

THE INFLUENCE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD'S
CULTURE AND ANARCHY ON THE
NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY

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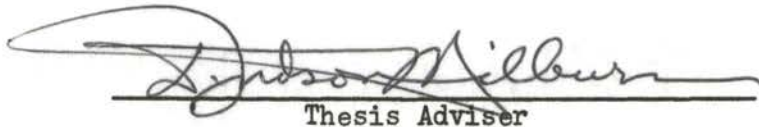
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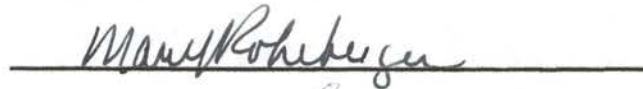
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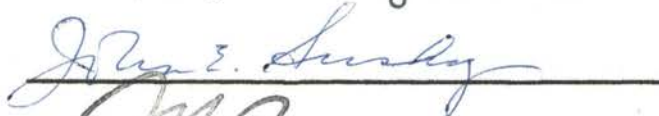
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PREFACE

English literature of the Victorian era is rich in philosophical works of prose writers. Many of these authors--Carlyle, Newman, Mill, Ruskin, and Arnold--expressed their views in expository writing; others--Dickens, Eliot, and Hardy--chose narrative fiction. Whether their media consisted of literature of knowledge or literature of imagination, most of the noted prose writers of the Victorian Age had a common purpose: to acquaint the reader with current social, economic, and moral problems and to attempt to present a solution.

Although their answers were many and varied, some analogies are found in the philosophies of the different writers. This is true of Arnold and Hardy, although they preferred different genres for their presentations. Both Arnold and Hardy advocated full development of the individual and a social order which would accommodate such development. They advised greater tolerance through the application of Hellenic enlightenment to social and religious problems rather than the strict adherence to the letter of the law. To promote reason and understanding among the English people, Arnold prescribed making the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere. Hardy showed the need for an enlightened society through his protagonists' misfortunes which were caused by a dogmatic social order.

The similarities of Arnold's and Hardy's ideas first came to my attention while I was preparing a term paper on the symbolism in Hardy's Jude the Obscure. The characteristics of Jude and Sue in Hardy's novel

recalled those of Hebraism and Hellenism in Arnold's Culture and Anarchy. Further comparison of the two works revealed other analogies which seemed to indicate that Hardy's novel had been influenced by Arnold's essay. Since a study of some of Hardy's other novels showed additional evidence of Arnold's influence, research was continued to determine the extent of Arnold's influence in all of Hardy's novels and to substantiate its existence as definitely as possible, which is the purpose of this paper.

The scope of this paper will not include an evaluation of Arnold's or Hardy's philosophies. Neither is it intended to show whether or not Hardy was always correct in his interpretation of Arnold's ideas in Culture and Anarchy and always in agreement with them. It is, rather, an attempt to prove that certain of Hardy's novels were influenced by their author's reading of Culture and Anarchy.

In making this study I was aided by the suggestions and encouragement of my graduate committee: Dr. D. J. Milburn, Dr. Mary Rohrberger, and Dr. S. H. Woods of the English Department and Dr. J. E. Susky of the Philosophy Department.

I also appreciate the assistance of the courteous librarians of Oklahoma State University, Central State College, Oklahoma University, and of Eliza Chugg of the Rare Book Department, Library of the University of California, Berkley.

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CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER WRITERS ON THOMAS HARDY

The novels of Thomas Hardy show the influence of many other writers. Evidence of his interest in certain authors, concurrent with the writing of his various novels, is found in quotations from their works, similarities of names and expressions, and in analogous ideas and plots. Quotations from Shelley, Wordsworth, and Swinburne are found in several of his novels, and Spenser's "Bower of Bliss" is used as the name of one of Hardy's minor characters in Jude the Obscure. Also, some of his rural characters resemble those whom Shakespeare used in scenes of comic relief.

Hardy's borrowing of plots has led to several articles being written about his alleged plagiarism. The plot of The Well-Beloved is believed to have been taken from a French novel,¹ and The Trumpet Major from Georgia Scenes.² The similarity between Far from the Madding Crowd and George Eliot's Adam Bede is so obvious that Hardy's novel was at first believed to have been written by her.³ Like Shakespeare, he borrowed plots and ideas freely.

¹Milton Chaikin, "Possible Source of Hardy's The Well-Beloved," MLN, LXXI (November 1956), p. 496.

²Hooper Alexander, "Hardy's Plagiarism," N. Rep., LIV (February 1928), p. 71.

³Frederic Maitland, The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen (New York, 1906), p. 274.

One of the most important early influences on Hardy was that of Shelley, whose interest in Greek ideas seems to have been shared by Hardy. Promethean rebellion and Platonic love are the two focal points of this influence, as it appears in The Return of the Native and The Well-Beloved, which were probably conceived simultaneously at the height of Shelley's influence, although the latter was the last of Hardy's novels to be published in book form.

Shelley's stimulation of Hardy's interest in Greek culture possibly led to Hardy's later attraction by Arnold's Culture and Anarchy, which contains many references to the effects of Greek culture on modern civilization. The Platonic love found in Shelley's works is comparable to the emphasis on intelligence and defect of feeling described as Hellenic traits by Arnold. Hardy uses both in the characters whom he associates with Hellenic ideals in his later novels. Shelley's Promethean rebellion appears in Hardy's works as the rebellion of his characters against the conventionality of society. Hardy's novels also reflect Arnold's view that the inadequacies of this society are caused by the English people's neglect of Hellenism which results in their tendency to Hebraize, to take a narrow, mechanical view, to stick to the letter of the law, without reasonably considering all of the circumstances of the individual cases. The personification of the Hebraic and Hellenic traits by Hardy's characters gives the most apparent indication of Arnold's influence on Hardy.

In spite of the evidence connecting Hardy's and Arnold's works, very little has been written concerning this relationship.⁴ The meager literary criticism regarding it may be explained partially by the fact that few critics associate the two men. Arnold has been viewed as a defender of the church, for although he criticized it in many ways and stated that the English people overemphasized Hebraism, in which he includes both Judaism and Christianity, he usually qualified his statements to praise some aspect of the Christian religion and to add that three-fourths of men's attention should be given to conduct, which was the chief concern of Hebraism. Hardy, on the other hand, is considered agnostic and even atheistic by some critics. Another alleged difference is Hardy's greater pessimism. Arnold's writing in Culture and Anarchy of the "confusion," the "need for sound order and authority," "the loss of efficaciousness, credit, and control," and of the "diseased spirit" of his time is modified by his recommendations for improvement. Hardy shows his tragic characters' attempts to find happiness hopelessly thwarted by a dogmatic society and antagonistic "Chance."

Harvey Webster notes the common pessimism of Arnold and Hardy, but he fails to account for it. Webster asks why Hardy concurs with pessimistic thinkers, such as Matthew Arnold, and adds, "This last question calls all the more for an answer when we realize that Hardy nowhere mentions familiarity with any of these pessimistic thinkers

⁴Dissertation abstracts from various universities in the United States, dating back to 1938, which were the earliest available in the library of Oklahoma State University, contained no related subject. A review of periodical articles listed in International Index, PMLA bibliographies, Victorian bibliographies in Modern Philology, and Nineteenth Century Fiction was made. Carl Weber's bibliography and indices of all available books on Hardy were checked. All that was found associating Arnold's and Hardy's works is included in the following review of the literature.

during the time in which his own pessimistic synthesis was taking shape."⁵ Webster lists several books and their dates, including Culture and Anarchy. He then states, "If Hardy read any or all of these books (and there is no record of his reading any of them) there is no indication that they affected him in the least."⁶ It is true that Hardy does not mention Arnold's works in his book lists, but he shows he had read Arnold in his quotations from Arnold's works and in references to Arnold's ideas in his novels and notes, as will be shown in the succeeding discussion of Hardy's individual novels.

Evelyn Hardy indicates that Thomas Hardy had read Arnold. With regard to the reference to "imaginative reason" found in Hardy's notes in The Early Years of Thomas Hardy and also mentioned in A Laodicean, Evelyn Hardy states, "The finished writer who had written about imaginative reason was Matthew Arnold whom he [Hardy] had been reading . . ."⁷

Arthur McDowall compares Arnold and Hardy's religious thought, which is an important element in showing the influence of Arnold on Hardy. He writes concerning Hardy's religion, "It is not quite Arnold's 'Morality touched with emotion'; that has too much of Arnold's own impress and the marks of the times, though Hardy, too, inherited these."⁸ McDowall is referring to the similarity of Arnold's "Morality touched with emotion," which is Arnold's definition of religion in Literature and Dogma, with Hardy's views as they are reflected in what McDowall

⁵Harvey Webster, On a Darkling Plain (Chicago, 1947), pp. 51-52.

⁶Webster, pp. 59-60.

⁷Evelyn Hardy, Thomas Hardy (New York, 1954), p. 182.

⁸Arthur McDowall, Thomas Hardy (London, 1931), pp. 29-30.

calls "Hardy's moral sympathy for his characters, such as Tess and Jude." By the "marks of the times" McDowall means the popular concern with the decline of religion due to the rise of science, which indicated to both Arnold and Hardy that a more rational religion was needed.

References which are more specifically related to Arnold's influence on Hardy's writing are found in an article by Norman Holland, Jr. He writes that Phillotson, the name of one of Hardy's characters in Jude the Obscure, suggests the word Philistine, which in addition to its Biblical meaning, "may also be taken in Arnold's sense, as the conventional middle-class person who oppresses the artist--Sue."⁹ He also mentions Jude's Hebraism and Sue's Hellenism, which is one of the most valid arguments for Arnold's influence.

An eminent critic who has noted Arnold's influence on Hardy is Carl Weber. In "Hardy's Quotations from English Literature," he mentions Arnold as one author quoted in Jude the Obscure and adds, "'Hebraism and Hellenism' is paraphrased in Tess of the D'Urbervilles . . ."¹⁰

Although Holland and Weber are aware of the presence of Arnold's concepts of Hebraism and Hellenism (discussed in a chapter by that name in Culture and Anarchy) in Hardy's Jude the Obscure and Tess of the D'Urbervilles, they make no other references to Arnold's influence on Hardy in their works.

⁹Norman Holland, Jr., "Jude the Obscure: Hardy's Symbolic Indictment of Christianity," NCF, IX (June 1954), p. 52.

¹⁰Carl Weber, Hardy of Wessex (New York, 1940), p. 245.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND ANARCHY ON HARDY'S NOVELS

An examination of Hardy's novels and Arnold's Culture and Anarchy provides evidence that Hardy had read Culture and Anarchy and was influenced by it in writing Jude the Obscure, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, A Laodicean, and probably The Return of the Native and The Well-Beloved.

Extrinsic evidence supporting this thesis is found in Hardy's notes, which were published in The Early Life of Thomas Hardy and The Later Years of Thomas Hardy under the authorship of Florence Emily Hardy, but written, with the exception of the last chapters, by Hardy himself in lieu of an autobiography. His selection of the notes used in these works and his destruction of most of his other notes leave insufficient material to give a full account of Arnold's influence. However, the extant notes do show that Hardy had met Arnold, had discussed literature with him, and had read Culture and Anarchy concurrent with his writing novels reflecting Arnold's ideas.

Arnold's Culture and Anarchy was published in 1869, three years before any of Hardy's novels appeared. Arnold's chief purpose in writing this essay was to recommend culture as the best solution to England's problems. In it he defines culture as the pursuit of perfection, by which he means "the harmonious development of all sides of one's humanity."¹¹

¹¹Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy and Friendship's Garland (New York, 1912), p. xiv. Subsequent references to Culture and Anarchy (abbreviated C. A.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

To attain this perfection, he advises making the best literature that has been written in the world current everywhere (C. A., xi). He especially recommends the study of the Greek and Hebraic philosophies, both of which he considers necessary for the perfection of the individual.

According to Arnold, the Greeks stressed thinking and love of beauty, but were deficient in morality, action, and emotion. The Hebrews and their successors, the Christians, emphasized morals, energetic action, obedience, and self-sacrifice, but they were narrow in their views, sticking to the letter of the law rather than applying the spontaneity of consciousness of the Greeks (C. A., 142). Arnold blames the British people's stressing Hebraism and neglecting Hellenism for their failure to make "reason and the will of God prevail."

In Culture and Anarchy, Arnold gives various examples to show how the three classes into which he divides the population--the Barbarians, the aristocracy; the Philistines, the middle class; and the Populace, the lower class--mistake the means--freedom, religion, wealth, and population, which are only machinery to achieve the end--for the end itself, which should be the full development of the individual.

Hardy reflects these ideas of Arnold's in his novels by having his main characters personify the Hellenic and Hebraic ideals, and by his use of similar quotations and discussions of the same problems. He sometimes paraphrases Arnold, reacts to his idea of culture, quotes him, and refers to him directly and indirectly.

Only Culture and Anarchy will be used as the source of Arnold's ideas which influence Hardy, although Arnold's Literature and Dogma and God and the Bible, mention some of the same ideas that are found in Culture and Anarchy. In Literature and Dogma Arnold attempts to

give an interpretation of the Bible which will make it acceptable to the readers of his era who are sceptical of its miracles and supernatural elements. He recommends the Bible because of the importance of righteousness, which is found in both the Old and New Testaments, to man's happiness. Arnold defines God as the eternal power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness, a definition which he believes can be verified.

In Literature and Dogma the significance of Jesus is found, according to Arnold, not in his rising physically after death, but in his method of inwardness (concern with conscience) and in his secret of self-renunciation (a dying to one's physical self and loving others). After the death of Jesus and his apostles, a dogmatic orthodox theology developed. Arnold recommends culture to give those who read the Bible the experience necessary to understand it as literature rather than as a basis for dogmatic argument.

Ideas in this work similar to those found in Culture and Anarchy are the contributions of Hebraism and Hellenism,¹² disadvantages of sticking to the letter of the law (L. D., 78, 79, 141, 142), the Christian ideal of self-sacrifice (L. D., 231), and marrying one's deceased wife's sister (L. D., 282).

God and the Bible was written to answer the critics of Literature and Dogma. In it Arnold refutes the infallibility of the writers of the Bible, the validity of the miracles, the traditional view of the Trinity, and God as explained by metaphysics; he asks the people to read the Bible to learn the joy of righteousness by experience. He

¹²Matthew Arnold, Literature and Dogma (New York, 1906), pp. 51, 319-320, 345-346. Subsequent references to Literature and Dogma (abbreviated L. D.) will appear parenthetically in the text.

criticizes the pedantry of the German theologians, especially Ferdinand Baur and David Strauss, and presents an extensive study of the Fourth Gospel to prove that it was not spurious, but written by a Greek metaphysician from information obtained from John.

