxiv, 635) but he is interrupted by a Catholic priest who, seeing Tristram "with a face as pale as ashes, at his devotions--looking still paler by the contrast and distress of his drapery" asks if he is in need "of the aids of the church" (VII, xxxiv, 636). Tristram facetiously expostulates about the possibility of the priest making him pay "for going by OYL" when, says Tristram "I go by WATER" (636).

The overt contrast in this story is between English constancy, liberty, and good sense and French fickleness, constraint and unreasonableness in taxing someone for changing his mind; there is also a distinction drawn between going by land and going by sea which is analogous to that between going by water (Protestant) or by oil (Catholic) in the liturgical sense. Tristram announces that the French behavior is

"contrary to the law of nature . . . contrary to reason [and] . . . contrary to the GOSPEL" (VI xxxiv, 637).

The superficial moral of the story is that if the French are so unreasonable as to tax fickleness then the English might as well make "the best peace" with them they can, "AND SO THE PEACE WAS MADE" (VI, xxxiv, 638).

The point our author seems to be making--if we read this story with the requisite understanding of his irony--is very different from what appears on the surface. While the manifest contrast is between England and France, the underlying distinction is drawn between England and Ireland. Ireland had not substantially changed either its religion or its loyalty to the hereditary line of the rulers of England since the time of Walter Hely and the subsequent Walters who, from the thirteenth century, served as "Butlers" of England and from whose line sprang the Ormonds or James Butlers referred to in the novel. When Tristram is saying who or what he is writing about, in one sense "my mother" throughout Tristram Shandy is Ireland whom my great-grandfather with the shamrock nose married. Ireland had retained its loyalty to Charles I and then to James II despite the actions of those resisting these rulers in England and Scotland.

England at the time Sterne was writing was taxing its Catholics for going by water (the established church) even though they went by oil (the Catholic

church). Catholic subjects of England were thus being taxed not for fickleness but for their constancy to their beliefs. Part of the IRONY that Sterne expects us to perceive is that a Catholic priest offering to perform the same services for the dying in England or Scotland as were offered to him in France could, at the time, have been incarcerated with a term of perpetual imprisonment. The Act providing for "perpetual imprisonment" for priests, Jesuits and those keeping a Catholic school and disabling Catholics from purchasing or inheriting land in Great Britain were not modified until 1778 (Lecky England II: 551). When Sterne was writing Lecky reports that the legislation still remained that provided a £100 reward for any informer "who procured the conviction of a Catholic priest performing his functions in England" (III: 549). Among the prosecutions under the Act, few, "but sufficiently frequent to make [a Catholic priest's] position exceedingly precarious," was that in 1767 of a priest named John Baptist Malony. He was, according to Lecky, tried "on the charge of having administered the sacrament to a sick person, was found guilty and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He lay for some years in confinement, and was then banished from England" (Lecky III: 549). The word "Pale" in Tristram's account would resound with Irish Catholics required to live beyond "the **Pale**"--the area reserved for Church of

England adherents--in Ireland. Catholics were forbidden to own a horse worth more than 5 pounds although when, in 1770, "Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, was indicted . . . for refusing to part with his four coach-horses when a £20 note was tendered to him, he was acquitted upon the ground that a bank-note was not legal tender" (Lecky England III: 550).

The larger irony Sterne is foregrounding lies in the fact that this religious persecution, at least in Ireland, could have been avoided if England had not, in a show of fickleness, on two occasions, in particular, **breached** treaties guaranteeing religious liberty for the Irish. The first Treaty was the Articles of Peace signed by **James Butler, Earl of Ormond**. on January 17, 1649 as Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, on behalf of Charles I and on behalf of "his Majesties Roman Catholic Subjects of [Ireland]" (Milton III: 260).⁴⁷ The second was the the Treaty of Limerick

⁴⁷Meritt Hughes presents a succinct history of the earlier handling of the issue of toleration for Roman Catholics in Ireland: "In the negotiations leading up to the armistice, signed September 15, 1643, between Ormond's forces and those of the Catholic Confederacy, Coonan . . . points out that in a secret letter to Ormond Charles anticipated a demand for toleration of the 'Romish religion' by declaring it too dangerous to grant (in the existing state of public opinion in England) but intimated his willingness to connive at unofficial toleration. In May, 1645, he was so desperately in need of help from Ireland that he authorized Ormond to consent to the repeal of the penal laws against Catholics 'rather than frustrate his hope of an Irish peace' . . . but in his negotiations which

signed by the English with the Irish in 1791, with Sir Toby Butler as one of the Irish negotiators, to permit a cessation of William III's seige of Limerick and to terminate the war in Ireland thus freeing William III to devote his attentions to the war in Flanders. In the Treaty of Limerick, signed by the "Lords Justices of Ireland and ratified by [William and Mary] under the Great Seal of England" but not approved by Parliament since it was not in session at the time, the Irish were guaranteed the same religious liberties they had enjoyed under Charles II. The Catholic generals fighting for the cause of James II--who had fled England but whose representatives had governed in Ireland without interruption (Lecky Ireland I: 141)--were willing to surrender Limerick, "and thus terminate the war, if by doing so they could secure for their people religious liberty" (*Ibid.* 138). Instead of abiding by the provisions of this plan to insure a just peace, England soon after her immediate objectives were achieved breeched the treaty without any provocation and enacted crushing penal laws against the Irish Catholics.⁴⁸ One

dragged through the following year Ormond kept his instructions secret and Charles disavowed the treaties that the Earl of Glagmorgan made with the Confederacy, granting freedom of Catholic worship. In the Articles of the Peace which Ormond signed with the Confederacy on January 17, 1649, however, the first article expressly assured 'the free exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion'" (Milton III: 487, n. 4, ed. Merrit Hughes).

way Tristram/Sterne emphasizes the trivial nature of religious differences is by translating "christianus" in the Latin version of Slawkenbergius' tale, which he himself has composed, as "true catholic" [just as the innkeeper's wife claims that Diego's nose is a "true nose" which is translated as "[nasus] Verus est" (296-297)] instead of as "christian" (IV: 290-291) and using "templ[um]," which can be, but is not, translated as "temple," in the Latin composition rather than "ecclesia" to render "church" (IV: 294-295).

In the course of writing Tristram Shandy Sterne has created a rich history for each of the semantic fields he uses in this story. The contexture of this story is breached by Sterne as was the Treaty with the Irish after the raising of the seige of Limerick in 1691 and connected to the story of Walter and the auxiliaries through the idea of the peaces not kept between

⁴⁸By 1719, so great was the hostility of the Protestants in Ireland to the Catholic clergy that the Protestant controlled Irish House of Commons passed a bill requiring that any Catholic priests found in Ireland be branded with a "P" on the cheek. The Irish Privy Counsel changed the proposed penalty from branding to castration and "sent the Bill with this . . . recommendation to England for ratification. The English Ministers unanimously restored the penalty of branding" (163) thus potentially avoiding for the Catholic clergy in Ireland the fate of those in Sweden where castration was the chosen method of rendering the Catholic Church impotent. Upon the return of the legislation, which had to be approved in its entirety or not at all, the Irish House of Lords demurred because of another provision abrogating certain leases retrospectively "which Catholics had been suffered to make" (163) which was

Catholics and Protestants, one of which was the Articles of Peace signed by James Butler, the Duke of Ormond, ostensibly granting religious freedom to Ireland in 1649.

unpopular (Lecky Ireland I: 162-163).

Chapter VI: Dates, Dedications and the Question of War

"What would follow?----If the French should beat the English?" (Tristram, V, xliii, 486).

"There was little danger . . . of losing our liberties by French politics or French invasions" (Walter Shandy, I, xviii, 53).

--[I]f fickleness is taxable in France--we have nothing to do but make the best peace with [the French] we can--
AND SO THE PEACE WAS MADE

----And if it is a bad one--as Tristram Shandy laid the corner stone of it--nobody but Tristram Shandy ought to be hanged" (VII, xxxvi, 638).

"'I never met . . . with such scenes of misery and oppression as this country, in too many parts of it, really exhibits. What with the severe exactions of rent, . . . of the parish priest [established church]--who not content with the tithe of grain, extracts even the very tenth of half-a-dozen or half-a-score perches of potatoes, upon which a whole family perhaps subsists for the year--and of the Catholic priest . . . who comes armed with the terrors of damnation, and demands his full quota of unremitted offerings . . . the poor reduced wretches have hardly the skin of a potato left them to subsist on.'" (A visitor's account of the situation in Ireland in 1764, cited in Lecky Ireland II: 263)

"When we read over the siege of Troy, . . . --was I not as much concerned for the destruction of the Greeks and Trojans as any boy of the whole school? Had I not three strokes of a ferula given me, two on my right hand and one on my left, for calling Helena a bitch for it? . . .
. . . ----Did that bespeak me cruel? Or because . . . my blood flew out into the camp, and my heart panted for war,--was it a proof it could not ache for the distresses of war too"? (Uncle Toby in Tristram Shandy, VI, xxxii, 556).

[A]s the knowledge of arms tends so apparently to the good and quiet of the world----and particularly that branch of it which we have practised together on our bowling-green, has no object but to shorten the strides of AMBITION, and intrench the lives and fortunes of the few, from the plunderings of the many, whenever that drum beats in our ears, I trust, Corporal, we shall neither of us want so much humanity and fellow-feeling as to face about and march." (Uncle Toby in Tristram Shandy, IX, viii, 753).

In Slawkenbergius' Tale and the chapters framing it Sterne keyed the narrative to Milton and to religious controversies that led to the regicide of Charles I in 1649 and the rule of Cromwell, and that left a legacy of religious division that continued after the Restoration. The zeal and absence of charity characterizing the volleys of pamphlets fired between Milton and his circle and Joseph Hall and the other bishops in the 1640's, the attitude during the 1650's that hierarchy in religion, viz., Anglican or Roman Catholic, had to be extirpated, and the suspicion of Catholic leanings on the part of Charles I and then James II, as well as curiosity and speculation concerning whether James II had fathered a real son and not a "suppositious child" (Lecky England I: 11) as was widely alleged⁴⁹ and which ultimately led

⁴⁹ William Lecky in A History of England in the Eighteenth Century writes that in 1688, despite the unpopularity of James II, "attachment to the legitimate line might have prevailed but for the belief that was industriously spread that the Prince of Wales was a suppositious child, and every stage in the intricate drama that ensued was governed more by the action of

to James's flight from England in 1688, resulted in 1688 in the accession of the foreign William III as King of England.

From the very beginning of the novel, Sterne problematizes the necessity of war by interweaving a humanized version of two periods of similar warfare so adroitly into the fabric of Tristram Shandy that the issue of war becomes, in the novel, like that "large uneven thread . . . running along the whole length of the web [of Tristram's brain] . . . you cannot so much as cut out a * * , (here I hang up a couple of lights again) . . . but it is seen or felt" (VI, xxxiii, 558). The series of battles taking place on "the old prize fighting stage of **Flanders**" (III, xxv, 250) furnishes a "History of **King William's and Queen Anne's Wars**" (A Political Romance 35), with a subtext detailing their effects on the plight of Ireland, and is associated with Toby and Trim's authentic combat beginning in 1689 at the seige of Limerick and their facsimile reproduction of the continuing battles in **Flanders** in Toby's garden until the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1714.

The drums beating in the background of the novel, i.e., "the dark strokes in the HOBBY-HORSE (which is a secondary figure, and a kind of background to the whole)" (I, vii, 16), keep time with the wars on the

individuals and by accidental circumstances than by general causes (I: 11).

continent until that war contemporaneous with the writing and publication of the novel, viz., the war England and Prussia were waging against France and Austria when the novel commences and which ended with The Peace of Paris in 1763, for which Tristram Shandy, as Tristram tells us in his account of his experiences in France with the **Post Office**, laid the cornerstone.⁵⁰

Section 1: The Seven Years War

When the second edition of Volumes I and II of Tristram Shandy was published in London in April 1760,⁵¹

⁵⁰Lecky in his History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century informs us of the effects of the Seven Year's War on Ireland:

In 1755 war broke out between Great Britain and France, and in the three following years the Irish revenue steadily decreased. In 1756 and 1757 the potato crop failed, and great numbers throughout the country are said to have perished by famine. . . . Rumors of invasion seriously affected credit; three Dublin banks failed in 1759. . . . The Primate Stone . . . [in] a remarkable letter . . . dated August 1758 . . . [wrote 't]he bulk of the people are not regularly either lodged, clothed, or fed; and those things which in England are called necessaries of life are to us only accidents, and we can and in many places do subsist without them'" (I: 468-469).

⁵¹It is pointed out in The Notes that the dedication to Pitt was included in the second edition "published by James Dodsley on April 2, 1760," (37) and that "[I]n his 'Anecdotes of Sterne' John Croft [Sterne's contemporary

they were dedicated to William Pitt, "the greatest war minister England had ever produced" (Lecky England I: 38) and Prime Minister of England from 1757 until he resigned on October 5, 1761 when the cabinet and King refused to declare war on Spain. Volume IX of Tristram Shandy, published in 1767, is correspondingly dedicated to Mr. *** [Tristram has noted "you cannot so much as cut out a * * . . . but it is seen or felt"--the omission of an asterisk necessitating the spelling as "Pit," unfortunately reminding the reader of this great Minister's earlier role in prosecuting the war in Flanders, 'the cockpit of Europe'] who had become Lord ***** [Cheltam] (See The Notes 528). Known as "The Great Commoner" (Trevelyan 545), and apparently an extremely eloquent speaker and popular figure, especially with "the people" whose representative he styled himself, Pitt, with all his many sterling qualities, might, if he could be found to have a fault,

and friend] suggests that Sterne had planned from the beginning to dedicate the work to Pitt" (38).

