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The Mayor of Casterbridgeにおける歴史の継続性と断続性

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Historical Continuity and Discontinuity in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*

Katsuaki Taira

The issue of history seems to occupy a prominent part in Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. One of the purposes of this paper is to examine how the historical continuity between past and present appears and is treated in the work. But along with historical continuity I would like to focus on the temporal hiatus that is foregrounded in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. By the temporal hiatus I mean the condition of past events in which the state preceding these events becomes forever inaccessible and irrecoverable by whatever exertions one makes later on. Thus I recognize two aspects of history in Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Set in a town in its historical transition from pre-industrial and agrarian to modern economy, the novel shows a dilemma Hardy seems to have felt between his adherence to the innocent simplicity of the farmers and the pastoral values they represent and the inexorable movement of history with its blessings such as better opportunities for workers. In this paper I would like to analyze how Hardy's sense of historical continuity and discontinuity is manifested in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in view of his ambivalent attitude to historical progression.

Casterbridge is set as an archaeological site full of Roman remains. Reflecting Hardy's experience of discovering buried relics of old Rome at the time of digging for foundations of Max Gate, Casterbridge still reverberates with the past.

Casterbridge announced old Rome in every street, alley, and precinct. It looked Roman, bespoke the art of Rome, concealed dead men of Rome. It was impossible to dig more than a foot or two deep about the town fields and gardens without coming upon some tall soldier or other of the Empire, who had lain there in his silent unobtrusive rest for a space of fifteen hundred yers. (XI)

The image of Casterbridge that emerges from this description is a town built upon sedimentation of cultures at least dating back "fifteen hundred years" and where the continuity between past and present is still tangibly felt. In fact, influence of Roman culture permeates throughout Casterbridge and is still an essential part of the town. For instance, the "curious feature" of "the burial-ground of the old Romano-British city" is "its continuity as a place of sepulchre" (XX) and the road on which so much drama develops still hides "its Roman foundation" (XXIX). Despite its centuries of exposure to the elements and its present weed-grown condition the Roman Amphitheatre still does, or at least until quite recently did, evoke the memories of the past associated with it and present itself to the people with immediacy.

It was related that there still remained under the south entrance excavated cells for the reception of the wild animals and athletes who took part in the games. The arena was still smooth and circular, as if used for its original purpose not so very long ago. The sloping pathways by which spectators had ascended to their seats were pathways

yet. (XI)

The connection of the past to the present is further exemplified by the account of "some old people" of "Hadrian's soldiery."

... some old people said that at certain moments in the summer time, in broad daylight, persons sitting with a book or dozing in the arena had, on lifting their eyes, beheld the slopes lined with a gazing legion of Hadrian's soldiery as if watching the gladiatorial combat; and had heard the roar of their excited voices; that the scene would remain but a moment, like a lightning flash, and then disappear. (XI)

Besides the Roman Amphitheatre there are relatively more recent records of Casterbridge history. In a conversation that takes place between Buzzford and Farfrae at the Three Mariners, the former says,

Casterbridge is a old, hoary place o' wickedness, by all account. 'Tis recorded in history that we rebelled against the King one or two hundred years ago, in the time of the Romans, and that lots of us was hanged on Gallows Hill, and quartered, and our different jints sent about the country like butcher's meat; and for my part I can well believe it. (VIII)

The fact that the town's history of several hundred years ago is still recounted by a man of uneducated lower class indicates the widespread sense of history shared by the common rabble. It is also interesting that the confusion between the ancient Romans and the Roman Catholic monarch James II indicated by the ambivalent use of "the Romans" here not only foreshortens the historical distance but also brings the past closer to the present of the speaker and almost creates the effect of living the past in the present. Another object that juxtaposes the present with the past is the Bull Stake. Especially because of its position surrounded by the Market House, a symbol of commercialized modern society, Town Hall and the Church, an edifice marking the break from barbarism, the "stone post" exists in Casterbridge as a historical monument with an anthropological significance.