God and the Bible mentions the following ideas found also in Culture and Anarchy: the influence of the Greeks and Hebrews,¹³ Christianity's defeat of Hellenism (G. B., xv, xvi), criticism of the current state of Christianity (G. B., xvii, xxix), Apollo (G. B., 113), and divorce (G. B., 147).

The references to Hellenism and Hebraism in both God and the Bible and Literature and Dogma differ from those in Culture and Anarchy in that the first two essays emphasize the need for Hebraic righteousness, whereas the latter stresses the importance of Hellenic enlightenment and beauty in the lives of the English people. The parallelism of ideas in Culture and Anarchy with those of Hardy's novels is not found in the other two essays. Therefore, in the absence of evidence that Hardy read and was influenced by Literature and Dogma and God and the Bible, only Culture and Anarchy will be considered as the source of Arnold's ideas which influence Hardy.

All of Hardy's novels will be examined for evidence of Arnold's influence. They will be divided chronologically into three groups: novels published before 1878, which show no indication of Arnold's influence; novels published from 1878 to 1888, the period in which Arnold's influence first appears and the first reference to Arnold is found in Hardy's notes; and novels published after 1888, which was

¹³Matthew Arnold, The Works of Matthew Arnold, Vol. VIII: God and the Bible (London, 1904), pp. 113-117. Subsequent references to God and the Bible (abbreviated G. B.) will appear parenthetically in the text.

the date of Arnold's death and after which the greatest concentration of Arnold's influence is found.

Novels Published Before 1878

Hardy's novels published before 1878 include Under the Greenwood Tree, 1872; A Pair of Blue Eyes, 1873; Far from the Madding Crowd, 1874; and The Hand of Ethelberta, 1876. These novels are chiefly romantic tales of pretty, vain, and slightly fickle young ladies, who must choose one of three suitors. The protagonists, usually from families of professional people or wealthy farmers, are surrounded by lower-class servants and laborers, who comment on the ensuing developments in humorous colloquialisms.

Because of Hardy's description of nature in his setting and his characterization of simple rural folk, who are closely associated with it, these stories are often called his pastoral novels. Except for Far from the Madding Crowd, they are generally light in tone, but they become progressively more serious. The first and most superficial of his novels is Under the Greenwood Tree.

Under the Greenwood Tree

Under the Greenwood Tree is a story of the courtship of Fancy Day, a school teacher, by Dick Dewey, a member of the church choir; Mr. Shiner, a wealthy farmer; and Mr. Maybold, the vicar. Dick seems to have a very little chance of winning Fancy since her father prefers the financial security offered by Shiner, and Fancy is tempted by the social position which the suave Maybold has to offer. However, Fancy, realizing the shallowness of Maybold's attraction, decides to honor a

previous understanding with Dick and rejects Maybold. She and Dick are married and celebrate their wedding with a dance and dinner "under the greenwood tree."

The theme of this novel seems to be the inevitability of change between the older and younger generations. The church choir, consisting of men who accompanied themselves on violins, is replaced by Fancy, playing the organ; Dick and Fancy's courtship and marriage are frequently compared with those of preceding generations; Fancy's wearing an organdy dress, a hat with feathers, instead of a bonnet, and her hair in curls, instead of a bun, shock some of the older generation; and her request that the older men not use thee and thy at her wedding indicates a change in the language.

Under the Greenwood Tree has a rather humorous tone without any of the somber philosophical implications found in Hardy's novels which show the influence of Arnold. The word Laodicean, which is the name of one of Hardy's novels influenced by Arnold, is found in this story.¹⁴ However, in this instance it refers to an indifference to music, whereas in the latter novel it indicates a lenient religious attitude and is related to Arnold's idea of Hellenism.

A Pair of Blue Eyes

In Hardy's second novel, A Pair of Blue Eyes, the possessor of the blue eyes is Elfride Swancourt, the daughter of a clergyman, who lives in a remote area. Like Fancy of Hardy's previous novel, she has three suitors: Stephen Smith, a young architect who draws the plans for renovating her father's church; Harry Knight, a barrister who

¹⁴Thomas Hardy, Under the Greenwood Tree (London, 1960), p. 86.

guided Stephen in his studies; and Lord Luxellian, a wealthy distant relative. Stephen is forbidden to see her after her father learns that he is the son of a poor mason who lives in the parish. Elfride then meets Harry, who is charmed by her fresh simplicity and lack of experience in love affairs. When he finds out that she has had another suitor before him, he leaves her without knowing all the details of the situation.

After a few years abroad, Stephen and Harry meet and discuss Elfride. When Stephen learns that she has not married Harry, and Harry learns that Stephen was Elfride's first suitor in an affair that was quite innocent, both rush back to England to try to win her. Bitter words concerning who has the best claim are exchanged between the former friends, but ironically, when they arrive, they find that a hearse that has been attached to their train on the way home contains her corpse. They learn that she died during childbirth, after having married Lord Luxellian.

One theme of A Pair of Blue Eyes seems to be the legitimacy of a woman's inconstancy, for in each case Elfride's change of heart seems to have been justified. The plot of this novel is more complex than Hardy's first one, and although it does not have a happy ending, Elfride's death is reported in a manner which provides an element of surprise without being accompanied by the details which may have made it a tragedy.

One sentence in this novel mentions Christians along with Pagans. It states, "Stephen is to design many buildings in India by the general consent of the ruling powers, Christian and Pagan alike."¹⁵ This

¹⁵Thomas Hardy, A Pair of Blue Eyes (London, 1960), p. 396.

cultural dichotomy is usually a clue to Arnold's influence. However, in this instance Christian refers to the English in India, and Pagan is used to designate the non-Christian Oriental people in India, who have nothing to do with the Hellenic Pagans of whom Hardy writes after becoming interested in Arnold's Culture and Anarchy.

Far from the Madding Crowd

Far from the Madding Crowd, like its predecessors, begins in a rural setting and has a protagonist, Bathsheba Everdene, with the same willful vanity of Hardy's former heroines. She is also confronted with the same problem of choosing one of three admirers. She meets the first of these, Gabriel Oak, on the hills near her aunt's home where he is tending his sheep. She saves his life after he has gone to sleep without opening the ventilators on his shepherd's hut. He proposes to her, but she, after some hesitation, refuses him. A short time later she inherits her uncle's farm at Weatherbury and goes there to claim it.

As Bathsheba's fortunes improve, Gabriel's decline, for he loses most of his sheep through an accident caused by his untrained dog. He goes to Weatherbury to seek a job, arriving just in time to save Bathsheba's barn from a fire. She hires him to be her shepherd, but she gives him little compensation and shows no recognition of their past friendship.

On an adjoining farm lives a wealthy bachelor named Boldwood, who annoys Bathsheba by paying no attention to her. As a joke, she sends him an anonymous valentine saying, "Marry me." When Boldwood learns who sent it, he becomes foolishly infatuated with her, but he receives little further encouragement.

Next, Bathsheba meets Sergeant Troy, a dashing, but irresponsible soldier. He wins her admiration by an impressive display of his skill with his sword. Not knowing that he is the lover of one of her servants, Fanny Robin, who has disappeared, she secretly marries him. Troy soon shows his true character by losing her money at gambling and by getting her servants so intoxicated that during a storm only she and Gabriel are able to work to save her grain. Her trouble culminates with her learning of Troy's affair with Fanny, who dies after a desperate struggle to reach the workhouse and is taken to Bathsheba's house before burial. Troy is shocked when he sees the bodies of Fanny and her child in her coffin, and he tells Bathsheba that he prefers Fanny to her.

Troy leaves Weatherbury and is believed to have drowned. Boldwood persuades Bathsheba to promise to marry him if Troy does not return within six years, at which time Troy would legally be considered dead. Bathsheba agrees reluctantly just before Troy reappears at a party given by Boldwood. When Troy tries to make Bathsheba go home, she screams, and Boldwood shoots Troy. Boldwood is committed to prison for life.

Bathsheba then marries Gabriel Oak, who has stood by her staunchly throughout the story and who has, through his industry and common sense, begun to prosper again.

The main theme of the story appears to be that one receives what he deserves. The inner strength of Oak's character, which is suggested by his name, is contrasted with Troy's empty glitter throughout most of the story, and Bathsheba's happiness is possible only after she loses her vanity and humbly appreciates Oak's true worth. The pathetic plight of Fanny as she struggles to reach the workhouse anticipates

some of Hardy's tragic scenes in his later novels; however, Fanny's resemblance to George Eliot's Hetty in Adam Bede, along with other similarities of the two novels, indicates that Fanny's tragedy may simply reflect that of Hetty in the earlier novel.

In Far from the Madding Crowd Hardy criticizes Christianity, but not in the manner used by Arnold. He associates a timid fellow with a Biblical character. Joseph Poorgrass is described as being too modest and timid.¹⁶ Later in the story, meek men are said to be blessed in the Bible (F. M. C., 252). Joseph says he feels like a man in the Bible (F. M. C., 73). He later remarks, "' I ought to have lived in Genesis (F. M. C., 331).'" Hardy may have used this device to symbolize the ineffectiveness of Christianity, but modesty and timidity are not the defects of Hebraism described by Arnold. He, and later Hardy, associates Hebraism, including Christianity, with the energetic man of action.

Hardy uses the word Laodicean in this novel to designate one who is mediocre in morality. Of Gabriel Oak he writes, ". . . he was, upon the whole, one who felt himself to occupy morally that vast middle space of Laodicean neutrality which lay between the Communion people of the parish and the drunken section . . . (F. M. C., 1)."

The word Philistines, found in this novel, was used by Arnold to describe materialistic people lacking culture. Here it may be intended to convey that meaning. When the servants come in to be paid, Liddy says, "' The Philistines be upon us (F. M. C., 86).'" A notable difference between her expression and Arnold's, however, is that by Philistines the latter meant the middle class, whereas Liddy is

¹⁶Thomas Hardy, Far from the Madding Crowd (London, 1958), pp. 64-66. Subsequent references to Far from the Madding Crowd (Abbreviated F. M. C.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

speaking of servants, whom Arnold would have called the Populace (lower class).

The Greek gods, who are sometimes associated with Hellenism, are mentioned in this novel but not as Arnold would have described them. In explaining Bathsheba's coolness toward Gabriel after she had inherited a farm, the author writes, "The case is not unexampled in high places. When, in the writing of the later poets, Jove and his family are found to have moved from their cramped quarters on the peak of Olympus into the wide sky above it, their works show a proportionate increase of arrogance and reserve (F. M. C., 91)." Neither arrogance nor reserve are Hellenic traits, according to Arnold.

Far from the Madding Crowd may anticipate the tragedies found in most of Hardy's novels which are associated with Arnold, but it contains no indication of Arnold's influence at this time.

The Hand of Ethelberta

The Hand of Ethelberta, which Hardy subtitles A Comedy in Chapters and which he considered a somewhat frivolous narrative published as an interlude between two more serious novels, Far from the Madding Crowd and The Return of the Native, is chiefly concerned with differences in social classes. Ethelberta, the beautiful and talented young daughter of a butler, marries the heir of an aristocratic family while she is a governess in the home of his parents. He dies during their honeymoon, and his mother agrees to keep Ethelberta on the condition that she will disown her family. Ethelberta is forced to see members of her family secretly to retain her place in her husband's society.

Ethelberta pleases her husband's mother, Mrs. Petherwin, very well until she publishes some poems which Mrs. Petherwin considers

too personal to have been written by a respectable woman. When Ethelberta refuses to recall them, her mother-in-law tears up her will. Mrs. Petherwin dies before she makes another will, leaving Ethelberta with social position but with no money to maintain it. Ethelberta has her family come to London to live with her as her servants and supports them by using her reputation to attract socially prominent crowds to hear her tell stories.

One of Ethelberta's former maids, Menlove, threatens to reveal the identity of Ethelberta's family, necessitating the latter's securing her position quickly. She decides to marry one of her wealthy suitors, although she really prefers a poor musician, Christopher Julian. She chooses an old man, Lord Mountclere, in preference to either of two rich young men, Ladywell and Neigh, because his social position is so secure that he can afford to overlook her family. Her brothers, father, and Christopher try to stop the wedding since they know that Mountclere is an old profligate, but because of a storm, they are all too late. Ethelberta learns of Mountclere's treachery when she happens to find, in the woods of his estate, an elaborately decorated little house in which lives another "Lady Mountclere."

Ethelberta plans to escape, but her hopes are thwarted by Mountclere. He sends the other woman away, and Ethelberta decides to make the best of her situation. She manages Lord Mountclere, his estate, and his servants with her usual ingenuity, arranges to help her family financially, and is instrumental in Christopher's marrying her sister Picotee, who has loved him long and hopelessly.

The Hand of Ethelberta has one reference in which Pagans and Christians are associated. This instance occurs when Mrs. Chickrel attempts to convince Julian that Joey would make a good parson by saying,

" . . . He's [sic] talents that way. Since he has been under masters he knows all the sounds the old Romans and Greeks used to make by way of talking, and the love stories of the ancient women as if they were his own. I assure you Mr. Julian, if you could hear how beautiful the boy talks about little Cupid with his bows and arrow, and the rows between that pagan apostle Jupiter and his wife because of another woman, and the handsome young gods who kissed Venus, you'd say he deserved to be made a bishop at once!"¹⁷

This expression of Ethelberta's mother regarding her son's qualifications for the ministry may have been intended to provide further contrast between Ethelberta's training and that of her family. It also adds humor to the situation, partially from Mrs. Chickerel's ludicrous idea of what constitutes the education of a parson and partially from the reader's knowledge of Joey's own love affairs. In any case there is no resemblance between Arnold's ideas concerning Hellenism and Hebraism and those expressed here.

As indicated in the foregoing discussion of the novels published before 1878, references to Christianity, to the Greeks, and to words such as Laodicean and Philistine, which later appear in novels showing Arnold's influence, are used in a different sense in these works. Therefore, there is no evidence of Arnold's influence in the novels written during this period.

Novels Published From 1878 to 1888

The second group of novels to be considered include The Return of the Native, 1878; The Trumpet Major, 1880; A Laodicean, 1881; Two on a Tower, 1882; The Mayor of Casterbridge, 1886; and The Woodlanders, 1887. During the period in which these novels were written, signs of

¹⁷Thomas Hardy, The Hand of Ethelberta (London, 1960), p. 457.

Arnold's influence appear for the first time. The Return of the Native is the first novel that was published after a reference to Arnold was made in Hardy's notes. In 1876 Hardy notes that Leslie Stephen had written to him stating that the only modern critics worth reading were "Ste. Beuve and Mat Arnold."¹⁸ Also, allusions to Arnold's ideas in Culture and Anarchy are found in two of these novels, The Return of the Native and A Laodicean.

