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Gender, Social Identity and Education in Thomas Hardy’s Later Fiction

Master’s Diploma Thesis

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I declare that I have worked on this thesis independently, using only the primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography.

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Author’s signature
Acknowledgement

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Introduction

This thesis deals with Thomas Hardy’s novels published in the last decade of the nineteenth century - *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (1891) and *Jude the Obscure* (1896). It is a well-known fact that the notion of education was important to Hardy’s life as well as fictional production. This preoccupation with education is seen the most conspicuously in his last novel which could be understood as an attack on the rigid system of British university education. However, notwithstanding the unhappy fate of the eponymous characters, it might be the case that Hardy’s perspective on education conveyed in these novels is neither unequivocal nor utterly negative. Even more, it could be suggested that they present a glimpse of hope which is articulated through the vehicle of some contemporary thought of John Stuart Mill. In the course of his life, Thomas Hardy acquainted himself with the ideas of eminent thinkers and philosophers of his time including J.S. Mill; thus his ideas are very likely to be projected in Hardy’s fiction and therefore traceable in protagonists’ conduct, opinions, aspirations and development. As the quality of human life does not only depend on intellectual abilities and achievements, but also, and perhaps more importantly, on emotional and moral attitudes, the process of nineteenth century education must be understood in a similar vein, that is, in this broad context. For the purpose of the thesis, the concept of education will be used in Mill’s broader “sense of education [which is not] limited to what happens in formal educational settings, ...[but] embracing all the influences that make us who and what we are“ (Ryan 653).

I argue that in the act of challenging class and gender boundaries, Hardy makes a contribution to an ever persistent debate on human cultivation. In the thesis, the analysis of the novels will be undergone to prove that Hardy’s novels complied to a great extent with the spirit of the age, namely with the contemporary perspective of John Stuart Mill.
and thus intended to contribute to the application of contemporary educational aims in terms of a complete cultivation of human being.

In order to support my argument, I will elaborate on the following areas of interest which will be dealt with in separate chapters. Apart from a brief account of the writer’s life followed by the outline of his educational pursuits, the first chapter will deal with the perception of Hardy as self-educated. This will be discussed in the broader context of the elitist view of education at the turn of the nineteenth century. Hardy’s general influence as well as the particular influence of John Stuart Mill will lead to the outline of their shared areas of interest: gender, class and education. The chapter will conclude by a paragraph on the negative connotations of edification in Hardy’s works as perceived by some scholars.

The second chapter will outline the main educational concepts of the period and establish the significance of education for the stability of nineteenth-century Britain. The special emphasis is put on the thought of John Stuart Mill, which is compared to other prominent thinkers, such as Matthew Arnold, August Comte, Jeremy Bentham, T.H. Huxley, and others. Mill’s perspective on the role of state, position of women in society, the sources of morality, and other issues will be confronted with the views of the aforementioned thinkers. Apart from various approaches to moral education, this chapter will also deal with the contest between practical and intellectual education, and will introduce then popular conception of self-education.

The next chapter will deal with *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*. The analysis of social structures as presented in the novel and the writer’s perspective on gender inequality form the background of the chapter. After positive examples in terms of achievements and progress in educational sphere, there follows the proposition of the necessary replacement of Christian morality. In accordance with educational perspectives of J.S.
Mill, the manifestation of new sources of moral conduct - sympathetic feelings, poetry, history and examplary behaviour will be traced and discussed. They transpire in the protagonists’ attitudes, personalities and development. The provided analysis will reveal the writer’s underlying message regarding human development which bears the hallmark of Mill’s thinking.

Chapter four will focus on Hardy’s last novel - *Jude the Obscure*. Counterpoising institutional education against the conception of individual development is at the core of the provided analysis. Gender and class inequality serves as a starting point for the introduction of alternative means of education in which open mind, critical thinking and discussion of opinions have paramount importance. In accordance with Mill’s thinking, the analysis will concentrate on all aspects of the personality of the main character whose intellectual development and moral standard serve as the examplar at the time of the decline of morality. Finally, the conclusion will summarise the presented evidence and compare the main findings regarding the novels in question.

Among the most important sources selected for the thesis, I will especially utilize *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* written by Walter A. Houghton. Based on historical perspective, this thorough account of the period concentrates on all aspects of societal development which are tightly connected with lives of individuals: intellectual, emotional and moral. Including opinions of prominent figures, the concept of education is presented from various angles that range from a narrow voice of anti-intellectualists to a broad concept of complex cultivation of human being and therefore it will contribute to the complexity of the thesis. Equally important is abundance of quotations from numerous sources that illustrate the spirit of the age in an authentic way. The thought surveyed in the book will be used for establishing the educational context of the period as well as for the actual analyses of the novels.
The New Pelican Guide to English Literature. From Dickens to Hardy, edited by Boris Ford, covers the period of English literature throughout the reign of Queen Victoria. It examines a social, literary and intellectual milieu of nineteenth-century Britain, exploring an array of topics such as self-help, utilitarianism, religion and literacy. These areas are closely related to the changing educational context of the period. The significance of this guide for the thesis lies in the fact that it includes opinions of the most influential figures such as John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and others. As these thinkers had their say in the process of a fundamental change of the contemporary educational system, their ideas are to be reflected in the thesis. Also, this study probes into Hardy’s motivation, comments on his works, literary characters and writers’s major concerns that informed his writing.

In order to cover all relevant aspects of the thesis, these aforementioned sources will be accompanied by a large number of classic as well as more recent works of literary criticism and other relevant sources, such as Mill’s On Liberty, Autobiography, and The Subjection of Women. They will enable to set the context and provide a wide theoretical base on which my argument will be built in the following chapters. The unifying theme of the influence of John Stuart Mill on Thomas Hardy’s fictional production instigated in the first chapter will be narrowed down to his last two novels and gradually developed with concrete examples of Mill’s thought provided in the analytical chapters of the thesis.
1 Thomas Hardy’s Life and Work

Thomas Hardy is considered to be a great novelist and poet with the literary career lasting six decades. He was born in 1840 into the family of stonemason, as the first of four children of Thomas and Jemima Hardy. He was brought up by his family and spent his childhood in a small village Higher Bockhampton in the county of Dorset. In his schooling years, he attended schools in the vicinity of his village. The issue of the education of Hardy has been frequently debated. Taking into account his family’s relatively modest means of subsistence, Millgate suggests that “...the resources available for educating and assisting young Thomas and the other children cannot have been great” (*His Career as a Novelist* 37). Nevertheless, this is not completely true because in addition to the received basic education accessible at the time of his childhood, he was also privately instructed in Latin and French. At the age of fifteen, young Thomas was articled to John Hicks to be trained in architecture. After the apprenticeship which lasted three years, he started to work for Arthur Blomfield, a successful London architect. Being encouraged by his friend, George Meredith, he set his heart on a career of the man of letters at the early stage of his life. Therefore he continued to educate himself and followed his ambition to become a writer while working in his provisionally chosen field.

All his life Hardy displayed dedication and ambitious traits. Millgate tells us that his twenties were marked by “the dogged determination” while he was improving his writing skills and extending vocabulary necessary for launching a successful literary career (*Thomas Hardy, A Biography Revisited* 84). Gittings comments on Hardy’s auto-didactic methods in which “[he] at every turning point in his creative life ...had resorted to intensive study, in the belief that everything, poetry, prose, history, style, philosophy, was to be learnt by hard application and methodical treatment” (*The Older
A typical contemporary method of getting acquainted with new information – reading and note-taking was also utilized by Hardy both for self-education and creative work. The procedure bore very distinctive features, at least from the modern scholarship perspective: with the help of his spouse, he used the system of "entries" - writing extracts from books, newspapers and magazines, copying quotations, and thus keeping all information for later use (The Older Hardy 2-6). Because he did not receive any formal university education, he worked on his self-improvement in his own way; hence he is often referred to as self-educated. Still, during all the years he displayed great intellectual abilities and love for learning.

No matter how much he applied himself in the area of scholarship, his educational pursuits have often been perceived with prejudice. On the ground of his class origin, Hardy was often looked down upon as not properly educated, especially in his negative reception in the first half of the twentieth century. This prejudice partly stemmed from his association with the rural community to which he undoubtedly belonged. Somerset Maugham describes Hardy in derogative terms in one of his anecdotes: "I found myself sitting next to Thomas Hardy. I remember a little man with an earthy face. In his evening clothes, with his boiled shirt and a high collar, he had still a strange look of the soil" (qtd. in Williams 199). This as well as another scornful comment about "our three autodidacts" - directed at Thomas Hardy, George Elliot and D.H. Lawrence is opposed by Raymond Williams who, in his defensive rhetoric, provides a positive evaluation of their formal schooling (170). He also gives the explanation of exclusivity of education in the period:

So the flat patronage of "autodidact" can be related to only one fact: that none of the three was in the pattern of boarding schools and Oxbridge which by the end of the century was being regarded not only as
a kind of education but as education itself: to have missed that circuit was to have missed being “educated “at all. In other words, a “standard” education was that received by one or two per cent of the population. (170-171)

Another useful insight is presented by Millgate who evaluates profoundly Hardy’s intellectual achievements and personal insecurity while assuming that Hardy might have known more than many a man with a university education, but he lacked the kind of intellectual as well as social assurance that such an education might have given him, and if the hero of Jude the Obscure cannot in any direct sense be linked with its author, it seems obvious, despite all protestations to the contrary, that the novel carries a heavy freight of transferred autobiography, of deeply experienced personal frustration of an intellectual as well as sexual kind. (His Career as a Novelist 41)

It is obvious that Hardy’s acquisition of knowledge by his “self-education” contributed significantly to his career as a man of letters. Nevertheless there were more factors in making the writer Thomas Hardy; his mind and literary genius was forged by the combination of his dedicated character, a systematic procedure of recording information in notebooks and extensive reading - Hardy’s diligent self education as well as personal encounters with key figures of his life and contemporary scholars.

It would be a demanding task to enumerate a complete list of influences on Hardy’s writing, but names such as Arnold, Carlyle, Comte, Macaulay, Mill, Stephen, and Spencer whose works were in Hardy’s focus at the end of 1870s and the beginning of 1880s (Thomas Hardy, A Biography Revisited 229) suggest a general influence by the spirit of the age which is noticeable in his fiction. Among influential personages
whose effect is felt throughout Hardy’s life and career is, according to Gitting, “[Leslie Stephen] who succeeded Horace Moule as his guiding intellectual influence...” and as well as his predecessor, supported Hardy in his study of the philosophical work of Auguste Comte (The Older Hardy 5). As a public figure, Stephen also expressed opinions on philosophical works of the period, such as Mill’s Logic and The Principles of Political Economy (Willey 161-2, 172). Undoubtedly, Comte’s Religion of Humanity is related to ideas of his disciple Mill, and so is Mill’s philosophy with Hardy’s literary production.