The neighbouring Market House and Town Hall abutted against its next neighbour the Church except in the lower storey, where an arched thoroughfare gave admittance to a large square called Bull Stake. A stone post rose in the midst, to which the oxen had formerly been tied for baiting with dogs to make them tender before they were killed in the adjoining shambles. In a corner stood the stocks. (XXVII)

There are other signs of historical continuity in Casterbridge. From the joints of the stonework in the lower parts of the Church's massive square tower the mortar "had been nibbled out by time and weather" (IV). The mill with its historical resonance still survives and "trees which seemed old enough to have been planted by friars still stood" at the site near the mill (XXXI). The wall of Henchard's house is also characterized by "rusty nails speaking of generations of fruittrees that had been trained there." The doors Elizabeth-Jane passes by reveal a floral blaze "backed by crusted grey stonework remaining from a yet remoter Casterbridge than the venerable one visible in the street." High Place Hall where Lucetta comes to reside is also a building that symbolizes historical continuity. Elizabeth-Jane, invited to visit Lucetta at High place Hall, curiously looks at the features of the building when she discovers an "arched and old" door which is "older even than the house itself." And the alley connected to the door leads to the bloody and sinister history of Casterbridge in its

access to "the old playhouse, the old bullstake, the cock-pit, the pool wherein nameless infants had been used to disappear" (XXI).

Casterbridge with its deep resonance of the past is given a historical position characterized by its pre-industrial and agrarian economy. As soon as Susan and Elizabeth-Jane enter Casterbridge, they notice the "agricultural and pastoral character" of the town by the objects displayed in the shops.

The agricultural and pastoral character of the people upon whom the town depended for its existence was shown by the class of objects displayed in the shop windows. Scythes, reap-hooks, sheep-shears, bill-hooks, spades, mattocks, and hoes at the iron-monger's; bee-hives, butter-firkins, churns, milking stools and pails, hay-rakes, field-flagons, and seep-lips at the cooper's; cart-ropes and plough-harness at the saddler's; carts, wheel-barrows, and mill-gear at the wheelwright's and machinist's; horse-embrocations at the chemist's; at the glover's and leather-cutter's hedging-gloves, thatchers' knee-caps, ploughmen's leggings, villagers' pattens and clogs. (IV)

The town's pre-industrial nature is emphasized by its non-distinguishability from the surrounding rural areas despite its setting as the politico-economic center of Wessex. The duality of Casterbridge as "the complement of the rural life around; not its urban opposite" is formulated, according to Jean R. Brooks, by "an accumulation of complementary details — farmer's boy/town clerk, judge/sheep-stealer, barns/main thoroughfare." ¹

The farmer's boy could sit under his barley-mow and pitch a stone into the office-window of the town-clerk; reapers at work among at the sheaves nodded to acquaintances standing on the pavement-corner; the red-robed judge, when he condemned a sheep-stealer, pronounced sentence to the tune of Baa, that floated in at the window from the remainder of the flock browsing hard by; and at executions the waiting crowd stood in a meadow immediately before the drop, out of which the cows had been temporarily driven to give the spectators room.

The corn grown on the upland side of the borough was garnered by farmers who lived in an eastern purlieu called Durnover. Here wheat-ricks overhung the old Roman street, and thrust their eaves against the church tower; greentatched barns, with doorways as high as the gates of Solomon's temple, opened directly upon the main thoroughfare. Barns indeed were so numerous as to alternate with every half-dozen houses along the way. (XIV)