The Return of the Native

The Return of the Native has as its theme the effect of environment on character and circumstances. Eustacia, a beautiful young lady who has been educated in the city of Budmouth, lives on the desolate Egdon Heath with her grandfather. The impossibility of the fulfillment of her desires in such an isolated place provides the basis for Hardy's tragedy. Hardy writes, "Egdon was her Hades, and since coming there she had imbibed much of what was dark in its tone though inwardly and externally unreconciled thereto."¹⁹

To compensate for what she misses in this lonely wasteland with almost no social contacts except those with the uneducated natives, she tries to find consolation in a great love affair. "Love was to her the one cordial which could drive away the eating loneliness of her days (R. N., 79)."

¹⁸Florence Emily Hardy, The Early Life of Thomas Hardy (New York, 1928), p. 143. Subsequent reference to The Early Life of Thomas Hardy (abbreviated E. L.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

¹⁹Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native (London, 1961), p. 77. Subsequent references to The Return of the Native (abbreviated R. N.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

She first gives her attention to Damon Wildeve "for want of a better object (R. N., 81)." To Eustacia's chagrin, he becomes interested in Thomasin Yeobright with whom he elopes; but because the license is for the wrong town, Thomasin is forced to return with a shadow on her reputation. Diggory Venn, a reddleman of satanic appearance because of the redde on his clothes and skin, who courted Thomasin before engaging in his present occupation, brings her home in his van and stays in the vicinity to see that Wildeve marries her.

When Thomasin's cousin, Clym, returns to Egdon from Paris, where he has been a diamond salesman, Eustacia switches her affection to him, hoping to escape Egdon by returning to Paris with him. Eustacia's disappointment is great when, after marrying her in spite of the objections of his mother, he decides to stay in Egdon. Her unhappiness increases when he almost loses his sight studying to be a teacher and has to cut furze for their livelihood like a common laborer.

Clym's mother at last relents in her objection to his marrying Eustacia and goes to see them. Clym is sleeping, and Wildeve is visiting Eustacia when Clym's mother knocks. Believing that Clym will awaken to answer the door, Eustacia, to avoid an awkward situation, lets Wildeve out the backdoor and goes out into the garden. Fatigued by his work, Clym does not awaken, and his mother leaves, believing that she is unwelcome. On the way home she is bitten by a snake and dies before Clym can correct her error.

When Clym learns that Eustacia did not open the door for his mother, he leaves her. Eustacia, in her unhappiness and desire to escape from Egdon, plans to go to Budmouth with Wildeve, who has inherited some money. On the stormy night on which she is to leave, overcome by the

conflicting emotions of wanting to leave Egdon and contempt for herself for going away with a married man, whom she considers unworthy of her, Eustacia drowns herself in the weir.

Wildeve and Clym hear the splash as she jumps into the water, and in trying to save her, Wildeve is drowned and Clym nearly so. Later Thomasin marries the faithful Venn, and Clym becomes a preacher and teacher to the people of Egdon. Thus Egdon Heath (which has been called the protagonist of this novel) reclaims her native and destroys those who hate her.

Several versions of The Return of the Native have been published. The first appeared as a serial in Belgravia in June 1878; the First Edition of the novel in book form was also published in this year. In 1895 the novel was revised by Hardy and published as the Uniform Edition, which is the present form of the novel.

The beginning of the original version was written in the pastoral tradition of Far from the Madding Crowd and The Woodlanders, but the latter part of the manuscript was changed to include references to the Greeks. A study of the changes occurring in the manuscript and various editions of this novel has been made by John Paterson. He states that the manuscript shows that at least sixteen chapters were written in the pastoral style before allusions to the Greeks were included. He writes, "The novel's frame of reference, hitherto confined, as in Far from the Madding Crowd, to the little world of pastoral Wessex, was widened to take in, among other things, the more comprehensive world of classical Greece."²⁰

²⁰John Paterson, The Making of the Return of the Native (Berkley, 1960), p. 30.

Speculation concerning Hardy's reason for changing the style of his novel includes various explanations. The critics' association of Far from the Madding Crowd with George Eliot's Adam Bede may have been a factor in causing Hardy to abandon the pastoral novel. Shelly's interest in the Promethean rebellion is reflected in this novel and may have influenced Hardy's change of motif. Paterson attributes the change to Hardy's interest in the Greek tragedy; Paterson supports his theory by showing that the manuscript was changed to have five parts in imitation of the five acts of the Greek drama. Whatever the reason for Hardy's increased interest in Greece, it is obviously present in The Return of the Native.

Whether Hardy had read Culture and Anarchy by 1878 is not definite, but one sentence in the serial publication seems to reflect Arnold's view. It states, "We have lost the true Hellenic eye, for this requires behind it the Hellenic ideas of life; and a long line of disillusionive centuries has permanently displaced that."²¹

In the First Edition this sentence has been changed to the following:

The truth seems to be that a long line of disillusionive centuries has permanently displaced the Hellenic idea of life or whatever it may be called. What the Greeks only suspected, we know well; what their Aeschylus imagined our nursery children feel. That old-fashioned revelling in the general situation grows less possible as we uncover the defects of natural laws, and see the quandary that man is in by their operation.²²

Hardy's mention of Aeschylus appears to support Paterson's idea of his interest in the Greek tragedy, but his indication that the Greeks' view

²¹Thomas Hardy, "The Return of the Native," Belgravia, XXXV (June, 1878), p. 480.

²²Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native, First Edition (London, 1878) II, p. 74. Subsequent references to the First Edition (abbreviated F.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

of life was less tragic than that of the English in the nineteenth century and his reference to the "revelling in the general situation" before the "defects of natural law" were known also seem to suggest Arnold's expression of the "joy-giving power of nature so fondly cherished by the Pagan [Greek] world (C. A., 119)."

Further evidence of Arnold's influence may be found in Hardy's revised version of the novel, which was published in 1895 as the Uniform Edition. In the First Edition Wildeve had been described as having no strong moral force (F., III, 29); in the Uniform Edition he was said to have no strong Puritan force.²³ (In Culture and Anarchy Arnold discusses morals as a Puritan characteristic in considerable detail.) In the First Edition Hardy writes that "ideal physical beauty was incompatible with the growth of fellow-feeling (F., II, 7)." In the Uniform Edition he had changed this line to "ideal physical beauty was incompatible with emotional development (U., 168)." In his essay Arnold is concerned with the development of all sides of man's humanity (C. A., xiv). Beauty, which contributes to one side of his development, is accompanied by a defect in feeling (C. A., 124). (This defect of character appears later in the portrayal of Sue, a representative of Hellenism in Jude the Obscure, the novel in which Arnold's influence is most apparent.)

In the Uniform Edition, Eustacia is more closely associated with Greece than in the previous edition. She is described as resembling Marie Antoinette in the First Edition (F., I, 20); in the Uniform Edition she is compared with Sappho (U., 64). She appears to have

²³Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native, Uniform Edition (New York, 1895), p. 347. Subsequent references to Uniform Edition (abbreviated U.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

inherited some of her Hellenic qualities from her father, who is portrayed as a "Corfiate by birth (U., 80)," "hailing from Phaecia's isle (U., 80-81)," and "a sort of Greek Ulysses (U., 263)." Paterson writes that although Eustacia was associated with Greece in earlier versions of The Return of the Native, "With the appearance of the Uniform Edition . . . Eustacia was for the first time identified, explicitly as well as implicitly, with the brilliant and mysterious civilization of ancient Greece."²⁴

The device of letting a person represent Greek or Hebraic culture is found in Tess of the D'Urbervilles, published three years before the Uniform Edition, and in Jude the Obscure, published the same year as the Uniform Edition. Both of these novels definitely reflect Arnold's influence.

The Trumpet Major

The Trumpet Major, situated between two novels showing Arnold's influence, seems to be out of place in the chronological order of Hardy's novels. Hardy's frequent references to the Greeks, prevalent in the preceding and following novels, are entirely missing in this one. This may, perhaps, be explained by its close resemblance to Georgia Scenes. (Page 1, footnote 2).

This novel differs from preceding novels in its omission of simple rural characters and its greater concentration on the main character. It also differs from its predecessors in that the dashing, fickle suitor, not the considerate, steadfast one wins the lady. Anne Garland recognizes the worth of the latter, but as she says, "Gratitude is not love,"

²⁴Paterson, p. 108.

and she chooses the sailor, Bob Loveday, instead of the trumpet major, John Loveday.

During England's war with Napoleon, soldiers make their camp near the Loveday mill, part of which is rented by Anne Garland and her mother. The miller's sons--John, who comes with the army, and Bob, who returns from the sea--are rivals for Anne's hand. A third rival, Festus Derriman, nephew of a wealthy landholder, is never a serious competitor, although he adds suspense by his threats to Anne.

Anne's mother marries the miller, although she considers his family somewhat lower than her own. She encourages Anne to marry Festus because of his chance of inheriting his uncle's money. The uncle, however, fears Festus and leaves most of his money to Anne.

When Bob first arrives at the mill, he brings his fiancée, Matilda Johnson, with him, but she leaves when John recognizes her as an actress with a questionable past. In order not to interfere with Bob's courting Anne, John pretends to be in love with an actress. Festus, believing her to be Matilda, marries the latter to spite John.

Bob, threatened by a press gang in search of sailors to fight in the navy, feels guilty at not serving and enlists in Nelson's navy. He soon forgets Anne in his infatuation with another girl, but just as John's suit with Anne begins to succeed, Bob returns to marry her. John leaves home to fight in the war and is killed in a battle. His death is reported in the denouement, but tragic details are not given.

In the Trumpet Major a reference to the Philistines, which is sometimes indicative of Arnold's influence, appears, but it is used in the Biblical sense rather than with Arnold's definition of the materialistic middle class. The wagon in which Anne and her mother rode, "like the ark when sent away from the country of the Philistines, had

apparently been left to the instincts of the beast that drew it."²⁵

No other suggestions of Arnold's influence are found in this novel.

During the year that The Trumpet Major was published and the succeeding year, several references to Arnold were made in Hardy's notes. In February 1880, the author of The Early Life of Thomas Hardy writes, "The same week Hardy met Matthew Arnold--probably for the first time . . . (E. L., 175)." Hardy talked with Arnold on this occasion and discussed literary style. In a letter to a friend, Handley Moule, February 11, 1880, Hardy writes, "A day or two ago Matthew Arnold talked a good deal about him [the friend's father] to me . . . (E. L., 176)."

A note written in November 1880 may indicate that Hardy had read Arnold's Culture and Anarchy. Hardy writes,

Discover for how many years, and on how many occasions, the organism, Society, has been standing, lying, etc. in varied positions, as if it were a tree or a man hit by vicissitudes.

There would be these periods:

1. Upright, normal, or healthy periods.
2. Oblique or cramped periods.
3. Prostrate periods (intellect counterpoised by ignorance or narrowness, producing stagnation).
4. Drooping periods.
5. Inverted periods (E. L., 188-189)

Arnold writes about high and low periods in civilization according to the predominance of Hebraism and Hellenism. The lowest periods seem to be those times when the narrowness of Hebraic views destroys the Hellenistic rationalism, which is comparable to Hardy's "prostrate period" above. Later in writing Jude the Obscure, Hardy shows that the

²⁵Thomas Hardy, The Trumpet Major (London, 1960), p. 236.

fluctuation of Jude's fortunes is affected by Hebraic and Hellenic elements in his social environment.

In the latter part of 1880 Hardy writes,

Arnold is wrong about provincialism, if he means anything more than a provincialism of style and manner in exposition. A certain provincialism of feeling is invaluable. It is of the essence of individuality, and is largely made up of that crude enthusiasm without which no great thoughts are thought, no great deeds done (E. L., 189).

Arnold had mentioned provincialism several times in Culture and Anarchy, usually in connection with the narrow-mindedness of the religious reformers who neglected man's intellectual development. Hardy indirectly refutes Arnold's view of provincialism later in Tess of the D'Urbervilles, as will be shown in the discussion of that novel. (See pages 49-50)

In January 1881, Hardy mentions Arnold in a note in which he refers to the latter's use of the term "imaginative reason (E. L., 190)." In A Laodicean, which Hardy was writing during this period, Paula, the heroine, refers to "what a finished writer calls 'the imaginative reason.' " ²⁶

During the time Hardy was writing the above notes, he was ill and bedfast, but he completed the serial version of A Laodicean by dictating it to his wife. This novel was published in book form in 1881, and it shows in various ways the influence of his having read Culture and Anarchy.

A Laodicean

A Laodicean, like many novels of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has as its theme the replacing of the old order by the new.

²⁶Thomas Hardy, A Laodicean (London, 1951), p. 481. Subsequent references to A Laodicean (abbreviated L.) will be included in the text.

The old order is represented by an aristocratic family of papists, the de Stancys; the new order by the Power family: first as dissenters, who tore down the castle of the de Stancys; then as engineers, who became wealthy as the affluence of the de Stancys decreased; and finally in the person of Paula Power, the Laodicean, who finds her father's church unacceptable and who combines an interest in new scientific knowledge with her admiration for Greek culture.

The old and new orders seem to be associated with Hebraism and Hellenism as these philosophies are described by Arnold. The members of the de Stancy family are identified with the old religious order by the Gothic architecture of their former castle, by the references to them as papists, and by their association with the family of Jacob in the following comment of Abner Power, Paula's uncle, to William Dare, illegitimate son of Captain de Stancy: "' . . . you are of the house and lineage of Jacob . . . In other words, you are of the same breed as the de Stancys (L., 481).'"

Paula is associated with Hellenism in several ways. She says, "' I must tell you that I am not a mediaevalist myself . . . I am Greek . . . (L., 89).'" Paula's companion tells Somerset, Paula's architect (who is Anglican and seems to represent that branch of religion), "' Miss Power thought of making a Greek court of this. But she will not tell you so herself because it seems such dreadful anachronism (L., 91).'" Paula's fear of being chronologically incongruous by mixing medieval and Greek architecture reflects a statement of Arnold's:

By their strong inspiration they [those who have their roots in both Jewish and Greek grounds of human achievement] carried man off the old basis of life and culture, whether Jewish or

Greek, and generations arose who had their roots in neither world, and were in contact therefore with no full and great stream of human life (C. A., xxxvi).

Paula is portrayed as Hellenic by being compared to Aphrodite and Hebe, and the author states that she could have stood for either in the pink morning light (L., 64). She possesses the traits that Arnold attributes to the Greeks. According to Arnold, the Greeks gave "exclusive preponderance to man's perceiving and knowing side" and showed an "unnatural defect of his feeling and acting side . . . (C. A., 124)." Paula shows little affection for Somerset or Charlotte. Somerset's landlord says, "' Miss Power is looked up to by little de Stancy as if she were a god-a'mighty, and Miss Power lets her love her to her heart's content. But whether Miss Power loves back I can't say, for she's deep as the North Star (L., 55).'"

