

Contents

Acknowledgements x

Introduction 1

This chapter provides a biographical overview of Thomas Hardy's life and career, considers the place of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* in his body of work, and explores some of the key issues raised by the two novels. The chapter also outlines the contents of the Guide overall.

CHAPTER ONE 15

Contemporary Reviews

This chapter examines the contemporary reviews of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* upon their initial publication. It explores the evaluations, judgements and criticism of reviewers and commentators writing in a wide range of newspapers and journals, and assesses both the varied reactions to *Mayor* and the storm of controversy stirred up by *Jude*.

CHAPTER TWO 31

Establishing Lines of Critical Enquiry, 1890–1949

This chapter explores the range of reactions towards *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* in the first fifty years after their publication. It starts with consideration of early influential, liberal humanist studies by Lionel Johnson (1894), Lascelles Abercrombie (1912) and Samuel C. Chew (1921), before turning to the reactions of the modernist writers D.H. Lawrence (1913–14), E.M. Forster (1927) and Virginia Woolf (1928). The second half of the chapter surveys various responses to the novels in the 1930s and 1940s, including those by William R. Rutland (1938), David Cecil (1943), F.R. Leavis (1948) and Albert Guerard (1949).

CHAPTER THREE 57

Developing Critical Approaches: Criticism of the 1950s and 1960s

This chapter examines criticism on *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* across two transitional decades which see formalist and liberal humanist readings being augmented by New Critical readings and readings which draw upon sociological and historical approaches. Studies covered include those

by John Holloway (1953), Douglas Brown (1954), Richard C. Carpenter (1964), Robert B. Heilman (1966) and Irving Howe (1967).

CHAPTER FOUR 77

Critical Expansion: Criticism of the 1970s

This chapter examines criticism of the 1970s, a decade which witnessed the expansion of different interpretative approaches to *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure*. For alongside the continued interest in formalist and humanist approaches emerged readings drawing upon structuralism, more sophisticated socio-historical and political frameworks, and developing feminist and gender-based theories. Works considered include those by J. Hillis Miller (1970), Raymond Williams (1970), Merryn Williams (1972), Perry Meisel (1972), Ian Gregor (1974), Terry Eagleton (1976), Patricia Stubbs (1979) and Elaine Showalter (1979).

CHAPTER FIVE 101

The Impact of High Theory: Criticism of the 1980s

This chapter explores the ways in which criticism of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* was influenced by the burgeoning of theory in literary and cultural studies of the 1980s. Through developing sociological, Marxist, feminist, psychoanalytic and materialist theories, Hardy's work was seen to be far more destabilising and challenging than many previous readings had suggested. Works considered include those by Rosemary Sumner (1981), Penny Boumelha (1982), George Wotton (1985), Rosemarie Morgan (1988), Michael Valdez Moses (1988), John Goode (1988), Patricia Ingham (1989) and T.R. Wright (1989).

CHAPTER SIX 125

Recent (Re-)Readings: Criticism from 1990 to the Present

This chapter examines some of the new and exciting developments in contemporary criticism of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* which have appeared over the last two decades. It considers how critics since 1990 have built upon previous theoretical approaches – materialist, psychoanalytic, gender-based, formalist – and also developed new areas of attention. Works considered include those by Deborah L. Collins (1990), Marjorie Garson (1991), Joe Fisher (1992), Robert Langbaum (1992), Margaret R. Higonnet (1993) and Sally Ledger (1997).

CHAPTER SEVEN 139

Re-representations: Film and Television Adaptations

This chapter examines the ways in which *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure* have been adapted for film and television and the ideological

underpinnings of these adaptations. Examples considered include the 1978 BBC adaptation of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (screenplay by Dennis Potter) and Michael Winterbottom's films, *Jude* (1996) and *The Claim* (2000).

Conclusion	146
Notes	148
Bibliography	158
Index	163

Introduction

In January 1928, Thomas Hardy was buried not once, but twice. For whilst his family and friends wanted Hardy to be buried in the parish of Stinsford, near Dorchester, in the same grave as his first wife, Emma, his executor insisted that he should be interred in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. The final resting place of the great novelist and poet, aged 87 when he died, was therefore a site of anxiety and debate every bit as controversial as much of his work had been across his career, and in the end a compromise was reached with Hardy's heart being taken for burial in Stinsford and his remaining ashes being placed next to those of Charles Dickens and Robert Browning in the revered space of Poets' Corner.

As the popular poet Alfred Noyes (1880–1958) commented in his obituary of Hardy in the *Guardian*, however, this public ceremony in Westminster Abbey – which was attended by literary celebrities as diverse as Rudyard Kipling, George Bernard Shaw, Virginia Woolf, A.E. Housman and J.M. Barrie, as well as the Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin – was itself something of an anomaly for a man who had spent much of his life questioning the very existence of God and who had repeatedly suggested, from as early as his 1866 poem 'Hap', that the universe is driven not by a benevolent spirit but by those indifferent forces which he termed 'Crass Causality' and 'purblind Doomsters'. Indeed, as Noyes wrote, highlighting the ambiguities of the situation:

■ It was the funeral of a man who had been loaded with earthly honours for his exposition of their emptiness and for his affirmation that they never came to those who deserved them. It was the funeral in the central shrine of this country of a man who had renounced all hope both for himself and for the race [...]. And his own sense of emptiness of these things seemed to chill the whole ceremony. It was – for most of those present – a ritual, a temporal tribute, the best that an essentially pagan intellectualism could offer in an externally Christian country.¹ □

For Noyes, then, Hardy's funeral in Westminster Abbey was a ceremony which 'defied all logic, and illustrated the intellectual and religious confusions of our time', and yet in many ways it also served as a fitting illustration of that inability of the establishment to categorize and place Hardy which had dogged him throughout his career.

As has often been argued, Hardy occupies a unique position in literary history as both a major Victorian novelist and a major twentieth-century poet. Born on 2 June 1840 in rural Higher Bockhampton, just three years after Victoria came to the throne, he would live through the Crimean War (1853–6), Boer Wars (1880–1, 1899–1902) and First World War (1914–18), see the invention of the internal combustion engine, the telephone and cinematography, and witness the Irish famine (1846–51), Italian and German unification, the scramble for Africa and the campaigns of the suffragettes. His own novels from the 1870s to the 1890s would repeatedly break new ground by their challenge to conventional thinking on gender, sexuality, religion, class and the individual in the modern world, whilst his poetry would help establish a new tradition which would be highly influential on twentieth-century poets such as W.H. Auden (1907–73), Louis MacNeice (1907–63), Philip Larkin (1922–85) and Seamus Heaney (born 1939). By all accounts, then, Hardy stands as a principal figure in the transition from Victorian to modernist aesthetics.