⁵² See Stanley Edward Ayling, The Elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham, for a more balanced and modern view of William Pitt. I have relied heavily on William Edward Hartpole Lecky's treatment of William Pitt for several reasons. The most important is that his point of view appears to me to be very similar to that of Laurence Sterne's. Both the real and the fictional historian seem to have a great deal of good will and this manifests itself in a large sympathy towards all human foibles except where these have the effect of injuring others equally or more deserving of compassion. Lecky seems to attempt to do justice both to the person he is describing and to those who felt the effects of that individual's decisions.

be accused of riding his war 'hobby-horse' a little too enthusiastically. William Lecky, in A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, writes that Pitt

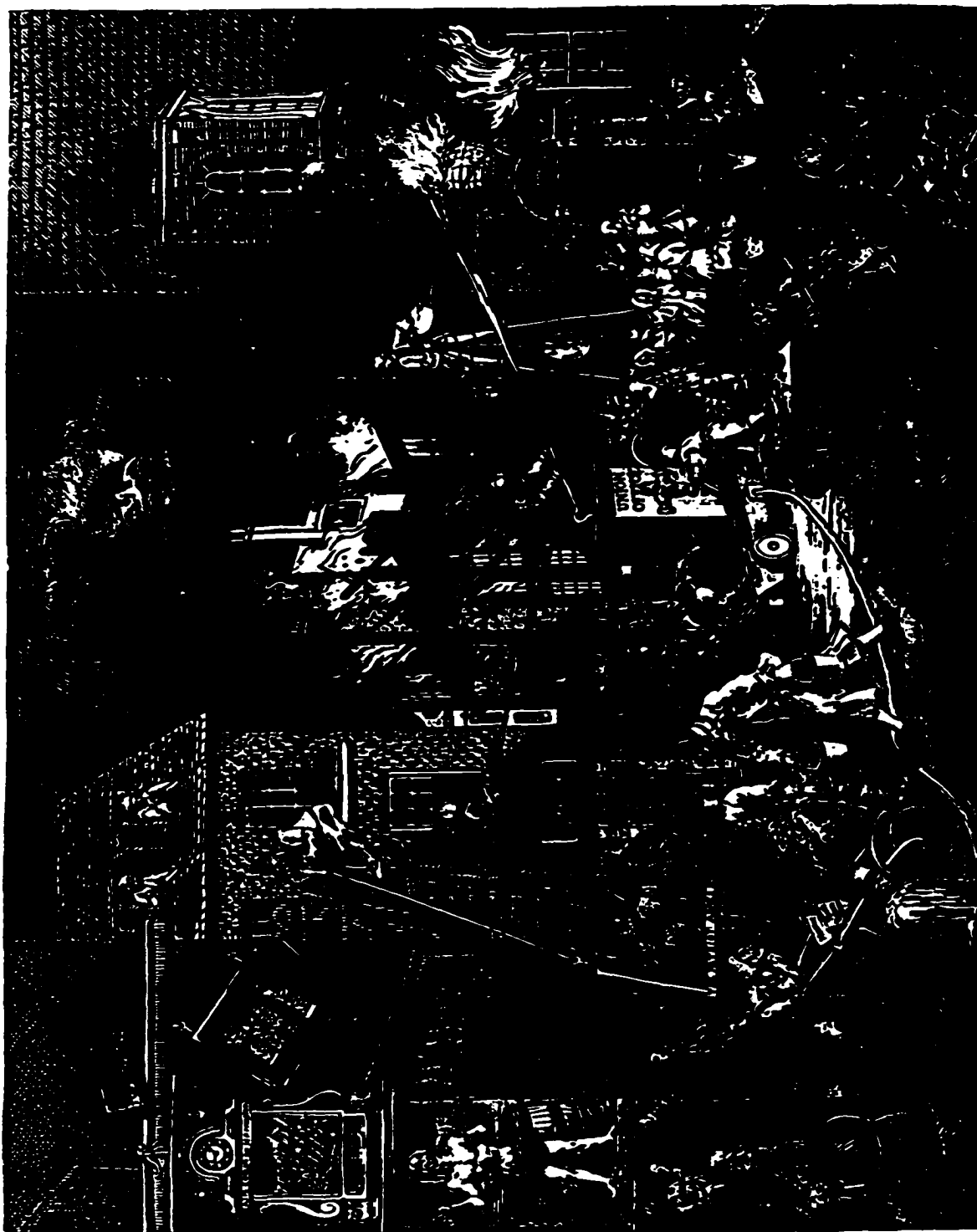
had no real desire for peace, or at least for any peace that did not involve the complete humiliation of his adversary 'Some time ago', [Pitt] said in the midst of his triumphs, 'I would have been content to bring France to her knees, now I will not rest till I have laid her on her back'. He once confessed, with a startling frankness that he loved 'honourable war'. He never appears to have had any adequate sense of the misery it produces, or to have looked upon France in any other light than that of an inevitable and natural enemy. (II: 557)⁵²

After George III came to the throne in late 1760, the King and Lord Bute [Pitt's successor after Newcastle's brief tenure as Prime Minister], without consultation with the other Ministers, composed the King's first speech to the Privy Council. In this address, Lecky reports:

The sentences in which it spoke of 'a bloody and expensive war,' and of 'obtaining an honourable and lasting peace,' were justly interpreted as a covert censure upon the great minister who was conducting the war [Pitt];

and it was only after an altercation which lasted for two or three hours that Pitt induced Bute to consent that in the printed copy the former sentence should be changed into 'an expensive, but just and necessary war' (III: 27)

Apparently, even after Pitt's resignation as Prime Minister in 1761, the credit for England's continuing successes in the war against the French and then the Spanish, too, were popularly thought to be the result of following the war strategy that Pitt had previously developed. Peace proposals had been discussed since 1759 but there was widespread public opposition to the proposed Peace of Paris; the terms of this treaty, hardly injurious to England but nevertheless not grinding the noses of the French into the ground, were prime causes of Lord Bute's unpopularity. Public indignation and outrage against the Articles of Peace were so great that King George III and the Ministry sought support for the treaty by waging its own war of propaganda. Hogarth, the King's painter as well as Sterne's illustrator, was enlisted in this endeavor. Lecky's description of Hogarth's print entitled The "Times," published in 1762 (Lecky III: 64) and aimed at reconciling the public to the Articles of Peace, colorfully captures the issues and *personnages du drame* in this conflict between hawks and doves:

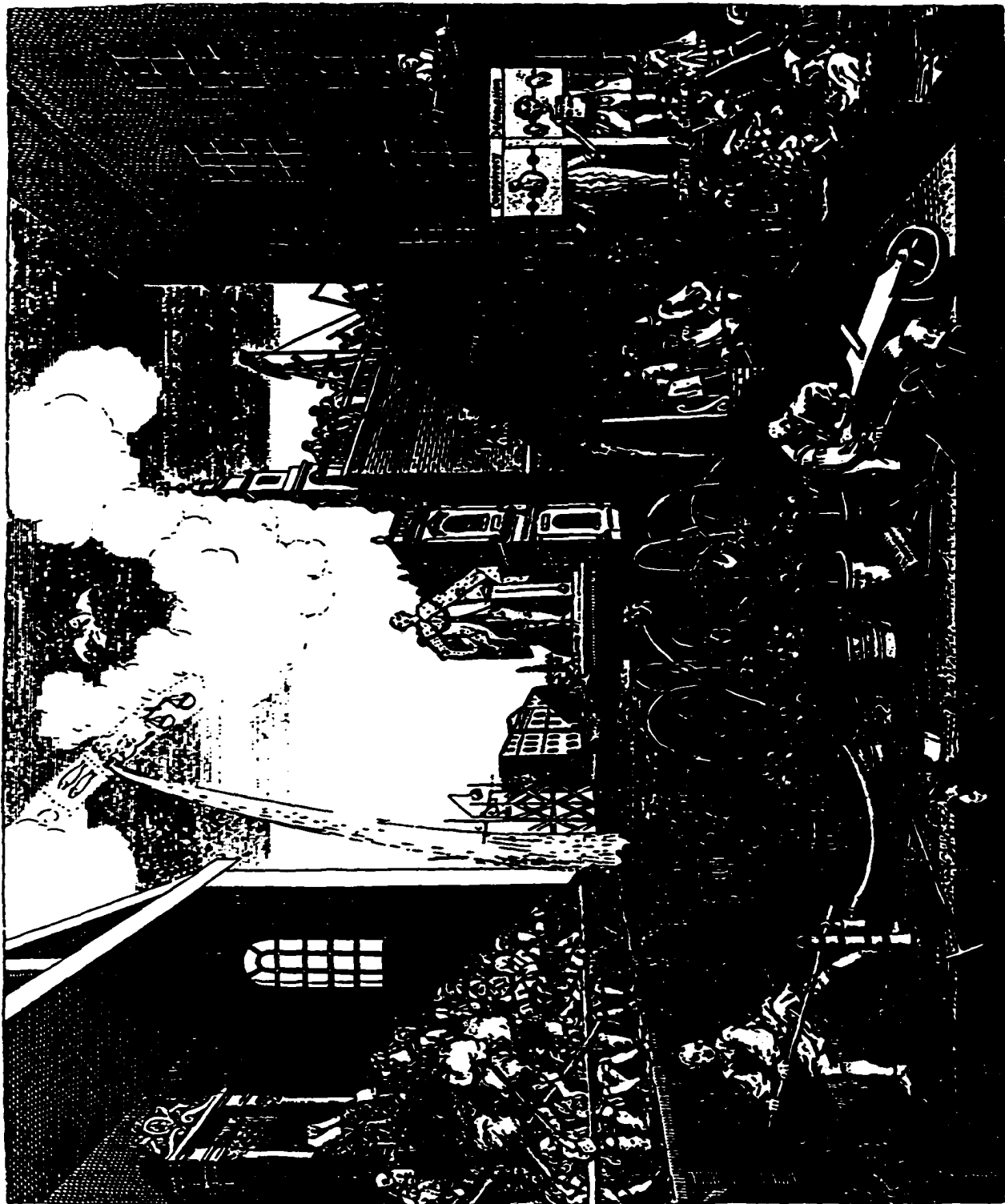


Designed & Engraved by W. Hogarth

The Times
Plate 1

*Published as the Act Directs
Sep. 7 1768*

Sheagreen, Sean, ed. Engravings by Hogarth [101 Prints]. New York: Dover,
1973. Print 96.



Designed & Engraved by W. H. Rogers.

The Times

Published by the proprietors, 101, Pall Mall, London.

Shesgreen, Sean, ed. Engravings by Hogarth [101 Prints]. New York: Dover, 1973. Print 97.

Europe was represented in flames, which were rapidly extending to Great Britain, and Pitt, with a pair of bellows, was stimulating the conflagration. Around [Pitt's] neck hung a Cheshire cheese with 3,000L written on it, alluding to his pension and to an expression in one of his speeches that he would rather live on Cheshire cheese than submit to the enemies of England. The aldermen of London were humbly worshipping him . . . the King of Prussia, like Nero, was fiddling amid the conflagration; while Bute, assisted by English soldiers and sailors, and by Highlanders, was endeavouring to extinguish it. (Lecky III: 64)

Lecky observes that after Pitt left office "the unpopularity of Bute was such that he could not appear unattended or undisguised in the streets The jack boot, which by a pun upon his name was chosen as his popular emblem, was paraded ignominiously through the streets, hung up on a gallows, or thrown into the flames, together with a bonnet or a petticoat symbolising the Princess" (England III: 53-54).

In this tumultuous version of The "Times" (Plate 1) a dove hovers over the scene ignored by all and in the foreground a well-fed burgher placidly smoking his pipe is counterposed to wretched and starving mothers and children displaced from their homes. In front of the

building on the left in this plate a "rival sign to the king's, showing four clenched fists and the date '1762' and inscribed 'THE PATRIOT ARMES' (referring to Pitt's name for his party, 'The Patriots') is being hoisted (Shesgreen 96). The sign reading "The Post Office" falling from this building "refers to the fact that Pitt's organ of patronage, the post office, is gone" (Shesgreen 96).

Another plate, a "political allegory" and companion piece to the first, and also entitled "Times" (Plate II), was executed by Hogarth in the same year but was never published, at the artist's request, until after both he and his wife died [1690] (Shesgreen 97). In this far more ordered rendition of the times, an idealized statue of King George III stands nobly in the center of a garden hewn out of stone and cut off from the parliament on the left, and people on the right, by a wide and impassible moat. Bute, the Prime Minister, is shown as the gardener tending plants in pots and an urn (labelled with the names or initials of recipients of court patronage) placed in a sycophantic semicircle in front of the King's pedestal. The members of Parliament are presented as divided into two groups: one contingent is semi-somnolent while the other faction is vigorously firing rifles at a dove carrying an olive branch. Of these bellicose parliamentarians, "the figure with the longest gun and gouty leg is Pitt"

(Shesgreen 97). Facing Parliament from across the page, but with their view blocked by a fence, stand, at least those who are still able to, stand, a multitude of war veterans made conspicuous by their various missing limbs. From a shop prominently labelled "**Dr CANTS Man midwife**" a figure in clerical garb, "who is believed to be the Archbishop of Cantebury, Thomas Secker" (Shesgreen 97), gives a blessing to two of the war casualties. In both versions of Hogarth's representation of the times, that for public consumption (Plate I), and that to express his private views (Plate II), Hogarth characterizes Mr. Pitt as a warmonger either fanning the flames of war or shooting down prospects of peace. Referring to the Peace of Paris which ended the Seven Years War, Lecky concludes

we can hardly . . . regret the abandonment . . .
 . of the schemes of Pitt for destroying the
 whole commercial and naval greatness of
 France. . . . Pitt imagined that it was both
 possible, and desireable and just, to prevent
 France . . . from ever reviving as a naval
 power. . . . [H]e desired to obtain for
 England a strict monopoly of the slave trade,
 of the sugar trade, of the trade with India,
 and he protested against any cession which
 enabled France to carry on any of these
 branches of commerce. Such a policy could

hardly fail to make national animosities indelible. It is probable that France would have resisted to the uttermost. (III: 52)

One of the criticisms of the war Pitt was prosecuting in 1760 was that "in its later stages it had become unnecessary" (Lecky II: 557). Had Pitt been willing to come to terms with at least the French, the two largest powers could have withdrawn from the war greatly reducing its extent and casualties without seriously disturbing the balance of power in Europe. Instead, Pitt pressed for greater subsidies from parliament for the Prussians to support the cost of auxiliaries and subsidize Frederick the Great's battles on the continent. In a speech urging appropriations for such subsidies, Pitt attempted to shame his colleagues into acquiescence by shouting "'Is there an Austrian among you? Let him stand forth and reveal himself!'" (Lecky II: 550).