In the milieu of religious decline, Mill’s emphasis on moral improvement strongly cohered with the issues dealt with in Hardy’s works; Raymond Williams ranks John Stuart Mill as Hardy’s “major intellectual influence” alongside Charles Darwin (205). Gittings gives an account of the young Hardy’s encounter with John Stuart Mill in his capacity as a political candidate in 1865: “The political philosopher spoke somewhat above the heads of the crowd, which, Hardy says, was not “unimpressed by his words; he felt they were weighty though he did not quite know why.”” (Young Thomas Hardy 90). The acquaintance with Mill’s philosophical thought, however, did not take place personally as Björk mentions Hardy’s “enthusiastic markings of passages celebrating individualism in On Liberty” (46). The astonishing scope of the writer’s grasp of Mill’s teaching is referred to by Timothy Hands who tells us that Hardy “claimed to know Mill’s On Liberty almost by heart...” (Morgen 207). Although Hardy’s influence as a novelist by methodical philosophical study is rejected by Mark Asquith (Morgen 181), a thorough analysis of his last two novels strongly suggests a strong parallel between Hardy and Mill. Not only does Sue directly quote Mill in Jude the Obscure, but more importantly, Mill’s ideas and attitudes permeate both works in question. It might not come as a complete surprise that while portraying both individuals and social
interactions in all its complexity, the scope of Hardy’s thematic focus covers areas of human experience that Mill was also concerned with: class relations, the position of women in society and education. These themes will be briefly commented on in the following paragraphs.

Although Klingopulos suggests an ever visible ”preoccupation with class” (Ford 407), it seems to be natural that Hardy portrays in his novels lives of people he knows best. Undoubtedly his artistic value lies in depiction of rural society, but his protagonists come from all stratas, and more often than not the social interaction between members of less and more privileged classes brings about problems. Realizing the persistent feature of interaction between these elements, Widdowson notices the phenomenon of the unclear class membership and the issue ”of a radical shift in class position” (205). There is no doubt that possibilities of social mobility were an important feature of the transition of nineteenth-century Britain. In the same vein, Morgen and Rode trace down the gist of Hardy’s thematic focus to “...Victorian uncertainty and anxiety caused by rapid change: exchanging a working-class identity for a middle-class position, finding a suitable marriage partner or finding a knowable more stable community“ (Morgen 177). All these examples of mobility are noticeable in Hardy’s last two novels – Tess of the D’Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure which could be understood as an attack from the perspective of a harsh critic of social injustice and an advocate of the poor and less fortunate. While asking “[W]hose side is Hardy on?” (213), Widdowson attempts to ascertain Hardy’s ideological position during the aforementioned societal processes and analyses the writer’s standpoint regarding the treatment of his characters and fate. Consequently he concludes that Hardy’s “[ch]aracters are ideologically and socially determined,””circumstanced” by the subject -positions they occupy.…. What controls them, weak or powerful, in this reading, is a
class system...” (213). Nevertheless, it is not only the matter of class identity and affiliation which is problematized in Hardy’s fiction.

Characteristically, Thomas Hardy’s life was marked by a unique relationship with women to whom he devoted a great deal in his novels as well as poetry; Widdowson tells us about “Hardy’s obsessive fascination with women of all classes”(151). In the course of hundred years of Hardy scholarship, his characters have been widely discussed with special attention paid to his female protagonists, be it Tess, Sue, Barcheeba or Eustacia. Virginia Woolf states that “for the women he shows a more tender solicitude than for the men, and in them, perhaps he takes a keener interest” (Draper 73). She continues to compare the characteristics of men and women in Hardy’s fiction, stressing association of his females with natural world (73-74). The link between negative effects of social mobility and the gender question is suggested by Widdowson who contends that “…many of those displaced [in society] are, in fact, women and that most of the “‘ladies’” are ones who have been artificially elevated by education, marriage, or inheritance”(214). The complexity and ambiguity of Hardy’s gender politics is exemplified by Mitchell’s comment on scholars who “…have operated contentiously, reaching multiple, often conflicting and contradictory conclusions about gender in his work”(Morgen 301).

Not only was Hardy interested in women in terms of literary production, but they also played an important part in his personal life. His own upward social mobility was enabled by his success in writing as well as by marrying a middle-class Emma Lavinia Gifford in March 1870. Although their marriage did not appear to be unproblematic, it continued till Emma’s death in 1912. Both their difficult relationship and Hardy’s ambiguity regarding formal education surfaced at once when Emma was “despised” by her spouse, the advocate of education for masses, when having composed “…a virtually
an article” on educational opportunities for *Daily Chronicle* in 1881 ”[which] is advanced in its view of education as the right and the salvation of all classes...”, and in which she summoned ”... instructors of the Arnoldian stamp”” (*The Older Hardy* 63-64). Hardy’s negative response to his wife’s article tells us about troubles in their matrimony; it also implies his preferences in the contention over educational concepts of Arnold and Mill.

Despite obvious advantages of education for an individual and society, the whole process might have a negative effect on established relations at moments when social mobility enabled by education prevents a better educated person to function in the original social environment. Raymond Williams explains opposing forces of class affinity and education in Hardy’s novels in the context of ”the more complicated and more urgent historical process in which education is tied to social advancement within a class society, so that it is difficult, except by bizzare personal demostration, to hold both to education and to social solidarity” (202). The negative impact of edification is also mentioned by Rogers who speaks of “unreasonable expectations or create[ing] a social gulf within the family“ as happens in *The Hand of Ethelberta, The Woodlanders* and *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (223). Björk goes as far as ascribing “culture and education...a more sinister role” in *The Woodlanders* while elaborating on the Hardy’s “Anti-intellectualism”(104). Indeed Giles Winterborne dies after Grace Melbury’s educational achievement plays havoc in ther relationship. Additionally, *Jude the Obscure* provides yet another critical view of contemporary educational opportunities which were open only to the privileged. Nevertheless, these examples could be contradicted by underlying implications in the novels in question about the necessity to cultivate morals and sentiments, the trend which marked many of the nineteenth-century educational concepts.
2 Educational Concepts in Nineteenth – Century Britain

At the time of groundbreaking changes in nineteenth-century Britain that influenced the whole fabric of society, a number of eminent personages expressed their opinions on the role of state, rights of individuals, democratic principles, religious belief and other significant topics. Klingopulos states that among many widely discussed issues, “[e]ducation becomes a general concern, and the place of religious teaching in a system of national education is bitterly debated” (Ford 17). Thus contemporary public figures presented various educational theories that offered various, often contradictory perspectives on the content, purpose and social utility of education. These views reflected the power struggle in society as well as efforts to stabilize it. The process of societal development and maintenance of stability was enabled by new legislation that put new ideas into practice: School Acts passed in 1869, 1870 and 1871 opened new opportunities to multitudes of people and at the same time made possible the accessibility of information and knowledge. Consequently, the increased literacy helped people adopt to rapidly changing living conditions. As far as higher education is concerned, the reforms in Oxbridge in the second half of the century meant giving up old ways and keeping up with other modern universities. Some of these changes concerned entrance examinations, a wider range of subjects and weakening of religious influence. Nevertheless, such alternations did not always appear to be favourable to women as Laura Schwartz argues in her article Feminist Thinking on Education in Victorian England: "Resistance to women’s higher education was especially strong at Oxford and Cambridge, where women were not admitted to read for degrees until 1920 and 1947 respectively. “ (672)

Among many who voiced their opinions on educational matters was undoubtedly John Stuart Mill whose ”some of ...most living pages are devoted to the
right purpose of education” (Houghton 286). Being aware of volatility of early
democracy as well as closely related interests of labour workers, Mill, in his *Principles
of Political Economy* (1848), expressed the necessity to change the system of education:

> The working classes have taken their interests into their own hands, and
are perpetually showing that they think the interest of their employers not
identical with their own but opposite to them. Some among higher
classes flatter themselves that these tendencies may be counteracted by
moral and religious education. But they let time go by for giving the
education which can serve their purpose. The principles of reformation
have reached as low down as reading and writing, and the poor will not
longer accept morals and religion of other people’s prescribing. (qtd. in
Ford 45)

Indeed, the realization of the danger of revolution appeared to be a strong incentive to
cultivate society. In addition, the lack of sentiments that marked his intensive
intellectual education in childhood resulted in Mill’s emphasis on “a due balance among
the faculties” (Houghton 289). In other words, he was very much aware of the
importance of cultivation of feelings that would contribute to moral conduct. In his
work, Mill drew on the ideas of positive philosophy of August Comte whose
philosophical system was meant to be “a replacement for the pervasive social influence
of the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy” (Nussbaum 9). Comte “acknowledges the
supremacy of the affections over the “head””, and envisions a solution in the last phase
of societal development in which ”...the grand principle will be subordination of all
thought, all intellect, to the moral principle”(Willey 206). Among many others who also
realized the importance of changes in education as a key to stabilize society was
Matthew Arnold. According to Klingopulos, Arnold’s and Mill’s major concerns of the
period were "a missionary faith in education and gradualism" together with the necessity to curb "brutalizing social conditions" (Ford 42). However, they differed significantly in the matter of religion (44). This contention as well as educational and related issues will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Mill’s focus on the freedom of individuals was strongly opposed by Arnold who intended to strengthen the role of the state. Jump contends that his famous essay “Culture and Anarchy (1869) is a lay sermon on the disadvantages of ""doing as one likes" (Ford 325). Arnold disapproved the unlimited freedom of individuals and instead, he wanted educational institutions to take responsibility for the cultivation of the nation. In fact, Arnold’s main educational conception was focused primarily on the cultivation of the middle class whose initial low standard of education seemed to be unsatisfactory. The explanation of the low educational achievements of the most powerful structures of society is given by Webb: “Most middle classes and aristocracy were abominably educated, for effective expansion and reform of the public schools came only to the middle - classes demand in mid-century"(Ford 200). Arnold’s solution lay in thorough analysis of society and after its division into three groups - Barbarians, Phillistines and Populace, he appointed “the State as the organ and repository of the collective best self ”(Willey 266-7). To this purpose he aimed for "the establishment by the state of national schools modelled on Eton, Harrow and Rugby but intended for the middle class” that would set the example to the rest of society (Houghton 283). As far as the amelioration of the lower classes is concerned, Arnold’s view expressed in The Popular Education in France (1861) considers education as a powerful means of their control:

But the calamity appears far more serious still when we consider that the middle classes, remaining as they are now, with their narrow, harsh,
unintelligent, and unattractive spirit and culture, will almost certainly fail to mould and assimilate the masses below them, whose sympathies are at the present moment actually wider and more liberal than theirs. They arrive, these masses, eager to enter into possession of the world, to gain a more vivid sense of their own life and activity. In this their irrepressible development, their natural educators and initiators are those immediately above them, the middle classes. If these classes cannot win their sympathy or give them their direction, society is in danger of falling into anarchy. (qtd. in Eagleton 21)

Eagleton analyses Arnold’s perspective as “refreshingly unhypocritical: there is no feeble pretence that the education of the working class is to be conducted chiefly for their own benefit, or that his [Arnold’s] concern with their spiritual condition is, in one of his most cherished terms, in the least “‘disinterested’”(21). In accordance with this conception of education goes Arnold’s idea of the state holding upper hand over individuals.

Although Mill, contrary to Arnold, considered the rights of the individual to be of prime importance, he still had very strong views on the different structures of society and their educational opportunities. Regarding the upper levels, Mill aimed to replace outdated ancient gentry by “a class of spiritually, intellectually and politically enlightened, who might give coherence to an incoherent culture”(Ryan 655 – 656). As illustrated by Arnold and Mill, a class that would set the moral example was not an uncommmon idea. According to Comte, the question of understanding morality is the privilage of “[o]nly a few highly trained people, capable of appreciating the arguments of positivist philosophy, [who] are likely to be able to attain correct moral answers”(Nussbaum 8). Both Comte and Mill refused religious dogma while seeking to
establish an elite group that would inspire the rest of society to high moral principles. Another secular solution to stabilize society favoured interests of leading industrialist: Carlyle and Ruskin “...appeal[ed] to captains of industry to be heroes and to their men to be the hero worshipers” thus cementing two opposing structures of capitalist establishment “in a new crusade for civilization.”(Houghton 318-19) The cooperation of classes was also a part of Mill’s teaching, although it was based on different principles.