As the son of a builder and stonemason, Hardy was educated locally in Dorset before being articled to a Dorchester architect, John Hicks, at the age of sixteen. Architecture would be Hardy's first major career and, as a number of critics have noted, his training as an architect meant that he was particularly alert to history, art, structure and form, concerns which would become central to his writings overall. During this period of his life, Hardy would learn to balance his architectural career with a commitment to intellectual development and authorship, forming in the late-1850s an important friendship with Horace Moule (1832?–73), a classical scholar, critic and sometime reviewer for the *Saturday Review*, who introduced him to new and challenging ideas, including the work of Charles Darwin (1809–82) and the notorious *Essays and Reviews* of 1860 which attacked established religious doctrine. When, in 1862, Hardy moved to London to work with the architect Arthur Blomfield, he continued to educate himself by reading widely and also began regularly to write poetry. Indeed, a reference in the posthumously published *Life of Thomas Hardy* (1928–30) refers to Hardy's routine at this point as 'a life twisted of three strands – the professional life, the scholar's life, and the rustic life, combined in the twenty-four hours of one day'.²

Poetry would remain Hardy's first love throughout his life but realizing the difficulty of becoming financially secure from being a poet, he began to write fiction soon after his return to Dorset in 1867. His first attempted novel, *The Poor Man and the Lady*, the title of which indicates that concern with economics and class relations which would become a consistent strand in his writings throughout this career, was rejected by the publisher Chapman and Hall, but the publisher's reader, the novelist and poet George Meredith (1828–1909), encouraged Hardy

to write a narrative with a stronger plot and in 1871 his first published novel, *Desperate Remedies*, appeared. This was followed, year by year, by *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872), *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), and *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874), clearly produced at a phenomenal rate of writing. Of these, *Far From the Madding Crowd* was Hardy's first real success and with it he established the semi-fictional rural world of Wessex, the setting for his following ten novels. Although sometimes thought of – particularly in the popular imagination – as some idyllic pastoral environment, Hardy's Wessex depicts the often harsh realities of agricultural life in the early to mid-Victorian period, the dynamics of rural existence and class conflict, and the impact of the great social and intellectual upheavals of the nineteenth century.

The new literary and financial success brought about by *Far From the Madding Crowd* allowed Hardy both to give up his architectural work to concentrate on writing and to marry his first wife, Emma Lavinia Gifford (1840–1912), who he had met in 1870 whilst visiting St Juliot in Cornwall for a church restoration project (Emma was the sister-in-law of the vicar there). Their marriage, however, was marred by disagreements, tensions over the lack of children, and increasing alienation, although throughout all this Hardy continued to write and to establish his name as a major novelist of the period. In 1876 he published *The Hand of Ethelberta* and two years later, in 1878, one of his major tragic novels, *The Return of the Native* appeared. This was followed, over the next five years by three lesser known and, in terms of criticism, less well-studied novels, *The Trumpet Major* (1880), *A Laodicean* (1881) and *Two on a Tower* (1882).

During the 1870s and early 1880s, the Hardys spent several long periods in London, particularly in the Tooting area, but in 1885 they returned to Dorset permanently to live at Max Gate, the house that Hardy had himself designed and which was built by his brother. It was at this point in time that Hardy can be said to have entered his major writing period, producing those novels on which, in many quarters, his reputation rests. In 1886 he published his great tragedy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge: The Life and Death of a Man of Character*, and then, in the following year, *The Woodlanders*, his study of agricultural labour in a post-Darwinian world. Two volumes of strong and impressive short stories followed – *Wessex Tales* (1888) and *A Group of Noble Dames* (1891) – before Hardy entered that final period of novel writing that saw him increasingly courting controversy and moral criticism. The publication of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* in 1891, with its emphasis on female sexuality, religious hypocrisy and murder, caused a scandal amongst conservative late-Victorian readers, and whilst *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved* (serialized 1892; published in volume form 1897) lessened the condemnation, the publication in 1895 of what is effectively Hardy's

final novel, *Jude the Obscure*, saw Hardy vilified by many critics and reviewers. Indeed, as many commentators have emphasized, it was this vilification which was one of the major factors in Hardy's decision to stop writing novels altogether, although his now economically secure situation also had considerable influence on the decision.

For the remaining thirty years of his life, then, Hardy devoted himself principally to his first love, poetry. Interestingly, he would write in the *Life of Thomas Hardy* of his sense in the late 1890s that poetry offered a greater opportunity to speak freely and openly of those subjects and concerns (such as his views on living in a godless universe) which would be furiously condemned by critics if he wrote about them in prose:

■ Poetry. Perhaps I can express more fully in verse ideas and emotions which run counter to the inert crystallized opinion – hard as a rock – which the vast body of men have vested interests in supporting. To cry out in a passionate poem that (for instance) the Supreme Mover or Movers, the Prime Force or Forces, must be either limited in power, unknowing, or cruel – which is obvious enough, and has been for centuries – will cause them merely a shake of the head; but to put it in argumentative prose will make them sneer, or foam, and set all the literary contortionists jumping upon me, a harmless agnostic, as if I were a clamorous atheist, which in their crass illiteracy they seem to think is the same thing [...] If Galileo had said in verse that the world moved, the Inquisition might have let him alone.³ □

In all, Hardy wrote nearly a thousand poems, many of them characterized by a sparse, direct style and focusing on issues to do with the natural world, lost love, the decline of religious faith, and a sense of exile and alienation. In 1898 he published *Wessex Poems and Other Verses*, a collection of some of his most well-known poems dating back as far as the 1860s, which was then followed in 1901 by *Poems of the Past and the Present* and, in 1904, the first part of his epic verse drama on Napoleon, *The Dynasts* (parts two and three were published in 1906 and 1908 respectively). A further volume, *Time's Laughingstocks and Other Verses*, was published in 1909 and the following year Hardy was awarded the prestigious Order of Merit, having previously refused a knighthood.

During this period, relations with Emma deteriorated to the state where she and Hardy were effectively separated although living in the same house. The couple were still estranged at the time of her death in November 1912, but the loss engendered tremendous grief in Hardy which found expression in some of his most beautiful and poignant love poetry, collected together as *Poems 1912–13*. Certainly this collection includes some of Hardy's most well known and widely anthologized poems such as 'The Going', 'The Voice', 'After a Journey' and

‘Beeny Cliff’. Nevertheless, within two years, in February 1914, Hardy married his second wife, Florence Emily Dugdale (1879–1937), who was thirty-nine years his junior and who had been a close friend since 1905 and his secretary since 1912. Their relationship was one of mutual support and devotion, and Hardy continued to write and publish a wide variety of works, including *Satires of Circumstance* (1914), *Selected Poems* (1916), *Moments of Vision and Miscellaneous Verses* (1917), and *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922). He also wrote the *Life of Thomas Hardy* which was published posthumously under Florence’s name in 1928–30 and which has remained an invaluable source of insight into Hardy’s thinking across his career. Certainly by the time of his death in 1928, Hardy was recognized as a major literary figure, a writer who had greatly influenced the development of the novel in terms of both form and content, and a poet who had had considerable impact on the development of twentieth-century poetics.

THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE: COMPOSITION, PUBLICATION, CONCERNS

This Reader’s Guide to Essential Criticism focuses specifically on two of Hardy’s most important and challenging novels: *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure*. *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, along with *The Woodlanders*, was Hardy’s major novel of the 1880s and like many of his fictional works has an intriguing and slippery composition and publication history. According to the *Life*, Hardy began writing *Mayor* in 1884 and finished the manuscript on 17 April 1885. The text was published in the *Graphic* magazine in weekly parts from 2 January to 15 May 1886 – a standard publication practice in the nineteenth century – and a two-volume book edition was subsequently brought out by the publishers Smith, Elder (the publishers of Charlotte Brontë’s work earlier in the century) in May 1886. Preparation of the book version allowed Hardy to undertake what he perceived to be a number of important and necessary revisions, since he felt that the process of serialization had caused considerable damage to the original work. Indeed, as the *Life* records:

■ It was a story which Hardy fancied he had damaged more recklessly as an artistic whole, in the interest of the newspaper in which it appeared serially, than perhaps any other of his novels, his aiming to get an incident into almost every week’s part causing him in his own judgment to add events to the narrative somewhat too freely.⁴ □

With the demands of weekly publication – the need for continual action and events as well as the perpetual cliffhanger to keep the audience

interested and returning for more – Hardy clearly felt that the credibility of the narrative had been strained. Consequently, as several critics have demonstrated, he made some highly significant changes for the first book edition. As Michael Millgate notes, for example, along with the increased sexual frankness of the book version – serialization had demanded, amongst other things, that Henchard's affair with Lucetta in Jersey was altered to become a marriage which Henchard entered into because he thought that he was no longer married to Susan – the narrative of the volume version overall is far more cogent and cohesive and suggests much greater plausibility and skill in characterization. The result, as Millgate astutely argues, is an increased sense of the novelist's power:

■ When *The Mayor of Casterbridge* was published, more than three and a half years had passed since the appearance of the first edition of *Two on a Tower* in October 1882. Though stories and other minor pieces had been written and published during these years, the interval, quite unprecedented at this point in his career, provided Hardy with an opportunity virtually to reconstruct himself as a novelist upon a new basis. The semi-romances of the early 1880s were now left sternly behind; the idea of Wessex, hitherto only vaguely perceived, became clear and concrete; and Hardy emerged in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* as a conscious artist with an altogether richer conception of the novel form and a firmer grasp of its techniques.⁵ □

Indeed, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* has always been one of Hardy's most widely admired, studied and critically debated novels and saw Hardy emerging, as Millgate here suggests, at the height of his powers. The narrative opens both shockingly and intriguingly with the journeyman Michael Henchard's sale of his wife and daughter to the sailor Newson, following his inebriation on the illicit goods supplied by the furnitry woman at the fair in Weydon-Priors. Unsurprisingly, this scene has been subject to much critical discussion and has been read as both some kind of repressed fantasy which allows Henchard to sever all familial and financial ties, and the offence against the moral and social orders for which he will spend the rest of his life atoning. Indeed, the following day, when he comes to his senses, Henchard swears the vow to forsake alcohol for twenty years which then becomes his defining characteristic for much of the novel.

Interestingly – and innovatively in terms of structure – the narrative then shifts to the 1840s with Susan returning to Casterbridge eighteen years after the wife-sale and discovering that Henchard has risen in professional stature to become both mayor and magistrate of the town. This places the action of the main part of the text in the years immediately before the repeal of the Corn Laws, that protectionist policy

established to safeguard home produce from foreign competition. As Hardy notes in Chapter 26 of the novel, this was a time when

■ as from the earliest ages, the wheat quotations from month to month depended entirely upon the home harvest. A bad harvest, or the prospect of one, would double the price of corn in a few weeks; and the promise of a good yield would lower it as rapidly. Prices were like the roads of the period, steep in gradient, reflecting in their phases the local conditions, without engineering, levellings, or averages.⁶ □

Feeling the pressure of running his corn business under these circumstances, Henchard takes on Donald Farfrae as manager, a Scotsman who is passing through Casterbridge on his way to emigrate to Canada – a historically accurate scenario according to Douglas Brown (1962): see Chapter Three of this Guide – and who possesses the ability to cure Henchard's grown wheat. As many critics have pointed out, Farfrae becomes a symbol of new, modern agricultural and managerial practices as he promises to turn Henchard's business around before proceeding to become his rival. As Farfrae systematically deprives Henchard of his business, his money, his status as mayor and, eventually, his family, Henchard clings in vain to a traditional and pre-industrial feudal culture, seeking help from weather prophets and, in failing to understand the basic concepts of supply and demand, depending solely upon his good name to keep himself afloat.

As the wealth of criticism on this great novel indicates, the construction of Henchard is one of the most impressive representations of a divided man and a split personality in Hardy's fiction and, arguably, Victorian literature generally. Significantly the novel is the first of Hardy's works to be named after the protagonist and carries the important subtitle, 'The Life and Death of a *Man of Character*' (my italics). Certainly Henchard's character is highly complex as he is torn between a strong temper – what the narrator terms the 'unruly volcanic stuff beneath the rind' – and a constant need for affection and acceptance. Often childlike and with a tendency to castigate himself for his actions, Henchard's character is the driving force of both the novel and, many critics argue, his tragedy. For this 'man of moods, glooms and superstitions', as the narrator defines him, is constantly undergoing vast emotional swings which makes him a fascinating study not only for critics working with humanist and psychoanalytic approaches but also those drawing upon Marxism, masculinity and gender studies, and various strands of postmodern thought.⁷

As a social milieu, Casterbridge itself – with which Henchard is so keenly identified – is depicted in astonishing detail. The town geography is carefully laid out by Hardy with the market square at

the centre – the key focus of both business and personal tensions as a number of critics have argued – and the three hostelrys of the King’s Head, the Three Mariners and Peter’s Finger clearly marking out the class divisions of Casterbridge society. For behind the civic buildings and reputable businesses lies the dark underbelly of Mixen Lane where, the narrator tells us:

■ Vice ran freely in and out certain of the doors of the neighbourhood; recklessness dwelt under the roof with the crooked chimney; shame in some bow-windows; theft (in times of privation) in the thatched and mud-walled houses by the shallows. Even slaughter had not been altogether unknown here.⁸ □

Certainly the town is divided upon all kinds of class and social lines with the working-class locals representing, as a number of critics have suggested, both a modern version of the classical chorus in ancient Greek tragedy commenting on the actions of their leaders, and a form of alternative judge and jury in the prosecution of the skimmity ride which brings Henchard to a new awareness of himself and Lucetta to her death. And then further outside the thriving market town lies the amphitheatre, the relic of an ancient and dark Roman past which serves to suggest that history – both personal and political – is never escapable, as is evidenced by the constant disruptive returns from the past of Susan, Elizabeth-Jane, Newson and Lucetta.

The tragedy of Henchard – which throughout raises questions concerning fate and freewill and whether Henchard is the plaything of the gods as in classical tragedy or the victim of his own character – is founded upon personal and political decline and that series of rapid losses which eventually pushes him to both physical and psychological alienation in the final scenes in the cottage on Egdon Heath, scenes which recall King Lear’s exclusion on the heath in Shakespeare’s play (c. 1605). In relocating to the landscape that had been so important in Hardy’s previous novel, *The Return of the Native*, Henchard dies at the margins of society, leaving the will which asks that he remains as estranged in death as he has been in life. In terms of the Darwinian thinking with which Hardy was suffused, then, Henchard fails to survive because he cannot adapt to new circumstances, whilst Farfrae wins out since he is, in effect, the fittest. Indeed, one reading of the close of this text is that Farfrae and Elizabeth-Jane’s wedding represents the union of those figures who have new positive ideas and new positive views of the future.