Paula is also shown to lack the Hebraic practicality. In reply to Somerset's suggestion that Paula must be practical if she plans to make pottery, Charlotte de Stancy says of Paula, in words revealing her own opposite traits,

"O no! No! . . . It is Greek pottery she means--Hellenic pottery she tells me to call it, only I forget . . . She . . . hopes to imitate the old fictile work in time, especially the Greek of the best period, four hundred years after Christ, or before Christ--I forgot which it was Paula said . . . O no, she is not practical in the sense you mean at all (L., 38)."

Regarding her friendship with Paula, Charlotte says,

" . . . I could never have believed that I should have been her friend. One is prejudiced [Hebraism is associated with narrow-mindedness in Culture and Anarchy] at first against people who are reported to have such differences in feeling, association, and habit, as she seemed to have from mine. But it has not stood in the least in the way of our liking each other (L., 39)."

Arnold writes of his hope that the two cultures will be integrated, "And thus man's two great natural forces, Hebraism and

Hellenism, will no longer be disassociated and rival, but will be a joint force of right thinking and strong doing to carry him on towards perfection (C. A., 200)."

Arnold's hope is reflected by Somerset's pleasure in the friendship of the daughters of the two "antipodean families." The author comments,

It was an engaging instance of that human progress on which he had expended many charming dreams in the years when poetry [associated by Arnold with Hellenism], theology [associated by Arnold with Hebraism], and the reorganization of society had seemed matters of more importance to him than a profession which should help him to a big house and income (L., 43).

Paula is attracted by the antiquity of the de Stancy castle in which she lives, its furniture and portraits, and by Captain de Stancy because of his association with these relics. (Hardy may be experimenting here with Arnold's recommendation that a well rounded individual should include both Hebraism and Hellenism in his culture.)

In discussing the relative merits of the accomplishments of the de Stancys and the Powers, Paula asks Somerset, "' Do you think it a thing more to be proud of that one's father should have made a great tunnel and railroad like that, than that one's remote ancestor should have built a great castle like this?'" Somerset replies, "' From a modern point of view, railroads are, no doubt, things more to be proud of than castles . . . though perhaps I myself, from mere association, should decide in favor of the ancestor who built the castle (L., 102).'"

In Culture and Anarchy Arnold laments the value placed on machinery, including railroads, by the people of the nineteenth century (C. A., 14). He states that teaching men to value themselves on the number of railroads they have constructed make Philistines of them

(C. A., 32). A comment by the author of A Laodicean associates the Powers with the Philistines. He writes, "Only a few people at the funeral of old Sir William de Stancy remembered the de Stancys as people of wealth and influence, and who firmly believed that family would come into its rights ere long, and oust the uncircumcized Philistines who had taken possession of the old lands (L., 407)." Arnold had written regarding Hebraism, which the de Stancy's symbolized, ". . . one must never assign to them [habits and discipline of Hebraism] the second rank today without being prepared to restore to them the first rank tomorrow (C. A., xlii)."

However, in Hardy's novel the old Hebraic order is not restored to first rank, but is almost obliterated: the ancestral castle, with all its portraits and furnishings, burns: Captain de Stancy misses his chance to reclaim his former wealth, power, and ancestral castle when he loses Paula to Somerset; and Charlotte retires to a nunnery when she no longer has a chance to marry Somerset.

Paula and Somerset decide not to try to restore the castle, but to wash the smoke from its walls and plant ivy on it to make it beautiful in its decay. Somerset says, "' You, Paula, will be yourself again, and recover, if you have not already, from the warp given to your mind . . . by the mediaevalism of that place (L., 481).'"

"' And be a perfect representative of the 'modern spirit'?'" she inquires, "' representing neither the senses and understanding nor the heart and imagination; but what a finished writer calls 'the imaginative reason' (L., 481)?'" (Hardy refers to "what M. Arnold calls 'the imaginative reason'" in one of his notes during the year A Laodicean was written (E. L., 190). Paula's words recall again

Arnold's statement that "generations arose who had their roots in neither world [Hellenic or Hebraic] and were in contact therefore with no full and great stream of human life (C. A., xxxvi)."

Paula's final view had been anticipated in the introduction of Somerset at the beginning of the novel. He had studied numerous kinds of architectural styles until quite bewildered on the question of style, he concluded that all styles were extinct, and with them all architecture as a living art. "Somerset was not old enough at that time to know that, in practice, art had at all times been as full of shifts and compromises as every other mundane thing; that ideal perfection [the pursuit of which Arnold called culture] was never achieved by Greek, Goth or Hebrew Jew, and never would be . . . (L., 6)." Here, as in the remainder of the novel, architectural style is associated with the Hellenic and Hebraic cultures, neither of which in Arnold's Culture and Anarchy ever achieved perfection alone (C. A., 120).

In A Laodicean Hardy has made further use of the device of associating a character with Hellenism, which he began in The Return of a Native, and has added a family with some of the opposing characteristics of Hebraism. Thus A Laodicean seems to bridge the gap between The Return of a Native, with slight evidence of Arnold's influence, and Hardy's later novels, Tess of the D'Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure, which shows Arnold's influence to a greater extent. However, the following intervening novels show no indication of Arnold's influence.

Two on a Tower

The effect of the stars on men's lives has often been the subject of English fiction. However, the aim of Two on a Tower is to

show the diminishing of one by the other: the magnitude of the stars may seem to make man's affairs seem petty in comparison. Hardy suggests in his preface, however, that the smaller is likely to be considered the greater in man's view.

In this novel Lady Viviette Constantine discovers a young man, Swithin St. Cleve, studying the stars from the top of a column built by her husband in memory of his father. Since her husband, who has been in Africa for three years on a wild game hunt, made her promise not to engage in social activities while he was gone, she, in her loneliness, welcomes the diversion of encouraging the young astronomer.

Although she is about nine years older than he, her interest in him soon advances beyond a benevolent desire to aid science. However, news is soon received of her husband's death in Africa, leaving her free to marry her young lover. Since her husband has left her very little except her freedom, the marriage is to be kept secret until Swithin has advanced sufficiently in his profession to afford a wife.

To complicate matters, the lady's brother, wishing her to marry well, arranges for Bishop Helmsdale to come to the village to meet her. The bishop proposes, and she refuses him. Both he and her brother are amazed at her refusal.

The situation is further complicated when Lady Constantine receives word that the date of her husband's death is in error; he died after her marriage to Swithin, making that ceremony illegal. Viviette and Swithin plan to remarry in a public ceremony, but she discovers that he is sacrificing an inheritance by marrying her before he is twenty-five. She refuses to hinder his career by marrying him, and the wedding is postponed until after his twenty-fifth birthday.

Swithin has scarcely left on an astronomical expedition before she discovers that her situation is more awkward than she realized. She writes for him to return to remarry her, but the route of the expedition is uncertain, and he does not receive the letter. To save her reputation and to provide for the child she expects, she marries the bishop.

When Swithin returns, the bishop has died, and she and the child have returned to the village. She looks much older than he remembered her, especially in comparison with a young lady whom he has just met. However, he renews his request that she marry him because of the sacrifices she has made for him. The shock of her great happiness at seeing him again is fatal, and she dies in his arms on the top of the tower, where she and the child have been watching the stars.

Two on a Tower resembles Hardy's early novels more than it resembles the ones immediately preceding it. Some of the incidents in the novel, such as Viviette's death, could have reached tragic proportions if they had been written with attention to detail, as in his later novels; however, they almost appear to have been simply mentioned in passing, as the death of Elfride in A Pair of Blue Eyes, and seem to indicate that Hardy's sentiments were not seriously involved in the writing of this novel.

There is one allusion to the "letter of the law," an expression often used by Arnold. Viviette writes to Swithin, ". . . I am your wife through all time; the letter of the law is not needed to assert it at present . . ." ²⁷ However, with no other supporting evidence, this reference is of no significance.

²⁷Thomas Hardy, Two on a Tower (London, 1960), p. 260.

The Mayor of Casterbridge

The Mayor of Casterbridge deals with the vicissitudes of life as they affect a proud and impetuous man, Micheal Henchard, mayor of Casterbridge. Before becoming mayor, Henchard, a young man looking for work, has too much rum in his furmity and, becoming intoxicated, sells his wife to a sailor, Richard Newson. The next morning he searches for his wife and child, Elizabeth-Jane, but he can find no trace of them. After giving up the search he goes to Casterbridge, prospers, and is elected mayor of the town.

The sailor is later reported drowned at sea, so Henchard's wife comes to Casterbridge to look for him. To make amends for his earlier mistreatment of his wife, Henchard remarries her, even though he, believing her to be dead, has already made plans to marry Lucetta, a young lady who has compromised herself by nursing him through an illness. His wife lives only a short time, and Lucetta again entreats him to marry her, moving to Casterbridge for that purpose after inheriting some money from an aunt. Henchard agrees to marry her, but she becomes interested in a young Scotchman, Donald Farfrae, who was once Henchard's assistant and is now his competitor.

Henchard's fortunes decline until Farfrae possesses almost everything that was his: his business, the office of mayor, the respect of the town's people, the love of the daughter that he thinks is his, and his fiancée, Lucetta.

Elizabeth is kind to Henchard, and although he later learns that his first child has died and Newson's child has been given her name, he feels that Elizabeth is his last hope. Therefore, when Newson,

whose death has been reported in error, comes to claim his daughter, Henchard tells him that she is dead.

After Lucetta marries Farfrae, Henchard returns the love letters that she had written to him by Joshua Hopp, a man who hates her because she will not help him get a job. For revenge, Jopp reads the letters at a tavern, whose coarse patrons plan a skimmity ride in which effigies of Lucetta and Henchard are taken through the town on a donkey. The shock kills Lucetta, leaving Farfrae free to marry Elizabeth, who has secretly loved him.

When Newson discovers Henchard's lie about the death of his daughter, he comes back to town, and Henchard leaves before Elizabeth can learn of his trickery. He returns on the day of her wedding to Farfrae, bringing a caged goldfinch as a gift. Elizabeth refuses to forgive him for deceiving her regarding her father, and he leaves again with no hopes of returning. Elizabeth finds the cage with the bird in it starved to death. Feeling sorry for Henchard, she and Farfrae go to search for him. They find him too late, for, refusing to eat, he, like the bird, has starved to death. The story ends with Elizabeth's reflection that "happiness is but the occasional episode in a general drama of pain."²⁸

This novel raises the question of whether or not an individual has free will in determining his destiny. Many of Henchard's troubles were caused by his self-indulgence at the expense of others, but Chance also seemed to play a large part in controlling his fate, and Elizabeth's observation at the end of the story seemed to indicate that Chance is usually against man.

²⁸ Thomas Hardy, The Mayor of Casterbridge (London, 1961), p. 385.

The Woodlanders

The Woodlanders, published during this period, was planned years before, about the time of The Return of the Native and The Well-Beloved. Hardy decided to change the plot of this novel, but apparently reconsidered. In November 1885, he writes, "Have gone back to my original plot for The Woodlanders after all (E. L., 230)." The subject of the abandoned plot and his reason for returning to the original were probably lost when his notes were destroyed.

The rural setting of The Woodlanders is reminiscent of the pastoral settings of his first novels. Little Hintock, the scene of most of the action, is rather isolated in a woods, and most of the inhabitants of this village are woodsmen and their families. One of the wealthier members of this group, Mr. Melbury, has vowed that his daughter, Grace, will marry Giles Winterbourne, because Melbury married the girl Gile's father loved. To make Grace a real prize for Giles, Melbury sends her to a fashionable girls' school, but when she returns, Giles seems too crude for her, and her father urges her to marry the village doctor, Edred Fitzpier, instead.

Since Grace is the only accomplished girl in the area, the doctor proposes to her and is accepted. A wealthy widow, Felice Charmond, returns from a trip abroad, and Fitzpier, discovering that she was his boyhood sweetheart, becomes involved in an affair with her. Melbury goes to ask Felice to discourage Fitzpier, but a quarrel between the doctor and Melbury causes Felice and Fitzpier to go away to the continent together.

Melbury, believing that Grace can get a divorce, urges her and Giles to renew their former alliance. No sooner have they begun to

do so until Melbury learns that a divorce is not possible and reverses his advice.

Felice is killed by a former lover, and Fitzpier returns to Little Hintock. When Grace learns that he is coming, she escapes to the woods to the house of Giles who she hopes will accompany her to a friend's house in another town. Rain prevents their going, and Giles lets her live in his cabin while he sleeps in the rain. When he develops a fever, she goes for the only doctor available, Fitzpier. In spite of her efforts to save him, Giles dies, and Fitzpier eventually wins her again.

The Woodlanders presents the question of the desirability of the permanence of the marriage contract when the participants are poorly suited to each other, especially when parental influence is a deciding factor. This idea is later considered in Jude the Obscure, which reflects Arnold's ideas on the subject. However, the problem was one in which many were interested at that time, and in the absence of more conclusive evidence, it does not seem to be an indication of Arnold's influence.

There are a few references to the Greeks in this novel. Grace is described as being more like Artemis than Aphrodite.²⁹ Also Grace desires to talk with Marty, a poor woodland worker who loves Giles, about Platonic love (W., 413). However, these references seem to result from Shelley's influence, which was at its peak when Hardy first planned The Woodlanders.

Hardy's notes contain several references which were made during the latter part of this period. They are not concerned with literature, but they do indicate that Hardy saw Arnold occasionally and was sufficiently

²⁹Thomas Hardy, The Woodlanders (London, 1958), p. 379. Subsequent references to The Woodlanders (abbreviated W.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

impressed to record the incidents in his notes. His notes show a continued interest in Arnold and his ideas, but further publications of Hardy's reactions to these ideas are postponed until after Arnold's death in 1888.

Novels Published After 1888

Hardy published only three novels after 1888: Tess of the D'Urbervilles, 1891; Jude the Obscure, 1895; and The Well-Beloved, 1897. All of them were published after Arnold's death, and Jude the Obscure, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, and to some extent The Well-Beloved show his influence. Hardy's notes, too, continue to mention Arnold. In April 1888, Hardy writes, "News of Matthew Arnold's death, which occurred yesterday . . . The Times speaks quite truly of his enthusiasm for the nobler and detestation of the meaner elements in humanity (E. L., 271)." About two weeks later Hardy makes a note to write a story about a young man who could not go to Oxford, which is the basis for Jude the Obscure (E. L., 272).

In July 1888 Hardy writes of "a long list of books read, or looked into, or intended to be read during the year (E. L., 278)." The names of the books are not given, but apparently at least one of the books was Arnold's, for in October of that year Hardy writes, "The besetting sin of modern literature is its insincerity. Half its utterances are qualified, even contradicted, by an aside, and this particularly in morals and religion. When dogma has to be balanced on its feet by such hairsplitting as the late Mr. M. Arnold's it must be in a bad way (E. L., 281)."

The above observation could probably have been written about any of Arnold's essays on religion, but it fits Culture and Anarchy very well.