Mill’s focus of his scholarly endeavours is aptly stated by W.A.Hunter who considers his motives as “...the amelioration of the lot of mankind, especially of the poorer and suffering part of mankind“(John Stuart Mill : His Life And Works 74). Mill believed that “‘given education and just laws... the poorer class would be as competent as any other class to take care of their own personal habits and requirements’” (Neff 316). This view was not dissimilar to that held by T. H. Huxley who, in his essay Methods and Results (1871), appealed for opening educational opportunities ensured by the government to all citizens irrespective of class origin or sex (Tivey 172). It is a well-known fact that Mill’s policy also included plural voting. This would both encourage educational pursuits at all levels and ensure stability at the time of implementing the general voting right (Ryan 655). Mill’s perspective on classes, their mutual relationship, cooperation and the possibility of their influence by edification is explained by West:

In Mill’s view, it is essential that people have their social motives and their dispositions that arise from them strengthened through institutional design and education. Mill had admiration for forms of association of laborers with capitalists in profit-sharing arrangements and of laborers with other laborers. Mill thinks that such associations would result in an increase in the productivity of labor, but, more importantly, they
would result in the “moral revolution in society...” (108).

Although he was an adherent follower of Comte, Mill refuted some of his philosophical ideas. As introduced in *The Religion of Humanity*, women in the visionary society are ascribed the role of “the Moral Providence.” (Willey 209) They are suitable as “leaders of the religion of sympathy because they are naturally ruled by their emotions, and are profoundly sympathetic by nature and only somewhat rational.” (Nussbaum 12) Nevertheless, the point of Mill’s disapproval was the real social status of female population. Despite the veneration of women, their position in the Comtean hierarchy was that of the second class citizens (Nussbaum 12). Opposed to this, in Mill’s conception they were”[given] ...equal economic and political rights”(Nussbaum 14). Being a member of parliament, Mill’s crusade for the rights of women could be led on the parliamentary level where, under the influence of his wife, Harriet Taylor, he proposed suffrage for women in 1867. It follows that educational opportunities played a key role in their emancipation.

The position of women was not the only point on which Comte’s and Mill’s thinking diverged. While Mill accepted the concept of “*Religion of Humanity*” as a whole, he still contradicted some of Comte’s visionary ideas. He opposed “Comte’s insistence that people have no moral right to express heterodox opinions in ethical matters...”(Nussbaum 14). To put it differently, Comte’s moral theory was too rigid and disregarded other views and dissenting ideas. Another instance of Mill’s challenge is the balance between the state and individuals. While Comte accentuated a powerful state, Mill, unsurprisingly, preferred the freedom of individuals (Nussbaum 14). Notwithstanding the disagreement with certain aspects of Comte’s philosophy, their quintessential theme was enhanced morality.
The importance of morality for nineteenth-century Britain is stated by H.G. Nicholas: “...all alike shared the conviction – and what’s more exhibited the practice – of a morality which dictated equally their private, and their public behaviour” (Ideas and Beliefs of The Victorians 136). In fact, the need for “[the] new public emotion-culture [...] that would both sustain democracy and assist the aspiration of democratic nations to global justice and peace” stemmed from general atmosphere in Europe (Nussbaum 7). This attitude is noticeable, among others, in the teaching of Mill, Arnold and Comte who equally considered the importance of complete cultivation of human being with special emphasis on moral virtues. The two sources of moral behavior in the nineteenth century sprang from”... different traditions, the one Puritan and mercantile, the other romantic and aristocratic”(Houghton 264). The former morality based on ”moral earnestness” was dissimilar to ”the ethic of enthusiasm [that] assumes that human nature is good”(264). Despite obvious differences, both approaches often converged as Mill deemed it “quite possible to cultivate the conscience and sentiment too.”(Houghton 264)

Drawing on utilitarianism of his family friend, Jeremy Bentham, Mill continued to elaborate his ethical philosophy. In Utilitarianism (1863) he claimed that

The character itself should be, to the individual, a paramount end, simply because the existence of this ideal nobleness of character, or of a near approach to it, in any abundance, would go further than all things else towards making human life happy; both in the comparatively humble sense, of pleasure and freedom from pain and in the higher meaning, of rendering life... - ...such as human beings with highly developed faculties can care to have. (qtd. in Willey 167)

Furthermore, in his Autobiography, Mill expressed the belief in the possibility of “the
formation of human character by circumstances, through the universal Principle of Association, and the consequent unlimited possibility of improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of mankind by education” (91). For Mill as well as for Bentham, the essential “...problem is how...out of selfish individuals... elicit unselfish action” (Willey 183). And this could be achieved by means of “...moral education: [by] weakening those desires and aversions likely to lead to evil and exalting the desire of right conduct and aversion to wrong, plus developing a clear intellectual standard of right and wrong so that moral desire and aversion may act in the proper place” (West 113).

As one of “...the later characteristics of the period” (Batho, Dobrée 24), following the example of the grand individuals became one of the prominent ways of cultivating moral. Heroes originated from all walks of life, and alongside traditional noble characters there appeared a new breed of “...lawyers, merchants, landlords, workmen... at [their] best.” (Houghton 318) This approach of enhancing moral standards – the remnant of religious practice – was used by Comte in his calendar, and by his English positivist followers who introduced The New Calendar of Great Men (Houghton 323-324). Also for Ruskin ““the sight and history of noble person”’was the focal point in amelioration of positive inner qualities (323). Mackerness probes into Heroes and Hero-Worship in which Carlyle paid special attention to Oliver Cromwell, creating a cult he further relished in Past and Present (Ford 303 - 4 ). On the other hand, Carlyle did not fully recognize a cult of “Artist or Man of Science” (306). Not only does the array of examples manifest the importance of the hero-worship, but it is also evident that thinkers’ preferences speak volume about the attitude to societal changes and class affiliation. Mill went far back in history to find “...the ideal of nobility in Greek and Roman sources” (Houghton 284). By contrast, Froude put forward the idea of
emulating idols of contemporary commercial society (317-318). In spite of its potential, a cult following was not the only way of moral education.

Many thinkers of the period deemed aesthetic education to be a useful agent of promoting moral conduct. In his philosophy, Mill disagreed with Bentham’s idea of “the greatest happiness of the greatest number” in which all kinds of pleasures had the same value. Contrary to the founder of Utilitarianism, Mill considered some pleasures more valuable than others. Intellectual and cultural activities were those he valued most. Thus, to “aesthetic feeling [was ascribed] great value as a type of higher pleasure” (Heydt 286). Unlike Bentham, Mill considered the significance of works of art for human life (Heydt 287). He perceived that the social value of poetry lay in its potential of educating the effective elements of human nature. Poetry strengthened the individual’s capacity for sympathy, for identifying with pleasures and pains of others, thus reinforcing the bonds among individuals and sparking the desire to act for the good of others (Green 452).

According to Mill, valuable imaginative writings formed “[t]he great instruments of education” in which converged the two aforementioned moral agents - “earnestness and enthusiasm” (Houghton 270). The Benthamite group, on the contrary, saw poetry as “...a harmless amusement” or even “...a threat to the rational calculation...” if taken an extremely negative view (Green 453). In his crusade for “the ideal self”, Arnold depended on Culture with “poetry” as one of its important elements (Willey 270). In essence, Arnold and Mill’s view of the role of poetry appeared to be similar. They differed, however, in the opinion on the source of morality: it stemmed from their religious and secular viewpoints respectively. While Arnold connects religion and literature at the point when “[p]oetry passes into religion on its highest level, and
religion must pass into poetry to penetrate and transform “that poor inattentative and immoral creature, man” (Willey 264), atheistic Mill “denounces the Judeo-Christian Bible as the basis for morality“ (West 37) and instead, he pinpoints it in human character.

Despite obvious success on theoretical field, there were tendencies to abandon scholarly education in favour of utility. It is not surprising that in quickly developing industrial society, a narrow utilitarian approach disregarded academical knowledge, which yielded to business and vocational demands. Houghton draws the line between the negative perception of utility of Mill, Newman, Bagehot, Morley, Leslie Stephen and Arnold on the one hand, and on the other, its supporters Kingsley, Froude, Carlyle and Macaulay (118). Their opposing opinions competed on the field of literature as well as during public proclamations. While Klingopulos analyses Charles Dickens’ Hard Times as an attack of “... those psychological and educational ideas which formed the “philosophical” part of utilitarianism”(Ford 34), Carlyle maintains that “[m]an is sent hither not to question , but to work...” (qtd. in Houghton 110). Huxley appeared among those who struck the balance “encourag[ing] practical as well as book work” (Tivey 173). Nevertheless, the gap between viewpoints of the two groups reached fundamental proportions: While in his capacity of Chancellor of St. Andrews Mill appealed for “intellectual and aesthetic culture”, Froude’s inaugural address ““deplored ...history, poetry, logic, moral philosophy, classical literature...as ornaments...[which] will not help you to stand on your feet and walk alone”” (Houghton 119).

In the contention over university education, even opponents of strict utilitarian approach did not always reach an easy agreement about its content. Mill attempted to prevent Huxley’s and Arnold’s dispute in which the former preferred “the sciences” and the latter “literature” by asking ““why not both?”” (Ryan 664). Mill perceived
negatively old traditional universities as well as Eton and Westminster as “...stronghold of bigotry and reaction” (Willey 155). This disapproving attitude originated from their outdated relation to religion and aristocracy, and had nothing to do with Mill’s high esteem of higher education. The part and parcel of Mill’s teaching was critical thinking and “…seek[ing] truth ardently, vigorously, and disinterestedly...” , the task in which a scholar could find a great help in the classics (Houghton 286). A similar critical approach is noticeable at Huxley who considered ““scepticism...[as] the highest of duties [and] blind faith [as] the one unpardonable sin”” (Tivey 170).

Apart from official educational institutions, there occurred other possibilities of improvement, such as the trend of self-education. Its high potential is suggested by Clausen who claims its “superior[ity] to conventional education by others” due the motivational factors which made it much more effective (405). In the second half of the century, the increased literacy resulted in public demand for reading materials and the market responded with issuing a number of periodicals. As a consequence, reading became yet another means of self-education. Mark Asquith comments on popularity of the newly invented Victorian method of ”note-taking, through its process of careful selection and rejection“ of information in the press which served as a new progressive way of understanding the world (Morgen 183). However, the very concept of self-help was negatively viewed by many contemporaries; so “[e]ven the movement of self-education by means of mechanics’ institutes and working-men’s libraries...[was] played down by Kingsley in favour of non-intellectual pursuits” (Houghton 120). He further elaborates on the advantages of physical exercise over intellectual activity:

> everything which ministers to the *corpus sanum* will minister also to *mentem sanum*; and a walk on Durham Downs, a game of cricket, a steamer excursion to Chepstow, shall send them home again happier and
wiser men than poring over many wise volume and hearing many wise lectures. (qtd. in Houghton 120)

Although often ridiculed (Clausen 404), Samuel Smile’s treatise Self – Help meant, Klingopulos tells us, “the sense of opportunity” for other societal structures apart from the bourgeoisie (Ford 24-25). According to Clausen, the most positive tenets of Smile’s book are, “the assertion that no one is predestined to poverty, misfortune, and dependence.” (409) To a large degree, Smile’s view is coherent with Mill’s idea of individual liberty: its is in human power to change himself, his destiny. In Mill’s concept of self-improvement, he “...wanted ...freedom for the individual to go his own way and live his own life; freedom , in short, to cultivate and call forth all that was unique in himself, within the limits imposed by the right and interests of others” (Houghton 290). In practical terms, while reducing the cost of his books, Mill made them available to the lower classes (Ryan 654). On the other hand, Mill criticized extreme cases of intellectual self-instruction when ““every dabbler”” spoke confidently on subjects he was not familiar with (Houghton 139).