The Mayor of Casterbridge is a phenomenally powerful text on many levels and as such can be read from a wide variety of perspectives, as this Guide demonstrates. Moreover, writing the novel helped Hardy come

to a new understanding of both tragedy and the role of the artist, for as he wrote in his diary two days after finishing *Mayor*: ‘The business of the poet and novelist is to show the sorriness underlying the greatest things, and the grandeur underlying the sorriest things.’⁹ Certainly this was the philosophy which became the foundation of those major novels that form Hardy’s greatest writing after *The Mayor of Casterbridge*: *The Woodlanders*, *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and, arguably to a far greater degree than any other, *Jude the Obscure*.

JUDE THE OBSCURE: COMPOSITION, PUBLICATION, CONCERNS

In many ways *Jude* is the culmination of Hardy’s novel-writing career, not only for its being the *final* novel he wrote but also for its unrelenting confrontation with conservative thinking and established institutions. Indeed, by 1883 Hardy had already expressed the need for a novelist to be committed to independence of thought in his life and work:

■ In future I am not going to praise things because the accumulated remarks of ages say they are great and good, if those accumulated remarks are not based on observation. And I am not going to condemn things because a pile of accepted views raked together from tradition, and acquired by instillation, say antecedently that they are bad.¹⁰ □

Ten years later, the writing of *Jude the Obscure* would see Hardy putting this standpoint into practice at its most uncompromising and, as the first chapter of this Guide demonstrates, having to face the consequences when the reviews started to appear.

According to the Preface accompanying the first edition of *Jude*, Hardy began making notes for the novel in 1887, before he started the writing of *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*. In 1890, he wrote out what he terms the ‘scheme’ of the text and then constructed the complete narrative in outline form during 1892–3. The novel was then written in full from August 1893 and was with the publisher by the end of 1894, although the final manuscript date of March 1895 suggests that Hardy spent an additional number of months editing the script. It was a text, therefore, over which Hardy spent considerable time – eight years in all – thinking, drafting, redrafting, and finally bringing to fruition.

As with *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and most of Hardy’s other fictional works, *Jude the Obscure* first emerged in serial form, appearing in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* under the initial title of *The Simpletons* for the first installment and the alternative title *Hearts Insurgent* for subsequent installments. But if serialization had made demands on Hardy’s work

with *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, it was to be far more demanding with *Jude*. *Harper's* had agreed to take the work in principle in 1893 on the condition that the story should be 'in every respect suitable for a family magazine',¹¹ yet the resulting manuscript was viewed as anything but and *Harper's* consequently insisted upon many scenes being rewritten or removed altogether, particularly those to do with the depiction of sex. When serialization began in December 1894, then, many of the scenes with Arabella – such as the scene where she teases Jude by putting the bantam egg in her cleavage, the pig-killing scene, and the scene where she and Jude later sleep together in Aldbrickham upon her return from Australia – had been taken out. Arabella's tricking Jude into marriage through her pretended pregnancy had also been altered to the pretence that a former lover wanted to marry her, whilst Jude and Sue's natural children became *adopted* to avoid the idea that Sue ever has sex with Jude. Further, Sue's repulsion at sex with Philottson was removed, as was most of the direct critique of the marriage question. Much of the impact of the plot overall was consequently lost and Hardy's unhappiness with the whole process is clearly evident in his letters and diary notes. In February 1895, for example, three months into the serialization, he wrote to Grant Allen (1848–99), the author of the scandalous novel *The Woman Who Did* (1895): 'I wish I could send you the real copy of the story I have written for *Harper's*, as the form in which it is appearing there is a conventionalized one, in many points.' And in the following month, he wrote more urgently to Sir George Douglas: 'don't read it in the Magazine, for I have been obliged to make many changes, omissions, & glosses. It will be restored to its original shape in the volume'.¹²

This 'original shape' was mostly reinstated in the 1895 book version published by Osgood, McIlvaine. Appearing under the new title *Jude the Obscure*, which seems to restrict the focus in comparison with the serial titles, the text was also accompanied by an important Preface in which Hardy specifically stated his aims and mounted a defence of his subject matter:

■ For a novel addressed by a man to men and women of full age; which attempts to deal unaffectedly with the fret and fever, derision and disaster, that may press in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity; to tell, without a mincing of words, of a deadly war between flesh and spirit; and to point the tragedy of unfulfilled aims, I am not aware that there is anything in the handling to which exception can be taken.

Like former productions of this pen, *Jude the Obscure* is simply an endeavour to give shape and coherence to a series of seemings, or personal impressions, the question of their consistency or their discordance, of their permanence or their transitoriness, being regarded as not of the first moment.¹³ □

Whilst Hardy seems to downplay his writing in this second paragraph as ‘*simply* an endeavour’ (my italics) and a ‘series of seemings, or personal impressions’, he nevertheless boldly defends his project in the first paragraph. Indeed, as Douglas Brown has noted, Hardy wrote in his literary notebook that the plot of *Jude* was ‘something the world ought to be shown’.¹⁴

Set around the 1860s, Hardy’s last novel is a form of the *bildungsroman*, the novel of education or development, focusing on the life of Jude Fawley from youth to adulthood. As a number of critics have noted, this is the only novel of Hardy’s to focus on the protagonist as child and these important scenes depict Jude as highly sensitive and full of aspiration, desiring to leave Marygreen and educate himself at Christminster. Interestingly, the concern with pastoral which had previously characterized Hardy’s novels and for which he was famous here shifts into an increasing concern with the decay of the rural environment and the centrality of the urban space in Jude’s life.

The tension between aspiration and reality which underpins *Jude* is first evidenced in the young Jude’s new awareness that scholarship is not easy to acquire and that there is no one translation key which will allow him to make sense of the Greek and Latin primers he acquires. Notwithstanding this hardship, however, he persists with his aims until he is seduced by Arabella. Indeed, the clash between Jude’s aspirations and the reality of rural life is nowhere more aptly summed up than in Arabella’s throwing the pig’s pizzle at Jude’s face when he is engrossed in reciting his list of classical authors. Taken in by Arabella’s seductiveness, pretence, and false pregnancy, Jude is effectively forced to abandon his dreams as the couple enter a state of discordant matrimony. Indeed, the anti-marriage sentiment that many critics of the novel were to attack comes through strongly here in the narrator’s reflections on Jude and Arabella’s wedding ceremony:

■ And so, standing before the aforesaid officiator, the two swore that at every other time of their lives they would assuredly believe, feel, and desire precisely as they had believed, felt, and desired during the few preceding weeks. What was as remarkable as the undertaking itself was the fact that nobody seemed at all surprised at what they swore.¹⁵ □

Following Arabella’s emigration to Australia, Jude moves to Christminster only to find that his pre-conceived image of the place as some divinely inspired ‘city of light’ is as illusory as Arabella’s pregnancy. For the university at Christminster refuses to open its doors to the likes of Jude and barely recognizes his existence; significantly, the imagery of Jude as being ghost-like, unseen and effectively incorporeal, surrounds him from his first evening there (see Part Second, chapter 1). Jude might be recognized

by all in Marygreen as being '[c]razy for books', but Christminster banishes him so he remains 'outside the gates of everything'.¹⁶ Indeed, the frequent appearance of the policeman in Christminster suggests the anxious need of the university to police itself against intrusion from the lower classes and to make sure that ambitious figures like Jude stay in their allotted place as stonemasons rather than seeking entrance to the hallowed halls of learning.