In one instance Arnold criticizes and praises religion in the same sentence. He writes,

I say that when our religious organizations,--which I admit to express the most considerable effort after perfection that our race has yet made,--land us in no better result than this, it is high time to examine their idea of perfection, to see whether it does not leave out of account sides and forces of human nature which we might turn to great use; whether it would not be more operative if it were more complete (C. A., 25).

Hardy shows that he is still thinking of Arnold's works in a note made in June 1889. He writes,

One difference between the manners of the intellectual middle class and of the nobility is that the latter have more flexibility, almost a dependence on their encompassment, as if they were waiting upon future events; while the former are direct, and energetic, and crude, as if they were manufacturing a future to please them (E. L., 288).

In Culture and Anarchy Arnold discusses these two classes of society as Barbarians (upper class) and the Philistines (middle class). The characteristics of Hardy's aristocracy are comparable to those of Arnold's. Arnold writes of the ease, serenity, and politeness of the aristocracy (C. A., 57) and states that they are "unapt to see how the world is going (C. A., 54)." Of the traits of the middle class, Arnold lists vulgarity, self-reliance, and the great energy with which it has done its work (C. A., 73). He also states that the middle class hopes to bring about a millenium (C. A., 80).

In one of Hardy's surviving notes, not published elsewhere until collected by Evelyn Hardy, is found rather convincing evidence that Hardy had read of Arnold's three classes of society. Hardy notes, ". . . our world of an aristocracy materialized and null, a middle class purblind and hideous, a lower class crude and brutal! Matthew Arnold"³⁰

³⁰Thomas Hardy's Notebooks, ed. Evelyn Hardy (London, 1955), p. 103.

In August 1889 Hardy began writing Tess of the D'Urbervilles, in which he characterizes members of the aristocracy as Arnold did in Culture and Anarchy, as will be shown in the following discussion of that novel.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles

The first novel published by Hardy after Arnold's death was Tess of the D'Urbervilles. In this novel Arnold's influence is found chiefly in the Hebraic-Hellenic contrasts and rivalries. The main Hebraic characteristic as described by Arnold is an emphasis on energetic action in opposition to thinking (C. A., 109-110). This trait is found in the family of a clergyman, Mr. Clare, with the exception of his son, Angel. Mr. Clare's tendency to put acting above thinking is expressed by the author's description:

. . . he had in his raw youth made up his mind once for all on the deeper questions of existence, and admitted no further reasoning on them thence forward, . . . On the other hand, those totally opposed to him were unwillingly won to admiration for his thoroughness and for the remarkable power he showed in dismissing all questions as to principles in his energy for applying them . . .³¹

Angel's brothers, like his father, show this Hebraic trait. They are clergymen of unthinking conventionality. They conform to the popular taste in eyeglasses "without reference to the particular variety of defect in their own vision (T., 204)." They follow the popular taste in their reading and in their opinions. Angel "noticed their growing mental limitations (T., 204)." When Felix (one of Angel's brothers) criticizes Angel's power of reasoning, Angel answers, ". . . if it comes

³¹Thomas Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles (New York, 1960), p. 202. Subsequent references to Tess of the D'Urbervilles (abbreviated T.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

to intellectual grasp, I think you, as a contented dogmatist, had better leave mine alone, and inquire what has become of yours (T., 206).'" In Angel's opinion, ". . . neither of his brothers saw or set forth life as it really was lived (T., 205)."

Other Hebraic traits in Arnold's essay are a concern with morals, obedience, and self-sacrifice (C. A., 112, 119). Angel's brothers attach much importance to the first two qualities. "They were dutiful and attentive sons, and were regular in their visits to their parents"; however, Felix "was less self-sacrificing" than his father (T., 205).

The elder Clares are "self-denying." They give the pudding brought to them by Angel to a poor family of the parish and have a frugal meal themselves (T., 206). Angel calls them self-sacrificing, though prejudiced (T., 211). Clare's face shines in the "ardour of self-abnegation," and he describes his kind of clergyman in the Biblical words: "' Being reviled we bless; being persecuted we suffer it . . . (T., 214).'" Arnold writes that Christianity is Hebraism aiming at self-conquest by conforming to the image of a self-sacrificing example (C. A., 118).

Angel, in contrast to the other members of his family, is a follower of Hellenism, emphasizing thinking rather than doing. His father expects him to be a minister of the church, but he objects, "' There is no institution for whose history I have a deeper admiration, but I cannot honestly be ordained her minister, as my brothers are, while she refuses to liberate her mind from an untenable redemptive theolatriy (T., 149).'" "Though Angel could not accept his parent's narrow dogma, he revered his practice . . . (T., 215)."

Angel reads many books and continues to free his mind from narrow Hebraic concepts as he becomes more Hellenistic. (Arnold advocates

making known the best that has been said and thought in the world as a cure for the ills of the Hebraizing nineteenth century (C. A., xi.) When Tess meets Angel, she regards him as "an intelligence rather than a man." After he tells her of pastoral life in ancient Greece, she remarks, "' . . . when I see what you know, what you have read, and seen, and thought, I feel what a nothing I am (T., 161)!"

In the rustic environment of the dairy, Angel grows away from the beliefs of his family:

Every time that he returned hither [to his home] he was conscious of this divergence, and since he had last shared in the Vicarage life it had grown even more distinctly foreign to his own than usual. Its transcendental aspirations--still unconsciously on the geocentric view of things, a zenithal paradise, a nadiral hell--were as foreign to his own as if they had been the dreams of people on another planet. Latterly he had seen only Life, felt only the great passionate pulse of existence, unwarped, uncontroverted, untrammelled by those creeds which futilely attempt to check what wisdom would be content to regulate (T., 203).

Arnold writes that "the life-giving and joy-giving power of nature" was "fondly cherished by the Pagan (Greek) world (C. A., 119)."

The conflict between the Hebraic and Hellenic philosophies in this novel are apparent in the following lines:

Once upon a time Angel had been so unlucky as to say to his father, in a moment of irritation, that it might have resulted far better for mankind if Greece had been the source of the religion of modern civilization, not Palestine; and his father's grief was of that blank description which could not realize that there might lurk a thousandth part of a truth, much less a half truth or a whole truth in such a proposition (T., 203).

Arnold writes, "Hebraism and Hellenism are neither of them, the law of human development, as their admirers are prone to make them; they are, each of them contributions to human development . . . (C. A., 120)."

Under the influence of Angel's teaching, Tess, too, becomes Hellenistic. Her Grecian character is shown by her comparison to Greek goddesses and with poetry. Angel calls her Artemis and Demeter (T., 167).

During her ride in the rain, her hair was clammy like seaweed and her arms like wet marble, which is reminiscent of Venus (T., 238). Her image is called Cyprian (T., 391). (Cyprus was once the home of Venus.) At her wedding "She was a sort of celestial person who owed her being to poetry--one of those classical divinities Clare was accustomed to talk to her about when they took their walks together (T., 271)." Tess's association with poetry connects her with Hellenism as it is described by Arnold. He writes that the dominant idea of poetry was "the idea of beauty and a human nature perfect on all its sides (C. A., 19)." Angel describes Tess to his parents as being "'actualized poetry . . . She lives what paper-poets only write . . . (T., 210).'"

An incident in Hardy's novel shows that Tess is aware of her changing point of view. After she and Angel part, she mechanically repeats the words "' All is vanity' " until "she reflected that this was a most inadequate thought for modern days. Solomon had thought as far as that more than two thousand years ago; she herself, though not in the van of thinkers, had got much further (T., 353)." Arnold writes that maxims of religion have become mechanical and are not fitted to changing circumstances (C. A., 142).

Though Tess becomes more Hellenistic, Angel reverts to his former Hebraic training after she tells him of her early unfortunate experience with Alec D'Urberville. He leaves her because she, through no fault of hers, did not obey the seventh of the ten commandments, which were highly valued by his family. Arnold writes that the Hebraising English give their religion the character of a mechanical, absolute law and regard it as "an object for strictness of conscience, not for spontaneity of consciousness; for unremitting adherence on its own account, not

for going back upon, viewing in connection with other things, and adjusting to a number of changing circumstances (C. A., 142)."

The author of Tess writes in regard to the situation,

But over them both there hung a deeper shade than the shade which Angel Clare perceived, namely the shade of his own limitations. With all his attempted independence of judgment this advanced and well-meaning young man . . . was yet the slave to custom and conventionality when surprised back into his early teachings . . . In considering what Tess was not, he overlooked what she was, and forgot that the defective can be more than the entire (T., 338).

Arnold writes, "Nothing is more striking than to observe in how many ways a limited conception of human nature . . . tells injuriously in our thinking and acting (C. A., 135)."

Angel leaves Tess and goes to Brazil to acquire some farm land. In Brazil his illness and various experiences again begin to broaden his view of life.

Having long discredited the old system of mysticism, he now began to discredit the old appraisements of morality. He thought they wanted adjusting . . . The beauty or ugliness of a character lay not only in its achievements, but in its aims and impulses; its true history lay, not among things done, but among things willed (T., 433).

Angel's outlook becomes more liberal through his association with another Englishman in Brazil.

The cursory remarks of the large-minded stranger . . . influenced Clare more than all the reasoned ethics of the philosophers. His own parochialism made him ashamed by its contrast. His inconsistencies rushed upon him in a flood. He persistently elevated Hellenic Paganism at the expense of Christianity; yet in that civilization an illegal surrender was not certain disesteem. Surely then he might have regarded that abhorrence of the un-intact state, which he had inherited with the creed of mysticism, as at least open to correction when the result was due to treachery (T., 435).

The following lines from Arnold's work are pertinent to this part of the novel:

. . . who, that is not manacled and hood-winked by his Hebraism, can believe that as to love and marriage, our reason and the

necessities of our humanity have their true, sufficient, and divine law expressed for them by the voice of any Oriental and polygamous nation like the Hebrews? Who, I say, will believe, when he really considers the matter, that where the feminine nature, the feminine ideal, and our relations to them are brought into question, the delicate and apprehensive genius of the Indo-European race, the race which invented the Muses, and chivalry, and the Madonna, is to find its last word on this question in the institutions of a Semitic people, whose wisest king had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines (C. A., 175-176)?

Angel's Hebraic harshness in sticking to the letter of the law, "THOU, SHALT, NOT, COMMIT--," as it was painted all over the countryside by one who had been converted by Mr. Clare (T., 102), proves to be the wrong solution and leads to disaster. Later after Angel's return to Hellenism, he says of his rejection of Tess, "I did not think rightly of you--I did not see you as you were (T., 483)." ("Seeing things as they are" is a favorite expression of Arnold's in Culture and Anarchy and is presented as a Hellenistic trait.)

Angel's inconsistencies in fluctuating between Hebraism and Hellenism is in keeping with Arnold's words, ". . . by alterations of Hebraism and Hellenism, of a man's intellectual and moral impulses, of the effort to see things as they really are, and the effort to win peace by self-conquest, the human spirit proceeds; and each of these forces has its appointed hours of culmination and seasons of rule (C. A., 122)."

In addition to the preceding ideas of Arnold's woven through the plot and reflected in the characters of Tess of the D'Urbervilles, several similar ideas and phrases occur both in this novel and Culture and Anarchy, as demonstrated in the following examples:

A man's marriage with his deceased wife's sister: Arnold mentions repeatedly the concern for the government's passing a law legalizing a man's marriage with his deceased wife's sister (C. A., xvi, 59, 60,

171, 172). He cites this problem to illustrate how the Philistines stick to the letter of the law in trivial matters. Hardy has Hellenic Tess show little concern about the outdated idea that one should not marry his sister-in-law, and in this way somewhat lessens the tragedy which befalls his main characters. Hardy has Tess ask Angel to marry her sister after she has gone to the gallows. Angel objects at first by saying, "' If I lose you, I lose all. And she is my sister-in-law.' " Tess answers, "' That's nothing, dearest. People marry sister-in-laws continually about Marlott . . . (T., 503).'"

Protestants' objection to the Roman Catholic church: Arnold writes that the dissenters shout, "No Popery (C. A., 157)!" and quotes a minister as exclaiming, "The lamps of the Reformation put out. I say, then, away with the mass! It is from the bottomless pit . . . (C. A., 63)." In Hardy's novel Angel remarks to Mercy Chant that a cloister might be preferable to going to Brazil. She is shocked at the allusion and rebukes him, "Why you wicked man, a cloister implies a monk, and a monk, Roman Catholicism." Angel teasingly replies, "' And Roman Catholicism, sin and sin, damnation. Thou art in a parlous state, Angel Clare.'" "' I glory in my Protestantism,' she said severely (T., 339)." The objection to the Catholic church was often discussed in English literature and, therefore, does not necessarily imply that Hardy was influenced by Arnold on this matter.

Curiosity: Arnold says the word curiosity may be used in both a good and bad sense, but the English usually use it in a derogatory sense (C. A., 5). Hardy, too, recognizes differences in the meaning of the word. Regarding Tess's landlady, he writes, "She was too deeply materialized, poor woman . . . to retain much curiosity for its own sake, and apart from lodger's pockets (T., 485)."

Aristocratic families: Hardy's portrayal of aristocratic families is somewhat similar to Arnold's description of this class of society. When Tess's father learns he is a member of the old family of D'Urber-
villes, he exults in their past greatness and completely ignores the poverty-stricken condition of his family. His wife and daughter have to help him home from the tavern where he has gone to celebrate his heritage. Hardy writes of him, ". . . to fortify his soul at the sight of the smallness of his present residence, he keeps repeating, 'I've got a fam--ily vault at Kingsbere (T., 30)!' " Arnold writes of this class, ". . . aristocracies with their natural clinging to the established fact, their want of sense for the flux of things, for the inevitable transitoriness of all human institutions, are bewildered and helpless (C. A., 54)."

As soon as Tess's father learns that his ancestors were members of the aristocracy, he sits down on the grass, brags about his family, and orders a boy to send a carriage for him. Arnold writes, "The graver self of the Barbarian [aristocracy] likes honours and consideration (C. A., 84)."

A link with Hardy's novel is also formed by Arnold's criticism of the aristocracy's love of field sports (C. A., 78). On the estate where Tess spends a night, she finds many pheasants which have been wounded by aristocratic hunters (T., 354).

Overpopulation: Hardy writes of the crowded condition of the poor Derbyfield family and states, "As Tess grew older and began to see how matters stood, she felt a Malthusian toward her mother for thoughtlessly giving her so many little brothers and sisters, when it was such a trouble to nurse and provide for them (T., 41). " In his essay Arnold

deplores the problem of overpopulation. He objects to the saying that having more children than one can support is an "accomplishment of the divine will or a fulfilment of Nature's simplest laws (C. A., 189)." He satirically objects to Robert Buchanan's statement:

" . . . If there is one quality which seems God's, and his exclusively, it seems that divine philoprogenitiveness, that passionate love of distribution and expansion into living forms (C. A., 184)." Although Arnold is writing specifically of the multitudinous children of the poor, Buchanan's attitude is similar to that of the villagers where Tess lives. When Tess's mother learns that Tess is to have a child, she says, "'Tis nater [nature], after all, and what do please God (T., 104)!"