In conclusion, educational theories of the nineteenth-century thinkers addressed the subject matter from many perpectives while actual laws influenced the lives of individuals. As demonstrated above, the age of transition required strong emphasis on morality and its improvement. In fact, moral and intellectual development coexisted and for a number of the nineteenth-century intellectuals, “…the progress of the intellect could not be treated in isolation from the moral life...” (Waard 458). Klingopulos provides a list of thinkers such as J.S.Mill, Carlyle, Newman, Arnold, Ruskin, Bagehot, Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephen, John Morley and others who “… reveal a distinctly Victorian willingness to engage in moral and intellectual debate...” (Ford 108).

Apart from moral conduct, educational pursuits depended strongly on vocational
demands, often with anti-intellectual tendency which was reflected in university curriculum. Last but not least, the trend of self-education significantly contributed to progress of society and individuals despite its occasional disapproval.
3 Moral and Intellectual Education in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*

Although Klingopulus ascribes to Hardy’s perspective “… the inherited and timeless quality of his scepticism [which] deepened into pessimism” (Ford 407), *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* presents to any attentive reader undisputable achievements in the sphere of nineteenth-century education. These advances are by large demonstrated by a contrast between Tess and her mother’s knowledge with “a gap of two hundred years as ordinarily understood. When they were together the Jacobean and the Victorian ages were juxtaposed” (*Tess* 22). Despite having a quite unfavourable family background, Tess takes advantages of her natural intelligence and aptitude to learning, the whole process being enabled by a London teacher who can impart important knowledge inaccessible outside Tess’ immediate environment. Fully realizing her potential which she is able to utilize due to educational changes, Tess dreams of the career of teacher - an extremely ambitious goal for a member of the lower class who can only depend on her abilities but not on financial support of her family. The fact that unfavourable circumstances prevent her from progress on the social scale does not contradict possibilities which were open to women from the rank of peasants.

The enormous change in thinking, educational opportunities and understanding of the world do not only concern members of the peasantry, but also the spheres of society above them. Due to the second marriage of Angel’s father, “between Angel, the youngest, and his father the Vicar there seemed to be almost a missing generation” (*Tess* 137-8), the fact which must be reflected in their worldviews and the way of life. If the Vicar represents the decline of the old order, Angel must be understood as the example of new ways and opportunities in life as well as in educational pursuits, which happen to be quite contradictory to those of other family members. Interestingly enough, Angel’s refusal of parochial views of his family parallels Mill’s diversion from the
views of his family friend and “teacher” Jeremy Bentham. Mill’s opposition to the narrow conception of Bentham’s utilitarianism was accompanied by ”reaction against the industrial environment” (Houghton 269). Leaving the town life, Angel opts to study farm management, thus escaping to bucolic surroundings that sharply contrast with the surroundings of economic production. In the contest of the right purpose and function of education, Angel takes an unequivocal stand in favour of the practical use of education with the strong emphasis on critical thinking. Therefore he refuses to take a part in higher education in which the systematic but uncritical acquisition of knowledge keeps the learner separated from the real world.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned achievements and progress of society enabled by the education of individuals, there is no doubt about the fact that British society was challenged by rapid changes as well as by the continuous disintegration of Christianity quickened by Charles Darwin’s The Origin of Species. These events disturbed the stability of the whole structure of society which was grounded on religious teaching. The chaotic uncertainty of the social fabric and its effect on humankind is aptly illustrated in Tess when the narrator, being aware of the havoc the falling religion wreaked, comments on its overall impact when “the chronic melancholy ... is taking hold of the civilized races with the decline of belief in a beneficent Power”(142). The fall of religious dogma - “a creed which had served mankind well in its time”entered into ”the last grotesque phase” (96) in which its impact is still felt by Tess after her seduction by Alec. Her negative feelings are partly caused by the havoc which was apparent in the sphere of morality. To establish the foundations of moral conduct can be difficult with ”every village ...[having]...often its own code of morality”(71). Ambiguity and indeterminacy of moral behaviour is taken to extreme when Alec challenges Tess’s morality in order to manipulate her or when Tess, in obvious state of
agony and mental disbalance, asks for forgiveness after ending Alec’s life: “‘Angel, will you forgive me my sin against you, now I have killed him?’”(456) In the milieu where morality can be used to various aims and purposes, there seems to be no focal point. This picture of moral disorder in the universe of Hardy’s Tess asks for clarification and consequent cultivation of moral behavior.

The zeitgeist of the whole period was also frequently referred to by a number of prominent thinkers. The pointing out of the unsatisfactory state was followed by voicing the necessity to stabilize society and improve its ethical standards. The unhappy mood of Hardy’s resonates with “Arnold’s classic statement of Victorian melancholia in “Scholar Gypsy”’(Houghton 76) as well as the decline of faith in Dover Beach

The Sea of Faith

Was once, too, at the full, and round earth’s shore

which culminates in the sense of unhappiness and despair:

Nor certitude, nor peace, not help for pain; (qtd. in Ford 318 -319).

Based on his Religion of Humanity, Comte ascribed the state of “an intellectual and moral anarchy” to the period of trasformation between two stages of historical development (Willey 200). As a profound atheist, Mill does not mourn too much over the “‘age of weak beliefs’”(Willey 191), but he still wants to contribute to the improvement of British society at the times when “‘mankind have outgrown old institutions and old doctrines, and have not yet acquire new ones’”(Houghton 1). The pronouncement of John Marley assessing the first decades of the second half of the century as “...the age of science, new knowledge, searching criticism, followed by multiplied doubts and shaken beliefs” held true for the whole Victorian era (qtd. in Houghton 11). Thus, the pressing moral issues were addressed throughout the whole nineteenth century.
As a consequence of the rapid changes and apparent moral disorder, the theme of cultivation of virtues permeated the nineteenth-century thought, and thus it also transpires in the novel. The author as well as the number of intellectuals realized that a new order of society was required, one which would ensure sustaining moral standards during tumultuous progress. At time when the old doctrines clash with the new ideas, and old certainties do not hold true any more, the impact is felt on the level of individuals as well as society with the disruption threatening the whole stability and status quo. Contrary to the limits of cultural achievements so far, Hardy envisions through Angel’s mind

... improved systems of moral and intellectual training [that] 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.

*(Tess 198)*

Mill, whose thorough intellectual training during the childhood ended up in a nervous breakdown, also realized the necessity to cultivate all spheres of human being. Therefore, in addition to intellect, he began to concentrate on the cultivation of feelings and morals. As one of the most adherent followers of Comte’s *Religion of Humanity* and its representative in Britain, Mill together with other ”...disciples...adopted a secular ethic of enthusiasm to save moral foundation of society in an age of doubt” *(Houghton 272)*. Interestingly enough, the idea of cultural influence as conveyed by Hardy’s novel does not only concern the cultivation of British citizens, but it is expanded to different levels: cultivation in terms of agricultural activity abroad as well as missionary amelioration of savages on African continent.
Mill is very well-known for his staunch support of women’s rights both in his capacity of the member of Parliament as well as the public figure. In his famous work *The Subjection of Women* (1869), Mill compares the current state with the past practice and although he admits "the progress of civilisation” and “the reciprocity of duty which binds the husband towards the wife”, he also holds that "while the kind and the degree of improvement which has been made in women’s education, has made them in some degree capable of being his companions in ideas and mental taste, while leaving them, in most cases, still hopelessly inferior to him” (301). Apparently, there was still too much wrongdoing that needed to be amended at the turn of the century. At first glance, there is far too obvious inequality between men and women exemplified by the relationship between Angel and Tess portrayed by Hardy. Of three prototypes of womanhood summarized by Houghton, Tess does not seem to fall into a category of "the new woman” in revolt against her legal and social bondage...and demanding equal rights with man: the same education” and other ways of self-realization in society, nor she is the middle type for whom”...higher education is unwise” (348). On the surface, she apperas to be "the submissive wife whose whole excuse for being was to love, honour, obey - and amuse-her lord, her master...”(348).

Hardy seems to join Mill’s campaign for the liberation of women. As Dergisi observes, “[t]hrough the resistence of his protagonist, Hardy opposes the social and moral conventions that victimize women.”(50) The emotional Tess is forced to oppose intellectual patriarchy of the nineteenth century which is mainly embodied in three male figures – Alec, Angel and Groby. Not only must she face Alec’s sexual attack, but she also opposes unfair precepts of marriage exemplified by her husband’s control of their relationship. In the dichotomy of intellect versus emotions, Björk points out that “...both in Hardy’s first and... in his later novels, the heart is always at a disadvantage”
(87). This is manifested in their mutual perception and the roles they are ascribed. For Angel, Tess is in the position of "property"(Tess 242), "his absolute possession"(297), even a "... wretched slave...."(276). She is willing to end her life if required. The reason for assuming the inferior social position is, according to Peter Gay, "Tess’ passionate love for Angel" (Caminero-Santangelo 51). Notwithstanding her motivation, the hardship Tess is destined to undergo is multiplied by unfair treatment of her employer - the farmer Groby. In the book, her oppression is exemplified especially in three areas which were thoroughly controlled by male dominated society: sexuality, matrimony and economic practices. These gender inequalities contribute significantly to Tess’s tragic fate.

Caminero-Santangelo observes that as far as the bond between Tess and her spouse is concerned, "[their] connection is not based on equality; he denies any importance to her independent will"(49). In patriarchal society, this is very likely to be true, but in Tess of the D’Urbervilles, the heroine subverts the established system by her systematic refusal to adopt. While using "Cixous [‘s binaries...]: Activity/Pasivity...Father/Mother, Head/Emotions ...[which] are heavily imbricated in the patriarchal value system" (Moi 104), she does not always stand on the inferior side prescribed to women by patriarchal system, and more often than not asserts her right in her own distinctive way. In the dancing scene, Tony Tanner rightly identifies that Tess "stands out" from the whole group of women because of her coloured decoration (Draper 184). In this way, she asserts an important role on behalf of her cultural and gender group. Being different in her clothes, auspicious educational progress, struggle and perseverance means setting the model for other females to follow. First of all, she does not take after the qualities of her childish mother who can hardly cope with societal challenges regarding emancipation of women. Tess takes on various roles depending on circumstances,
which help her resist and thus escape a prescribed place in society. She can be the breadwinner when she resolutely decides to replace her incapable father and goes to deliver beehives to the Casterbridge market. Her potential in the village school promises her an emancipatory career in the teaching profession. Even Angel and Alec are aware of her supreme intellect, eloquence and academic potential. These traits allow her to be a member of “...a dynamically ““rising”” group which is principally female. Sometimes...associated with intellectual ““emancipation” (Widdowson 214-215). As an autonomous person, she makes choices and is responsible for them. The final act of rebellion ends up in the death of her most hated male oppressor - Alec. She is not a victim, because she keeps fighting the unjust society and therefore subverts the constructed image of obedient female.