Although Jude is the eponymous protagonist of the novel, many critics have suggested that the most complex character of the text is actually Sue Bridehead, Jude's cousin. As succeeding chapters of this Guide demonstrate, Sue has been read variously as a model of liberated independence, as a version of the late-Victorian New Woman, and as childlike, neurotic, frigid and oppressed. Rejecting conventional Christianity, baulking against structures of authority, and fearing what she terms the 'iron contract' of marriage with its perceived physical, psychological and sexual sacrifice to the man,¹⁷ Sue seems to defy categorization and remains one of the most ambiguous and complicated characters of late-nineteenth-century fiction. Moreover, her desire for liberation on multiple levels, followed by her hideous self-punishment after the deaths of her children at the hands of Little Father Time, makes her a fascinating study for both psychoanalysis and the individual's relations to structures of power. Certainly Sue has continued to hold the attention of critics across the twentieth century and into the twenty-first and to spark some ferocious critical debate along the way.

'Perhaps the world is not illuminated enough for such experiments as ours!', Sue laments to Jude in the closing stages of the novel, 'Who were we, to think we could act as pioneers!'¹⁸ As the reviews of *Jude* were to prove (see Chapter One), Sue's words could apply equally to Hardy's text itself, for many of Hardy's contemporary readers were clearly not prepared for this 'pioneering' 'experiment' in fiction and consequently reacted in extremely negative ways to its concerns and style. Significantly, five years earlier – whilst in the midst of the process of planning *Jude* – Hardy had published an important essay entitled 'Candour in English Fiction', which condemns what he saw as a dominant puritanical attitude towards contemporary novels. Here, in calmly reasoned prose, Hardy attacks the conservative stance of both readers and reviewers which results in restrictions being placed on what is considered 'acceptable' fiction. Drawing attention to the manipulations of magazines and the circulating libraries in promoting what they term 'household reading', he argues that they impede the development of a novel which 'reflects and reveals life', their prudery excluding frank discussion of issues such as sexual relations which might be considered 'unsuitable'.¹⁹ As if seeking to shake up precisely those readers and institutions he identifies in 'Candour in English Fiction', Hardy effectively

broke all boundaries with *Jude the Obscure* by creating a text which undermines conventional thinking on issues as diverse as religion and morality, law, the institution of marriage, gender relations, sexuality, education and the family. Indeed, as Norman Page has argued, 'it is difficult to think of another novel of the period in which such a diversity of vital social and intellectual questions [...] [is] so vigorously ventilated'.²⁰ Moreover, the novel's experimentation with form, structure and generic boundaries, to which a number of critics have pointed, also marks *Jude* as a major precursor of high modernist texts. Certainly the novel was, and remains, an extremely powerful conclusion to fiction writing for one of the Victorian period's most innovative and radical writers.

THIS GUIDE

In this Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism, I have sought to construct a critical history of these two major nineteenth-century novels, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Jude the Obscure*, from the time of their publication to the present. Neither novel has ever been out of print and both continue to be widely read, studied, debated and adapted into other media, so the wealth of possible material for inclusion is vast. Consequently I have sought to be as wide-ranging and representative as possible in the discussion of criticism on the novels, whilst privileging those critical analyses which seem the most influential and groundbreaking. Drawing upon monographs on Hardy's work overall, books on individual texts, journal articles, biographies and reviews, I have aimed to structure the material in ways which highlight the similarities and differences between the reception histories of the two novels, as well as the ways in which they have been read through various theoretical frameworks, including liberal humanism, formalism, New Criticism, structuralism, Marxism, feminism, psychoanalysis and New Historicism.

Divided into seven chapters, this Guide examines the responses to *Mayor* and *Jude* by Hardy's contemporary readers; the varying reactions towards the works by readers and critics of the first half of the twentieth century; and then, in discrete but interrelated chapters, critical responses in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s to the present. The penultimate, shorter section considers the ideological complexities of film and television adaptations of the novels, whilst the Conclusion offers some closing remarks on the critical histories of the texts and suggests some possible ways forward for future interpretations. Overall, then, this Reader's Guide provides a reflective consideration of over a hundred years of Hardy criticism and will hopefully allow readers to achieve a deepened appreciation of Hardy's power, innovation and

accomplishment on the one hand and, on the other, a sense of the skilful achievement of those critics who have elucidated the novels in so many diverse, compelling and often contradictory ways. Certainly, the state of Hardy criticism looks set to remain extremely healthy as we continue to grapple with the works of a writer who, in many ways, took the nineteenth century by storm.

Index

- Abercrombie, Lascelles, 35–7, 38, 39, 45, 63
 Aeschylus, 32
 agricultural revolution, 60–1
 Allen, Grant, 10, 25, 110
 ‘antiquarian’ readings, 91
 Aristotle, 32, 46
 Arnold, Matthew, 58
 Ashton, John, 104
Athenaeum, 16–17, 21–2
 Auden, W.H., 2
 Austen, Jane, 32, 43, 52, 68, 140

 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 69, 116, 117, 126
 Baldwin, Stanley, 1
 Balzac, Honoré de, 19, 29
 Barrie, J.M., 1
 Barthes, Roland, 78, 121
 Bates, Alan, 142
 Beach, Joseph Warren, 45
 Bentley, Wes, 145
 Björk, Lennart A., 104
Blackwood's Magazine, 24–5
 Blomfield, Arthur, 2
Bookman, The, 23–4
 Boumelha, Penny, 109–12, 114, 136–7
 Braddon, Mary Elizabeth, 115
 Brady, Kirstin, 131, 136
 Bray, Alan, 129
 Brontë, Charlotte, 5, 32, 53, 83, 140
 Brontë, Emily, 32, 53, 83, 140
 Brooks, Jean, 77, 80–1, 92, 100
 Brown, Douglas, 7, 11, 34, 59–61, 61–2, 82, 139
 Browning, Robert, 1, 38
 Buchanan, Robert, 23
 Bullen, J.B., 120–1
 Bunyan, John, 87
 Burns, Robert, 33
 Butler, Lance St. John, 124