Culture: Hardy's remarks on culture, with which Arnold is so much concerned in his essay, are interesting. They may be a retaliation for Arnold's remarks on provincialism with which Hardy disagrees. (See page 27) In describing the change in Angel after his living at the dairy, the author explains,

It was chiefly a difference in his manner that they noticed just now, particularly his brothers. He was getting to behave like a farmer; he flung his legs about; the muscles of his face had grown more expressive; his eyes looked as much information as his tongue spoke, and more. The manner of the scholar had nearly disappeared; still more the manner of the drawing-room young man. A prig would have said that he had lost culture, and a prude that he had become coarse (T., 204).

Arnold writes that if culture consists of an inward condition of the mind and spirit, not in an outward set of circumstances, it has an important function to fulfill for mankind (C. A., 12). Hardy states in his novel,

It was probable that in the lapse of ages, improved systems of moral and intellectual training would appreciably, perhaps

considerably, elevate the involuntary and even the unconscious instincts of human nature; but up to the present day, culture, as far as he could see, might be said to have affected only the mental epiderm of those lives which had been brought under its influence (T., 212).

Although some of the problems with which both Arnold and Hardy were concerned were topics of common interest at that time, the similarities of expression, viewed along with other more specific evidence in the novel, binds the works of the two authors more closely.

Jude the Obscure

More than any other of Hardy's novels Jude the Obscure shows the influence of Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy. As in Tess of the D'Urbervilles and A Laodicean, Arnold's influence is most evident in the Hebraic and Hellenic elements in this novel. Jude the Obscure reflects Culture and Anarchy in its characters' representation of Hebraism and Hellenism, in the relation of the plot to Arnold's ideas, in its treatment of similar problems, and for the first time in direct and indirect references to Arnold.

References to Arnold in Jude the Obscure

An indirect reference to Arnold may be intended when Jude recalls the famous men who had been associated with Oxford, and mentions one "who has recently passed into silence."³² Arnold had died on April 16, 1888, and Hardy writes of Arnold's death in his notes (page 39). On April 28 of the same year, Hardy makes a note to write a story about a young man who cannot go to Oxford. The proximity of these two notes

³²Thomas Hardy, Jude the Obscure (London, 1960), p. 93. Subsequent references to Jude the Obscure (abbreviated J.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

seems to indicate that the Oxford man "who recently passed into silence" may have been Arnold, especially when this reference is considered with other references to Arnold in the same novel.

Only two pages after the above reference in Jude the Obscure, Hardy quotes Arnold's eulogy to Oxford, "Beautiful city! So venerable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene . . . Her ineffable charm keeps ever calling us to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection (J., 94-95)."

At another place in the novel Sue refers to a "Christminster (Oxford) luminary (J., 358)" who may have been Arnold, since he had been prominent at Oxford as a lecturer and as Professor of Poetry.

Near the end of the novel when Jude names the ghosts of men who were famous at Oxford, he mentions Arnold specifically by name (J., 475).

These allusions to Arnold in Jude the Obscure show Hardy's increased concentration on Arnold as he is writing this novel. Also his major characters, Jude and Sue, represent Hebraic and Hellenic thought inherent in the English society, as these philosophies are described by Arnold, to a greater extent than in any previous novel. Their symbolism, their differences, their similarities, and their inconsistencies reflect Arnold's ideas found in Culture and Anarchy.

Jude as Hebraism

Jude's representation of Hebraism is found in his name, his association with Christianity, and his characteristics which are those attributed to Hebraism by Arnold. Jude's Biblical name suggests Judaism, the religious doctrines of the Jews whose general mode of thought is known as Hebraism. This interpretation is substantiated by Jude's desire to go to Christminster, which is comparable to the Hebraic prophets' anticipation of Christianity. The symbolic analogy of his son,

Time, with Reformation Christianity also supports the idea that Jude represents Judaism, the theology of the line of Judah from which Christianity came. (Arnold, in his essay, sometimes speaks of Hebraism as comprising only Judaism, but he usually includes both Judaism and Christianity as the discipline to which is attached the general name of Hebraism [C. A., 113].)

As a representative of Hebraic thought Jude seems to progress as it did. As a child, he climbs a ladder and sees the lights of Christminster reflected against the sky. He calls it the "Heavenly Jerusalem (J., 18)." His greatest hope is to study at Christminster, "the city of light." Though his efforts to enter Christminster fail, he tries to pattern his life after Christ. After becoming intoxicated, he thought "What a poor Christ he made (J., 147)." "He considered that he might so work his coming years as to begin his ministry at the age of thirty --an age which much attracted him as being that of his Exemplar when he first began to teach in Galilee (J., 155)."

Jude expresses an unquestioning belief when, in discussing religion with Sue, he exclaims, "' I take Christianity (J., 183).'" This faith is also expressed in his intense interest in objects related to his religion. When he and Sue visit a model of Jerusalem, "he became so interested in it that he forgot everything else (J., 126)."

When Jude and Sue visit the art galleries, he stops by preference in front of the devotional pictures, and his face grows reverent as he looks at "the Virgins, Holy Families and Saints (J., 163)." In reading he prefers religious works, although he read a diverse selection in attempting to prepare himself for Christminster. When he finds himself being influenced by the stories of the Greek Diana, he confines his reading in Greek to the New Testament in that language (J., 36).

In addition to the above association of Jude with Hebraic interests, he is depicted by Hardy as portraying the traits Arnold associates with Hebraism. Arnold presents acting without thinking as a Hebraic trait. He writes, "We may regard this energy driving at practice, this paramount sense of the obligation of duty, self-control, and work, this earnestness in going manfully with the best light we have, as one force [Hebraism] (C. A., 107)." Hardy writes of Jude, "He was young and strong, or he could never have executed with such zest the undertakings to which he now applied himself, since they involved most of the night after working all the day (J., 101)." Hardy later says of him, "Like enthusiasts in general he made no inquiries into details of procedure. Picking up general notions from casual acquaintances, he never dwelt upon them . . . (J., 101-102)."

Arnold, in speaking of the Hebraic tendencies of the English, writes,

We show, as a nation, laudable energy and persistence in walking according to the best light we have but are not careful enough, perhaps, to see that our light be not darkness. This is only another version of the old story that energy is our strong point and favorable characteristic rather than intelligence (C. A., 101).

In another instance, Jude, after working hard with little application of strategy, thinks, "It was decidedly necessary to consider facts a little more closely than he had done of late." He adds, "It would have been better never to have embarked in the scheme at all than to do it without seeing clearly where I am going, or what I am aiming at . . . (J., 134)."

Arnold writes that it is the business of the believers in culture "to get the present believers in action . . . to make a return upon their own minds . . . in order that, by learning to think more clearly,

they may come at last to act less confusedly (C. A., 201)." Later in the novel Jude describes the early state of his mind as being "too full of narrow dogmas" to see Sue's view (J., 416).

Another trait attributed to Hebraism by Arnold and used to characterize Jude is a concern for morals and conduct. Regarding Sue ". . . he found himself, to his moral consternation to be thinking more of her . . . There was not the least doubt that from his own orthodox point of view the situation was growing immoral (J., 114)." After Jude lectures Sue on being capricious, she tells him he is "too sermony (J., 313)."

Sue as Hellenism

Many of the same methods used to characterize Jude as a representative of the Hebraic culture are used to portray Sue as symbolic of Hellenism. Sue is Hellenistic in her preference for classicism, her association with Venus, her portrayal of traits described as Hellenistic by Arnold, and her Hellenic quotations, which are similar to those quoted by Arnold.

When Sue purchases statuettes, she chooses Venus and Apollo, which she calls "divinities (J., 111)" and later refers to as her "patron saints (J., 121)." She chooses to be like Venus Urania, the goddess of Platonic love, with whom she compares herself (J., 201). Many analogies may be drawn between Sue and Venus. Venus, in aiding Troy, was termed a coward goddess. Sue says several times that she is a coward (J., 267). Venus is often pictured with doves. Sue is saddened by the sale of her doves and releases them to prevent their being slaughtered. Venus is regarded as the bringer of spring; Sue is connected with spring in several ways in the novel. In one instance she is described as

follows: "She was in light spring clothing, and her advent seemed ghostly--like the flitting in of a moth (J., 300)."

Venus was said to have been born from the severed genitals of Uranus and the foam of the sea, and as such she is pictured emerging full-grown from a large clam shell, as in Botticelli's famous painting, "The Birth of Venus." The description of Sue after she crosses the river to escape from the training school is suggestive of this picture of Venus. ". . . she was clammy as a marine deity and . . . her clothing clung to her like the robes upon the figures in the Parthenon frieze (J., 172)." In answer to Jude's calling her modern, she says, "' I am more ancient than mediaevalism, if you only knew (J., 160).'"

Jude recognizes Sue's relation to Hellenism when he says, "' Sue, you seem when you are like this to be one of the women of some grand old civilization . . . I almost expect you to say at these times that you . . . have been watching Praxiteles chiselling away at his latest Venus, while Phryne made complaint that she was tired of posing (J., 327).'"

Arnold describes Hellenism as the culture of thinking, not acting. Both Jude and Phillotson describe Sue as "bright (J., 115, 123)." Jude pictures Sue, as he first knew her, as having an intellect which played like lambent lightning over conventions and formalities (J., 416). At the end of the novel he says of Sue, "' . . . she was a woman whose intellect was to mine like a star to a benzaline lamp; who saw all my superstitions and cobwebs that she could brush away with a word (J., 484).'"

Although Sue could think clearly, she showed an inability to act in accordance with her convictions. She said, "' I haven't the courage of my opinions (J., 288).'" When Jude calls her conventional, she says,

" ' Not mentally. But I haven't the courage of my views (J., 267). ' "

As her reason for marrying Phillotson, she says, " ' . . . my theoretic unconventionality broke down (J., 267). ' " After the death of the children, she declared that she would follow the little coffins to the grave, but she gave way (J., 410). Jude and Sue go many times to be married, but she always avoids the final ceremony.

When Jude and Sue are visiting the Great Wessex Agricultural Show (which may have been intended to represent the Renaissance), Sue says, " ' I feel that we have returned to Greek joyousness, and have blinded ourselves to sickness and sorrow, and have forgotten what twenty-five centuries have taught the race since their time, as one of your Christminster (Oxford) luminaries says . . . (J., 358). ' " Arnold was an Oxford "luminary." He writes regarding Hellenism, "Difficulties are kept out of view and the beauty and rationalness of the ideal (seeing things as they are in their beauty) have all our thoughts (C. A., 116). "

Arnold also writes regarding Hellenism at the time of the Renaissance,

The Renaissance, that great reawakening of Hellenism, that irresistible return of humanity to nature (Sue and Jude were admiring the roses as she spoke.) and to seeing things as they are, which in art (Sue and Jude had just visited the art displays at the show.), in literature, and in physics, produced such splendid fruits, had, like the anterior Hellenism of the Pagan world, a side of moral weakness . . . this exclusive preponderance given to man's perceiving and knowing side, this unnatural defect of his feeling and acting side, provoked a reaction (C. A., 124).

At the agricultural show, Sue tries to learn the names of the different varieties of roses. Since roses are often considered symbols of love, her intellectual interest in them may indicate an overemphasis of knowledge and a defect of feeling. She wishes to touch them but dares not (inability to act) until Jude pushes her face into them.

When Jude asks her if she is happy because they are together, she replies, "' You are always trying to make me confess to all sorts of absurdities. Because I am improving my mind, of course . . . (J., 358).'" Sue's last statement, too, shows an excessive attention to learning and a deficiency of emotion.

Sue's lack of sentiment is mentioned by Jude on several occasions. He complains that she has never said that she loves him and that he fears that she is incapable of real love (J., 313, 289). Arabella, too, notes that Sue does not care for Jude so much as he does for her. She adds, "' Sue is not a particular warm-hearted creature to my thinking . . . (J., 353).'"

The moral weakness of Hellenism mentioned by Arnold in the quotation above is also found in Sue's character. Her lack of moral conscience is disclosed by her lying to her employer about the kind of statues she had bought, deceiving Jude concerning her relations with Phillotson, and contributing, though unintentionally, to the deaths of the undergraduate student and Time (J., 111, 159, 177-178, 402).

Besides the above analogies between Sue and Hellenism, she is also linked with Culture and Anarchy by her quotations from the same authors whom Arnold quotes. Both Sue and Arnold refer to Plato's idea of seeing things as they are (J., 180; C. A., 124). Also, they both quote Wilhelm von Humboldt. Arnold cites Humboldt's idea that the individual must act for himself, perfect himself by all means in his power, and create an aristocracy of numerous talents and characters (C. A., 106-107). Sue says, "' To produce human development in its richest diversity (to quote your Humboldt) is to my mind far above respectability (J., 270).'"

Differences, Similarities, and Inconsistencies of Jude and Sue

The characterization of Jude and Sue as Hebraism and Hellenism suggests a series of contrasts. This is as Hardy intended, for, in a letter written to a friend after the publication of Jude the Obscure, he says of it, "Of course the book is all contrasts--or was meant to be in its original conception."³³

Arnold, in his discussion of the two philosophies which Sue and Jude represent, enumerates various differences between them. In regard to acting versus thinking he states, "The uppermost idea with Hellenism is to see things as they really are; the uppermost idea with Hebraism is conduct and obedience. Nothing can do away with this ineffaceable difference (C. A., 112)."

Arnold also writes of Hebraism and Hellenism, "And these two forces we may regard as in some sense rivals,--rivals not by the necessity of their own nature, but as exhibited in man and his history . . . (C. A., 110)." This rivalry of two philosophies may be reflected in the enmity of Jude and Sue's parents, which is mentioned several times. Sue says to Jude, "' We needn't quarrel because our parents did, need we (J., 121)?'"

Jude and Sue's rivalry is very apparent in their conflicting views and tastes. When Sue buys the Greek statuettes, she says, "' Well, anything is better than those everlasting church fal-lals (J., 110)!" She puts the figures of Venus and Apollo on the chest of drawers.

Occasionally she looked up at the statuettes, which appeared strange and out of place, there happening to be a Calvary

³³Florence Emily Hardy, The Later Years of Thomas Hardy (New York, 1930), p. 42. Subsequent reference to The Later Years of Thomas Hardy (abbreviated L. Y.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

print hanging between them, and, as if the scene suggested the action, she at length jumped up and withdrew another book from her box--a volume of verse--and turned to the familiar poem--

Thou hast conquered, O pale Galilean
The world has grown grey from thy breath (J., 111).

This scene anticipates Sue's unhappy destiny, her defeat by the act of Jude's son, Time, and Hellenism's being overcome by Hebraism.