This seemingly harmonious Casterbridge, however, is placed in the middle of historical change effected by the advance of commercialization in 19th century England. If we look at the function of money in this story, it becomes evident how the seemingly pre-industrial town is already permeated with capitalist ethos. When a situation arises in which Elizabeth-Jane has to leave Henchard's home, Henchard offers her an allowance when he considers the "starvation wages refined folk are likely to pay." Another money nexus is manifested when Coney applies Shavian correlation between poverty and moral depravity to Casterbridgean workers and deplores perpetuation of the vicious circle: "We be bruckle folk here — the best o' us hardly honest sometimes, what with hard winters, and so many mouths to fill." In fact Coney demonstrates the effect of poverty when he overrides ethical considerations for the purpose of obtaining money. His rationalization for the sacrilegious act of grave-digging

is that “money is scarce and throats get dry …Why should death rob life o’ fourpence.” Similarly the response of Henchard’s horseman when his wagon clashes with Farfrae’s, “I know nothing, sir, outside eight shillings a week,” completely belies the pre-modern pastoral image Susan and Elizabeth-Jane initially associate with Casterbridge. The relationship between Susan and Newson also starts with money when she is sold to him as a commodity and it remains constituted by money because her subordination to Newson is based on her contractual recognition of her obligation to him “when he hed paid so much for me.” Besides these implicit symptoms of economic transformation from the old to the new mode we have clearer evidence of the historical change manifested as “new periodical great markets” which Susan sees twenty years later at Weydon-priors.

The new periodical great markets of neighbouring towns were beginning to interfere seriously with the trade carried on here for centuries. The pens for sheep, the tie-ropes for horses, were about half as long as they had bee. The stalls of tailors, hosiers, coopers, linen-drapers, and other such trades had almost disappeared, and the vehicles were far less numerous. (III)

The details of Hardy’s major fiction, according to Douglas Brown, refer “directly or by implication to the contemporary environment” and “the story of each makes imaginative comment upon the contemporary catastrophe.”² In this light Henchard’s migration in search of work can be said to reflect the historical condition of the time in which this story is set and his unemployment can be interpreted as an effect of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on the rural economy. Although *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, being set in the background of 1820s to 1840s, does not cover the period when railways dramatically reduced the time to travel the distance between the urban and rural areas of England, the deracination of Henchard and Farfrae assumes added significance if we superimpose the time span actually covered by the work on that which Hardy spent to write it in the 1880s. For instance we will clearly see in Henchard’s migrant search for a job a symptom of the transformation of employment pattern from a mode based on workers’ strong attachment to land to another characterized by their mobility. The conflation of time spans also helps clarify Henchard’s historical position as partaking of the spirit of market economy. His wife-sale can be deemed at least partly to arise from his desire to improve his condition, which Henchard thinks has been exacerbated by his premature marriage.

The conversation took a high turn, as it often does on such occasions. The ruin of good men by bad wives, and, more particularly, the frustration of many a promising youth’s high aims and hopes and the extinction of his energies by an early imprudent marriage, was the theme.

“I did for myself that way thoroughly,” said the trusser, with a contemplative bitterness that was wellnigh resentful. “I married at eighteen, like the fool that I was; and this is the consequence o’t.” He pointed at himself and family with a wave of the hand intended to bring out the penuriousness of the exhibition. (I)

Therefore as he exchanges his wife for five guineas Henchard on a symbolic level enters a commercial phase to a certain degree by severing his links to the past. Bruce Johnson remarks that the “auction signals the triumph of social and commecial signification over the more primitive, even atavistic sources of Henchard’s being.”³ And the “business transaction”

results in his determination to abstain from alcohol for the number of years he has lived and his subsequent success as a mayor and corn factor. From an evolutionary perspective Henchard's wife-sale and social and commercial success can be interpreted as a series of events that metaphorically represent the transition of Casterbridge. If we apply Marxist analysis to the wife-sale, for that both farmers and laborers in Casterbridge are embroiled in a modern capitalist economy which involves the development of machine culture, we can also appropriately connect the wife-sale to an analogous description in the Communist Manifesto that workers who used to sell only labor now send their wives and families off to slavery.⁴

The relationship between Henchard and Farfrae most clearly demonstrates the historical transition Casterbridge is undergoing. Both of them present themselves as characters who partake of the principles of market economy to varying degrees. Henchard auctions off Susan as a commodity and sends Lucetta a check in compensation for his initial failure to marry her, i. e., he converts love relations to money relations. Farfrae too reveals an essentially mercenary character as is evidenced by his motive for leaving Scotland.