 Caird, Mona, 132
 Carlyle, Thomas, 58
 Carpenter, Richard C., 63–5

 Casagrande, Peter C., 80, 104–6
 Cecil, (Lord) David, 48–50, 53, 90
 Chapman and Hall (publishers), 2
 Chase, Mary Ellen, 44–5
 Chekhov, Anton, 41, 53
 Chew, Samuel C., 37–9, 50
 Christie, Julie, 140
 circulating libraries, 12, 115, 134
 Clarendon, Earl of, 87
 Clark Lectures, Cambridge University, 41, 48
 Cleveland Street Scandal, 130
 Collins, Deborah L., 125–7
 Collins, Philips, 104
 Comte, Auguste, 105–6
 Conrad, Joseph, 52, 69
 Corn Laws, 6–7, 60
Cornhill magazine, 42
Cosmopolis, 27–8
 Cox, R.G., 77–8
 ‘critiography’ (Peter Widdowson), 139–40
 Cultural Materialism, 83, 103

 Darwin, Charles, 2, 32, 35, 68, 94–5, 103, 125
 David, Hugh, 143
 Davies, J.V., 39
 Dellamora, Richard, 129–30, 132
 Derrida, Jacques, 79
 Dickens, Charles, 1, 32, 68, 83, 140
 Dike, D.A., 65–7, 80
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 58, 59, 85
 Dorset, 2, 3, 83, 86
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor, 69
 Douglas, Sir George, 10
 Dowson, Ernest, 31
 Draper, R.P., 70, 89–90, 100, 103, 136

 Eagleton, Terry, 75, 77, 88–9, 91, 99, 117–18
 Eaton, Andrew, 143
 Eccleston, Christopher, 143–4
 Egerton, George, 110
 Eliot, George, 32, 52, 58, 59, 68, 83, 85

- Eliot, T.S., 52
- Ellis, Havelock, 28–9, 106, 130
- English Studies, development of, 34, 52
- Englishness, 33, 48–50
- Essays and Reviews*, 2, 103
- Euripides, 21
- Everyman*, 87
- Fielding, Henry, 23
- feminist criticism, 96–7, 109, 113–14
- ‘feminist critique’ (Elaine Showalter), 97
- Firor, Ruth, 45–6
- First World War, 2, 31, 35, 39, 103, 141
- Fisher, Joe, 134–6
- Flaubert, Gustave, 19, 115
- ‘Fleshy School Scandal’, 23
- Forster, E.M., 41–2, 48
- Foucault, Michel, 121, 129, 131
- Fourier, Charles, 106
- Free Trade, 60
- French feminism, 113
- Freud, Sigmund, 31, 35, 94, 95, 106–7, 108, 121, 133
- Garson, Marjorie, 128–9, 132, 136
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, 53, 85
- Gatrell, Simon, 123, 138
- gender criticism, 96–7, 109, 113–14
- Gibbon, Edward, 87
- Gibson, James, 104
- Giles, David, 141–2
- Goode, John, 117–19, 123, 136, 139
- Gosse, Edmund, 27–8, 106, 130
- Grand, Sarah, 110, 132
- ‘grand narratives’, 101–2
- Graphic*, 5
- Green, Hardy, 143
- Gregor, Ian, 77, 80, 81–2
- Guardian*, 1, 22
- Guerard, Albert, 19, 53–6, 57, 63, 68–9, 74, 85, 146
- ‘gynocriticism’ (Elaine Showalter), 97
- Haggard, H. Rider, 85
- Hardy, Barbara, 137
- Hardy, Emma Lavinia (née Gifford), 1, 3, 4
- Hardy, Florence Emily (née Dugdale), 5
- Hardy, Thomas
- awarded Order of Merit, 4
 - career as an architect, 2
 - ceases writing novels, 4, 89
 - compared to European novelists, 34
 - concept of art, 9
 - concept of the novelist, 9
 - death, 5, 31
 - development as a novelist, 2–4
 - divided self, 43
 - early education, 2
 - and French naturalism, 90
 - friendship with Horace Moule, 2
 - funeral, 1–2, 42
 - as hero figure, 33
 - as historian, 33
 - historical awareness, 87
 - importance as novelist, 2
 - influence on poets, 2
 - intellectual development, 46, 60
 - in London, 2, 3
 - marriage to Emma, 3, 4
 - marriage to Florence, 5
 - at Max Gate, 3, 42
 - as a modern novelist, 32
 - as novelist of change, 33
 - position in literary history, 2
 - relaunches his career as a novelist, 15–16
 - religious beliefs, 1, 47, 50–1, 60, 125–6
 - return to poetry, 4
 - and theories of the novel, 36
 - view of nature, 58–9
 - views on film adaptations, 141
 - views on poetry, 4
 - views on publishing, 12–13
 - works: ‘Candour in English Fiction’, 12–13, 27; *Desperate Remedies*, 3, 114; ‘Dialect in Novels’, 17–18; *The Dynasts*, 4, 42, 87; *Far From the Madding Crowd*, 3, 15, 20, 35, 49, 60, 112, 114, 140; *A Group of Noble Dames*, 3; *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 3, 114; ‘Hap’, 1; *Jude the Obscure*, see separate entry below; *A Laodicean*, 3, 15, 114; *Late Lyrics and Earlier*, 5; *Life of Thomas Hardy*, 2, 4, 5; *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, see separate entry; *Moments of Vision and Miscellaneous Verses*, 5; *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 3, 107, 114; *Poems 1912–13*, 4; *Poems of the Past and the Present*, 4; *The Poor Man and the Lady*, 2, 55; *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved*, 3;