Apart from challenging gender relations, Hardy presents a problematic picture of class division and its consequent ambiguous class identity in his three main characters. In the analysis of class relations in Tess of the D’Urbervilles, Widdowson finds the three main characters - Tess, Angel and Alec as ”...displaced people in the novel.”(212)

Indeed, social strata and their representatives in Hardy’s novel do not reflect the strictly outlined division of society, but appears to be diffused. In the universe of Tess of the D’Urbervilles, the clear-cut social boundaries are transgressed by all main protagonists. First of all, there is no real nobility, although Alec and Tess are two people who somehow aspire to be linked with landed aristocracy. Due to Alec’s father’s economic success, his family is able to obtain the baronial title, but in fact, they have no hereditary right to be associated with the gentility and its traditional role of sustaining high moral virtues. On the contrary, he represents a laissez-faire of British economy. Secondly, Tess is at one level connected with ancient nobility and at another with the lower-class peasantry. The former association has no practical bearing on her
materialistic well-being since it was lost a long time ago. But still, it connects her with virtues and qualities to which British society should aspire. Finally, it is highly problematic to see Angel as the epitome of the rising middle-class of the nineteenth century. If he is a member of the middle class, one of the very characteristic features of this protagonist is his elision from his own class origins and at the same time abhorrence of values which his class represents.

No matter how complicated the outline of social fabric in Hardy’s novel might be, the very idea of classes permeates the whole narrative. Straight from the outset, Angel and his brothers are introduced as ”...three young men of a superior class” (13). Angel is a member of the well-established middle class family which has resources to support their sons’s university education. Their edification, however, does not lead to their cultivation, but to the feelings of false superiority in which they “recognized that there were a few unimportant score of millions of outsiders in civilized society, persons who were neither University men nor churchmen; but they were to be tolerated rather than reckoned with and respected“(Tess 192).

This alleged superiority runs counter to “...growing mental limitations” (Tess 192) viewed by Angel. Not only does he express sceptical views regarding the use of their education, but above all he distances himself from typical values of the Clare’s. There are striking similarities between Mill’s critical attitudes towards some features of social milieu and Hardy’s portrayal of Angel’s family. And more often than not, the perspective of Angel is enhanced by the voice of the narrator. Mill is known to approach negatively especially two aspects of British life: ”...after aristocracy, any established Church was regarded with the greatest abhorrence”(Willey 154). These attitudes as well as his disapproval of “commercial life of middle class” (Houghton 284) finds their reflection in the novel. The initial understanding of Tess’s noble origins,
Angel’s flat refusal of “the material distinstion of rank and wealth [which ] he increasingly despised”(140) and his critique of his father’s and brother’s religious rigidity are prime examples of parallel between Angel’s and Mill’s thinking.

In addition to this, the worship of mammon so typical for ambitious members of the middle class is ridiculed by the narrator’s allusion to "Victorian lucre”(15). This negative overtone towards the materialistic base of society introduced at the beginning of the novel is again validated at the ending by the landlady providing accommodation: “She was too deeply materialized, poor woman, by her long and enforced bondage to that arithmetical demon Profit-and-Loss”(450). To put it differently, if she is “materialized”, she is also “poor” in spiritual ways. The materialistic and mechanical orientation of society sharply contrasts with cultivation of qualities that are inherently human.

Mill saw “Oxford and Cambridge...[as] stronghold of bigotry and reaction”(Willey 155) and Angel also detests his brothers’s connection with Cambridge. In the novel, Cambridge is endowed with all detestable facets of society that Mill attacked. Firstly, the rigid conception of education obtained in such an institution is tightly linked with religious belief. Secondly, it exclusively serves those with financial means, and therefore are accessible to owning classes only: either landed gentry or the commercially based middle classes. Even more importantly, the outdated mode of education cannot answer profound issues of life which sharply contrasts with Mill’s aim of ”seek[ing] truth ardently” (Houghton 286). This also echoes with Rodden’s comment on Angel’s diversion on his way to freedom of intellects: “he departs from him [father] markedly in his belief system, which exhibits his heterodoxy and respect for “‘experience in Life’” (300). And that is exactly the direction Angel follows in trying to understand nobility, morality and virtues that Tess’s personality stands for.
The last social stratum is introduced in the form of "Crick’s household of maids and men” whose "position was perhaps the happiest of all position in social scale” (Tess 153), because they do not experience poverty and their social status does not require of them to follow strict Victorian social obligations and rules. Moving from collective to individual examples of peasantry, Tess becomes the first and foremost representative of her class. According to Merryn and Raymond Wiliiams, Tess is a member of the “intermediate” people who... [are] ...the bearers of culture” (qtd. in Björk 57). This distinctive culture finds its expression in folklore, dancing, ballads, superstitions, music, intimate union with natural world and using their dialectic language.

Although Tess displays certain potential while attending the village school, she is not influenced by the “official” culture completely, but only to a certain extent. She speaks two languages, but her typical local pronunciation is still noticeable. Nevertheless, her capability demonstrates itself by her eloquence when she is able to impart complex ideas acquired from Angel during her reasoning with Alec. Despite these examples, her potential still lies dormant during her first encounter with Angel as she is not noticed due to her "backwardness” (Tess 15). Initially, the reader remains uncertain, whether it is to be attributed to Tess’s personality traits or to her “cultural limitation”, but the latter alternative is manifested after the inauspicious encounter with Alec: the lack of edification is seen as the main reason of her seduction when she blames her mother for not informing her about the danger of men: “ ‘Ladies know what to fend hands against, because they read novels that tell them of these tricks; but I never had the chance o' learning in that way, and you did not help me!’”(99). In other words, no matter how much progress Tess has made in comparison with her family members and other peasant girls, regarding her ability to interact with social structures above her level she finds it very difficult. The knowledge she gains in the village school does not appear
sufficient enough to help her in such circumstances.

Tess’s ambition to climb upwards the social ladder seems a natural thing to be pursued. Being a member of the poor class, and to a certain degree a disfunctional family, she still wants to “walk uprightly”, but this cannot be achieved by “petty social advancement” (Tess 126). The only two options for social mobility open to her seem to be formal education and marriage. Her mother hopes it to be the latter and therefore never ceases to look for the best match possible. In fact, the two possibilities merge into one, as Butler rightly points out that “[her] smatterring of education ... is enough too, to tip the balance of Angel Clare’s scruples about marrying a milkmaid” (9). Similarly, Glendening ascribes Tess's splendour and improved schooling as the main reason for being chosen by Angel over other peasant girls (70-71). This potential can be further perfected and cultivated, the task which is assumed in Angel’s ambition to make Tess “the well-read woman” (Tess 227). Nevertheless, cultural exchange is mutual and Angel’s first hand experiences of the culture of the lower class leads to the realization of “how much less was the intrinsic difference between the good and wise woman of one social stratum and the good and wise woman of another social stratum, than between the good and bad, the wise and the foolish, of the same stratum or class” (199). In spite of this, Angel’s doubts about Tess’s virtues still compel him to undergo the quest, by the end of which he comes to value her ancient past.

Tess’s long forgotten aristocratic roots are put forward when her father is acquainted with his noble origins, which, however, sparks false hopes and sets in motion events leading to the tragic end of the heroine. Another instance is the comment made by the narrator during the dancing scene on May Day. He does not only reveal the significance of “the d'Urberville lineaments” which “did not help Tess in her life's battle as yet”, but also disconnects Tess from “Victorian lucre” (15). The point is that
her value lies in her inner qualities rather than well – established gentility of the day. In fact, at this point of the story, Tess’s family finds itself on the other end of social scale with no relevant affinity with the upper-class whatsoever. If Tess lost the connection with her noble ancestors a long time ago, the financial situation of the moneyed family of Alec enabled them to buy into noble ranks. The vital difference between Alec’s pseudo aristocracy and Tess’s true link with her noble ancestors is explained by Padian: ”Alec inherits wealth and social position, but constitutionally he cannot meet its challenges“. On the other hand, Tess is not bequeathed wealth but “… resolve and determination...“ (Morgen 228).

Mill held that the ancient upper-class structures of society should be replaced by ”an aristocracy of merit”(Ryan 656). This stand is conspicuously developed in the ambiguous aspect of Tess’s nobility and the sequence of events after which Angel’s abhorrent attitude to Tess’s history gradually melts away. The required moral example is provided by Tess who displays dualistic association with aristocracy. The ambiguity of the link between the eponymous heroine and Norman knighthood serves two purposes. Firstly, Tess is not connected with landed aristocracy of the day by any means. Secondly, notwithstanding the factual disconnection with very powerful group in society of the day, the blood of her ancestors still ensures that she is the bearer of virtuous qualities.

The seeming uncertainty of Tess’s class affiliation surfaces shortly after their discussion of Tess’s seduction, when Angel accuses her in the quick succession to be “unapprehending peasant woman” (278), and almost in one breath he attacks her noble origins while exclaiming that “[d]ecrepit families imply decrepit wills, decrepit conduct”(279). Starting with the negative attitude towards Tess’s past, using it for his practical purposes before the wedding and ascribing it the reason for Tess’ alleged
immorality concludes in his inner transformation and realization that

The historic interest of her family—that masterful line of d'Urbervilles...
touched his sentiments now. Why had he not known the difference
between the political value and the imaginative value of these things? In
the latter aspect her d'Urberville descent was a fact of great dimensions;
worthless to economics, it was a most useful ingredient to the dreamer,
to the moralizer on declines and falls. (404)

The radical turn in his understanding of her past is the key to Angel’s successful
completion of his moral quest which corresponds with the pressing issue of cultural
formation of British society. Angel’s consideration of Tess’s moral ground takes a
sharp turn after a period spent abroad. This distance and consequent acknowledgement
of different point of view is not dissimilar to Mill’s “Moral philosophy, ...[which] can
affect our conduct much later in the day, when we reflect on the nature of morality,
reconsider which of the convictions we absorbed as infants we should continue to take
seriously, and from which we should try to free ourselves.” (Ryan 659) Angel’s
liberation from old doctrines based on impressions of early age with emphasis on social
conventions gives way to more profound grounds that do not assess moral conduct
rigidly, but stems from multiple perspectives and take into consideration the role of life
experience. Drawing on Schweik’s list of various points of view with regards to female
morality questioned by Angel, Björk in his analysis of Tess’s morality rightly
concludes “that the novel introduced these different viewpoints not only to show that
several perspectives are always possible, or that any single perspective is limited, but
that from whatever viewpoint Tess’s initial sexual experience is looked at, a strong case
can be made for her defence” (110). The temporal effect on Angel’s final understanding
of morality and its development is coupled by a spatial aspect, when he hesitates to
marry Lisa- Lu in her capacity of sister-in-law, but eventually accepts Tess’s reasoning that “people marry sister-laws continually about Marlot” (467). This spaciality of morals is, however, nothing new, as it is already heralded in chapter 1 when the narrator comments on discrepancies between various rural communities (71).

Notwithstanding the actual influence of Mill on Hardy, the parallel between Mill’s effort to cultivate and Hardy’s novel can be deduced from the inherent role of literature— to inform and instruct. To Mill, the significance of cultivation through arts and its representatives was clear particularly early in his life when “…he displayed a hankering after the leadership of those possessed of a poetic sensibility; poets were to be no longer the unacknowledged legislators of mankind, but the articulate leaders of public sentiment and thought“(Ryan 656). According to Sumpter, Leslie Stephen’s work “…on the role of sympathy in literature…” informed Hardy as the author of fiction (666). However, the debate on the feelings of sympathy took place on the larger platform of contemporary thinkers.