I am on my way to Bristol — from there to the other side of the warrld, to try my fortune in the great wheat-growing districts of the West! I have some inventions useful to the trade, and there is no scope for developing them heere. (VII)

Although Farfrae's wandering makes a parallel to Henchard's, Farfrae sets his mind on a far larger dream of succeeding in the New World while Henchard limits himself to an opportunity in rural England. Henchard on the one hand is easily influenced by emotional change and apt to confuse private with professional affairs. For instance, once finding Farfrae congenial to himself Henchard is willing to sacrifice productivity if he can escape from loneliness by Farfrae's companionship. In contrast Farfrae is never oblivious of his business even in the middle of his deepening love for Lucetta. He can remain unaffected by Lucetta's appeal to leave Casterbridge for a peaceful unmolested life.

"I wish you would do what we have talked of, mournfully remarked Lucetta." Give up business, and go away from here. We have plenty of money, and why should we stay? (XXXIV)

Judging from Farfrae's indifferent rejection of Lucetta's request to change the milieu of their activity once he receives information about his possible chance of becoming mayor, we can see that his ambition is closely tied to the achievement of a social, as opposed to private and emotional, objective. The difference between the two men once again becomes obvious when they prepare for a holiday entertainment. While Farfrae sets up a seemingly "unattractive tent" with a simple exterior with a plan to charge admission, Henchard intends to serve free tea without charging the citizens. As for the kind of entertainment they offer, Farfrae chooses a relatively refined program of dance while Henchard organizes physical games that are more closely related to daily farm life. For example, Henchard sets to "work a little battalion of men" to erect

greasy-poles for climbing, with smoked hams and local cheeses at the top. They placed hurdles in rows for jumping over; across the river they laid a slippery pole, with a live pig of the neighbourhood tied at the other end, to become the property of the man who could walk over and get it. There were also provided wheelbarrows for racing, donkeys

for the same, a stage for boxing, wrestling, and drawing blood generally; sacks for jumping in. (XVI)

The result of the preparations by both is that Farfrae carries the day with his superior foresight to the variable factors, especially the weather.

The well-calculated efficient organization of the entertainment is equivalent to Farfrae's productive business management skills. The business transactions conducted by Henchard with his heavy reliance on instinct becomes superseded by Farfrae's methods utilizing letters and ledgers, which increase productivity by simplifying work. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* there is a passage that clearly indicates the transition from the low-productivity, pre-modern management method of Henchard to modern high-productivity method of Farfrae.

Meanwhile the great corn and hay traffic conducted by Henchard thrives under the management of Donald Farfrae as it had never thrived before. It had formerly moved in jolts; now it went on oiled castors. The old crude viva voce system of Henchard, in which everything depended upon his memory, and bargains were made by the tongue alone, was swept away. Letters and ledgers took the place of "I'll do't," and "you shall hae't." (XIV)

When Farfrae obtains Henchard's corn business later on his relation with the employees further reveals the difference between their managerial methods. While Henchard maintains vertical, feudalistic relations with his workers, often wielding his tyrannical authority, Farfrae tries to keep democratic business relations, thus raising the work ethic of the laborers as well as increasing productivity. Because of Farfrae's attention to preserve the harmonious atmosphere at the work place, the slight reduction in wage does not induce workers' distrust but on the contrary leads to the smooth employer-employee relations. "Yaas, Miss Henchet," Abel Whittle tells Elizabeth-Jane about the difference between the new and the old owners in his simple, dim-witted manner.