- Hardy, Thomas – *continued*
The Return of the Native, 3, 8, 35, 60, 64, 82, 95, 107, 109, 111, 114, 132;
Satires of Circumstance, 5; *Selected Poems*, 5; *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 3, 9, 16, 25, 29, 36–7, 38, 47, 60, 64, 68, 89, 94, 95, 105, 107, 115, 123, 126; *Time's Laughingstocks and Other Verses*, 4; *The Trumpet Major*, 3, 15, 17, 49, 114; *Two on a Tower*, 3, 5, 15, 114; *Under the Greenwood Tree*, 3, 114; *Wessex Poems and Other Verses*, 4; *Wessex Tales*, 3, 142; *The Woodlanders*, 3, 5, 9, 34, 36, 49, 60, 109, 115, 122, 135
 'worldview', 58
Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 9, 19
 Hartmann, Eduard von, 38
 Harvey, Geoffrey, 37, 49–50, 64, 82, 86
 Heaney, Seamus, 2
 Hegel, G.W.F., 67
 Heilman, Robert B., 72–3, 76
 Henniker, Florence, 141
 Hicks, John, 2
 Higher Bockhampton, 2
 Higher Criticism of the Bible, 50
 Higonnet, Margaret R., 131, 132
 historicism, 60
 history, rewriting of, 102
 Holloway, John, 58–9
 Housman, A.E., 1
 How, W.W. (Bishop of Wakefield), 20–1
 Howe, Irving, 74–6
 Howells, William Dean, 19
 Howitt, William, 85
 Hutcheon, Linda, 103
 Hutton, Richard Holt, 16
- Ibsen, Henrik, 47
Idler, 26
Illustrated London News, 25–6
 Ingham, Patricia, 100, 113–16, 124, 136, 141, 142
- Jacobus, Mary, 77, 97–8, 109, 113, 119, 122, 123
 James, Henry, 32, 52, 53, 57, 103, 146
 James, William, 133
 Johnson, Lionel, 31–4, 43, 45–6, 53
 Jowett, Benjamin, 125
- Jude the Obscure*
 adaptations of, 143–4
 anti-realism, 75
 Arabella, 10, 22, 25, 28, 40, 86, 88–9, 99, 115–16, 117, 129
 authorial distance in, 93
 as *bildungsroman*, 11
 bodies in, 129
 burning of, 21
 challenge to conventions, 52, 97–9, 111
 Christian imagery in, 136
 Christminster, 11–12, 86, 88, 130
 class, 84, 86
 closure, 82
 composition of, 9, 73
 contemporary reviews of, 4, 20–30; in
Athenaeum, 21–2; in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 24–5; in *The Bookman*, 23–4; in *Cosmopolis*, 27–8; in *Guardian*, 22; in *Idler*, 26; in *Illustrated London News*, 25–6; in *The Morning Post*, 21; in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 24; in *Saturday Review*, 26–7; in *The World*, 22
 controversy surrounding, 20
 desire in, 79
 didacticism in, 47
 displacement in, 61, 144
 education in, 11, 27, 84
 epic quality, 87
 epiphanies in, 81
 existentialism, 80–1, 87
 experiments with form, 13, 75
 as failure, 49
 fallen woman plot, 114–16
 fate in, 46, 94, 127
 feminist readings of, 97–9, 111–16
 and *fin-de-siècle* contexts, 135
 formalist readings of, 71–3, 80–2, 104–5
 gender readings of, 128–32, *see also*
 feminist readings of *under this main entry*
 gothic in, 137
 Hardy's defence of, 10–11, 29–30
 historicised readings of, 60–1
 initial titles, 9
 Jude, construction of, 10–11, 21–2, 37, 40, 52, 55, 59, 64–5, 76, 96, 111
 lack of humour in, 21, 25
 language, 117, 135

- Jude the Obscure* – continued
- liberal humanist readings of, 35–9, 48–50
 - Little Father Time, 12, 49, 87, 129, 144
 - loss of pastoral, 11, 59, 75
 - ‘male’ and ‘female’ principles, 40–1
 - male gaze, 117
 - marriage debate, 10, 11, 21, 30, 38, 47–8, 64, 76, 110–11, 112, 130
 - Marxist readings of, 88–9
 - Marygreen, 11, 12, 71, 86, 88, 127
 - masculinity in, 130
 - materialist readings of, 116–19, 135–6
 - as modern novel, 64, 80–1, 109
 - narrator, 82
 - New Critical readings of, 58–9
 - New Woman, 97, 110–11, 111, 116, 131–2
 - perceived amorality of, 23, 25–6, 27
 - perceived degeneracy in, 22–3
 - perceived sexual perversity in, 23, 27
 - pessimism in, 21, 43–4, 51–2
 - Phyllotson, 64
 - philosophy and, 38–9
 - pig-killing scene, 10, 22, 117, 144
 - policing in, 12, 113
 - positive reviews of, 26–7, 28–9
 - Positivism, 105–6
 - possible positive future, 52, 87–8, 144
 - Postscript to Preface, 29–30
 - as precursor of modernist fiction, 13, 49
 - Preface to, 9, 10, 24, 45, 50, 58
 - psychoanalytic readings of, 12, 95–6, 108–9
 - psychology in, 37, 108–9
 - publication in book form, 10
 - publisher’s reaction to, 10
 - reactions of contemporary readers, 12
 - realism in, 49, *see also* ‘anti-realism’ *under this main entry*
 - in relation to Hardy’s earlier novels, 55, 61
 - religion in, 12, 118, 127
 - serialisation of, 9–10, 19, 45
 - sex in, 38–9, 40–1, 111, 112–13, 129–30
 - social mobility, 86, 127
 - sociological readings of, 82–9
 - speech in, 97, 112, 118
 - structuralist reading of, 78–9
 - structure, 35, 42
 - Sue, 10, 12, 22, 25, 36, 40–1, 49, 55–6, 59, 64, 72–3, 76, 86–9, 97–9, 108–9, 111–17, 122–3, 129–32
 - and suffragettes, 112
 - tone, 21
 - as traditional narrative, 49
 - tragedy, nature of, 92–4
 - as transgressive narrative, 118, 135
 - Vilbert, 88
 - work, role of, 88
 - working class, representations of, 27
- Jung, Carl, 106
- Karl, Frederick R., 68–9
- Keble, John, 125
- Kiely, Robert, 70–1
- Kincaid, James, 131
- King, Jeanette, 93–4
- Kipling, Rudyard, 1
- Kramer, Dale, 92–3, 136
- Lacan, Jacques, 94, 121, 129
- Langbaum, Robert, 132–3, 136
- Langland, Elizabeth, 131
- Larkin, Philip, 2
- Lawrence, D.H., 39–41, 52, 69, 82, 83, 87, 111, 132
- Le Gallienne, Richard, 26
- Leavis, F.R., 32, 52–3, 56, 57
- Ledger, Sally, 131–2
- Lerner, Laurence, 90–2
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 78
- liberal humanism, 34–5
- Lothe, Jakob, 136
- Lytard, Jean-François, 101–2
- MacNeice, Louis, 2
- Marx, Karl, 85
- The Mayor of Casterbridge*
- adaptations of, 140–3, 145
 - ambition in, 46
 - ancient past in, 8, 59, 87
 - anti-realism in, 54, 66, 68
 - architecture, significance of, 105
 - Aristotelian unity, 93
 - Biblical references in, 80
 - bodies in, 128
 - Casterbridge, 7–8, 59, 61, 68, 75, 84, 96, 119–20, 128, 134
 - categorisation of, 35–6, 62