English losses at this time were few, in terms of men, and English support for the carnage, financially, was great. Despite his fierce opposition to continental subsidies under Walpole, whose ouster was in good measure due to the issue of such foreign payments, Pitt, to enable Frederick to prosecute his war efforts in **Bohemia and Silesia**, had secured in 1758 "an annual subsidy of nearly seven hundred thousand pounds for Frederick, which during the next few years was

punctually paid"⁵³ (Lecky II: 535). In July 1760 after his inability to take Dresden, defended by the German army under General Macguire (an Irish Catholic proscribed like all Catholics in Ireland at the time from enlistment in the British army)⁵⁴ and finally supported by Austrian reinforcements, Frederick "took a characteristic vengeance by . . . bombarding [the] city with red-hot balls, slaughtering multitudes of its

⁵³ Lecky states that in the period around 1746 Pitt, "who had done all in his power, not only to drive Walpole from office, but also to persecute him to death, was now a member of a government consisting chiefly of Walpole's colleagues He who had made Parliament ring with denunciations of the payment of Hanoverian troops now voted for a considerable increase of the Hanoverian subsidies" (England II: 521).

⁵⁴ Lecky notes that Catholics in Ireland found themselves dabbared by their religion "from every position of trust and power, and from almost every means of acquiring wealth, degraded by a social stigma, deprived of every vestige of political weight" (Ireland II: 282-283). Lecky cites figures from Abbe MacGeoghegan's history of Ireland which place the number of Irish Catholics killed in the service of France between 1691 and 1745 at 450,000. While Lecky himself says he finds these figures "perfectly incredible" he states that "Newenham in his valuable work On Population in Ireland, says: 'Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that we are not sufficiently warranted in considering the Abbe MacGeoghegan's statement as an exaggeration'" (Ireland II: 286, n. 2).

Lecky further states that the view that Catholics were allowed into the army during the elder Pitt's ministry appears to be erroneous. For this conclusion he cites letters from the Duke of Bedford saying, in 1757, that recruits from the north of Ireland could be accepted in the army provided they were not "'Papists or persons popishly affected'" and on March 31, 1759 allowing recruits from any part of Ireland "'provided they be Protestants, and were born of Protestant parents'" (Ireland I: 418, n. 2).

peaceful inhabitants, and reducing whole quarters to ashes . . . (II: 554). Lord Rosebery in his biography of Pitt, Lord Chatham, notes that "Macaulay in a famous passage has pointed out that innocent peasants perished in thousands all over the world that [Frederick] . . . might obtain and retain an Austrian province [Silesia]" (197). The same, according to Lord Rosebery, was true of Maria Theresa, leader of the Austro-Hungarian empire: she was willing that "myriads should perish . . . of all nations that she could enlist in her cause, to maintain the sanctity of her rights to Silesia (197). The loss of life and devastation wrought by the war on the continent, which Frederick would have been unable to continue without British financing, were enormous. On November 3, 1760, in the battle at Torgau "20,000 Austrians were killed, wounded, or prisoners, while 14,000 Prussians were left on the field" (Lecky II: 555).

With his consummate eloquence and ability to sway the populace, Pitt had enormous potential to become a positive and constructive force in British and world politics. However, these talents were used to forestall attempts to end a war consuming lives and resources on the continent as well as siphoning prodigious sums of money out of the English, Irish and Scottish taxpayers' pockets and fomenting unworthy "sporting" interest in the British public with their ringside seats to follow

the battles involving such carnage on the "prize fighting stage" of Europe. The belligerent attitudes and behavior on the part of so powerful a leader as Pitt, who could have prevented the continuing upheaval and annihilation, seem hobby-horsical enough to warrant ironic comment if not positive and overt rebuke. Even in his personal character Pitt appears to have had foibles tempting to a satirist; not only was nature exceedingly generous in determining the length of his nose but he appears to have been distinguished by an unusual gravity. Lecky's character sketch of Pitt is instructive:

He was . . . singularly theatrical and affected. His speeches owed much of their charm to the most consummate acting, and he carried his histrionic turn into every sphere in which he moved. . . . [H]e was always strained and formal, assuming postures, studying effects and expressions. His dress, his sling, his crutch, were all carefully arranged for the most private interview. His letters--whether he was addressing a minister . . . or exhorting his young nephew to guard against the ungracefulness of laughter--were tumid, formal, and affected. . . . [S]implicity, modesty, and unobtrusive excellence were

wholly alien to his character. . . . [I]n his family circle he delighted in reading out the tragedies of Shakespeare . . . but whenever he came to any light or comic parts, he immediately stopped and gave the book to some member of his family to read. This anecdote is characteristic of his whole life. He never unbent. He was always acting a part, always self-conscious, always aiming at a false and unreal dignity. (II: 525-526)

Lecky continues by saying that "[o]f all very great Englishmen, [Pitt] is perhaps the one in whom there was the largest admixture of the qualities of a charlatan. It was consistent with this disposition that he should have been singularly affected by royalty. . . . (II: 526-527). "When appearing before the King 'said [an] observer, '[Pitt] used to bow so low you could see the tip of his hooked nose between his legs'" (II: 527).

Pitt's militant stance and hostility to all peace efforts seem to warrant the type of critique that might well be found in the dedication which Tristram plans to hawk to the public. The editors of The Notes point out that the dedication to Pitt was included in the second edition "published by James Dodsley on April 2, 1760," (37) and that "[i]n his 'Anecdotes of Sterne' John Croft [Sterne's

contemporary and friend] suggests that Sterne had planned from the beginning to dedicate the work to Pitt" (38). This seemingly straightforward dedication to Pitt is reduplicated, as a culmination to Tristram's pontification about hobby-horses, a mere fourteen pages later by another dedication which Tristram offers for sale to the highest bidder. The facetious nature of the second dedication and its placement so close upon the heels of the first have the effect of deconstructing and devaluing the original. It is as though one were to name a child "Joy," and shortly thereafter to nick-name a curmudgeonly dog "Joy"; the second naming would cause a reappraisal of the intention of the first attribution. Could this reinscription be inadvertent or is it by design? Although Tristram does not so highly rate, on a scale of 1 to 20, the outlines (12), the coloring (6), or the expression (13 1/2) of this supplementary dedication, its design, "if I may be allowed, my Lord, to understand my own *design*, and supposing absolute perfection in designing, to be as 20,--I think it cannot well fall short of 19"(I, ix, 16).

The ersatz dedication seems "design[ed]" to echo elements of the preceeding dedication to Mr. Pitt, and the moral of Tristram's disquisition on hobby-horses

appears to be "design[ed]" as advice to Pitt. Tristram tells the potential buyer of the "for sale" dedication, which, if a buyer be found, will be placed "at the front of" the chapter on hobby-horses, that "the dark strokes in the HOBBY-HORSE . . . give great force to the principal lights in your own figure and make it come off wonderfully" (I, ix, 16). Tristram confides in us that

[T]here is an instance, which I own puts me off my guard, and that is, when I see one born for great actions, and, what is still more for his honour, whose nature ever inclines him to good ones;----when I behold such a one, my Lord, like yourself, whose principles and conduct are as generous and noble as his blood, and whom, for that reason, a corrupt world cannot spare one moment;--when I see such a one, my Lord, mounted, though it is but for a minute beyond the time which my love to my country has prescribed to him . . .--then, my Lord, I cease to be a philosopher, and in the first transport of an honest impatience, I wish the HOBBY-HORSE, with all his fraternity, at the Devil. (I, viii, 13-14)⁵⁵

In this address to "my Lord" regarding whether it is significant or a matter of indifference to him if "great Lords . . . [are] mounted"⁷¹ upon their several horses,"

⁵⁵ There is a implicit irony in this section when

Tristram distinguishes between "great" and "good" and relates the adjectival modifiers to "honour." In like manner, the author of Tristram Shandy, in his closing to Mr. Pitt in the first dedication, viz., "I am, *great Sir, (and what is more to your Honour,) I am, good Sir, Your Well-wisher, and most humble Fellow-Subject, THE AUTHOR*", stresses the superiority of "good" over "great" and the relation of goodness to "Honour." At the same time, the physical proximity of the nouns "AUTHOR" and "Subject"⁵⁶ in the dedication made explicitly to Pitt

Tristram says "so long as a man rides his HOBBY-HORSE peaceably and quietly along the King's highway, and neither compels you or me to get up behind him,----pray, Sir, what have either you or I to do with it?" In Ireland at the time Sterne was writing any Protestant who suspected a Catholic of riding a horse worth more than 5 pounds, "on tendering that sum could appropriate the . . . horse," since Catholics were forbidden to own or use a horse worth more than 5 pounds (Lecky, Ireland I: 146).

⁵⁶:See Hobbes' Leviathan, Part II, Chapter 17, in which Hobbes defines the Leviathan, or "common-wealth," as one person of whose acts "a great Multitude," through mutual covenants have made themselves "the Author" so that "he [commonwealth] may use the strength and means of them all . . . for their peace and common defence" (228). Hobbes continues: "He that carryeth this Person, is called SOVERAIGNE . . . and every one besides, his SUBJECT" (228). Hobbes' views humans in the state of nature as in a state of war and relies on Leviathan or the commonwealth, grounded in a contractarian principle, to achieve and maintain peace. He says that "leisure," "curiosity" and "method," are what have been lacking in ascertaining "certain Rules," on which the "skill of making, and maintaining Common-wealths" depends (II, 21: 261). Hobbes' rejoinder to those who would ask where such a sovereign power has been acknowledged is to say that where sovereignty has not been disputed only foreign war has destroyed the country (261). He continues: "[A]n argument from the practise of men, that have not

raises the possibility that "subject" is being used in a literary as well as political sense with both Sterne and Pitt being **subjects** in Tristram Shandy as well as **subjects** of the King. Unrivaled as he might have been as a war strategist and even though perhaps a model of personal integrity and probity, Pitt could also have been considered to be implacably committed to war. The dedication of Volume IX of Tristram Shandy in 1767 to Pitt, again Prime Minister since 1766, perhaps emphasizes Pitt's fall from grace: it as follows:

"A DEDICATION TO A GREAT MAN" (IX, 733).

Thus, he who had originally been "great Sir" and "good Sir" is now merely "great." Tending to confirm the ironic nature of Sterne's denomination of Pitt as "great" is what Swift in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" says about Steele's earlier but similar description of a certain politician:

To see him treat my Lord *Harcourt*
with so much Civility looks indeed a
little suspicious, and, as if he had Malice in
his Heart. He calls his Lordship, a very
great Man, and a great living Authority . .

sifted to the bottom, and with exact reason weighed the causes, and nature of Common-wealths, and suffer daily those miseries that proceed from the ignorance thereof, is invalid. . . . The skill of making, and maintaining Common-wealths, consisteth in certain Rules, as doth Arithmetique and Geometry; not . . . on Practise onely" (261)

. and in short, takes the most effectual
Method in his Power of ruining his Lordship in
the Opinion of every man who is wise or
good . (Political Tracts: 1713-1719, 45)

And was Sterne's treatment of Pitt in the final
dedication for good reason?

If the message of Tristram Shandy relating to the
inadvisability of war as a way of solving problems was
initially directed at and to William Pitt, Prime
Minister of England at the time of its first
publication, it is clear from Pitt's subsequent conduct
with respect to negotiating terms for a peace that he
failed to be moved. Pitt, in 1761, rejected "provisions
of the treaty with France" which were essentially
similar to those ultimately adopted and the final peace
terms were, in Lecky's view "little, if at all, more
favourable than might have been obtained in the
preceding year" (III: 49-51). In the parliamentary
consideration of the proposed details of the Peace of
Paris "Pitt spoke against the terms for three and a half
hours; but he was so broken by painful illness that he
was obliged to speak sitting" (Lecky III: 66). Pitt
apparently suffered from gout, "which he had been
fighting with heroic constancy ever since his Eton days"
(Trevelyan 549). We might suspect our author of using
the argument *ad hominem* in the highest bidder dedication
in Volume I when he writes that Tristram will lay his

all the world knows that no effect in nature can be produced without a cause and as it is as well known that my uncle Toby, was neither a weaver--a gardener, or a **gladiator**---- unless as a captain, you will needs have him one--but then he was only a captain of foot . . . --There is nothing left for us to suppose, but that my uncle Toby's leg----but that will avail us little in the present hypothesis, unless it had proceeded from some **ailment in the foot**--whereas his leg was not emaciated from any disorder in his foot--for my uncle Toby's leg was not emaciated at all. It was a little stiff and awkward, from a total disuse of it . . . but it was plump and muscular, and in all other respects as good and promising a leg as the other. (VIII, vi, 662)

We are also informed that "my uncle Toby was not a **water-drinker**" (VIII, vi, 662). If there is "no effect in nature . . . without a cause" then what is the cause of this discussion of a gladiator, a man with an "ailment in the foot," and water drinkers? If, as an author, one wanted to draw one's reader's attention to a man who was an object of unreasonable love--by a nymph? by the populace?--who might be considered a gladiator,

⁵⁸"wasted," Watt 417, n. 1.

and who had a foot ailment, would this be enough? The obstacles are enormous! Tristram writes: "I declare, I do not recollect any one opinion or passage of my life, where my understanding was more at a loss to make ends meet, and torture the chapter I had been writing to the service of the chapter following it, than in the present case . . . " (VIII, vi, 662-663). Difficulty of author noted: has the groundwork been sufficiently laid concerning the notion of someone with an ailment in the foot to foment "Curiosity" or "Fancy" (VIII, v, 661) on the part of the reader? If Uncle Toby does not have an ailment of the foot, will the reader inquire, who does? This would puzzle an Oedipus! Could our author be referring to Oedipus? in his role of having a foot ailment? in his capacity as riddle-solver? Aristotle, in his Poetics, points out that discovery by marks or signs is the least artistic form of discovery, and yet . . . Would a male reader who has an ailment of the foot think of himself? How could one be sure such a male reader would read the book? Perhaps one could dedicate it to him.