In his effort for the moral improvement of society, Mill ascribed the prime importance to sympathetic feelings and to the end of their promotion, he concentrated closely on “the cultivated imagination as embodies in art and history” (Heydt 298). Not only does Tess set high moral standards, but her character also emanates two Mill’s means of cultivation: art in the form of “lived” poetry and history. Angel knows the values of the former when he puts her on the pedestal: ”She’s brim full of poetry, actualized poetry, if I may use the expressions. She lives what paper poet only write” (197). To curb one sided focus on intellectual training and to support fancy, Mill suggests “...antagonist principle...in deal[ing] with them [objects] altogether in the concrete, clothed in properties and circumstances; real life in its most varied forms, poetry and art in all their branches” (Heydt 298). This illuminates the scene of Tess’s
refusal of learning history. She says:”...what’s the use of learning that I am one of a long row only - finding out that set down in some old book there is somebody just like me, and to know that I shall only act her part...”(150-151). Tess’s protest against uniformity is reflected in her story, in “the concrete” history of the girl of humble yet noble origins. Far from being pure abstraction, her life is fully experienced, suffered, yet not wasted. Another point of significance is her association with the nobility of France, because Mill, while criticizing the English for ”...almost seem[ing] to regard them [sympathies] as necessary evils”, turned to the example of the French land where “...sympathies are of paramount importance for individual happiness...”(Heydt 296).

The awakening of Angel’s sympathies is communicated by the omniscient narrator: “The historic interest of her family - that masterful line of d’Urbervilles... touched his sentiments now” (404). As indicated earlier, Angel comes to realize Tess’s value both through her morality as well as historical legacy. Another aspect of her Norman ancestry is that positive French feelings should substitute inadequate tenets of English life.

As already mentioned, the issue of cultivation permeated the whole nineteenth century and as an important theme it was addressed by numerous thinkers who aimed to improve the unsatisfactory situation. Thomas Hardy joined the debate and in his novel he attempted to suggest the solution in the complete cultivation - the coexistent education of intellect and morals which is exemplified by the union of Angel and Tess. By crossing gender and class boundaries, Hardy makes the point of unity of the whole society and mutual enrichment of all its elements. This unity resonates with the unity of human being of which all parts need to be equally cultivated. If Angel provides an example of intellectual training, Tess’s role assumes the cultivation of feelings and morals. Where intellect must independently search for an answer, emotions must
persevering against all the odds which are brought by life. Whereas Tess’s undeniable merit lies in her inner power to resist the injustice of the world imposed on her, Angel’s merit lies in seeking the intellectual liberty. Analysing the ethical question in the novel, Caminelo-Santangelo concludes, that apart from Tess as “a moral exampler” and Angel who provides “within the framework of the text, the only hope of a better world”, it is the moral influence on reading community that matters (59). This is certainly true, but equal importance should be ascribed to poetry and history, as its value is demonstrated in the character of Tess. “History, for Hardy, represented knowledge“ (Rogers 219), and Tess, whose affiliation with history is embedded in the very title of the novel, comes to share this knowledge that run through her veins with others in her life of poetry.
4 Moral and Intellectual Education in Jude the Obscure

Shortly after its publication, Thomas Hardy’s last novel – Jude the Obscure (1896) – was interpreted in the Saturday Review (1896) as “Mr. Hardy’s tremendous indictment of the system which closes our three English teaching Universities to what is, and what has always been, the noblest material in the intellectual life of this country – the untaught” (qtd. in Widdowson 22). In a similar vein, while analyzing causes of the main protagonist’s misery, one of the possible explanations that Lee. T. Lemon suggests in his essay The Hostile Universe: A Developing Pattern in Nineteenth-Century Fiction is “...the English educational system, which provided no opportunity for an intellectually ambitious but unsophisticated and impoverished youth” (Goodin 11).

Undoubtedly, some of Hardy’s novels could be understood as a form of social criticism trying to amend wrongdoings in the period of tumultuous changes with Jude the Obscure being no exception. The critical view of the University of Cambridge demonstrated in the previous chapter together with the castigation of Oxford University charged in Hardy’s last novel seem to be in accordance with Mill’s negative attitude to these two ancient educational institutions which he perceived as “stronghold of bigotry and reaction” (Willey 155).

Despite this negative portrayal of Christminster, the reader might be struck by the question about any underlying educational issues in the story of Jude. Hardy himself wrote in the preface that there is “…no doubt that there can be more in a book than the author consciously puts there…” (Jude x.) and the ambiguity of the book has more often than not yielded contradictory conclusions. Thus Mill and Hardy’s shared opinion on the aforementioned ancient universities could be used as the starting point of presenting positive alternatives as regards human cultivation. If the novel criticizes the institutions of contemporary university education, it might be as well as argued that it
also offers positive examples, possibilities, and even achievements in the sphere of amelioration. This approach to cultivation includes all parts of human being, that is, moral, emotional and intellectual.

Right from the outset, education is established as the major theme of the novel when Jude assists Phillotson’s leaving for the idealized place of learning – Christminster. Being strongly influenced by the former schoolmaster, Jude sets his heart on reading classic books with a view of concluding his educational pursuits in Christminster later on, the dream that is never fulfilled. Nevertheless, even though mercilessly shunned from official higher education, Jude still takes a stand on the value of learning, personal development and searching for the truth. The nineteenth century saw an increase in the trend of self-education which became very popular and Jude’s desire to educate himself coupled with his determination sets an excellent example of the power of an individual that follows his dream, not to mention its close association with personal improvement. While praising “[t]he rise of the self-educated proletariat ...[as] one of the most remarkable facts in the nineteenth century English history”(Watt 435), Irving Howe distinguishes two attitudes of working class people towards education: for some it meant ”...a promise of escape from their cramped social position” and for a lesser number of such as Jude “a joy, pure and disinterested, in the life of mind”(Watt 436).

Apart from the eponymous hero who “struggled nobly to acquire knowledge”(Jude 390), the novel contains other positive examples of educational achievements at time of societal transition. During a trip to the Agricultural exhibition, “which should combine exercise and amusement with instruction, at small expense”(346), Jude and his family have an opportunity to get acquainted with the basic knowledge of agriculture. Also, lectures in the public hall that Jude attends extend availability of education: they are open to everybody who is interested in the acquisition of historical facts. Yet another
instance of positive changes in the sphere of education is provided in the character of Sue, since the aforementioned quest for wisdom of Jude is enabled by her prototype of an intellectual woman who is even superior in academical terms to Phillotson because “...she has read ten times as much as [he has]” (274). Butler classifies her “... [as an] unhappy type [which] was one of several stages of the development of women from undereducated sex objects trussed up in inconvenient clothing to betrousered equals with educational opportunities“(140). As the trajectory of women’s struggle for independence contains “several stages” with ups and downs and intersects nineteenth-century Britain and later periods, so Sue fulfills her role of Jude’s guide, and under the pressure of penitence, she abandons her advanced views and ideas and conforms to the rule of patriarchy again. Her motivation, unpredictable behaviour, and irrational decision making could be interpreted in accordance with Mill’s famous work, nonetheless.

Generally speaking, J.S.Mill was an important figure as regards Thomas Hardy’s influences. As far as the novel in question is concerned, Björk summarizes its intellectual influence by identifying “...associations and quotations from diverse moral, religious, and philosophical sources: Arnold, Gibbon, Newman, Mill, Milton, Humboldt, Voltaire, and the Bible“(117). Despite the fact that the story is full of contradictions and changes in attitudes and opinions, it could be argued that an attentive reader discerns a pattern of thinking not dissimilar to that of J.S. Mill. His utter significance for the novel is aptly manifested by the argument between Sue and her husband when she quotes passages from On Liberty:

“who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him, has no need of any other faculty than the apelike one of imitation.’ J. S. Mill's words, those are. I have been reading it up. Why can't you
act upon them? I wish to, always." "What do I care about J. S. Mill!"
moaned he."(Jude 267)

As a prominent figure, Mill contributed to ongoing debates on educational issues, general human improvement as well as other significant matters of the time and the following paragraphs will recognize and discuss traces of his educational theory, attitudes and viewpoints.

In the course of the novel, the happiness is out of bounds for Jude since he is opposed by formidable forces that thwart his plans. It is not only his inner impulses, his drinking, naïve personality and unprivileged family background, but above all society extending its influence by the institution of marriage and higher education. While trying to identify obstacles for leading a happy life for those less fortunate, Mill states that "present wretched education, and wretched social arrangements, are the only real hindrance to its being attainable by almost all."(West 177) Not only do these antagonistic forces impact the life of the eponymous hero, but they also play an important part in the destiny of other main characters - Sue, Phillotson and Arabella. Notwithstanding the pressure of society, these characters in search of happiness attempt to assert their individuality against the tendency of the state to control its subjects. They revolt and conform to the pressures put upon them by institutions as well as by less tangible but still powerful forces: social pressure of customery behaviour and religious dogmatism.

In nineteenth-century British society, marriages and education presented an opportunity to rise on the social ladder for the people from all walks of life. Nevertheless, these two social phenomena are problematized in the novel since, ironically, they represent the major social forces Jude and other characters are to face. The notion of social mobility is put forward early in the novel when Phillotson explains
his plans to Jude: “My scheme, or dream is to be a university graduate, and then to be ordained” (Jude 5). Although he fails in his ambition, Phillotson still stands the chance of moving upwards socially at the end of the novel with a possibility “[to] get a better school, perhaps be a parson in time, and ... keep two servants” (472). This prospect differs strikingly with the destiny of Jude who dies only a few pages later. Although on the surface, Phillotson, by his remarriage, regains his social status and becomes potentially successful. Ward Hellstrom offers an alternative reading in which he links Hardy’s novel with the work of another prominent figure of the period – Matthew Arnold (Goodin 213). Hellstrom claims that Phillotson “has no life beyond the embodiment of middle-class values. He has not cultivated his own personality but has accepted the roles required of him by society” (Goodin 208). These critical overtones directed towards the middle structures of society are reinforced by a disappointing visit to the composer of the hymn. Potentially Jude’s confidant, the composer turns out to be an entrepreneur in the line of selling wines. Having discarded writing music, the composer is associated with the businesslike attributes of the middle classes which Mill perceived with dislike. (Houghton 284) It appears that the middle class values are also implicitly diminished by the author while employing the character of Arabella, a daughter of a pig-breeder, who is keen to become a “lady”. An important aspect of her behaviour is that she already identifies with the values and customs of desired “better class” (Jude 68) prior to her moving upwards: this sort of imitation is demonstrated by wearing an artificial piece of hair because “[e]very lady of position wears false hair...” (68). Such is her obsession and preoccupation with improving her material well-being that she “...gained a husband ...with a lot of earning power in him for buying her frocks and hats” (67). While Jude opts for education as the means of social mobility, Arabella uses marriage to better herself materially. In reality, neither of them succeeds.
in terms of completed social mobility. However, in depicting their effort, Hardy compares two characters with contradictory systems of values: if Jude is willing to put the majority of money away, Arabella puts stress on the material gain – the acquisition of property.

The writer’s standpoint on the matter of gender inequality expressed in the novel will be analyzed in the following paragraphs. As in Tess, Hardy’s last novel contributes to a change in the rights of women which was so desired by J.S.Mill. The patriarchal construct of gender is dismantled in the act of blurring boundaries between male and female roles that protagonists take upon themselves. This happens both in and beyond the matrimonial contract. The negative perception of society and laws behind the mechanics of wedlock is explicitly expressed by Jude who sees “…the man [as] the other victim; just as a woman in a crowd will abuse the man who crushes her, when he is only the helpless transmitter of the pressure put upon him”(Jude 342). Significantly, the writer depicts striking differences in attitudes and practices between separate major characters in order to undermine the institution of marriage as well as gender inequality: Phillotson, Arabella, Jude and Sue alternatively change a prescribed gender roles assigned to them by society: Phillotson lets Sue leave because he considers it right. However, he also intends to use re-marriage to gain back his lost social status so he claims her back. As far as Arabella is concerned she always uses a marriage to her benefit – to rise socially - as elaborated in the previous paragraph. So untraditional her role is that she even abuses Jude who can only put on brave face as he “…often regarded her abuse in a humorous light.”(478) The prime example of his ordeal is demonstrated by the lack of care he is provided shortly before his death: “”Throat-water-Sue-darling-drop of water-please-O please”” (483). At this final stage of his life, abandoned by Sue and his lawful wife Arabella, his submissive position in the wedlock fully transpires.