Mr. Farfrae have bought the concern and all of we workfolk with it; and 'tis better for us than 'twas - though I shouldn't say that to you as a daughter-law. We work harder, but we bain't made afeard now. It was fear made my few poor hairs so thin! No busting out, no slamming of doors, no meddling with yer eternal soul and all that; and though 'tis a shilling a week less I'm the richer man; for what's all the world if yer mind is always in a larry, Miss Henchet? (XXXI)

There are many examples that help highlight the distinguishing qualities between Henchard and Farfrae as representatives of the old and the new age within the historical perspective. One of them is Farfrae's ability to create a harmonious atmosphere amenable to smooth human relationship. When he sings at the Three Mariners he makes a favorable impression on everyone and even moves the ordinarily aloof Henchard to invite him as a business partner. Henchard, on the other hand, partly because of his oath not to touch any drinks for twenty-one years does not well adapt himself to convivial occasions. A case in point is when Henchard violates "the social ritual of music" at the Three Mariners "by forcing the choir to sing an anathema on his rival."⁵ Another example that separates the two men is Farfrae's introduction of the horse-drill. The machine with its intended function that "each grain will go straight to its intended place, and nowhere else whatever" (XXIV), thus leaving no room for guesswork and eliminating redundancy by its mechanical uniformity, contrasts with Henchard's

arcane method of relying on memory and voice. Indeed, in this novel while Farfrae is represented as a bringer of new skills such as restoring growned wheat, Henchard is characterized as a man driven by emotions and deficient in a long-term strategy with deep reflections on his own self-interest. Henchard's superstitious nature is another quality that signifies his unsuitability as a man adequate for the demands of the new age. He visits the weather prophet Fall to consult about the best time to buy grain so that he can defeat Farfrae in business competition. However, as the name of the prophet suggests the consultation leads to a disaster for Henchard. His attribution of personal disaster to some primitive magic exercised by his rival well elucidates his mentality.

I wonder if it can be that somebody has been roasting a waxen image of me, or stirring an unholy brew to confound me! I don't believe in such power; and yet—what if they should ha' been doing it! (XXVII)

The confrontation between the old and the new is also represented by the clash between Henchard's and Farfrae's wagons, in which the blame is laid on Henchard's wagoner by the unanimous agreement of the onlookers. On the symbolic level, emphasizing a sequel to the incident in which Henchard's wagon loses its cargo when it runs over the curb Brooks interprets the clash as presenting "the mythic significance of ritual combat between corn-king and successor."⁶ In fact a critical interpretation of the Henchard-Farfrae confrontation not as an individual fight but an archetypal battle each representing a different generation or a method is quite old. For instance, D.A. Dike observed the following as early as in 1952.

The break between Henchard and Farfrae is not so much between personalities as between methods, the capacities of different generations to meet changing needs. For Henchard's muscle, Farfrae substitutes brain, for energy system, for antiquated drudgery the efficiency of the machine. Thus Henchard's downfall is more than personal; like the downfall of the archetypal tragic hero it signifies the passing of an era, of ways which have outlived their purpose. By the end of the novel Henchard is one with the patriarchal shepherd who appears briefly in the market place to survey an alien world that has no use for him.⁷

The contrast between Henchard and Farfrae certainly seems to support D.A. Dike's argument if we look at the appropriateness of Henchard's death at Egdon Heath which represents pre-modern timelessness and Farfrae's triumph as "the agent of renewal and hope,"⁸ with his knowledge almost to restore blighted corn, his talent to evoke sympathetic emotions as exhibited at the Three Mariners, his effort to rescue Henchard from his business failure, his marriages to Lucetta and Elizabeth-Jane, thus helping one start a new life and the other escape from loneliness. The transition from the older generation to the new is complete when Farfrae buys out Henchard's business and becomes mayor.