But let us complicate matters: immediately after the execration of "water drinkers" by Tristram there is an embedded allusion to a rejection of "favorable peace terms" (Watt 418). First, there is an interchange between Yorick and Eugenius which, Ian Watt notes, is a variation on Alexander the Great's retort to his advisor

Parmenio in refusing to "accept the favorable peace terms then being offered him" (Watt 418); then, there is an explicit linking of this anecdote by Tristram to Longinus so the interested reader would be sure to realize that the response occurs in the context of a rejection of favorable peace terms. Is this again the argument *ad hominem*? If we find an inexplicably popular man with an ailment in the foot rejecting peace terms, we can only conclude

Yes?

We can only conclude

Yes?

An' it please your Honour, might I obtrude a question at this point?

Humph!!! Yes?

Was Pitt a water drinker?

Zounds!!!!!!⁵⁹

With the idea in mind that shifting word and factual associations are established relating to William Pitt, it is possible to explore more fully the final dedication by "The AUTHOR" to Mr. *** at the beginning

⁵⁹In Lord Chatham: A War Minister in the Making (London: The Bodley Head, 1952), Owen Sherrard reports that at the end of a parliamentary session in 1744 Pitt "was exhausted, and a violent attack of gout drove him to Bath, where he drank the waters hopefully"

of Volume IX (733). Pure carelessness might account for the incorrect number of asterisks in this dedication if it occurred only once but to find Mr. *** reproduced three times on one page argues that the error is included by design and is meant as a riddle for the reader to solve in ascribing three-letter names to Mr. ***. What are the possibilities?

The first two London editions of Tristram Shandy, printed after the 2nd London edition in April of 1760 dedicated to Mr. Pitt, continue the first edition's etymological rather than conventional spelling of the word "disastrous," when Tristram avers that "[o]n the fifth day of November 1718 . . . was I Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, brought forth into this scurvy and disasterous world of ours, viz., "disasterous" (I, v, 8; "dis"--away from, and "aster"--star). There is, however, in these two editions not only an extra "e" in the word disastrous, but also a transposition of the letter "s", hence, we find, "disasterosu" (II, Appendix One, 844). Such a glaring spelling error! Our author is generally more scrupulous about his orthography. He has even told us he would hang up stars (***, asterisks) as an aid to our understanding. As Tristram puts it, "I hang up [stars] in some of the darkest passages, knowing that the world is apt to lose its way,

(120).

with all the lights the sun itself at noon day can give it" (VI, xxxiii, 558). In speaking about his own brains in the next paragraph, he avers "you cannot so much as cut out a ** (here I hang up a couple of lights again)" without it being apparent (VI, xxxiii, 558). But perhaps he did not notice. Let us call his attention to this blunder:

Sir, your spelling 'disasterosu" is faulty! You have misplaced an "s" and you have inserted an extra letter.

Madam, I shall correct it at once! There--disASSerou--I have relocated the "s" and removed the extra letter.

No! Sir. It is not right yet! And you still have an extra "e."

Madam, let me try again. There-disASSrous--I have taken out the "e."

But Sir, now you have marr'd the word! And allow me, pray, to add, that your handling of one of the asterisk words in your final dedication is analogously faulty! There is a missing letter in the asterisks. There should be four!

Madam, at your service. Humph! First, an "s" for a "t," so we have "asserisk," then remove an "e" and we get 'assrisk."

But Sir, what could you mean? What is an an ass risk? Risk whose ass? And who is doing the risking? And besides, I did not mean a letter in the spelling of asterisk. I meant a letter in the spelling of Mr. Pit! Mr. Pitt!

Humph!

"The AUTHOR" informs us in this final dedication that when he writes about **Statesmen** and **Patriots**, which, of course, he denies he is, at present, doing, he will "set such **MARKS** upon them as will prevent confusion and mistakes concerning them for the

future" (IX, 734). What would such marks be to prevent "confusion and mistakes"? The name of the party founded by that great Statesman, Pitt, was the Patriots, and the official organ through which Pitt at first distributed patronage was the Post Office. We recall that Tristram, immediately before he meets the Post Office official, asserts that "with an ass,⁶⁰ I can commune forever" (VII, xxxii, 631). Tristram elaborates by saying that when speaking with an ass

I have ever something civil to say to him on my part; and as one word begets another (if he has as little to do as I)----I generally fall into conversation with him; and surely never is my imagination so busy as in framing his responses from the etchings of his countenance--and where those carry me not deep enough----in flying from my own heart into his, and seeing what is natural for an ass to think--as well as a man, on the occasion (630)

Knowing our author's word and logic plays we could add a variation on this theme and find that the imagination can also project what it "is natural" for a "man" to think "on the occasion" as well as an ass. The ass furnishes the "comparison standing close by with his panniers" (VII, xxxiii, 634) when Tristram exclaims of

the french **Post Office** representative, "----The devil take the serious character of these people! quoth I-- (aside) they understand no more of **IRONY** than this--" (634). Tristram tells us "something seal'd up my lips-- I could not pronounce the name--" even though he had never been "more disconcerted by a bow in [his] life" than he is with that of the Post Office representative-- who responds to Tristram's **mock homage** "with all the sincerity of **grave good breeding**" and makes a bow "as low again"(634). We recall that Pitt was noted for his low bows before royalty.

Like the "poor ass who . . . stood dubious, with his two forefeet on the inside of the threshold, and with his two hinder feet towards the street, as not knowing very well whether he was to go in, or no" (VII, xxxii, 629-630), Pitt vacillated about whether to join a ministry on a number of occasions between 1761 and 1766 when he finally agreed to be "in" again. Tristram politely addresses the ass:

Come Honesty! said I, . . . art thou for coming in or going out? The ass twisted his head around to look up the street---- He turned his head thoughtful about, and looked wistfully the opposite way---- I understand thee perfectly; answered I----if

⁶⁰ Note that Tristram claims that he does not feel the same when speaking to parrots or jackdaws (of the genus *pitta*?).

thou takest a wrong step in this affair, he
will cudgel thee to death----

After saying to the ass "'tis all--all bitterness to thee, whatever life is to others and thou hast not a friend perhaps in all this world, that will give thee a macaroon" Tristram pulled from his pocket "a paper of 'em . . . and gave him one" (VII, xxxii, 631). Tristram advises us that at the time of telling about the ass and the macaroon his "heart smites [him]" because "there was more of pleasantry in the conceit, of seeing how an ass would eat a macaroon----than of benevolence in giving him one" (VII, xxxii, 632). This is surely **ART to CHOKE** the recipient, and it should not be considered coincidental that "as this discourse went on," the ass "was eating the stem of an **artichoke** . . . and in the little peevish contentions of nature betwixt hunger and unsavouriness, had dropt it out of his mouth half a dozen times, and pick'd it up again" (VII, xxxii, 631).

Since we are particularly interested in word plays at this juncture, we might ask, "Why a **paper** of macaroons?" **Macaroon** is cognate with "**macaronic**," a literary term which is defined as "characterized by a mixture of languages; especially . . . of burlesque verse in which real or coined words from two or more languages are mixed" Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. Johnson's Dictionary [1755] defines "**macaroon**" as "A

coarse, rude low fellow; whence **macaronick** poetry, in which the language is purposely corrupted." What we have just been handed is, in a sense, a paper of macaronic writing, or, if you will, a "conceit." If this is macaronic writing containing a conceit, what is the relation of this conceit or macaronic writing to William Pitt? Uncle Toby's amours are dedicated to Mr. ***. Are the story of the ass and the Post Office Official and the account of Toby's amours macaroons given to Mr. Pitt? In one sense, Sterne has been "commun[ing]" (VII, xxxii, 631) with Mr. *** from first (the initial dedication) to last (the final dedication).

In the first paragraph of Volume IX's dedication there are found the following words or phrases: "Amours" [Walter's passions or "asses"]; the word "Toby" ["Toby (i.e., 'buttocks')" *The Notes*, 269]; "a posteriori" and a three letter name that our author does not say, namely, Mr. ***. In Appendix Five to the Florida Edition of *Tristram Shandy*, Kenneth Monkman informs us that "Two settings of the dedication occur, creating two states of the edition": one edition shows "a poste- riori" and the other "a posteri- ori" (Volume 2, 937). "Poste" is the French word for Post Office, Pitt's organ of patronage, and "posterior," derived from the Latin, can, in English, mean "buttocks" or, less politely, "arse" or "ass." In a similar instance of an aposiopesis involving an inability to

"pronounce the name" the thing itself to furnish the comparison was fortunately standing by carrying his load of panniers. In the case of the final dedication there are analogously **words** of comparison near at hand. viz., "amours," "Toby," and "posteriori"--words which are all translatable into the actual comparison earlier standing at hand--an ass.

If Tristram is addressing Mr. Pitt as Mr. *** when the ninth volume of Tristram Shandy came out in January 1767, why is he doing so? The Whigs, led by Rockingham, had returned to power in July 1765 (Lecky, England: III: vi). William Pitt had finally agreed to be "in" again in the summer of 1766. According to Lecky

[T]he ministry was formed at a period of great and general distress. The harvest had been unusually bad; the price of corn rose with ominous rapidity. In every part of England bread riots took place. Flour mills were destroyed; corn, bread, and other necessaries were in many places seized by the populace and sold at low prices, and several lives were lost in the western counties in collisions between the soldiers and the mob. The jails were filled with prisoners, and discontent was wide and bitter. (England III: 125)

In addition to the question of hunger at this juncture, but also connected to it, was the issue of taxation. It appears that for the first time since 1688, the opposition was successful in "defeat[ing] . . . a money Bill" and mustered sufficient support for a vote to reduce the land tax in the new ministry's proposed budget (Lecky, England III: 127). On the international front, Pitt attempted to renew the alliance with the Prussians and Russians, reportedly to counter the threat posed by "the Family Compact" (III: 128-129), which had been entered into by France and Spain in 1761. Frederick, however, eventually refused the coalition because of his distrust of Pitt's ability to guarantee that England would furnish any necessary assistance since Pitt, despite his zeal in the cause, had been unable to insure England's continued support for war on the continent in the early 1760's; Russia vowed to reject the compact unless it would extend to a war with the Turks (*Ibid.*).

Pitt's popularity was, by November 1766, at a low ebb. He appeared as lacking in confidantes as the ass to whom Tristram has said, "[T]hou hast not a friend perhaps in all this world, that will give thee a macaroon" (VII, xxxii, 631). Lecky reports that a correspondant at the time wrote

'One thing appears very extraordinary, if not indecent--no member of the Opposition

speaks without directly abusing Lord Chatham,
and no friend ever rises to take his part.'

(Lecky, England III: 128)

Pitt himself had complained as early as 1762 that he was "so isolated in parliament that he had no one except the Clerk to speak to" (*Ibid.* 124) and "just before his second ministry he described himself . . . as 'standing like our first parents, naked, but not ashamed'" (*Ibid.* 128).

Between March 1767 and May 1769 Pitt experienced a period of disordered mental health. After assuming office, and taking some initial steps in setting up his administration in September and early October 1766, he remained from October 1766 until March 1767 at Bath [taking the waters?] where he was still, however, capable of continuing to correspond with his associates. Volume IX of Tristram Shandy, headed by the dedication to Mr. ***, was first published on January 29, 1767. In March 1767, second editions of Volumes V--which includes Tristram's injunctions to those who "govern this mighty world and its mighty concerns with the engines of eloquence" (V, vii, 433) and concludes with Walter's disquisition on how it is possible to go on forever with the use of auxiliaries--and VI--which encompasses: first, the hint that asterisks are significant, second, a characterization of the human consequences of war in the story of Le Fever, and, finally, Walter's written

account of *"My brother Toby's justification of his own principles and conduct in wishing to continue the war"* (VI, xxxi, 553)--were published (T.S., II, Appendix Five, 907-938). Volumes VII and VIII--including the story of the ass who could not decide whether to go in or stay out, the Post Office official and unfair taxation--had been released two years earlier, on January 23, 1765.

Pitt returned to London in March 1767, however, his nervous symptoms increased and his disorder was reflected in unaccountable behavior. We recall in Tristram Shandy Walter's surprise when, after asking in his defense of war if, just because his "heart panted for war" (VI, xxxii, 556) that "it could not ache for the distresses of war too?" (Ibid.), Uncle Toby apostrophizes

O brother! 'tis one thing for a soldier
to gather laurels,--and 'tis another to
scatter cypress.----[Who told thee, my dear
Toby, that *cypress* was used by the ancients
on mournfull occasions?] (Ibid.)

Pitt had been left a very substantial legacy by Sir William Pynsent; Pitt moved to Pynsent "where he insisted on covering a barren hill with cedars and *cypresses*, which were brought at enormous expense from London" (Lecky, England III: 131). By March 1767, he was unable to see the King who, in response to his

repeated requests for an interview, was answered by Lady Chatham:

'Such was the state of Lord Chatham's health that his Majesty must not expect from him any further advice or assistance He is overwhelmed with affliction still to find that the continuance in extreme weakness of nerves renders it impossible for him to flatter himself with being able soon to present himself before his Majesty. He is as yet utterly incapable of the smallest effort.'

(Lecky, England III: 132-133)

Could our humble author's intention in writing his dedication to Volume IX of Tristram Shandy have been to goad Pitt's conscience and to neutralize Pitt's power to implement his policies? On the question of entering into mutual defense alliances, with the consequent prospect of engaging in war on the continent or with respect to England's colonial possessions, Pitt's views do not appear to have changed in the years between 1761 and 1766 when he remained out of office. In fact, in 1770, after the recovery of his health, he strongly urged war with Spain over the Falkland Islands and recalled in a speech on November 22, 1770 that in 1761 he had called for "an immediate declaration of war with Spain" and then he went on to characterize the respective parties to the conflict in the same

stereotypical terms he had formerly used: "My Lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty, as they are proud and insolent" (Johnson, Prose Works X: 347-348, n.5).