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Furthermore, by presenting marriages from a historical perspective and suggesting other forms of bond between man and women, Hardy shows possible alternatives to the status quo: At widow Edlin’s time the marriage was regarded as “no more o’t than of a game o´dibs!”(342) but these times “Weddings be funerals”(477). The extreme opinion is voiced by Phillotson who suggests a complete breakup of the entity:”And yet, I don´t see why the woman and the children should not be the unit without man.”(277).

The subversion of the patriarchal concept of marriage is enhanced by the presentation of the character of Sue who was identified as “the woman of the feminist movement” (Jude ix.). For Hardy, juxtaposing an advanced woman such as Sue next to the headmaster Phillotson and an initially rigid character of Jude presents yet another means of supporting equality. Despite “... degree of improvement which has been made in women’s education, [and] has made them in some degree capable of being companions [to men] in ideas and mental tastes...”(The Subjection of Women 301), Mill maintains that women remained “still hopelessly inferior“ (301). In the matter of subverting gender constructs, Sue is not only portrayed as an “inferior companion”, her station is far above: she bears the defining characteristic of Jude’s teacher and Phillotson’s intellectual superior. Jude’s yearning for some leadership perfectly connects with Sue’s ambition to act as a mentor. During their meeting she clearly states: ”But I did want and long to enoble some man to high aims; and when I saw you, and knew you wanted to be my comrade, I -shall I confess it? -thought that man might be you. But you take so much tradition on trust that I don’t know what to say”(Jude 183). Apparently, her role is to replace earlier Phillotson’s position and to lead Jude to the critical comprehension of his old fashioned views.

While Phillip Malett refers to “an erotic aspects”( Morgen 398) of “the master–pupil relationship [which] is set aside when Jude and Phillotson meet again later, but it
reappears in the story of Sue and the Christminster graduate, and between Sue and Jude” (399), this recurrent theme of teacher – learner relation might as well convey alternative ways of education which are in contrasts with the institutional one. Such an alternative means of edification is proposed by Sara Crangle who in her article *Hardy’s Jude the Obscure* presents the idea that “... to believe that Jude’s brief life has been entirely for naught is to swallow completely the view that only formal institutions can impart the knowledge he sought.”(26). It is a well-known fact that Mill’s instruction was not based on any regular attendance of educational institutions. Nevertheless, he is among the greatest thinkers of nineteenth-century Britain with enormous intellectual impact. Significantly, the proposed attributes of human cultivation as regards Mill’s life resonate with the ethos of self-improvement emanating from the novel.

In the course of the book, several stages of Jude’s edification are gradually displayed and his development could be illuminated through the lens of Mill’s thought. In the foreword to Mill’s *Autobiography*, Asa Briggs reminds us that the thinker favoured “the collision of opinions,” which he welcomed as the only means of reaching the truth”(xvi). As early as during his self-educational period at Marygreen, Jude “… felt that by caring for books he was not escaping commonplace nor gaining rare ideas, every working-men being of that taste now” (*Jude* 77). It is apparent that Jude feels the inadequacy of this method of pure absorption of presented information without a critical exchange of ideas that would lead to “reaching the truth”. Indeed, he is in need of a learned companion with opposing views and “rare ideas” who would contribute to his intellectual growth. Since his initial endeavour sparked by Phillotson is hindered by intermezzo with Arabella as well as the absence of a mentor at Melchester, he moves to the idealized city while still embracing his dream.
After meeting his cousin at Christminster, Jude’s opinions are confronted by Sue’s modern ideas. His old ambition to imbibe knowledge from books still lingers at the time when Sue is staying in the training college. He “[...] wish[es] he had nothing else to do but to sit reading and learning all day” (Jude 171). The point of Sue’s visit during Melchester section is to accentuate the gap in their understanding of Christminster. While “[he] still think[s] Christminster has much that is glorious”, Sue argues that “[i]t is an ignorant place...” which is disconnected with the reality of life (180-1). In addition, the reader cannot overlook her allusion to availability of Christminster studies to “millionaire’s sons” (181) with its implication of not only social, but also gender injustice. Laura Schwartz reflects on the unfavourable approach towards academical opportunities of women in the oldest British universities which lasted well into the twentieth century: ”The ancient universities [including Oxford that] became the arena for some of the most iconic battles in the struggle against male privilege”(672). It is important to point out that if the working class character was portrayed as the victim of the system, the situation of women was by degrees more unsatisfactory and hence the necessity of subversion of the patriarchy. The awaiting change in Jude comes with the symbolic scene of burning his old books, the act evoking burning bridges which directs him to the sequence of events ending up in his mental transformation.

The first sign of this transformation is reflected in a profound discovery that Sue is actually “...enslaved to the social code as any woman...!”” (Jude 288) During the exchange she replies:””Not mentally. But I haven’t the courage of my views...”“(288). Björk rightly observes that “[t]he narrative shows how futile her wish is to live according to Mill’s principles, and how, gradually, her individuality is frittered away”(123). It is important to point out that Mill differentiated between expressing opinions and living them. In On Liberty, Mill says:
As it is useful that while mankind are imperfect there should be different opinions, so is it that there should be different experiments of living; that free scope should be given to varieties of character, short of injury to others; and that the worth of different modes of life should be proved practically, when any one thinks fit to try them. It is desirable, in short, that in things which do not primarily concern others, individuallity should assert itself. (84)

The character of Sue is thus employed for two purposes: firstly, while subverting patriarchy she acts as an intellectual guide on Jude’s pilgrimage. Secondly, she is to manifest a discrepancy between thinking and acting freely. The necessity of congruence between free expression of ideas and commitment to live accordingly in practical life is suggested in the aforementioned quotation. However, Sue behaves contradictory to Mill’s advice and her inability to live according to her advanced ideas fully shows after the death of their children when she is incapable of coping with old mental schemes and succumbs to the pressure of religious fanaticism.

Another auspicious sign of Jude’s development is presented during their last arrival to Christminster, when Jude publicly expresses that he “...had a neat stock of fixed opinions, but they dropped one by one” (Jude 390). Then, upon the completion of his inner metamorphoses he finds out “that Sue and himself had mentally travelled in opposite directions since the tragedy” (411). Finally, Sue’s modern authors, advanced ideas, and above all, Jude’s life experience results in his complete conversion. Thus, he becomes superior to Sue in terms of freedom, to Phillotson in terms of being above superficial middle-class values, and to Arabella in terms of pursuing valuable goals.

Hardy, in the preface to his book, points out that the novel is “to tell...of a deadly war waged between flesh and spirit” (Jude vi.). More than thirty years earlier, Mill’s
Utilitarianism (1863) presented the idea of pleasures which are more valuable than others. These pleasures can be satisfied by “higher faculties” which include “the intellect, the feelings and imagination, and the moral sentiments” (West 49). Undoubtedly, the reader is capable of distinguishing “higher faculties” displayed by Jude on his intellectual journey, his sympathetic feelings towards Sue and other living creatures and his moral decisions. They are important for general human development – moral, emotional and intellectual, and contrary to his animal passion aroused by Arabella and his tendency to drink. Before their first date Jude “...anticipated much pleasure in this afternoon reading … would not go out to meet her, after all“(Jude 48). Although “low pleasures“ constantly linger in the air, the inicial incentive to see her is still from the ranks of higher faculties when his conscience urges him to see her: “He ought not to break faith with her“ (49). In fact, it is the mixture of different motives that influence Jude’s decisions prior to his marriage with “compelling arm of extraordinary muscular power seiz[ing] hold of him-something which had nothing in common with the spirits and influences that had moved him hitherto“(49) having the upper hand. Björk rightly contends that “[i]t is obvious ... that Jude’s intellectual pursuits are not hampered by society alone: the duality of his own character is also responsible.“(118) No matter whether Jude temporarily yields to animal passions, he is nonetheless very much aware of forces that motivates his behaviour. While contemplating before the wedding with Arabella, Jude distinguishes between two types of pleasure:

… well-formed schemes involving years of thought and labour, of foregoing a man’s one opportunity of showing himself superior to the lower animals, and of contributing his units of work to the general progress of his generation … and transitory instinct which had nothing in
it of the nature of vice, and could be only at the most called weakness. (Jude 72)

Generally speaking, “lower pleasures” lead to his predicament with Arabella only to a certain extent since his decision to marry does not stem from his sexual appetite, but from the fallacy about her pregnancy. Skillfully engineered by Arabella, Jude is tricked into a bond which is unfavourable to his academical pursuits. Nevertheless, his motives are deeply rooted in moral concern and duty. Again, “higher faculties” operate in his decision-making. In this case, however, an intellectual aspiration is replaced by moral sentiments.

Jude’s susceptibilities to Mill’s “lower pleasures” that take the form of sexual impulses and excessive drinking will be analyzed in the following paragraphs. According to Mill, one of the reasons why people prefer less valuable pleasures is “not because they deliberately prefer them, but because they are ... the only ones to which they have access...” (qtd. in West 50). And this is exactly the case with Jude: when he receives the letter from the college principle and feels hopeless regarding the relationship with Sue, he tries to quiet his sorrows in alcohol because he is “[d]eprived of the objects of both intellect and emotion” (Jude 143).

As far as Jude’s inclination to satisfy sexual instincts, the ongoing conflict between animal passions and intellectual aspirations is enhanced by linking Arabella with imagery of pig. Björk comments on “[t]his incompatibility [of head and heart which is] painted with heavy symbolic strokes at the very beginning of Jude’s intellectual endeavours” (119), that is, during the scene of their first meeting when “…a Darwinian selection by sexual attraction is swiftly concluded” (119). This imagery reappears several times, starting with the first meeting of Jude and his would-be wife and concluding at the end of Melchester chapter in the scene of their parting. There the
image of swine is juxtoposed to Jude’s books which are fouled in the skirmish preceding disintegration of their marriage (Jude 80). Arabella’s background of the family of a pig-breeder and her employment as a barmaid make two obvious links with Jude’s predicaments he needs to deal with: uncontrollable animal instincts and the consumption of alcohol. Although he seems to be fighting a losing battle in the ongoing war between “flesh and spirit”, he still progresses through different phases of development while alternatively satisfying intellectual and animal needs.

In accordance with Mill’s conception, Jude’s intellectual development cannot be a singular goal of his effort; moral and emotional tenets need to be considered as well. It has been indicated in the previous chapter that contemporary thinkers, with Mill and Hardy being no exceptions, discussed the importance of sympathetic feelings which are, according to some, “fundamental to moral progress” (Sumpter 665). Hardy wrote his fiction at the time when the tendency to improve morals permeated society, the contributions of writers being no exception. Klingopulos pinpoints the important role of literature for moral conduct: ”The Victorian novel helped to people the imagination, to exercise moral sympathies and strengthen the feeling of human solidarity at a time of disruptive change”(Ford 69). It is apparent that these turbulent times of decline in ethical conduct, egoistic pursuit of superficial goals, accumulation of wealth and exploitation of others required a moral corrective which could no longer be insured by religious practice. Taking into account Mill’s assumption that “sympathy” and “all the forms of religious feeling” are some of the building blocks of human conscience (West 97), Hardy opts for sympathetic feelings in preference to sentiments based on religious teaching.