In terms of the transition from the old to the new both Elizabeth-Jane and Lucetta function as new elements that are introduced from outside. As her response to Henchard at Ten Hatches Weir indicates Elizabeth-Jane is distinguished from Henchard with her commonsensical mentality. The essential rift that exists between them can be measured when she finally forsakes Henchard upon discovery of his lie to Newson, and their final division is indicated when Elizabeth-Jane coldly greets Henchard who brought a wedding present by saying "Oh — it is — Mr. Henchard!" (XLIV) Her formality, adumbrating her independence from Henchard

and all the values he signifies, inaugurates a new life on a different level. Considering that Elizabeth-Jane is angered most by Henchard's treatment of Newson because Henchard "allowed me to live on in ignorance of the truth for years," we can infer her affinity with the new age. She represents a move away from a passive phase of women exemplified by Susan to an assertive phase. Elizabeth-Jane does not have any qualms about waiting on at the Three Mariners to earn for her board and picking up coals for a servant. If we focus on the difference in status between Elizabeth-Jane and the servant her unhesitating disregard for the class hierarchy contrasts with Henchard's upholding of autocratic management of household as well as business. Elizabeth-Jane's desire to learn Latin in this context seems to signify her potential escape from the oppressed life and search for truth. In fact her desire for knowledge can be related to technological development represented by the horse-drill, thus to the new age. To Farfrae's explanation of the horse-drill she responds approvingly of the idea of historical progression embodied by the new machine, saying, "How things change!" In relation to the horse-drill, on the other hand, Lucetta's association with the red-color of the machine is confirmed by her choice of a cherry-colored dress. Her commercially-oriented nature is exemplified when she expresses her determination to secure happiness with Farfrae and resolves to do anything and "purchase a week of happiness at any cost!" Significantly, Farfrae's "a man must live where his money is made" interests Lucetta a great deal. To Lucetta Farfrae is indeed "a new type of person" (XXIII). But the most appealing aspect of Farfrae to her is his ambidextrousness.

We common people are all one way or the other — warm or cold, passionate or frigid.

You have both temperatures going on in you at the same time. (XXIII)

And this ambidextrous nature of Farfrae's is echoed by Lucetta as she switches from Henchard to Farfrae as the object of their love and as she manipulates Elizabeth-Jane initially to attract Henchard and then to ward him off while seemingly placing Elizabeth-Jane under her protection.

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* it is possible to detect signs of historical change that manifest themselves as class consciousness. Elizabeth-Jane, not certain of her origin and belonging to lower class as Newson's daughter, is overly concerned with respectability and in fact uses the word twice in chapter III. The attitude of Elizabeth-Jane conforms to what W.J. Keith calls "the newer dictates of Victorian bourgeois society,"⁹ thus mirroring social changes that were taking place during that particular time in history. Despite his own accent and lack of education Henchard is particular about Elizabeth-Jane's speech, insisting she should choose words appropriate for her exalted status. The issue of class emerges most conspicuously when Henchard violently reacts to Elizabeth-Jane's unconscious remark, "If you'll bide where you be a minute, father, I'll get it" (XX).

"'Bide where you be, ' " he echoed sharply. "Good God, are you only fit to carry wash to a pig-trough, that ye use such words as those? (XX)

We can also see historical reflections in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* manifested as frictions between classes. The dynamics between classes can be inferred from Coney's remark about the harshness of workers' economic conditions, "what with hard winter, and so many mouths to fill, and go-a'mighty sending his little taties so terrible small to fill 'em with" (VIII). The discontent shown by Coney exists as an undercurrent that threatens the stability of Casterbridge. Casterbridge's polarization between lower and upper classes is seen at dinner

held at King's Arms. While the mayor and bourgeois enjoy sumptuous dinner in an ornately decorated hall, proletariats enviously watch the proceedings just outside the window. The balance maintained between the two groups is extremely precarious. Judging from the underlying tension that can be inferred from the comment of one of the on-lookers watching from outside, they indeed seem to be "on the point of revolt." ¹¹