In his 1771 publication "Thoughts on the Late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands," Samuel Johnson himself adverted to the Seven Years War prosecuted under Pitt and the three years of warfare that preceeded it in America and India by saying: "[A]t the conclusion of ten years war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expence of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries . . . " (Ibid. 371). Johnson's conclusion appears to be that the gains to a few through war profiteering are incommensurate with the loss of life and financial hardship of the many as a result of war. Johnson in 1771 speaks of Pitt's "feudal gabble" (367), and conjectures Pitt should be happy "if the nation shall at last dismiss him to nameless obscurity" with an admixture of the type of praise and blame that Corneille attributes to Cardinal Richlieu (Ibid. 368). In a letter commenting on this assessment of Pitt, David Hume writes that "'Mr. Johnson is a great deal too favourable to Pitt, in comparing him with Cardinal Richelieu'" and Hume instead describes him as "'our cutthroat'" (Ibid. 368, n. 9). Johnson aptly and explicitly sums up in 1771 the points about war that

Laurence Sterne had been subtly making since the publication of the first two volumes of Tristram Shandy in 1759:

It is wonderful with what coolness and indifference the greater part of mankind see war commenced. Those that hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, consider it as little more than a splendid game

The life of a modern soldier is ill represented by heroick fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps [Trim's radical moisture?] and putrefaction; . . . gasping and groaning, unpitied among men made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. (*Ibid.* 370-371)

Likewise, the burden of taxes on and the economic condition of the people in England, Scotland and Ireland do not appear to have altered in Pitt's five year

interregnum. England in 1765 was still paying debts incurred in carrying on the Seven Year's War. In "Considerations on Corn," the probable dating of which is 1766, Johnson draws attention to the then plight of the populace and to what might occur if the situation with respect to food worsened:

By what causes the necessaries of life have risen to a price at which a great part of the people are unable to procure them, how the present scarcity may be remedied, and calamities of the same kind may for the future be prevented, is an enquiry of the first importance; an enquiry before which all the considerations which commonly busy the legislature vanish from the view.

[S]carcity is an evil that extends at once to the whole community; that neither leaves quiet to the poor nor safety to the rich; that in its approaches distresses all the subordinate ranks of Mankind, and in its extremity must subvert government, drive the populace upon their rulers and end in bloodshed and massacre. Those who want the supports of life will seize them wherever they can be found. (*Ibid.* X: 304-305)

Even a charitable author might infer that the injury to Pitt's pride that the ridicule in the novel

would occasion might be counterbalanced by the preservation of even one life not uselessly and futilely lost in another internecine war. Likewise, the satirist might decide that the Prime Minister's *amour propre* might legitimately be bastinadoed if this would forestall the injury to the poor caused by immoderate taxation and the thriftless focus on foreign affairs and national honor and glory to the detriment of an appropriate attention to domestic problems including widespread hunger.

Pitt's gadfly, Laurence Sterne, died in March 1768 and in May of 1769 Pitt was reconciled with Temple and appeared in public again by September 1769; in January 1770, he resumed his seat in the House of Lords, fully recovered from his malaise (Lecky, England III: 156)

We recall that "Pitt's organ of patronage" (Shesgreen 96) had been the **Post Office**. The war that Pitt prolonged was viewed in England as a conflict between Catholics (France, Austria and Spain) and Protestants (Great Britain, and Prussia). Tristram announces in the story of the French Post Official and the ass that the behavior of the French is "contrary to the *law of nature* contrary to reason [and] contrary to the GOSPEL" (VI xxxiv, 637). The overt moral is that if the French are so unreasonable as to tax fickleness then the English might as well make "the best peace" with them they can **"AND SO THE PEACE WAS**

MADE" (VI, xxxiv, 638), referring to the Peace of Paris of 1763 ending the Seven Years War. The Seven Years War and the series of wars that had laid waste to various parts of Europe and decimated so much of its population could be viewed as attempts to affect "the distribution of property and power in the world," an issue with which Tristram, at least, concerns himself. The political results of the people of Strasburg's preoccupation with doctrinal differences were humorously treated in Slawkenbergius' Tale but the black page whose meaning Tristram challenges us to elucidate hints at the darker side of the story. If, as I have argued, its source is Milton's poem "The Passion"--"My sorrows are too dark for day to know,/ The pages should be black whereon I write", the black page memorializes all those innocent individuals caught up as pawns in the devastation wrought by the results of the rhetoric of religion and nation as well as the history of "the sad fall of Ireland." As a fomenter of war, William Pitt might wind up in the final volume of Tristram Shandy as "great Sir," but since he did not appear to learn any lesson over the course of the publication of the novel, he could no longer be considered "good Sir." Sterne has said in the final dedication that when he alludes to **Statesmen and Patriots**, which, of course, he is not now doing, he will **"set such MARKS upon them as will prevent confusion and mistakes concerning**

them for the future" (IX, 734). Our author has set a number of marks upon Pitt, as a statesman and a founder of the Patriot party, so that he will be recognizable in episodes in the novel. It is the readers' task to recognize such marks as they appear in various episodes and to adduce the meaning coincident with them. The address in the final dedication of Tristram Shandy implying that Mr. *** is an "ass" rebukes William Pitt for his glorification of war and advocacy of battle as a solution to international problems and for the inattention to the human costs of such wars to the individuals directly and indirectly affected by them.

Section 2: William and Anne's Wars

It appears incontrovertible that certain dates are important: even though "[c]hronology . . . seems a science which the soldier might best spare" (VIII, xix, 689), to Uncle Toby the date of the invention of gunpowder is understandably crucial. As he remarks to the corporal, when an invention brings about such "a new aera . . . of military improvements . . . the world cannot be too exact in ascertaining the precise time of its discovery, or too inquisitive in knowing what great man was the discoverer, and what occasion gave birth to it" (VIII, xix, 689). Likewise, to the storyteller dates might or might not be notable depending on their

contribution to the meaning, real world referentiality, sense, or plausibility of the tale.

Tristram's birth and conception are linked to significant anniversaries associated with King William III. William III arrived in England on November 5th.

But what of that, Madam?

Why, sir Critick, should our author choose a day of the year so fraught with contention in England for his brain child's birth?

As Uncle Toby observed when corporal Trim was essaying to tell his story, "The king of Bohemia and his seven castles," "----Leave out the date entirely, . . . leave it out entirely . . . a story passes very well without these niceties, unless one is pretty sure of 'em----" (VIII, xix, 687). Furthermore, could Sterne expect less of his readers than the license so expansively given by Toby to Trim as storyteller: "take any date . . . take any date in the whole world thou choosest, and put it to--thou art heartily welcome----" (VIII, xix, 685). Of course, according to Tristram, since he was not selecting a day of the year and thus limited to 365, corporal Trim had even more scope:

for of every century, and of every year of that century, from the first creation of the world down to Noah's flood; and from Noah's flood to the birth of Abraham; through all the pilgrimages of the patriarchs, to the

departure of the Israelites out of Egypt----
 and throughout all the Dynasties, Olympiads,
 Urbecondita's, and other memorable epochas of
 the different nations of the world, down to
 the coming of Christ, and from thence to the
 very moment in which the corporal was telling
 his story---had my uncle Toby subjected this
 vast empire of time and all its abysses at his
 feet (VIII, xix, 685)

But still, with all those years to choose from, "the
 corporal contented himself with the very **worst year** of
 the whole bunch" (*Ibid.*). The ordinarily easily
 satisfied Toby administers what, for him, is a stinging
 rebuke to his storyteller: "**Any other date would have
 pleased me much better . . .** on account of [its] sad
 stain upon our history" (*Ibid.* 686). Tristram, "to
 prevent your honours of the Majority and Minority from
 tearing the very flesh off your bones in contestation,"
 tells us immediately that "It was the year next him . .
 . when the duke of Ormond [James Butler] was playing the
 devil in Flanders [1712]" (*Ibid.* 685-686).

The significance of dates and their status as
 gratifying or infelicitous reminders of events in the
 past is thus foregrounded by Uncle Toby in connection
 with Trim's attempt to tell his story of the King of
 Bohemia and his seven Castles. In 1688, as was noted
 earlier, William III arrived in England on **November**

5th to ensure a Protestant succession to the throne. (T.S., The Notes 52-53) In addition to marking the date of William III's arrival in England, **November 5th** was also celebrated as Guy Fawkes day commemorating the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, a landmark anniversary in the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in England and a commemoration marking the continuing friction between the adherents of these religions. If the date of the invention of gunpowder is one of the most notable in history to Uncle Toby, perhaps the date of the Gunpowder Plot is equally momentous in the novel. It seems significant that Sterne should choose this controversial day for Tristram's birth. George M. Trevelyan in his History of England writes that in 1709 the Whig Ministers impeached "a certain Dr. Sacheverell, who preached a sermon against the principles of the Revolution [of 1688] on the day consecrated to its memory" (498). The authors of The Notes indicate that November 5th is considered to be the anniversary of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as well as that of the Gunpowder Plot (52-53). Peter De Voogd emphasizes the importance of November 5th as the memorial of the Glorious Revolution by pointing out that "[b]oth events were celebrated with a special church service on November 5" (45). As a clergyman, Sterne would have officiated at many such services and, while toleration of Catholics had increased by the 1750's,

Linda Colley points out that the "continuing resonance of anti-Catholicism throughout Great Britain after 1707 and far into the nineteenth century needs stressing because it is often supposed that intolerance of this kind receded rapidly in the face of growing rationalism and literacy. . . . But Catholics could still encounter personal abuse and physical injury at the hands of Protestants, particularly in time of war"

(Britons 22). Colley mentions as examples the reaction following the passage of a Catholic Relief bill by Parliament, i.e., the anti-Catholic riots in Scotland in 1778 and the Gordon Riots of 1780 in England which she describes as "the most destructive and intolerantly Protestant of all British riots" (22). By the use of significant dates and a concatenation of other elements, Sterne is, throughout the novel, thematizing the inability of the English to deal with religious differences and exhibiting the consequences which flow from artificial distinctions based on religion.

The centrality of the accession of William III and the incessant wars during his and Queen Anne's reigns is again underscored structurally by the words that commence the middle chapter of the middle volume of Tristram Shandy: "King William, said my uncle Toby" (V, xxii, 455), and by the fact that the time period of Trim and Toby's actual war experience and their replication on the bowling-green of the military

engagements in Flanders is coextensive with that of the warfare that occupied England under the rule of William and Anne from 1688 to 1714: Trim entered the army in 1689 (V, xl, 480), and the campaign on the bowling-green ends with the demolition of Dunkirk in November, 1713 (VI, xxxiv, 559-560). Moreover, the last chapter of the novel, the concluding pages of which are largely devoted to Walter's diatribe against the glorification of war, concludes in 1714, the end of Anne's reign, with Yorick's pronouncement that what we have been told is a story about "A COCK and a BULL" (IX, xxxiii, 809). At one narrative level, we have, in fact, witnessed the fortunes of "John Bull,"⁶¹ John Arbuthnot's term, coined in 1702, for a typical Englishman--with Toby and Trim among those occupying the role of John Bull--

⁶¹See Mark Loveridge, "Stories of COCKS and BULLS: The Ending of *Tristram Shandy*," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 5.1 (1992): 35-54, for an ingenious, intricately woven and convincing essay arguing for the relevance of a 1756 fable published in the *Literary Magazine*, "A Story of a COCK and a BULL," to Sterne's figurative ending. Loveridge also ties the animal icons to the Seven Years' War and to "the wars of the 1690's and 1700's" (42, n. 21) and deftly interconnects the myriad images of animals, war and sexuality in the novel to postulate that in the ending of *Tristram Shandy* "authority, or influence, seems to be shared; there is no one in a position to use the characters, or the other characters, as his servants. The most striking aspect of the ending is its communal quality" (54). See also David Hume, *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly Called Peg, Only Lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq.* [1760, previously attributed to Adam Ferguson], ed. David Raynor (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1982), for another example of the corporealization and

fighting, in fact or on their ersatz battlefield, against soldiers representing "the gallic cock,"⁶² in Flanders, the "cockpit of Europe."⁶³ Whether it is William III or Louis XIV who is meant to occupy the position of cock of the walk in the account remains an open question, but William III's ubiquitous presence suggests that it is he who is the satirical target, at least on the question of the conduct of warfare, in the novel.⁶⁴

Likewise, Tristram is conceived and William III is believed to have died on the first Sunday of March,

satirization of John Bull during the period.

⁶²For a modern usage of this term see Leopold Sedar Senghor, "Women of France," quoted in Wole Soyinka, Art, Dialogue and Outrage: Essays on Literature and Culture (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994): "'You, beautiful trees, upright under the shelling and the bombs/ The only arms in days of despondency, in days of panic despair./ Proud towers, proud steeples under the arrogance of the sun in June/ Clear echo to the cry of the gallic Cock'" (177).

⁶³ Webster's Third New International Dictionary's entry 1b. defines a cockpit as "any place noted for especially bloody, violent or long-continued conflict." A "cockpit" is also described as: "1. an enclosed space for cockfighting; hence, 2. a place where there have been many battles: as, Belgium [formed, in part, from the former Flanders] is the cockpit of Europe" (emphasis in original, Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition).

⁶⁴ See David McNeil, "Sterne: Military Veterans and 'Humours'," The Grotesque Depiction of War and the Military in Eighteenth Century English Fiction (Newark: U of Delaware Press; London: Associated UP, 1990) 144-167 for an extremely perceptive analysis of these issues in terms of "the grotesque".

viz., Sunday, March 7, 1702 or on the second Sunday of March, viz., Sunday, March 8, 1702--either March 7th or March 8th was a Sunday in 1702, they cannot both have been Sunday--depending on which account is read, and the action in the novel commences and Tristram is conceived sometime during the night of **the first Sunday of March** (I, iv, 6). The Dictionary of National Biography reports that on the evening of "Sunday, 8 March [the second Sunday of March] . . . between seven and eight o'clock . . . [William III] died" and Robert Chambers' The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities also lists March 8th as the date of William III's death (I: 342). An earlier popular account, Charles Dickens' A Child's History of England, reports, however, that "King William died on Sunday, the seventh of March [the first Sunday of March], one thousand seven hundred and two" (392). The important point is not the actual date of William's death but what Sterne's sources projected that date to be. Some confusion may have arisen because of the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar in England in 1752 and the consequent "suppression of . . . 10 days, or after 1700 11 days . . . and providing . . . only those centesimal years divisible by 400 should be leap years" (Websters Third International Dictionary).