Hardy’s contribution to the aforementioned debate is reflected by the employment of sympathy in the novel: feelings of sympathy are not only noticeable in the relationship
between Jude and Sue which is so valued by Phillotson. They are also associated with assumed exemplary morals of the composer, and even directed towards animals. The major proponents of ethics based on sympathetic feelings seem to be Jude and Sue. She, however, eventually turns to Christian doctrine. Although a possessor of sympathetic feelings, Jude is still in search of somebody who would guide him on his intellectual and moral pilgrimage. When he realizes his flaws preventing him to follow a career of a licentiate, he tries to find the way out of his unsatisfactory situation and decides to visit the composer of the hymn. On the way he ponders on the composer’s exemplary qualities: "What a man of sympathies he must be!" (Jude 231) Putting him on the pedestal resonates with Jude’s search for a mentor, somebody to look up to, follow and learn from. The visit ends up in a fiasco with strong implications of inadequacy of the middle structures as the moral base of society since their values are revealed as entirely material. Instead, Hardy puts forward the hero who has grown up to become a martyr.

ASA BRIGGS ASCRIBES TO MILL THE ROLE OF “…A RESOLUTE CRITIC OF AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORDER EXCLUSIVELY CONCERNED WITH THE PURSUIT OF SELF-INTEREST” (AUTOBIOGRAPHY XX-XXI). MILL’S CRITICISM OF SELFISHNESS THAT WAS AT THE BASE OF BENTHAM’S PHILOSOPHY OF UTILITARIANISM (ROSEN 53) STRONGLY RESONATES WITH THE MAIN PROTAGONIST’S SELFFLESS BEHAVIOUR. WHEN SUE ASSESSES HIS ENDEavour, SHE ACCENTUATES HIS SELFINTERESTEDNESS: “YOUR WORLD FAILURE, IF YOU HAVE FAILED, IS TO YOUR CREDIT RATHER THAN TO YOUR BLAME. REMEMBER THAT THE BEST AND THE GREATEST AMONG MANKIND ARE THOSE WHO DO THEMSELVES NO WORLDY GOOD. EVERY SUCCESSFUL MAN IS MORE OR LESS A SELFFISH MAN”’ (JUDE 433).

Indeed, it is strongly suggestive that Hardy sacrifices his hero to motivate his readership to recognize the interests of others. Sumpter reveals an invaluable insight into the preparatory stages of the writing of the novel and possible relation of the main character with martyrdom: “While sketching the outline of Jude, Hardy was particularly
interested in the psychological origin of self-sacrifice...” (Sumpter 677). Symptomatically, Jude’s presentation throughout the novel is idealistic: he wants “to do good cheerfully” (*Jude* 87), he is “a species of Dick Whittington whose spirit was touched to finer issues than a mere material gain” (93), and in the final stage of his martyrdom he is willing to undergo the greatest loss when he says: “I’m giving *my* body to be burned” (451).

Hardy’s factual aim to influence his readership is discussed by Suzanne Keen who probes into Hardy’s motivation as the writer: “His strategic empathizing, in bounded, ambassadorial, and broadcast forms, reveals a lifelong project of attempting to improve human conduct, in a modest version of the positivist religion of humanity, tempered by skepticism“ (370). Unfortunately, if Hardy had attempted to influence the morality of the middle class readership, he overestimated its capacity to be instructed. Howe explains the main reason of unfavourable reaction to *Jude the Obscure* as the threat of “their deepest unspoken values” (Watt 435). Since the reaction of reading public was contrary to the writer’s expectation, he decided to abandon fiction writing and turned to poetry instead.

To conclude, this chapter has attempted to demonstrate the interrelation of gender, class and education in Hardy’s last novel. Apart from institutional education, there arise other possibilities of human amelioration in accordance with Mill’s philosophical and personal ideas. Björk is right in pointing out that the book has “a decidedly moral concern“ (128) with “[i]ts ethical attack ...directed against Christian social morality in general and its manifestation in the sacrament of marriage in particular“ (128). Accordingly, the novel also offers an alternative in the form of complex human improvement which is enabled by the female protagonist and underwent by the working class character. In his struggle, Jude does not only assert his individuality
against societal pressures, but he also conquers his inner forces in order to inspire others to be human. While using available resources, searching for a model, persevering in his struggle, and maintaining high moral standard, Jude eventually becomes an idol himself.
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the influence of the prominent nineteenth-century thinker John Stuart Mill on the later fictional production of Thomas Hardy, namely on novels *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*. It has been argued, contrary to Hardy’s being labelled as a pessimist, that his last two novels could be interpreted in an optimistic and positive way. Such a reading approached through the lens of Mill’s philosophical works, views and personal attitudes proved that the works in question complied with the spirit of the age. It follows that by the application of Mill’s educational thought, Hardy made a contribution to the contemporary debate on educational issues. The argument was gradually developed with the supporting evidence in all four chapters, with the interrelated subject matter of gender, social identity and education at the focal point of the thesis.

The introductory chapter established the link between Thomas Hardy and John Stuart Mill. While setting the context of the writer’s life and work, the aforementioned thematic focus of Hardy’s writing was identified and pronounced as the hallmark of his work. Significantly, these areas of interest did not only preoccupy Hardy, but they were also in the focus of J.S. Mill who was the writer’s major intellectual influence. Generally speaking, these features of their shared focus played an important part in smooth functioning of society, the goal the both thinkers aimed to achieve.

The second chapter presented the comprehensive outline of educational theories and practices of nineteenth-century Britain with special emphasis on the theories of J.S.Mill. Significantly, there is a number of educational issues converging this chapter and the subsequent analyses. A very important aspect of nineteenth-century education was its complex approach: the cultivation did not only include intellectual tenets, but also the improvement of moral conduct. This was enabled by various means, such as cultivation
of feelings, the method of the hero worship or developing “higher faculties.” Art, aesthetic feelings and poetry were among other means of exciting sympathetic feelings. Furthermore, the concepts of utility of education, self-education and replacement of self-interest by altruistic behaviour were also dealt with in the subsequent analyses.

The third chapter manifested traces of Mill’s teaching in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*. After expressing the necessity to replace religious morality by secular means, there followed the discussion of the social background of the main characters. Class affiliation, gender issues and cultural background of the characters were debated with the view of showing benefits and shortcomings of single elements of society. Notwithstanding the tension in the sphere of gender and class relations depicted in the novel, the relationship of two main characters with different social background - Angel Clare and Tess Durbeyfield suggests potentialities of mutual enrichment across a spectrum of gender and class. Tess’s inherent human qualities were explored in accordance with Mill’s thought which directed the search for morality to the realms of history and poetry.

Chapter four touched upon the shared views of Hardy and Mill on ancient universities, which was the starting point of suggesting an alternative mode of cultivation represented by the working class character Jude Fawley who completes his intellectual and moral development notwithstanding the obstacles. While the theme of moral improvement of society still lingers, *Jude the Obscure* crosses gender and class boundaries again. Coming from a humble origin of the working class and inspired by the female protagonist with undisputable intellectual superiority, Jude towers ultimately above the representatives of the middle structures of society whose values are covertly criticized by the novel.

Thomas Hardy’s last two novels do not only cross gender and class boundaries
by the subversion of the patriarchal society and critique of some of its structures, but above all by employment of a peasant girl and a working class character who are superior to others and who set the model for other structures of society to follow. If Hardy ascribes women the role of teachers to educate their male counterparts, he also suggests cultivation of higher structures by peasantry and the working class. Initially, Tess and Jude are taught by Angel Clare and Sue Bridehead respectively, the process in which they display their capabilities and aptitudes and which is eventually reversed at the moment when pupils become teachers. This reversal of the roles implies a possible mutual enrichment, and cooperation of different structures of society. It is evident that Tess and Jude differ in some aspects of their educational mission. While Tess’s morality stems from her noble origins and “lived poetry“, Jude’s morality is rooted in his altruistic and honest behavior and possessing “higher faculties“. Characteristically, their common asset is in their individuality which was the part and parcel of Mill’s worldview: the individuality of Tess and Jude either asserts itself against gender inequality or opposes unfavourable social institutions.

All in all, it cannot be definitely decided whether the employment of all suggested themes of Mill’s teaching and his attitudes were included consciously or unconsciously by the author. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these themes are so noticeable that they demand an interpretation. In this vein, John Stuart Mill is still very much present in Hardy’s work as he was two decades after his death at the turn of the century.
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Résumé

This thesis deals with thematics of gender, social identity and education in the novels *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure* of English writer and poet Thomas Hardy. Undoubtedly, the author was influenced in his novel writing by a number of thinkers of the nineteenth century, and it is especially the influence of English philosopher, member of parliament and supporter of the rights of women John Stuart Mill which is at the focal point of this thesis. It follows that by presenting Mill’s ideas, Thomas Hardy made a contribution to shaping English society.

The thesis is divided into four interconnected chapters. The first chapter gives a brief account of Thomas Hardy’s life and work. The content of the second chapter is formed by the survey of educational theories and perspectives of eminent contemporary thinkers. The third chapter analyzes Mill’s notions and perspectives in the novel *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*. The analysis of societal structures and the rights of women as depicted in the novel is a starting point for establishing a new source of morality which was of the prime importance for the turbulent milieu of Victorian society. The forth chapter analyzes Hardy’s last novel *Jude the Obscure* through the lens of Mill’s teaching too. Both these chapters are permeated by the link between moral and intellectual human development as well as the necessity of cooperation between various structures of society.

On the one hand, Hardy’s novels could be perceived as the critique of contemporary social injustice. On the other hand, these novels supported mainstream ideological notions which attempted to prevent moral decline of society and aimed to cement all societal structures.
**Resumé**

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá problematikou genderu, sociální identity a vzdělání v románech *Tess z d’Urbervillů* a *Neblahý Juda* anglického spisovatele a básníka Thomase Hardyho. Je zřejmé, že autor byl při tvůrčí činnosti ovlivněn řadou myslitelů devatenáctého století a právě vliv anglického filosofa, aktivního politika a bojovníka za práva žen, Johna Stuarta Milla je v centru zájmu této diplomové práce. Lze říci, že vyjádřením Millových myšlenek, názorů a postojů týkajících se zmíněných témat se Thomas Hardy aktivně podílel na formování anglické společnosti.

Práce je rozdělena na čtyři na sebe navazující kapitoly. První kapitola pojednává kráce o životě a díle Thomase Hardyho. Obsah druhé kapitoly tvoří přehled edukačních teorií a názorů významných myslitelů devatenáctého století na vzdělání. Třetí kapitola analyzuje myšlenky Johna Stuarta Milla v románu *Tess z d’Urbervillů*. Analýza společenských vrstev a postavení žen vylíčených v tomto románu je výchozím bodem pro hledání nového zdroje morálky, tak potřebného pro turbulentně se rozvíjející Victoriánskou společnost. Take čtvrtá kapitola analyzuje Hardyho román *Neblahý Juda* z pohledu Johna Stuarta Milla. V obou těchto kapitolách se prolíná důležitost spojení intelektuálního a morálního rozvoje člověka a myšlenka vzájemného obohacení jednotlivých společenským vrstev.

Hardyho romány lze považovat na jedné straně jako kritiku stávajících poměrů ve společnosti, na straně druhé jako podporu tehdejších myšlenkových proudů, které se snažily zabránit morálnímu úpadku společnosti a podpořit soudržnost veškerých společenských struktur.