Why, 'tis a great public dinner of the gentle-people and such like leading volk — wi' the Mayor in the chair. As we plainer fellows bain't invited, they leave the windershutters open that we may get jist a sense o't out here. If you mount the steps you can see'em. That's Mr. Henchard, the Mayor, at the end of the table, a facing ye; and that's the Council men right and left ... Ah, lots of them when they begun life were no more than I be now! (V)

The fact that lower class's discontent with and indignation against the upper ruling class are a common occurrence in Casterbridge is suggested by the response of a passer-by to Susan and Elizabeth-Jane's question.

"They can blare their trumpets and thump their drums, and have their roaring dinners" — waving her hand towards a point further along the street, where the brass band could be seen standing in front of an illuminated building — "but we must needs be put-to for want of a wholesome crust." (IV)

The intensity of confrontation between the two classes and the degree of discontent on the part the exploited is indicated by the corruption and bestialization of the ruling class. At the dinner in King's Arms

[the] younger guests were talking and eating with animation; their elders were searching for titbits, and sniffing and grunting over their plates like sows nuzzling for acorns. (V)

And the way they become intoxicated is reminiscent of Circean transformation as indicated by John Paterson. ¹⁰

Square-built men showed a tendency to become hunchbacks; men with a dignified presence lost it in a curious obliquity of figure, in which their features grew disarranged and one-sided; whilst the heads of a few who had dined with extreme thoroughness were somehow sinking into their shoulders, the corners of their mouth and eyes being bent upwards by the subsidence. (VI)

The discontent of the lower class not only indicates the potential instability inherent in the town's social structure but also presages the transitional nature of the town's present condition. That the tension between the two classes generates dynamic energy for historical change can be seen in the skimmetyride. The evil ritual demonstrates Casterbridge underclass's envious reaction to those who rose in the world. In its destructive nature the skimmety-ride signifies class-warfare in which Lucetta falls just as Henchard loses his social position. ¹¹ The energy that undermines the establishment is supposedly always being generated and its source is attributable to Mixen Lane. The economically and socially oppressed residents of Mixen Lane make a good contrast with Henchard and Farfrae if we only concentrate on the latter characters' rising trajectories.

[Mixen Lane] was the hiding-place of those who were in distress, and in debt, and trouble of every kind. Farmlabourers and other peasants, who combined a little poaching

with their farming, and a little brawling and bibbing with their poaching, found themselves sooner or later in Mixen Lane. (XXXVI)

And Mixen Lane is a refuge of displaced families.

Families from decayed villages — families of that once bulky, but now nearly extinct, section of village society called “liviers,” or lifeholders — copyholders and others, whose roof-trees had fallen for some reason or other, compelling them to quit the rural spot that had been their home for generations — came here, unless they chose to lie under a hedge by the wayside. (XXXVI)

The polarization of the classes finds its correlatives in King’s Arms and Peter’s Finger, “the Church of Mixen Lane.” Between these two opposed-establishments exists Three Mariners. Three Mariners is described as a democratic gathering ground for people of different class backgrounds. If the marriage between Elizabeth-Jane and Farfrae indicates the future course of Casterbridge that is suggested by Elizabeth-Jane’s placing equal value on the opinions of both the upper and lower classes, we can infer the historical direction of Casterbridge from the dialectical relations between King’s Arms and Peter’s Finger. This historical change seems inevitable particularly when we consider the impotence of the cowardly constabulary who avoids confrontation with the Mixen Lane residents for fear of being overpowered.¹²

Now I would like to deal with the issue of historical continuity and discontinuity with a particular emphasis on the latter or the idea that the past becomes eternally irretrievable. The historical transformation that is symbolically represented by the contrast between Henchard and Farfrae or the change in the social structure that is expected to result from the class struggle ironically signals a rift between past and present by making agrarian, pre-industrial modes of life irrelevant. In the chapter dealing with the Roman Amphitheatre the remains of the past emphasize the impossibility of overcoming the temporary gap rather than becoming the link to the present, although in the material sense the remains definitely connect the past to the present. The remains pitilessly impart the hopelessness of emotional and intellectual identification with the people who lived at the site centuries ago. There is no communication between the past and the present but only a silent hiatus.