It is not inadvertent that Yorick's figurative summation of what The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman is "about" should present two aggressive, pugnacious and territorial barnyard males as icons of Sterne/Tristram's story (IX, xxxiii, 809). By the association of significant dates with William III Sterne raises questions concerning first, responsibility for the causes of war--among them, religious zealotry and the magnification of religious differences; misplaced eloquence that sanctions war for trivial causes; and faulty education that leads to the idealization of war and forestalls any rational inquiry into the justifications for a particular war; and, second, the problems associated with the conduct of warfare--including the use of "the foot soldier" as cannon fodder; the issues of prudence in a commander and blame for the consequences of rash orders; and the status of the inhabitants of the theater of battle. The effects of Sterne's thematization of war as a team sport or game, and source of entertainment⁵ for which substitute outlets could be found, is also significant.

Section 3: Uncle Toby and Othello

The status of Uncle Toby and the connections between Toby and Othello with which Sterne explores the nature of "a military man" (II, ii, 97) constitute

another facet of this issue. Linguistically, like Othello in Iago's description of him, Uncle Toby is "stuff'd with epithets of war" (Othello, I, i, 14) and Othello's words of himself: "Rude am I in my speech,/ And little bless'd with the soft phrase of peace./ . . . And little of this great world can I speak,/ More than pertains to feats of broil and battle" (Othello, I, iii, 81-89) apply with greater force to Uncle Toby. Toby's initial perception of his relationship to the widow Wadman likewise coincides with Othello's assessment of his connection with Desdemona: "She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd,/ And I loved her that she did pity them" (Othello, I, iii, 167-168). Moreover, Tristram asserts of Uncle Toby that "'Twas not by ideas,-----by heaven! his life was put in jeopardy by words" (II, ii, 101) and Othello mistakenly believes "It is not words which shake me thus" (Othello, IV, 45) when it is, in fact, Iago's words and false clues that are a threat to life. The parallels continue: Iago says of Othello, "Plague him with flies" (Othello, I, i, 70-73) and the reader of Tristram Shandy knows "the lesson of universal good-will" given by the example of Uncle Toby and replicated by "the Moorish girl" (IX, vi and vii, 747-750) when characters "good . . . from nature" (IX, vi, 747) are so literally pestered by flies. To test the accuracy of Iago's representation to Roderigo of the relation of the human will to the corporeal body, viz.,

Virtue! a fig! 'tis in ourselves
 that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our
 gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners;
 so that if we will plant nettles, or sow
 lettuce . . . supply it with one gender of
 herbs, or distract it with many, either to
 have it sterile with idleness, or manured
 with industry, why, the power and corrigible
 authority of this lies in our wills. If the
 balance of our lives had not one scale of
 reason to poise another of sensuality, the
 blood and baseness of our natures would
 conduct us to most preposterous conclusions:
 but we have reason to cool our raging motions
 (Othello, I, iii, 321-333)

Sterne supplies Uncle Toby with the bowling green
 garden--"a rood and a half of ground" at the bottom of
 the kitchen garden "sheltered from the house . . . by a
 tall yew hedge, and . . . covered on the other three
 sides . . . by rough holly and thickset flowering
 shrubs" (II, v, 113)-- in which we see Toby's true
 nature exhibited. These associations of Toby with
 Othello are relevant to Sterne's treatment of how a
 person of good moral character can exhibit an ethical
 blind spot in failing to question the legitimacy of war
 and by unreflective participation in "the trade of war"
 (Othello, I, ii, 1-3). Othello falls prey to Iago's

deceptions while Uncle Toby is a victim of patriotic eloquence. Both Othello and Uncle Toby are, to use Iago's designation for his victim, "credulous fools."

Section 4: War and Religion

War and its trivial causes are an important dimension of Tristram Shandy. Sterne begins his fictional history in 1718 with Tristram's conception and birth but the military history encompassed in Uncle Toby and Trim's campaigns in life and on the bowling green occupy the period coextensive with William's and Anne's Wars. This surface history of war is repeated at another level to encompass Elizabeth's wars in Ireland preceeding the Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605, the wars again in Ireland in the 1640's and early 1650's, and the wars on the continent in the eighteenth century conducted after 1714 by England's Whig Ministers. By this layering of successive periods of war and treaty breaches, Sterne emphasizes the repetitiveness of the cycles of such wars and breaches that had so disturbed the peace of Europe's--including Ireland's, Silesia's, Bohemia's and Flander's--inhabitants for almost two hundred years.

Religion, moreover, is shown to be one of the prime, unnecessary causes of war. Slawkenbergius's Tale illustrates what happens when everyone is so busy

examining another's nose/religion that they are incapable of attending to their legitimate business, as occurred in England in the 1640's. So great was the eloquence directed against Catholics during this period, that it became a simple matter for some in the Protestant interest group in 1688 to achieve a revolution in the monarchy by raising the sceptre of a future Catholic monarch when an infant, who, when and if he grew up, might be a Catholic, was born to James II. Sterne has structured his novel in such a way that we can draw the inference that the religious animosity in England was attributable in great measure to the rhetoric in the 1640's castigating Catholics and to the influential Protestants' request in 1688 to William III to rule England simply because of his religion.

William III's accession marks the occasion when religion became the most decisive factor in the choice of a British monarch. From that point, the efforts of the Protestant ruling elite linked the Protestant religion with the British nation. Threats to the security of Protestantism were viewed as threats to the national security: state safety and Protestant ascendancy became synonymous. The result was that the position of Catholics in England became distasteful--*afficinadoes* of Alexander Pope recall that his family was forced to move from London in 1700 and could not live within a five mile radius of the city because of anti-Catholic

regulations--while for those in Ireland, it became repellant. The Catholic majority was deprived of almost all civil rights in its own country. The invitation to William III to rule Britain in 1688 contributed to foster in the English people a mental model that conflated religious interest with state and national interest. Once national security could be invoked when there was a possibility of a return of a Catholic heir to the throne, or when Catholics asserted a right to be free from discrimination and to practice their religion without penalty, an automatic negative response could be elicited on the part of the English people to any such demands. Likewise, unthinking support for an ally like Frederick, with little regard to the legitimacy of his territorial and hegemonic claims in the wars preceeding the publication of the novel, could be rallied just because he was a Protestant. Sterne's novel makes it clear that such identification of a single religion with national interest is misguided and has the result of promoting discord in the family and war among the family of nations.

After the death of Bobby/Scotland, Tristram begins Volume V, chapter xii, by saying "But to return to my mother [Ireland]" (439). While "my mother" is eavesdropping at the door Walter gives an abstract of Socrates' defense of himself and mistakenly attributes the quote "that we and our children were born to die,--

but neither of us born to be slaves"(V, xii, 440) to Socrates. In reassigning the observation to Eleazer, Walter mentions that Eleazer says he owes the sentiment to the "philosophers of India" (440-441) and Walter then mentions a catalogue of places through which the conviction may have travelled by land, viz., Persia, Babylon, Greece, Rome, France and England, or by sea. When Walter continues and says "I have friends--I have relations,--I have three desolate children" (442), my mother thinks that the reference is to their own family. The point becomes that in all the civilized world the idea has been accepted that people are not meant to be slaves, and this applies with equal force to the children of "my mother," the Irish, and to the occupants of all the theaters of battle where wars to preserve the religious and economic interests of those with money and power were waged.

Chapter VII: Lessons on Reading and Interpretation in Tristram Shandy

Sterne casts the author and reader in a number of Shakespearean roles, each dealing with an act of reading or interpretation and each involving some form of deception or riddling by the character who elicits the interpretation, in order, as Tristram avows of his text, to induce the reader "to think as well as read" (I, xx, 66). The author, Sterne, or fictional author, Tristram, successively plays the part of various Shakespearean characters vis-à-vis the reader to induce his audience "to think as well as to read."

One of the roles Tristram assumes is that of Iago to the reader as Othello. In Othello the conjunction of **hobby-horses** and **noses** (Othello, IV, i, 146-147 and 160-161) with their equivocal significations occurs shortly after Othello imperceptively exclaims "It is not words that shake me thus. Pish! Noses, ears and lips.--Is't possible?--Confess--handkerchief!--O devil!" and then falls in a trance; Iago remarks of the many false clues he has scattered: "Work on, My medicine, work! Thus credulous fools are caught" (Othello, IV, i, 43-46). Sterne/Tristram takes on the role of the manipulative Iago for the salubrious purpose of showing the reader s/he has been taken for a ride on hobby-horses, led by the nose, had his beard/whiskers pulled,

and generally been so wheedled, cajoled, bullied, tempted by innuendo and led down the garden path in reading Tristram Shandy, that, if we do not henceforth realize that *caveat lector* is the rule to follow in interpretation--if we have not become skeptical readers--Tristram would lament, as he ironically does of the Christian reader: "I am sorry for it----and only beg he will consider the matter with himself, and not lay the blame entirely upon this book . . ." (VI, xxxiii, 557).

The next part that Tristram takes on is that of Silvia to the reader as Valentine in The Two Gentlemen of Verona. In the introduction to Slawkenbergius's Tale and in the tale, itself the story of **the nose on a man's face** and whether it is at all plain to the **Argentorati** [those of silver or, less derivatively, the inhabitants of Strasburg], Sterne literalizes and deconstructs the proverbial expression, "It's **as plain as the nose on a man's face**," by adapting Silvia's "jest" in The Two Gentlemen of Verona to Slawkenbergius's Tale and misleading the readers of the tale in the same way that Silvia deceives Valentine. After asking Valentine to write a letter to "one she loves" (T.G.V., II, i, 81)--the unknowing Valentine himself--Silvia then tells Valentine to keep the letter he has composed. Speed, Valentine's servant, notes that rather than being obvious to Valentine, Silvia's joke is as unnoticed "**as the nose on a man's face**":

O jest unseen, inscrutable,
invisible, **As a nose on a man's face**, or a
weathercock on a steeple: My master sues to
her, and she hath taught her suitor,
He being her pupil, to become her tutor. O
excellent device--was there ever heard a
better?-- That my master, being scribe, to
himself should write the letter! (The Two
Gentlemen of Verona, II, i, 125-130)

Sterne establishes two sets of analogies,
corresponding to the two sets of lovers in The Two
Gentlemen of Verona, i.e., **Silvia** and **Valentine**, and
Julia and **Proteus**. At the level of the author-reader
relationship, Sterne/Tristram, analogous to **Silvia** who
induces Valentine to write the lines he reads, is the
initiator or instigator of the writing and
interpretation that the actual reader of Tristram Shandy
performs with respect to Slawkenbergius's Tale. At the
character level, Diego [**James**] of Slawkenbergius's
Tale, together with his nose which appears **protean** to
the "**Argentorati**," corresponds, at least insofar as the
name **Proteus** designates the ability to change shape or
form, to Shakespeare's **Proteus**, and both Diego and
Proteus are finally united with the beloved, viz.,
Julia. Moreover, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*,
Launcelot and Speed, **Proteus** and Valentine's clownish

servants, engage in a colloquy in which Speed charges Launcelot with failing to understand speech, saying: "your old vice still: mistak[ing] the word" (T.G.V., III, i, 279); Launcelot, in turn, calls Speed an "illiterate loiterer . . . [who] canst not read." To Speed's challenge that Launcelot test him to prove he can read, Launcelot responds by handing over a paper and saying, "There--and **Saint Nicholas** [patron, in this case, of scholars and readers] be thy speed!" (T.G.V., III, I, 289-292). In case the reader of Slawkenbergius's Tale had not already noticed the connections with Shakespeare's comedy, Sterne/Tristram repeats the name **Julia** six times and that of **St. Nicholas** four times by the eighth page of the English version of the tale (IV, 295-301), and the protean Diego, in alternately communing with himself, his mule and his absent **Julia**, conjoins the two when he laments: "why did I not stay at Strasburg, where justice----but I had sworn!--Come, thou shalt drink--to **St. Nicholas--O Julia!----**What does thou prick up thy ears at?---'tis nothing but a man, &c.----" (IV, 301.)

Tristram Shandy, "**Gentleman['s]**" jest in Slawkenbergius's Tale and the chapters framing it, as was the case with Silvia's joke in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, is generally unnoticed by its object--the reader who writes the lines s/he reads. We, the exegetes, by supplying interpretations for words that Tristram has

rendered ambiguous with his caveats concerning double entendres, and "dirty" and "clean" roads, are forced, by our ascription of meaning to signifiers such as "nose" that have come to have dubious value, simultaneously to compose and interpret the story that we read. If we "get" Sterne's joke about the role of the reader with respect to Slawkenbergius's Tale, we, as readers, realize that what we are presented with in the tale is, to some extent, what we ourselves have created.

Moreover, the effect of the focus on word connotation through the appeal to our fallen nature is that Sterne can: first, fix our attention on word meaning in a humorous, non-didactic way; and, second, create in the reader an almost hypersensible awareness of the multiple connotations of words, with the effect that this heightened consciousness begins to extend not only to words with possibly indecent connotations, but to all the words that are used, particularly those that are odd or frequently repeated. The augmented sensitivity to language, to key words and phrases, and to other texts that Sterne has attempted to engender in his readers is one of the means he relies on to prompt the reader to recognize the multiple layers of narrative and meaning he has embedded in Tristram Shandy:

Tristram also plays the part of the deviser of the casket test, i.e., Shakespeare or Portia's father, to the reader, analogous to the suitors in The Merchant of

Venice who interpret the riddles of the gold, silver, and lead **caskets** and by their choice of meaning get what "many men desire:" a skull or death's head for selecting the gold (M.V., II, vii, 5 and 63); "deserve:" the portrait of a fool for choosing the silver (M.V., II, viii, 57-58); or "give and hazard" for: the correct meaning and the prize that goes with it (M.V., I, ii, 29-30 and II, vii, 16) for rejecting "ornament . . . the guiled shore/ To a most dangerous sea" (M.V., III, ii, 97-98). Nerissa, Portia's waiting woman, explains to Portia that

Your father was ever virtuous, and holy men at their death have good inspirations. Therefore the lott'ry that he hath devised in these three chests of gold, silver, and lead--whereof who chooses his meaning chooses you--will no doubt never be chosen by any rightly but one who you shall rightly love.