- The Mayor of Casterbridge* – continued
- chance in, 51, 69
 - classical references in, 80
 - compared to European fiction, 19, 69
 - composition, 5
 - Conjuror Fall, 135, *see also* weather prophet *under this main entry*
 - contemporary reviews of, 15–20; in *Athenaeum*, 16–17; in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 19; in *Saturday Review*, 17–18; in *The Spectator*, 16; in *The Sunday Review*, 18–19
 - and Corn Laws, 6–7, 60
 - cycles in, 92
 - and Darwinian thinking, 8, 51
 - dating of the narrative, 6
 - desire in, 79
 - dialect in, 17–18
 - economic relations in, 66, 84, 85–6, 119–20, 134–5
 - Elizabeth-Jane, 8, 19, 66, 67–8, 91, 95, 118, 119–20, 133–4
 - fabular* readings of, 62
 - fallen woman plot, 114–15
 - Farfrae, 7, 37, 61–2, 65–8, 86, 91, 119–20, 122, 132–4
 - fate in, 34, 35, 37, 44, 51, 67, 70, 93, 95, 126–7
 - feminist readings of, 128, 132–3
 - folklore, 62, 65–6, 104
 - form, 35, 38
 - formalist readings of, 63, 68–71, 80–2, 104–5
 - gender readings of, 128, 132–3
 - and Greek tragedy, 32, 61–6, 80, *see also* 'tragedy, nature of' *under this main entry*
 - Henchard, construction of, 7, 16–17, 19, 34, 36–7, 49, 54–5, 59, 62–4, 67–8, 74, 79, 82, 95–6, 106–8, 122, 126–7, 132–3
 - historicised readings of, 60–3
 - history, 92
 - and the 'Immanent Will', 51
 - initiates the writing of the 'major' novels, 6, 47
 - invasion narrative in, 60–2, 84
 - and *King Lear*, 8, 67, 80
 - language in, 17
 - liberal humanist readings of, 31–9, 48–50
 - Lucetta, 8, 51, 95, 114, 119–20, 132–3
 - magic, 135
 - marketplace, 66
 - Marxist readings of, 88–9
 - masculinity in, 34, 36, 55, 63, 99–100, 122
 - materialist readings of, 116–21, 134–5
 - Mixen Lane, 8, 91, 118, 128, 134
 - as modern novel, 19
 - Mrs Goodenough, 35, 135
 - mythic structures in, 63–4, 135
 - natural selection, 51
 - nature in, 68
 - New Critical readings of, 58–9
 - Newsom, 8, 95
 - opening scene, 58, 139
 - perceived as limited, 17
 - performance in, 118, 139
 - pessimism in, 16
 - psychoanalytic readings of, 95–6, 106–8
 - psychology in, 95–6, 107–8
 - publication in book form, 5–6
 - realism in, 18–19
 - restoration of moral order, 68
 - revisions, 5–6
 - rewriting of epic, 66
 - serialisation, 5–6, 45
 - sex in, 6, 122, 132–3
 - skimmity ride, 8, 46, 51, 91, 116, 118
 - social mobility in, 85–6
 - social relations in, 84
 - social responsibility in, 51
 - sociological readings of, 62, 82–9
 - structure, 44, 46–7, 70, 75, 80
 - structuralist reading of, 78–9
 - subtitle, significance of, 7, 16
 - Susan, 6, 8, 19, 67, 95
 - tragedy, nature of, 35, 65–6, 67–8, 80, 92–4, 119–20, *see also* 'and Greek tragedy' *under this main entry*
 - watcher figure in, 70–1
 - weather prophet, 7, 46, 67, 135
 - Weydon-Priors fair, 69, 135
 - wife-sale, 6, 19, 67, 74, 91, 104, 113
 - witchcraft, 135
 - working-class figures in, 8, 17, 33–4
- McDowell, Frederick, 71–2
- Meisel, Perry, 77, 94–6, 106

- Menninger, Karl, 54
 Meredith, George, 2, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 53
 Mill, John Stuart, 88–9, 103, 117
 Miller, J. Hillis, 77, 78–80, 92, 104, 122, 132, 136
 Millgate, Michael, 6
 Milton, John, 87
 Moore, George, 47
 Morgan, Rosemarie, 112–13, 119, 122, 123
 Morgan, Sidney, 141
Morning Post, The, 21
 Moses, Michael Valdez, 119–20, 136
 Motley, John Lethrop, 87
 Moule, Horace, 2
 Moynahan, Julian, 68
 Mullan, Peter, 145
- New Criticism, 57–8
 New Historicism, 103, 109
 Newman, John Henry, 58, 125
 Niemeyer, Paul, 141
 Noyes, Alfred, 1
- Oliphant, Margaret, 24–6
 O'Malley, Patrick R., 131
 Osgood, McIlvainie (publishers), 10
- Page, Norman, 13, 103–4, 123
Pall Mall Gazette, 24
 Parnell Case (Charles Stewart Parnell), 47
 Paterson, John, 67–8, 73, 90
 Pinion, F.B., 40, 63
 Pite, Ralph, 137–8
 Poets' Corner, 1
 Positivism, 105–6
 postcolonialism, 146
 postmodernism, 101–3
 Potter, Dennis, 141–2
 Pound, Ezra, 52
 Progress Film Company, 141
 Purdy, Richard Little, 73
 Psychoanalysis/psychoanalytic readings, 94
- Queer theory, 146
- Rabinger, Michael, 124
 Racine, Jean, 41
 Radford, Andrew, 138
 Rhymers' Club, 31
 Robinson, Roger, 104
- Rose, Christine Brooke, 124
 Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 23
 Rutland, William R., 46–8, 125
- sage figure, 58–9
 St Juliot, Cornwall, 3
 Saintsbury, George, 18–19
 Salgãdo, Gãmani, 41
Saturday Review, 2, 17–18, 26–7
 Saussure, Ferdinand de, 78
 Schlesinger, John, 140, 143
 Schopenhauer, Arthur, 38, 125
 Schreiner, Olive, 123
 Schweik, Robert C., 69–70, 136
 Scott, Walter, 32
 Second World War, 31, 48, 50, 53
 Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 129
 Shakespeare, William, 8, 55, 67, 87
 Shakespearean tragedy, 33, 67
 Shaw, George Bernard, 1
 Showalter, Elaine, 77, 97, 109, 122
 Slack, Robert C., 73
 Smith, Elder (publishers), 5
 Smollett, Tobias, 23
 sociological readings, 91
 Somerville, Alexander, 85
 Sophocles, 35, 41, 46, 65, 67
 Sorin, George, 74
Spectator, 16
 Stephen, (Sir) Leslie, 42
 Stinsford, Dorchester, 1
 Strauss, Friedrich, 125
 structuralism, 78
 Stubbs, Patricia, 98–9, 109
 Sumner, Rosemary, 106–9
Sunday Review, The, 18–19
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 23, 29, 46, 47, 52, 123
 Symons, Arthur, 31
- Taft, Michael, 104
 Tennyson, Alfred, 52
 Thacker, David, 142–3
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 32, 43, 68
 Thomas, Edward, 52
 Thucydides, 87
 Tolstoy, Leo, 19, 22, 43
 Tonna, Charlotte Elizabeth, 85
 Trollope, Anthony, 53

-
- Victoria (Queen), 2
- Webster, Harvey Curtis, 50–2, 58
- Wessex, 3, 48, 75–6, 82–5, 88, 117, 127, 134–5, 139
- Wessex edition of the novels (1912), 29
- Westminster Abbey, 1, 42
- White, R.J., 87–8
- Widdowson, Peter, 103, 139–40, 142
- Wilde, Oscar, 27, 130
- Williams, Merryn, 61, 75, 84–6, 88, 91, 104
- Williams, Raymond, 61, 75, 82–4, 88, 91, 104
- Wilson, Keith, 133–4
- Winfield, Christine, 82, 91, 104
- Wing, George, 104
- Winslett, Kate, 143–4
- Winterbottom, Michael, 143–5
- Wolfreys, Julian, 136–7, 138
- Woolf, Virginia, 1, 42–4, 55, 81
- Wordsworth, William, 33
- World, The*, 22
- Wotton, George, 116–17
- Wright, T.R., 121–4, 132, 138
- Yeats, W.B., 31, 52
- Yorkshire Post*, 20
- Zola, Émile, 19, 22, 90, 115