The owner of the Calvary picture, Sue's employer, who is described in Hebraic terms--dressed almost like an abbess, wearing a cross and beads around her neck as her only ornament, knowing the Christian year by heart, and worshipping in Beersheba at the same church Jude attended--finds the Greek statues and crushes them beneath her heel (J., 120). Her action also heralds Sue's final defeat by Hebraism. Regarding the defeat of Hellenism by Hebraism Arnold writes, "The Hebraising nations of our modern world are the children of that immense and salutary movement which broke up the Pagan world . . . (C. A., 121)." He also discusses the "defeat inflicted upon Hellenism by Christianity eighteen hundred years ago and the check given to the Renaissance by Puritanism (C. A., 126)."

Sue shows further antipathy to Hebraism when she says, "' I hate Gothic (J., 162)!" and "' The Cathedral has had its day (J., 160)!" While looking at a model of Jerusalem, Sue says, "' I fancy we have had enough of Jerusalem . . . considering we have not descended from the Jews.'" (Arnold states that though the English favor Hebraism, they are Indo-European like the Greeks, rather than Semitic like the Hebrews [C. A., 124-125].) Sue continues, "' There was nothing first-rate about the place, or people, after all--as there was about Athens, Rome, Alexandria, and other old cities.'" Jude's reaction to the model is the opposite to Sue's. He "bent so low in his intent inspection of

the Valley of Jehoshaphat that his face was almost hidden from view by the Mount of Olives (J., 125)."

In discussing Christminster, which had so attracted Jude, she says, "' . . . intellect at Christminster is new wine in old bottles. The mediaevalism of Christminster must go, be sloughed off, or Christminster itself will have to go . . . (J., 180).'" Jude defends Christminster, saying that it has much that is glorious, but that he can do without what it confers. "' I care for something higher,'" he asserts. "' And I for something broader, truer,'" she insists. 'At present intellect in Christminster is pushing one way and religion the other; and so they stand stockstill, like two rams butting each other (J., 181).'"

In spite of the differences of Sue and Jude, which are those which exist between Hellenism and Hebraism, they, like the philosophies they represent, have some things in common. Arnold expresses the kinship which may exist between people of Indo-European origin and the Semitic races in the following remark: "But nothing more strongly marks the essential unity of man, than the affinities we can perceive, in this point or that, between members of one family of peoples and member of another (C. A., 124-125)." Phillotson says of Jude and Sue, "' . . . an extraordinary affinity, or sympathy, entered into their attachment . . . (J., 278).'"

Arnold notes a further similarity between the two philosophies by stating, "The final aim of both Hellenism and Hebraism . . . is no doubt the same; man's perfection or salvation . . . The very language which they both of them use in schooling us to reach this aim is often identical (C. A., 110)." There is a resemblance in Sue's and Jude's manner of speaking. When Sue spoke "he recognized in the accents

certain qualities of his own voice; softened and sweetened, but his own (J., 103)."

Other characters in the novel recognize a similarity between Sue and Jude. Phillotson, in explaining why he let Sue go to Jude, says of them "' . . . I have been struck with these two facts; the extraordinary sympathy, or similarity, between the pair. He is her cousin, which perhaps accounts for some of it. They seem to be one person split in two (J., 276).'" Arnold writes of the Hellenic half and Hebraic half of man's nature (C. A., 130). He also opposes "cutting our being in two" by giving attention to only one side of it (C. A., 140).

Jude and Sue are further described as "counterparts (J., 172).'" Phillotson writes to Jude, "' You and Sue were made for each other; it is obvious, palpable, to any unbiased older person (J., 288).'" Arnold writes that many people say, "' . . . we are to join Hebraism . . . with Hellenism, inculcate both, and rehearse the praises of both (C. A., 132).'"

In one instance Jude says Sue is like him at heart, and she answers, "' But not at head,'" After they clasp hands, Jude says they did so because they are alike. Sue insists, "'Not in our thoughts! Perhaps a little in our feelings (J., 243).'" Arnold writes of the two cultures, "Even when their language indicates by variation . . . the different courses of thought which are uppermost in each discipline, even then the unity of the end and aim is still apparent (C. A., 110)."

Arnold states that in the early days of Christianity Hebraism was served by Hellenism, which gave it a greater spontaneity of consciousness. This was true of Sue's early influence upon Jude, for she helped to broaden his view of life.

Sue and Jude are not always consistently Hellenic and Hebraic in this novel, for these tendencies varied in society at different times. After Sue and Jude's association with each other, she becomes more self-sacrificing, and he becomes freer to see things as they are. Arnold writes, "Hebraism and Hellenism--between these two points of influence moves our world. At one time it feels more powerfully the attraction of one of them, at another time of the other; and it ought to be, though it never is, evenly and happily balanced between the two (C. A., 110)."

Minor Characters

One of the minor characters, Jude's son, Time, is a further manifestation of Jude's Hebraism. Sue calls Time "Juey" after his father (J., 375). She says that she sees Jude in him (J., 334). Time seems to represent the Protestant religions which arose from the Reformation and expresses particularly the concept of the Puritans as designated by Arnold.³⁴

Father Time, so named because he seemed much older than his years ("Age masquerading as Juvenility"), is always solemn and serious. When the passengers on his train laugh at the playful antics of a kitten, his eyes seem to say, "All laughing comes from misapprehension. Rightly looked at there is no laughable thing under the sun (J., 332)." When the guard assures him his box was safe, he tries to smile but fails. His face is like the "mask of Melpomene (J., 337)." Arnold writes that Christianity (which he calls Hebraism aiming at self-conquest) conforms

³⁴Time may also represent "time" in the same type of double symbolism used by Hardy for Christminster. This interpretation is suggested by Hardy's describing him as old, as having a creeping pace, and by Jude's statement which would apply to both symbols: "'Time may right things (J., 335).'"

to the self-sacrificing example of Christ and he quotes George Herbert's words, "' my Savior banished joy (C. A., 118-119). '"

Time's manner of walking alone to Jude's house is described as a "steady, mechanical creep which had in it an impersonal quality (J., 333)." Arnold mentions the isolated, mechanical ways of the Puritans in several places (C. A., 137, 143, 146, 149). "He [Time] followed his directions literally, without an inquiring glance at anything . . . The boy seemed to have begun with the generals of life, and never to have concerned himself with the particulars (J., 334)." In his chapter "Porro Unum Est Necessarium," Arnold writes that the Puritans concentrate on man's moral conscience and consider it the one thing necessary. He says of one who defends this tendency of the Puritans, ". . . is he not carried away by a turn for broad generalisation (C. A., 133)?"

Arnold also criticizes the otherworldliness of the Puritans by saying that they limit the meaning of the word resurrection to a rising after a physical death, whereas St. Paul uses it to mean also a new life before physical death. Arnold states that they "put off for here-after and for another world the full and harmonious development of our humanity (C. A., 142)." Time shows this concern with the future. At the agricultural show he says, "' I should like the flowers very much, if I didn't keep on thinking they'd be all withered in a few days (J., 358). '" Regarding Time's coming to live with Jude and Sue, the author writes, ". . . the boy's coming also brought with it much thought for the future, particularly as he seemed at present to be singularly deficient in all the usual hopes of childhood. But the pair tried to dismiss, for a while at least a too strenuously forward view (J., 348)." At Christminster, Time asks the following questions: "' Mother, what

shall we do tomorrow (J., 401)?' " and "' It would be better to be out o' the world than in it, wouldn't it (J., 402)?' "

Time calls Sue "Mother," although she is not his real mother. When Time first sees Sue, he asks, "' Is it you who's my real mother at last (J., 335)?' " He also asks, "' Can I call you mother (J., 335)?' " Jude remarks to Sue, "' He called you mother two or three times before he dropped off . . . Wasn't it odd that he should have wanted to (J., 335)!' " Arnold calls the Reformation the "Hebraising child of the Renascence," which was a time of Hellenic influence (C. A., 123).

In some ways Time seems to symbolize Christ. His coming is called "an advent" and brings with it much thought for the future (J., 348), he brings to the lives of Jude and Sue a new and tender interest of an ennobling and unselfish kind (J., 348), and he, his father, and Sue find they must travel under sealed orders so that no one can trace them, as in the flight of Mary, Joseph, and Jesus to Egypt (J., 371). This idea is explored in detail in an article by Norman Holland. (See Page 5, Footnote 9) However, the symbolism of Time seems more consistent with that of the rest of the story when he is viewed as Reformation Christianity, following the example of Christ. Jude's hopes that this son will accomplish what he was unable to do and will right things can be applied to either interpretation.

Arnold calls Christianity "Hebraism aiming at self-conquest . . . by conformity to the image of self-sacrificing example (C. A., 118)." Time sacrifices himself to avoid bringing Jude and Sue further trouble. He hangs himself and Jude and Sue's two other children after Sue is unable to give him a satisfactory explanation regarding unwanted children. Arnold writes of the Puritan, " . . . He fancies it to be his

right and duty, in virtue of having conquered a limited part of himself, to give unchecked swing to the remainder. He is . . . a victim of Hebraism What he wants is a larger concept of human nature besides what he knows and thinks of (C. A., 134)." Arnold also writes of the suicide of a young man who was worried about saving his soul and becoming poverty-stricken. Time was worried about the poverty the children caused Jude and Sue.

Following Time's action, Sue loses all her Hellenizing traits and turns to the Hebraizing ideal of self-sacrifice. Arnold writes,

. . . Puritanism, which has been so great a power in the English nation . . . was originally the reaction in the seventeenth century of the conscience and moral sense of our race against the moral indifference and the lax rule of conduct (Jude and Sue's natural marriage was considered immoral), which in the sixteenth century came in with the Renaissance . . . Undoubtedly it [Puritanism] stopped the prominent rule and direct development of that order of ideas which we call by the name of Hellenism, and gave the first rank to a different order of ideas (C. A., 125-126).

Arnold differentiates between the first check given Hellenism by Christianity and the later one by Puritanism by saying the latter was not in the central current of the world's progress, but was a side stream crossing the central current (C. A., 126). Time is not the child of Jude and Sue, but he enters the story at the latter part of the novel, checking the harmonious relations found by Sue and Jude during the Great Show (Renaissance).

In addition to the minor character, Time, considered as an offspring of Hebraism, two other minor figures, Arabella and Phillotson, tend to strengthen the tie between Arnold's essay and Jude the Obscure.

The character of Arabella Don is less complex than that of Jude or Sue. She symbolizes natural man without culture, or animality in

man's nature, and she is described by Hardy as a "complete and substantial female animal--no more, no less (J., 42)." She is the first obstacle to Jude's pursuit of his ideal. Arnold writes that men of culture must first rid themselves of their animality (C. A., 22). Jude cannot go to Christminster until Arabella leaves him.

Arnold's description of the Populace, which is his name for the lower class, is similar to that of Arabella, who is of that class. He says that its characteristics are ignorance, passion, envy, and brutality (C. A., 83). Arabella shows all of these traits. She scorns Jude's knowledge at their first meeting, is envious of Jude and Sue at the show, and is brutal in killing her pig. Arnold says that the lighter self of the Populace likes beer (C. A., 84). Arabella surprises Jude with her knowledge of beer on their first date. She later works as a barmaid selling beer and marries a man who owns a beer tavern.

Another minor character, Phillotson, seems to have received his name from Arnold's term for the English middle class, the Philistines, and he shows the traits of that class as described by Arnold. Arnold writes that the Philistines like business, money-making, and comfort (C. A., 84). When Jude sees Phillotson at Christminster and asks how he fares, Phillotson replies that he is comfortable in his position (J., 118). Phillotson is called a "master tradesman" who wants Sue as an apprentice to save him half his labor (J., 123). His plan for himself and Sue is to take a large school in a great town where they can make a good income between them (J., 159). Phillotson's usual talk with Sue consists of trivial matters of business, such as copy books and arrangement of ventilators (J., 264).

Phillotson, like the Philistines, is often worried about appearances. When he and Sue quarrel, he says, "' Just think if either of the parsons

in this town was to see us now (J., 266)!" He gives the following reason for her not leaving him: "' You would lose everybody's respect and regard; and so should I (J., 270)!"

Phillotson is similar to the Philistines in lacking the understanding to be had from a well-rounded education. (He does not know the best that has been thought and said, which Arnold advises as a cure for England's difficulties.) He calls Sue "Soo," a call for pigs, not recognizing the difference between her and Arabella, who is often associated with pigs. He says, "' . . . she (Sue) has read ten times as much as I. Her intellect sparkles like diamonds, while mine smoulders like brown paper . . . (J., 276).'" In answer to Sue's quotation from Mill, Phillotson says, "' What do I care about J. S. Mill! I only want to lead a quiet life (J., 269)!"

After Phillotson's association with Sue, he develops a more liberal outlook. He allows her to leave him in spite of contrary conventional ideas on the matter. He seems to become more concerned with the individual's right to choose than respectability. He says regarding his change, "' . . . I have out-Sued Sue in this . . . (J., 279).!"

Phillotson's consideration for Sue is anticipated at the beginning of the novel when he tells Jude to be kind to the birds. Jude reflects Phillotson's influence in his letting the birds eat the corn, in his care not to step on the earth worms, and in his inability to refuse Sue or Arabella his help when they appeal to him. This thoughtfulness, which seems to conflict with Arnold's picture of the Philistines, may be explained by Arnold's own words. He writes that some people have a natural bent which "tends to take them out of their class, and to make their distinguishing characteristic not their Barbarism or their Philistinism, but their humanity. They have, in general, a rough time of it

in their lives . . . (C. A., 85)." He further states, " . . . the predominance of the humane instinct, will very much depend upon its meeting, or not, with what is fitted to help and elicit it (C. A., 86)."

Phillotson's humane instinct cannot remain predominant in his society. Hardy writes of him, "No man ever suffered more inconvenience from his own charity, Christian or heathen, than Phillotson had done in letting Sue go. He had been knocked about from pillar to post at the hands of the virtuous almost beyond endurance . . . (J., 432)." When Phillotson takes Sue back, he pretends to discard his liberal views in order to regain some of the benefits he had lost by letting her go.

But artifice was necessary, he had found, for stemming the cold and inhumane blast of the world's contempt . . . By getting Sue back and remarrying her on the respectable plea of having entertained erroneous views of her, and gained his divorce wrongfully, he might acquire some comfort, resume his old courses, perhaps return to the Shaston school, if not even to the Church as a licentiate (J., 432).

Arnold writes that external goods, not inward perfection, fill the thoughts of the Philistine (C. A., 80).