(The Merchant of Venice, I, ii, 26-31)

Tristram Shandy is Sterne's **casket**: shortly after we have read **Slawkenbergius's** [**Dross** Mountain's] Tale--"dross" was the first indication that a reference to The Merchant of Venice might be intended--Walter Shandy refers to the head of his son, Tristram Shandy, as "this **casket**" (IV, xix, 355). Morocco, one of the suitors in The Merchant of Venice, who has sworn by his **scimitar**

(II, i, 25)--a word that appears five times in the first four pages of Tristram's translation of Slawkenbergius's Tale of the fall of the **Argentorati** (IV, 289-295)--observes:

What says this leaden **casket**?

'Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.'

Must give--for what? for lead! hazard for lead?

This **casket** threatens: men that hazard all
Do it in hope of fair advantages.

A golden mind **stoops** not to shows of **dross**:

. . .

What says the **silver** with her virgin hue?

'Who chooseth me shall get as much as he
deserves.'

(M.V., II, vii, 15-23)

The suitor who opens the silver casket in The Merchant of Venice finds the image of a fool, presumably what he deserves for selecting **silver**, just as the **Argentorati**, the silver-tongued disputants in Slawkenbergius's Tale, earned what they deserved for not attending to their legitimate business. After he gives up the attempt to translate "lambent pupilability . . ." in Slawkenbergius's last tale--"The INTRICACIES of *Diego and Julia*"--Tristram concludes his account of Slawkenbergius by saying: "What is left, madam, is not

worth stooping for" (IV, i, 326-327). Readers of Slawkenbergius's Tale and of the novel as a whole become the counterparts of the suitors in The Merchant of Venice who must decide whether to choose the gold, silver or lead, and in our interpretation we find a portrait of ourselves; we get what we desire, deserve or "give . . .[and] hazard for" (M.V., II, vii, 17). This is Sterne's "jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,/ As a nose on a man's face . . . " (T.G.V., II, i, 125-126), It is also seems to be what Sterne was referring to when, in his letter to the American admirer shortly before he died, he wrote that, like the walking stick that his correspondent had sent, the novel has three handles. Readers can take the one that appeals to their passion, their ignorance or their sensibility; and

Tristram acts the part of the innocent Hermione in The Winter's Tale who is accused of being a "hobby-horse" and "meeting noses" with the King of Bohemia (W.T., I, ii, 277-8,286)⁶⁵ for using her powers of persuasion to capture his interest in staying in Sicily, to the reader as Leontes who "condemn[s]/ Upon surmises" (W.T., III, ii, 112-3) and is self-deluded into finding

⁶⁵See Helen Ostovich, "Reader as Hobby-Horse in Tristram Shandy," New Casebooks: 'The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman', ed. Melvyn New (New York: St Martin's, 1992) 155-173. Ostovich appears to be the first to have recognized the presence of The Winter's

sexual guilt in equivocal clues and evidence.

Sterne/Tristram capitalizes in Tristram Shandy on two odd features of Shakespeare's romance: first, the fact that the account of the King of Sicily and his jealousy of his wife's relationship with the **King of Bohemia** has for its title a story that the audience never hears, viz., the sad tale of goblins and sprites appropriate for winter that Mamilius whispers in his mother's ear, but to which the audience is not privy (W.T., II, i, 23-32); and, second, the provision by Shakespeare of a seacoast, on which significant scenes in the play take place, to the land-locked country of Bohemia. The sequence of events that the audience actually witnesses in The Winter's Tale is about a King and his foolish but costly errors. Likewise, in Trim's story of "the **King of Bohemia** and his seven castles," what gets told is not the titular story but instead the narrative of a King of England--William III--and certain prescriptions concerning storytelling.

The reader of Tristram Shandy, in examining Trim's story of the **King of Bohemia**, finds that s/he has been given notice of the importance of certain elements in storytelling and an account of the vainglorious behavior of William III in order to "tear the laurel from Luxembourg's brows" at the Battle of Landen where

Tale in Tristram Shandy (161-162).

"the number of wounded was prodigious" but "Talmash . . . brought off the foot with great prudence" (VIII, xix, 694-695). With the Widow Wadman/England eavesdropping and actually "stopp[ing] her breath . . . [and] st[anding] upon one leg at the mention of "groin" [for "groin" read "religion"] (695), Toby and Trim attempt to settle the question of whether a wound in the knee or a wound in the groin is more painful--"points," Tristram remarks, "which to this day remain unsettled" (696). William III's conduct is contrasted to that of the nun, who displays the compassion that was shown to be absent in Trim's commander-in-chief and with whom, after three weeks, Trim believes he is "in love" (VIII, xx & xxii, 696-697, 703).

In his interruptions of Trim's story of the King of Bohemia, Toby gives a lesson on the infelicity of certain historical dates--"To tell thee truly, Trim, . . . any other date would have pleased me much better," in part, because of "the sad stain upon our history that year" (VIII, xix, 686)--and the importance of either leaving out the date entirely or giving it plausibly and accurately if it is supplied. He points out the insignificance of chronology--except, of course, in the case of landmark dates like that of the invention of gunpowder--to a soldier, but, by inference, its importance to the storyteller. Toby also indicates the necessity of knowledge of geography to a military

person--Uncle Toby, who "never spoke of the being and natural attributes of God, but with diffidence and hesitation" contends that even God could not give Bohemia a sea-port because that would entail such destruction of "unfortunate inhabitants" and "bespeak . . . such a want of compassion . . . that . . . the thing could have happened in no way" (VIII, xix, 692), although we know that a writer can invert the natural order and give an interior country a sea coast as Shakespeare does for Bohemia in The Winter's Tale, or, conversely, represent a country replete with coasts as an inland garrison as Sterne does with England in Slawkenbergius's Tale.

Together, Toby and Trim furnish a history of the battle of Landen, where William III retreated and left the wounded, Trim among them, on the battlefield until the next day when Trim, with some other soldiers, was carried off in a cart, in which "the anguish . . . was intolerable" and from which he was rescued by a Catholic nun (VIII, xix, 685-687). Trim asks Uncle Toby to recall

'the total rout and confusion of our camp and army at the affair of Landen; every one was left to shift for himself; and if it had not been for the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, which covered the retreat over the bridge of Neerspeeken, the king himself could

scarce have gain'd it----he was press'd so
hard, as your honour knows, on every side of
him' (VIII, xix, 694)

Toby exclaims of William III, "Gallant mortal!" and his continued praises of William III--"Brave! brave by heaven! . . . he deserves a crown" are interrupted by Trim's retort, "As richly, as a thief a halter; shouted Trim" (VIII, xix, 694). William III's disregard for the lives of his subordinates contrasts with the charity of the nun who nurses the injured Trim back to health (VIII, xx-xxii, 696-704). Uncle Toby deduces from Trim's description that

she was a young Beguine they differ
from nuns in this, that they can quit their
cloister if they choose to marry; they visit
and take care of the sick by profession----I
had rather, for my own part, they did it out
of good nature.

----She often told me, quoth Trim, she did it
for the love of Christ--I did not like it.----
I believe, Trim, we are both wrong, said my
uncle Toby (VIII, xx, 698-699).

Once it is perceived that The Winter's Tale has
been incorporated by indirect reference, the fact that
Trim never tells the story he promised to relate
indicates not only that storytelling is frequently
compounded of displacements and interruptions but, more

importantly, suggests that the manner of the framing and the telling and the content of what is told, however seemingly digressive, are the *ding an sich*--that which we are intended to witness, to hear, and to think about. Trim's story becomes a paradigmatic story about storytelling. Both in The Winter's Tale and in Tristram Shandy it is not "sprites and goblins" (W.T., II, i, 25) or "giants" (T.S., VIII, xix, 686) or "hobby-horses" and "noses" that are the subject matter but rather it is ourselves and our human nature that we find mirrored in the text. The fact that in Shakespeare's romance and Sterne's comedy there is an avowedly fictional, entertaining story that the viewer/reader expects but never encounters interrogates the fictionality of what is actually presented. Trim avows of his stories that "except one of a **King of Bohemia** and his seven castles,--they are all true, for they are about myself--" (VIII, xix, 681). The story Trim tells, however, of a King--William III--and himself is avowedly "true" in the fictional world of the Shandys. The story that is related is about an alternately rash and poltroonish King and his behavior towards his subordinates, including Trim. The actions of this King, chosen because he was Protestant, are contrasted with those of the nun--Catholic--whose conduct is shown to be motivated by love of God and who shows compassion, kindness and love towards the Protestant enemy--Trim.

The eavesdropping Widow's/England's only interest is represented to be in the "groin"/religion, without any regard to whether the wound in the groin renders Toby [here representing the Pretender] unfit despite his evident good nature and sterling qualities.

By the use of The Winter's Tale, Sterne/Tristram draws notice to the absence of the fictional tale promised by the title; he thus problematizes the status of what is instead presented and posits, particularly with respect to what is discussed in lieu of the promised story, the issue of truth versus fiction and the question of what is true in storytelling. The promised story of the King of Bohemia is displaced in the novel by the real story--about Trim, the Protestant William III, the Catholic nun, and the behavior of each. In this admixture of fiction and reality, the reader ought to come away with the perception that behavior, rather than nominal religion, ought to be the benchmark to determine virtue, in this instance, goodness, prudence, heroism and bravery as well.

In each of the foregoing incorporations by direct or indirect reference, Sterne not only furthers his own narrative at a number of different levels and juggles a myriad of complex issues but also teaches the reader to join in his mental gymnastics so that s/he will examine a text carefully, notice discrepancies and go back and read and analyze again and again in light of the

exegetical traps and pitfalls that have become evident. Reading signs is a crucial skill in life as well as in literature, and it is the reader's care in observing and interpreting such signs that Sterne challenges.

Chapter VIII--Conclusion

Having accepted the challenge to "read, read, read, read" in order to decipher the moral of the next marbled page, this study has attempted to begin to explain the relation between the larger elements on the canvas of world history that Sterne has painted and the myriad of details that have not yet begun to be explored. This analysis provides three contributions to a theoretical model for understanding Tristram Shandy and similarly constructed texts: first, it furnishes a theory of key word content domains which explains how certain concatenations of words drawn from a particular text or fact situation can operate in a referential way to incorporate the referred text or fact situation into the referring text. Second, it uses Quine's theory of "analytical hypotheses," thought by Quine to be operative only in the case of translation from one language into another, as part of a model for intralinguistic interpretation. Quine's concept of analytical hypotheses permits the articulation of rules for interpretation that can be extrapolated when dealing with complex texts in the intralinguistic case. Third, it produces evidence for the proposition that, in some instances, meaning cannot be ascertained without considering both sense and reference, i.e., that sense alone is not always coextensive with meaning and that

attention to reference and how it operates to produce meaning is crucial in determining the meaning, viz. what is intended to be said, in certain types of texts.

In terms of the question of meaning in general, and the meaning of Tristram Shandy in particular, this study raises important questions. If, for two hundred and forty years, certain dimensions of the novel have never been noticed by literary exegetes, what have we been talking about when we say we are interpreting the meaning of Sterne's text? If Tristram is, as I have argued, a representation of Ireland, if the novel truly deprecates religious differences, is a polemic against war, and utilizes reason to convey these messages, how is it possible that so many large truth claims have been made about the novel that seem to be inconsistent with its purport? One of the lacunae in critical thinking which emerges is insufficient attention to the extrapolation of flexible rules in what appears to be a rule-governed activity.

To John Traugott's Tristram Shandy's World: Sterne's Philosophical Rhetoric, for example, we owe the (re)placement of Tristram Shandy at its proper site, that is, breaching the line of demarcation between philosophy and literature. Traugott, viewing Sterne as a rhetorician rather than a novelist (xiii), recognized the extent to which Sterne was responding to Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding, and Traugott's

vigorous and brilliant analysis of the connection between Locke and Sterne countered F. R. Leavis' dismissal of Sterne as "nasty" and "trifling" five years earlier in 1948 in a footnote to The Great Tradition (2, n. 2). Traugott changed the nature of the critical discourse about Sterne and made possible a line of philosophically oriented interpretations grounded in his insights.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in his contentions that Sterne "wrote a comedy which is as salutary to the life force as it is deadly to the reason" (19) and that "as a rhetorician Sterne had to subvert the reason so that he could persuade his reader of the moral substance of that ultimate sympathy which reconciles the eccentric egos of the Shandy World" (19), Traugott misperceives Sterne's consistent attitude toward reason. Sterne, in his relation to the reader, is relying not only on evoking intuitive understanding but, more importantly, is grounding cognition in the reader's ability to recognize salient facts and to reason from the information given--

⁶⁶See, for example, Peter Briggs, "Locke's Essay and the Tentativeness of Tristram Shandy," Studies in Philology 82 (1985): 494-517; Arthur Cash, "The Lockean Psychology of Tristram Shandy," ELH 22 (1955): 125-135; W. G. Day, "Tristram Shandy: Locke May Not Be The Key," Laurence Sterne: Riddles and Mysteries, ed. Valerie Grosvenor Myer (London and Totowa, N.J.: Vision P and Barnes and Noble, 1984); Helene Moglen, The Philosophical Irony of Laurence Sterne (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1975); and James Swearingen, Reflexivity in Tristram Shandy: An Essay in Phenomenological Criticism (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977).