The Reflection of Arnold's Ideas in the Plot of Jude the Obscure

Besides the similarities found in the symbolism of Hardy's characters and Arnold's ideas, the latter are also reflected in the plot of Jude the Obscure. In Culture and Anarchy, Arnold shows that a balance of Hellenism and Hebraism is essential in the culture of a society, that neither taken separately is adequate to provide an environment in which an individual can reach perfection, which Arnold defines as developing all sides of one's humanity (C. A., xiv). He blames the tendency of the English to stress Hebraism and neglect Hellenism for the problems of the nineteenth century.

In Jude the Obscure Hardy considers the mental, physical, and spiritual fulfillment of his main character through education, marriage, and religion. In each case Jude is thwarted, largely because his society fails to see things as they are, resulting in social laws opposed to natural laws. Sue says to Jude, "' . . . the social moulds civilization fits us into have no more relation to our actual shapes than the constellations have to the real star-patterns (J., 246-247).'"

Arnold stresses the importance of mental development in giving the purpose of his essay. He states,

The whole scope of this essay is to recommend culture as the greatest help out of our present difficulties; culture being a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know . . . the best which has been thought and said in the world; and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits . . . (C. A., xi).

Arnold further states that institutions, such as universities, are needed to help defend and advance that many-sided development which Hebraising makes the people neglect. He agrees that universities should be opened to everyone (C. A., xx).³⁵

In Hardy's novel, Jude's greatest desire is to attend the university at Christminster, but he cannot get in, even though his mental faculties surpass those of many who are attending this institution. Sue tells Jude, "' You are one of the very men Christminster was intended for when the colleges were founded; a man with a passion for learning, but no money, or opportunities, or friends. But you were elbowed off the pavement by the millionaires' sons (J., 180-181).'"

While Jude is working to save money to go to Christminster, he encounters the second obstacle to his full development. Going to Marygreen

³⁵Until 1871 only Anglican students could be elected to fellowships, and preceding 1854, no students except Anglicans were admitted to Oxford.

with his head filled with dreams of great achievement, he meets Arabella, who represents nature in its raw uncultured state. Jude is diverted from his high ideals and tricked into marrying her. According to Jude, "' Normal sex impulses are turned into domestic traps (J., 261).'" Arnold states in his essay, "But men of culture and poetry, it will be said, are again and again failing and failing conspicuously, in the necessary first stage to a harmonious perfection, in the subduing of the great obvious faults of our animality . . . (C. A., 22-23)." Although Arnold does not mention sexuality in relationship to animality, Hardy seems to associate the two words, as in his description of Arabella.

When Arabella leaves Jude, he meets philosophical Sue and his problem is reversed by her ideal of Platonic love and the value credited to virginity, which has its basis in both Hellenic and Hebraic ideals. The highest kind of love according to the Greeks is that of the mind--the Venus Urania (Platonic) type--as discussed in Plato's Symposium. Hebraism, too, places a high value on virginity and celibacy, as is seen in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. In Jude and Sue's society "sexual love was regarded as at its best a frailty, and at its worst damnation (J., 261)." Arnold writes, "The Greeks' quarrel with the body and its desires is, that they hinder right thinking; the Hebrews' quarrel with them is, that they hinder right acting (C. A., 112)."

Jude's religious faith changes to disbelief and confusion after he discovers that his experiences and new knowledge are not compatible with his earlier philosophy. He finds society everywhere sticking to the letter of the law instead of being charitable and kind and considering each situation according to its own merits. When Jude and Sue are not legally married, they are refused work and driven from one place

to another. In strict observance of the letter of the law, people fail to have the tolerance which Hellenic enlightenment would have given them.

Arnold quotes Bishop Wilson, "First, never go against the best light you have; secondly, take care that your light be not darkness," and Arnold adds, "We English have followed with praiseworthy zeal the first rule, but we have not given so much heed to the second (C. A., 69)." Arnold accounts for this condition by the English people's neglect of Hellenism. He states that "the impulse of the English race toward moral development and self-conquest has no where so powerfully manifested itself as in Puritanism (C. A., 21)." But he adds, "their idea of human perfection is narrow and inadequate and . . . will never bring humanity to its true goal (C. A., 23-24)."

Sue's Hellenism does not lead her to happiness either. Her ignoring convention leads to persecution by society, culminating in the death of her children. Feeling that she is being punished for leaving Phillotson to live with Jude, she sacrifices herself by returning to the former. The following words from Arnold apply to Sue's situation:

When the Alma Venus, the life-giving and joy-giving power of nature, so fondly cherished by the Pagan world, could not save her followers from self-dissatisfaction and ennui, the severe words of the apostle came bracingly and refreshingly: "Let no man deceive you with vain words, for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." Through age after age and generation after generation, most living and progressive, was baptized into a death, and endeavored, by suffering in the flesh, to cease from sin (C. A., 119).

After the children's death, Sue in her repentance, says, "' We should mortify the flesh--the terrible flesh--the curse of Adam!'" She continues, "' I wish my every fearless word and thought could be rooted out of my history. Self-renunciation--that's everything! I cannot humiliate

myself too much. I should like to prick myself all over with pins and bleed out the badness that's in me (J., 417)!"

Regarding the defeat of Hellenism, Arnold writes,

Apparently it was the Hellenic conception of human nature which was unsound, for the world could not live by it. Absolutely to call it unsound, however, is to fall into the common error of its Hebraising enemies; but it was unsound at that particular moment of man's development, it was premature (C. A., 118).

In Hardy's novel Sue says, "' We are a little beforehand, that's all (J., 345).'" Shortly before his death, Jude says, "' . . . the time was not ripe for us (J., 484).'"

Common Problems in Jude the Obscure and Culture and Anarchy

Love and marriage: Jude and Sue's unconventional ideas concerning marriage cause them to be despised by their neighbors. They share a mutual appreciation and understanding of each other, but other members of society object, as Sue expresses the situation, to his not having contracted to cherish her under a government stamp and to her not being "licensed to be loved on the premises (J., 312)."

Arabella gives Sue several reasons why she should make her marriage legal: "' Life . . . is more business-like, and money matters work better . . . if you have rows, and he turns you out of doors, you can get the law to protect you . . . and if he bolts away from you, you'll get the sticks of furniture . . . (J., 324).'"

Arnold writes concerning this problem:

And his [the Philistine's] true humanity, and therefore his happiness, appears to lie much more, so far as the relations of love and marriage are concerned, in becoming alive to the finer shades of feeling which arise within these relationships, in being able to enter with tact and sympathy into the subtle instinctive propensities and repugnances of the person with whose life his own is bound up, to make them his own, to direct and govern in harmony with them the arbitrary range of his personal action and thus to enlarge his spiritual and

intellectual life and liberty, than in remaining insensible to these finer shades of feelings and this delicate sympathy, in giving unchecked range, as far as he can, to his personal action, in allowing no limits or governments to this except such as a mechanical external law imposes . . . (C. A., 174).

Hardy's portrayal of Jude and Sue and Arabella and her husband at the agricultural show reveals the harmony and understanding of the former couple, although they have not complied with the law in marrying, and the disgust and boredom of the latter couple, although they are legally correct in their relationship.

Overpopulation: Arnold objects to the idea that a large population is a blessing to England. He deplors the greatly increasing number of poor people who are "perishing in their helplessness and wretchedness (C. A., 188)." Arnold scorns the statement of the Times which says, "' Now their brief spring is over; there is nobody to blame for this; it is the law of nature (C. A., 188)!'"

Sue and Jude are very poor, partially because of the number of children. The "spring" of their children is certainly brief, and when Time asks, "' Then if children make so much trouble, why do people have them?'" Sue answers, "' O--it is a law of nature (J., 402).'" When Sue tells Time there is to be another child, he exclaims, "' O God, mother, you've never a-sent for another . . . (J., 402).'" Arnold writes, "Hebraism is conducted to . . . the notion . . . that children are sent . . . (C. A., 187-188)." He also states that the "violation of reason's law" (man's having more children or anything else than he can afford) will lead to great confusion and trouble (C. A., 189). This is true in Hardy's novel, for Time kills himself and the other children. He leaves a note which reads, "' Done because we are too menny (J., 405).'"

The Well-Beloved

The Well-Beloved, though published in book form after Tess of the D'Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure, shows little of Arnold's influence. This may be explained by the fact that most of it was written years before. In 1897, a note by Hardy mentions the publication of a revised novel, The Well-Beloved. Regarding it, he states, "Not only was it published serially five years ago, but it was sketched many years before that date, when I was a comparatively young man, interested in the Platonic Idea . . . (L. Y., 57)." The superficial style of some of the writing in The Well-Beloved supports Hardy's remark concerning the early date of its original conception.

The Well-Beloved tells of a man's Platonic love for the ladies of three generations of Caros. As a young man, Jocelyn Pierston plans to marry Avice Caro, but because of a misunderstanding, she does not meet him one evening. He goes walking with Marcia Bencomb, who happens to be passing by, and they are caught in a rain storm. He thinks he sees the "Well-Beloved," for whom he is searching, in her and they decide to marry, but she goes home and does not return.

Pierston is next attracted by Nichola Pine-Avon, but he receives news that Avice is dead, and he suddenly realizes that she was the one he should have married. He remembers Avice as the ideal woman and models all of his art after her until he meets her daughter, Ann, and sees her as the embodiment of his vision of perfection. However, the daughter is already married, so he carries the image of the Caros with him.

Ann later writes to him to arrange a marriage between him and her daughter, Avice, although the latter is much younger. Pierston associates his idea of perfection with this Caro too, until he learns that

she plans to marry a young man, Henri Leverre, who is the son of the former Marcia Bencomb. He meets the boy's widowed mother again, and they are married. He loses his Platonic ideal and love of art and cares only for materialistic comforts.

In The Well-Beloved are some Hellenic allusions, which seem to show the influence of both Arnold and Shelley. The plot of this novel may reflect Arnold's idea that the loss of classicism [Hellenism] is the loss of beauty and light. The spirit of Platonic love, which causes Pierston, the protagonist, to seek an ideal of womanly beauty, is Greek in its origin and is suggestive of Shelley's influence. When the Platonic spirit dies, after the marriage of the last representative of his feminine ideal, Pierston loses his taste for beauty and becomes materialistic. His change is described as follows: "The artistic sense had left him, and he could no longer attach a definite sentiment to images of beauty recalled from the past. His appreciativeness was capable of exercising itself only on utilitarian matters."³⁶

The Hebraic element is present in this story in the implied rivalry between the Christian and Pagan churches, although by Paganism Hardy sometimes means the classical Paganism of the Romans who had once lived in England and sometimes the ancient islanders who were called the Slingers (W. B., 76). Pagan-Christian rivalry appears in the description of the churches on the island, which is the setting for most of the story. One is described as follows: "It [the ruined church] seemed to say that in this last local stronghold of the Pagan divinities, where Pagan

³⁶Thomas Hardy, The Well-Beloved (London, 1960), p. 209. Subsequent references to The Well-Beloved (abbreviated W. B.) will be included parenthetically in the text.

customs lingered yet, Christianity has established itself precariously at best (W. B., 13)." In another instance Hardy writes,

The church of the island has risen near the foundation of the Pagan temple, and a Christian emanation from the former might be wrathfully torturing him through the very false gods to whom he had devoted himself both in his craft, like Demetrious of Ephesus, and in his heart. Perhaps Divine punishment for idolatries had come (W. B., 115).

The craft to which he (Pierston) had devoted himself was sculpturing figures of ladies associated with his Platonic ideal. The punishment which he anticipates from the Christian church because of his devotion to Grecian art reflects Arnold's Hellenic-Hebraic rivalry.

Although the preceding examples suggest a slight similarity between The Well-Beloved and Arnold's work, in the absence of other common elements, the evidence is rather inconclusive.

CHAPTER III

THE SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND ANARCHY ON HARDY'S NOVELS

The forgoing study of the extent of the influence of Arnold's Culture and Anarchy on Hardy's novels provides the following information. Hardy's earliest novels---Under the Greenwood Tree, A Pair of Blue Eyes, Far from the Madding Crowd, and The Hand of Ethelberta---are rather simple pastoral stories and do not give any indication of Arnold's influence.

The signs of Arnold's influence first appear at the time of the publication of The Return of the Native with Hardy's pre-occupation with the Greeks, which in some instances resemble Arnold's ideas of Hellenism. At this time the first reference to Arnold appears in Hardy's notes.

The next novel to be published, The Trumpet Major, is said to closely resemble another work, Georgia Scenes, and does not show any of Arnold's influence.

With the publication of A Laodicean, greater similarities between the two authors' works are apparent, with both Hellenic and Hebraic elements present as they are found in Arnold's view of these tendencies. During the time A Laodicean was being written, Hardy writes in his notes that he has met Arnold for the first time, and he continues to mention Arnold frequently.

Following A Laodicean, Hardy's novels---Two on a Tower, The Major of Casterbridge, and The Woodlanders---show none of Arnold's influence.

One of these, The Woodlanders, had been written many years before.

After Arnold's death, Hardy published two novels, Tess of the D'Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure, which show a greater concentration of Arnold's influence than any of Hardy's other novels. In these works Hardy's characters portray Hellenic and Hebraic traits as they are described by Arnold, react to problems discussed in Arnold's essay, often in parallel phrasing, and Arnold is quoted and mentioned by name.

Hardy's last novel, The Well-Beloved, was written years before its publication at the time of Hardy's interest in Shelley, which is reflected in the theme of Platonic love in this novel. The Well-Beloved shows the contrast in Jocelyn Pierston's personality during the time he is interested in Platonic love and art and the time after he loses these interests and becomes materialistic, which suggests Arnold's Hellenism and Philistinism. References to rivalry between Christianity and Hellenism also seem to show Arnold's influence, but without the many points in common found in the two preceding novels. Definite evidence of Arnold's influence is not conclusive in this work.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to new knowledge in the field of literary history, which may be helpful in several ways. It may contribute to a better understanding of the symbolism in Hardy's novels. Hardy's combining of personal names, such as his family name, Fawley, with names such as Jude, which are intended to have symbolic meaning, makes understanding his work more difficult. A knowledge of the similarity of his novels to Culture and Anarchy should simplify the critics' task of explicating his novels. Also inconsistencies of Hardy's characters are readily explained when they are viewed as representatives of the Hellenic and Hebraic cultures.

Another benefit that may be derived from this study is the viewing of nineteenth century problems from two different approaches. Arnold's expository discussion of social and religious problems, which are dramatized by Hardy's characters, gives the reader greater insight into these problems, many of which still exist at the present time. Too, the opportunity to compare Arnold's and Hardy's ideas on similar problems is desirable to provide a better understanding of the philosophies of these two prominent authors from their reaction to these problems.

This study may also serve a more practical purpose. Many interesting examples of changing the ideas of one genre into another are found in the works of Arnold and Hardy. Some good illustrations from these works could be used in a composition or creative writing class.

In view of the close correlation found in Arnold's essay and some of Hardy's novels, one might consider the question of whether Arnold's influence extends into Hardy's poetry and drama. This subject might be considered for future investigation.

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