"to think as well as read" (I, xx, 66). To agree with Traugott that Sterne's work is "deadly to the reason" (19) and with E. M. Forster's assessment in Aspects of the Novel that "a god is hidden in Tristram Shandy [and] his name is Muddle" (112) would be to mistake the purport of the work; instead we could contend that if there is a god "hidden in Tristram Shandy" the name of the god is Human Understanding. By human understanding, however, is not meant merely the empathetic, intuitive and frequently unreflective understanding that subsists among the characters within the text, which is often deified and made the message of Sterne's work by even the most perceptive of commentators. What is meant is reason operating with an adequate factual grounding.

In The Philosophical Irony of Laurence Sterne, Helene Moglen observes:

Sterne . . . describes a world in which reason is the slave of imagination and reality a function of private illusion. He accepts only the intuitive, empathetic response as a possible ground for order and understanding but finds that this has no correlative in action. (125)

Such an analysis fails to take into account the fact that the relationships among the characters within the text and the forms of understanding by means of which they work out a *modus vivendi* in their mutual dealing

are different from those established by Sterne between author and reader. The human understanding Sterne is relying on vis-a-vis his audience is essentially an active process.

Sterne, through Tristram's cajolery and provocations, as well as by the examples fleetingly and intermittently provided by Tristram, Yorick, Walter Shandy, Uncle Toby, "the female reader" and "the male reader" when they are engaged in exercising the many possible faculties that coalesce to render thought perceptive, calls not only for intuitive apprehension, i.e., without the conscious use of reason, but also for insight based on the mental acuity he has attempted to hone in his readers by his many demonstrations of the range of factors and types of reasoning involved in thought. In the conversation Sterne has established with the reader, we are expected to analyze, synthesize, determine the adequacy of, reflect upon, discriminate between, associate, based on a panoply of possible resemblances, connections, oppositions and affiliations, and reason logically about ideas, intuitions and representations of phenomena presented in and evoked by the novel; Sterne is also prodding our faculties of attention, retention and memory.

Immanuel Kant, an *aficionado* of Uncle Toby (Fabian 205) and a particularly perceptive reader of Tristram

Shandy⁶⁷, established in The Critique of Pure Reason in 1781 a hierarchy of elements involved in the mind's

⁶⁷In a certain sense, philosophy can feed literature's fictions and a work of literature can empirically test philosophy's postulates and then find itself reenacted in later philosophical works. To some extent this seems to have occurred in the case of Locke, Hume, Sterne and Kant. Kant was apparently much taken with Uncle Toby and his reactions to the provoking fly, since Kant used Toby as a model in his lectures on anthropology (Fabian 205). Tristram says of Uncle Toby's response to the fly that "the lesson of universal good-will then taught and imprinted by my Uncle Toby, has never since been worn out of my mind" (II, xii, 131). If we look at the beginning of Kant's Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals we read:

There is no possibility of thinking of anything at all in the world . . . which can be regarded as good without qualification, except a good will. . . . A good will is good not because of what it effects or accomplishes, nor because of its fitness to attain some proposed end; . . . it is good in itself. . . . Even if by some especially unfortunate fate or by the niggardly provision of stepmotherly nature, this will should be wholly lacking in the power to accomplish its purpose; if . . . it should . . . achieve nothing . . . yet would it, like a jewel, still shine . . . as something which has its full value in itself (First Section, 393-394, p. 7).

Likewise, we encounter the notions of intuition and sensibility, which are such prominent initial steps to knowledge in Tristram Shandy, foregrounded on the first page of The Critique of Pure Reason after "The Introduction" as being the only modes by which objects are made accessible to us (Transcendental Doctrine of the Elements, Part I, Sec. 1, p. 41). A correlate to the claim of Uncle Toby for duty as the basis of moral worth (VI, vii, 506) and the argument in the sermon in Tristram Shandy (II, xvii, 142-164) for a deontological system of morality founded on "reason and the unchangeable obligations of justice and truth" (154), "the eternal measures of right and wrong" (157) and the "law . . . already written" by "God and reason" (164) and, in which, religion is "governed by morality" (160)

interaction with empirical reality which can be roughly sketched as follows: the object "by means of sensibility" is "given to us, and it alone furnishes us with intuitions." Sensibility is defined by Kant as the "capacity for receiving representations . . . through the mode in which we are affected by objects" (I, Section 1, p. 41). The next step in attaining knowledge is "intuition" which is "only possible, to man at least, on condition that the object affect the mind in a certain manner"; intuition "can only take place in so far as the object is given to us." Following the work of intuition we come to the understanding: "by the understanding [intuitions] are thought, and from [thought] arise conceptions" (C.P.R., Transcendental Doctrine of Elements, Part I, §1, p. 41). The concept or conceptions then are the product of thought working

is found in The Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals where Kant posits a system of morality based on duty, obligation and the "command (of reason) . . . called an imperative" (Second Section, 413, p. 24). Finally, as is the case with Sterne/Tristram, who, like Uncle Toby, never speaks of "the being and attributes of God, but with diffidence and hesitation" (VIII, xix, 692), Kant says the "concept of perfection [although] empty [and] indeterminate . . . is better than the theological concept, whereby morality is derived from a divine and most perfect will." Kant continues : "It is better not merely because we cannot intuit divine perfection but can only derive it . . . but also because if it is not so derived . . . then the concept of God's will is drawn from such characteristics as desire for glory and dominion combined with such frightful representations as those of might and vengeance. Any system of morals based on such notions would be directly opposed to morality" (Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals,

on intuitions. For Kant, and for Sterne too, the process of apprehension involves a progression from sensible perceptions that depend on how we are "affected by objects," to an intuitive knowledge of the objects without the conscious use of reason, through the stage where intuitions are subjected to thought, and, finally to the point where conceptions are formulated. Those readings that emphasize the sensibility and intuitive grasp of phenomena present in the novel mirror a Toby or Trim-like good will but do not rise to the next level--understanding--because they fail to ask the fundamental questions that Toby and Trim never confront but that Sterne consistently insinuates into the novel indirectly.

Jonathan Lamb, in Sterne's Fiction and the Double Principle argues that the significance of the word "breach" in the novel is related to the Book of Job's "'breach upon breach' (16:14)" (22). In his study of this and other "fragments," Lamb, however, draws conclusions diametrically opposed to those that proposed herein. Lamb argues that

this use of literary fragments is not the key to some enormously clever puzzle whose clues we go on solving in the hope of total disclosure; rather the opposite . . . they are

Second Section, 443, p. 47).

a tactical and tough-minded experiment with privation, breach, shortage and emptiness. (4) Whether the reader is seeking "'total disclosure,'" even if it were possible in the case of any text, is open to question but the claim that a text tells of its own inability "to mean" is becoming an increasingly formulaic response when confronting a work that does not mean what we are able to accept. To posit that we should interpret the "bits and pieces not as the language of an ultimately decipherable message, but as parts of a figurative arrangement whose efficacy lies in its unannotatable ambiguity" (4) is to set up misleading opposition that constitutes a type of closure consistently eschewed by Sterne's text. Such a conclusion ignores one of the primary functions of the type of "fragmentation" found in the "bits"--"words" and word associations--on which the kaleidoscopic text depends to form its patterns.

The thinking on the part of the reader that Sterne induces by his riddling attitude allows the reader to rehearse the same types of strategies for interpretation that are essential in deciding questions in life as well as in a text. Reason, attention and sufficient information are frequently adequate to permit one to decide, or at least understand the consequences of, questions that are seemingly complex and insoluble. Moreover, the issue of where to stop when engaged in

reasoning, i.e. whether reason is supported by the evidence of empirical reality in any particular case and whether other evidence can be adduced, is of vital importance in the search for knowledge and understanding. Through the experience of deciphering, to the extent it is possible, the text of Tristram Shandy, the reader replicates the process of interpretation in life. To some extent, this is true of any writing, but Sterne has elevated the art of audience engagement to a degree equal to that of, not a reader of, but a participant in, a Socratic dialogue.

Sterne/Tristram, for example, has given all the necessary directions for deciphering "the moral of the next marbled page (motly) emblem of my work" (III, xxxvi, 268) but the moral remains unperceived because no one has paid sufficient attention to what is said concerning the marbled page, how it is framed, and the specific instructions that should be followed in order to understand it. The consequence in this case is unimportant but a retreat into the fortress of ambiguity is not always insignificant to the course of events in the actual world. In speaking of Trim's lesson on mortality given by the drop of a hat, Tristram exhorts the reader's attention, since "possibly the preservation of the whole world--or what is the same thing, the distribution and balance of its property and power, may in time come to depend greatly upon the right

understanding of this stroke of the corporal's eloquence" (V, vii, 431). Words and our interpretation of them can and indeed do affect "the distribution and balance of . . . property and power" and the point, summed up in Tristram's injunction to self-interested leaders and to their blind followers to think about Trim's hat, bears reiteration:

Ye who govern this mighty world and its concerns with the engines of eloquence,-- who heat it, and cool it, and melt it and mollify it, -- and then harden it again to your purpose -- --

Ye who wind and turn the passions with this great windlass. -- and, having done it, lead the owner of them, whither ye think meet--

Ye, lastly, who drive -- -- and why not, Ye also who are driven, like turkeys to market, with a stick and a red clout -- meditate -- meditate, I beseech you, upon *Trims* hat. (V, vii, 433)

Likewise, Sterne's use of Tristram Shandy as casket, thereby incorporating The Merchant of Venice as a structural element to forward his own text enables him to historicize the question of persecution and to display the generally trivial nature, but not results,

of religious discord and zealotry. Slawkenbergius's Tale contains a repetition of Diego's comment to his mule "What dost thou **prick** up thy ears at?--tis nothing but a **man**" (IV, 301 and 318) and on the second page of the tale a centinel says of Diego's nose, "I saw it **bleed**" (IV, 291). In The Merchant of Venice, words associated with the accounts of Paul's two descriptions of his conversion on the road to Damascus as well as Christ's words to Paul on the subject of persecution are spoken by Shylock in Acts I and III. Paul says "I am a Jew" (Acts 22:3) and in the second account the voice initially says to Paul, "'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? It is hard for you to kick against the **pricks**'" (Acts 26:14). In Shakespeare's play, Shylock refers to Christ in Christ's own words drawn from Paul's self defense, i.e., as a Nazarite (M.V., I, iii, 35) and, like Paul, he says "I am a Jew" (M.V., III, i, 61); in addition Shylock's description points out that what he also is is a **man**:

I am a Jew. hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you **prick** us do we not **bleed**? if you tickle us, do we not

laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if
 you wrong us, shall we not revenge? (M.V, III,
 i 61-76)

What Sterne is attempting to show in the novel is the fungibility of Jew, Catholic, Turk, Moor, and Protestant into that common substrate, "a ~~man~~" or humanity.⁹¹

Sterne uses The Merchant of Venice, together with the *Montero-cap* of a "Portuguese quarter master" (VI, xxiv, 542), the Turkish pipes of "Morocco leather" (VI, xxiv, 542), the fact that to establish that Tristram's mother "was not a papist" (I, xx, 64) requires arcane reasoning and recondite knowledge, the translation by Tristram of "christianus" as "true catholic" (IV, 290-291), the *Opinion of the Doctors of the Sorbonne* (I, xx, 65-70), and the persecution of Trim's brother Tom, who married "the Jew's widow at Lisbon" (IX, iv, 742), for failing to put pork into the sausages (IX, xvii, 144 and IX, iv, 742), to expose the trivial nature of religious and racial differences.

Sterne illustrates what war and religious conflict do to actual families in the history of the Butlers and Bears embedded in the novel. Because of religious divisions between Protestants and Catholics, both of these families, associated from earliest recorded Irish history with Tipperary, Sterne's birthplace, wound up divided and fighting against each other, in the case of

the Butlers, or dead or in exile, as auxiliaries fighting for foreign rulers, in the case of the Bears.

Finally, with regard to Tristram's status as a representation of Ireland and its people, Sterne from the very beginning of the novel makes the point that the homunculus--for "homunculus" read "Irish subject"--is a being "guarded and circumscribed with rights" and is "as truly our fellow-creature as my Lord Chancellor of England. . . . [H]e has all the claims and rights of humanity, which *Tully*, *Puffendorff*, or the best ethick writers allow to arise out of that state and relation" (I, i, 3). In the everyday incidents that occur in the Shandy family are demonstrated the injuries to Ireland and its people that had been and were still being wrought as a result of British self-interest. On the basis of religion the warlike William III was invited to rule Britain with the results for ordinary soldiers and individuals and for Ireland that are shown in the novel. In their treatment of Trim, William III and the Catholic nun display their natures: William is shown retreating and leaving the wounded--his coreligionists--on the field until the next day while the nun is shown to be compassionate and kind to an "enemy" soldier. What becomes evident is that no particular religious group has a monopoly on either virtue or vice and that rabid inquiry into the length of a stranger's nose,

i.e., religion, leads to untoward results and is inimical to individual, family and national interest.

In the marbled page, Sterne has told us, as plainly as words by direct inference could tell such a thing, that in Tristram Shandy he is creating a monument to himself in his readers' hearts. Through readers like Immanuel Kant and Thomas Jefferson, Sterne's messages against conceptions of God and religion that are inimical to any true nature of God or religion, and against war, may have been disseminated, and, in Jefferson's case, perhaps institutionalized in the United States Constitution. A framer of the Constitution, who considered Sterne's writings "the greatest course of morality ever written," Jefferson is one of those responsible for the provision in Article I, Section 8, Clause 11 of the Consitution, that gives the power to declare war to the Congress rather than to the Executive. In a federal District Court decision on the issue of whether the President could initiate hostilities against Iraq in the absence of Congressional action, the Court noted that Congress has the power "'to declare war.'" It then observed

To the extent that this unambiguous direction requires construction or explanation, it is provided by the framers' comments that they felt it to be unwise to entrust the momentous power to involve the nation in a war to the

President alone; Jefferson explained that he wanted 'an effectual check to the Dog of war'; (Dellums v. Bush. 752 F.Supp. 1141, at 1144 (D.D.C. 1990))

It is my hope that this study will prompt a reexamination of the second contexts on which Sterne relied to create meaning and insure they are available to readers today; this would make it clear to all why Sterne's most perceptive contemporaries, like Kant and Jefferson, could find in Tristram Shandy a philosophy that could endure for all time.

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