Imaginative inhabitants, who would have felt an unpleasantness at the discovery of a comparatively modern skeleton in their gardens, were quite unmoved by these hoary shapes. They had lived so long ago, their time was so unlike the present, their hopes and motives were so widely removed from ours, that between them and the living there seemed to stretch a gulf too wide for even a spirit to pass. (XI)

The discontinuity of the past and the present is suggested by the inhospitable atmosphere of the Ring which centuries after it became obsolete still discourages people from playing cricket there. A salient feature in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is the finality of past events at the time of their occurrence and their detachment from any future events. In fact we can see in the novel that an attempt to restore the past and redeem past guilt is as futile as trying to preserve the continuity of the past with the present. Farfrae with his advanced scientific knowledge cannot restore the moldy wheat and Henchard cannot compensate for his guilt of wife-sale by his twenty-one years’ of admirable life before his fall, suggesting that his act of contrition cannot ultimately affect the fact of wifesale and its attendant guilt. Henchard’s relation with his original daughter can be seen in the same light. Despite his effort to make

Elizabeth-Jane his own from his sense of duty mixed with love and jealousy later on, he throughout fails to achieve the objective first because she is legally Newson's even though he believes she is in fact his own, and secondly he learns from Susan's will that Elizabeth-Jane is after all not his own even though her name-change makes her more appropriately his own, and finally when Henchard is emotionally ready to accept her as his step-daughter Newson arrives to claim her followed by Farfrae who separates her from Henchard by marriage, virtually dealing a deathblow to him. This series of events of course can be interpreted as a manifestation of the continuity of the past in that the guilt arising from a past event continues to torment Henchard, but it paradoxically points to the finality of the past acts in that no act of redemption can ultimately have any influence on the condition created by the past event, thus exemplifying the finality of the past acts at the point of their occurrence. Another case that indicates the finality of past events and discontinuity of past and present is detected in the scene where Elizabeth-Jane, being afraid that Henchard might commit suicide out of despair for his defeat to Farfrae in business, concedes to return to Henchard.

"May you come to me?" he cried bitterly. "Elizabeth, don't mock me! If you only would come!"

"I will," said she.

"How will you forgive all my roughness in former days?"

You cannot!"

"I have forgotten it. Talk no more of that." (XLII)

Since Henchard's "roughness in former days" has been relegated to the irretrievable past, its redemption and restoration of the state before those days cannot be accomplished because of the lack of continuity between present and past. As if confirming the finality of the past event and admitting her inability to do anything about it, Elizabeth-Jane simply says, "I have forgotten it."

There is something ambivalent about Hardy's response to the inexorable historical move in which past is continually cut off from present. We can see his ambivalence in his essay "The Dorchester Labourer." In the essay Hardy comments on laborers' migration which became a common phenomenon at a place like Dorchester — a real geographical area on which Casterbridge and other locations in the novel are based — as a result of the development of market economy and technological innovations.

Dorset labourers now look upon an annual removal as the most natural thing in the world, and it becomes with the younger families a pleasant excitement. Change is also a certain sort of education. Many advantages accrue to the labourers from the varied experience it brings, apart from the discovery of the best market for their abilities. They have become shrewder and sharper men of the world, and have learnt how to hold their own with firmness and judgment.¹³

This can be taken as Hardy's view expressing his approval of historical progression as connected to improvement of life and people's happiness. But Hardy sees the other side to historical progression.

They are also losing their peculiarities as a class; hence the humorous simplicity which formerly characterised the men and the unsophisticated modesty of the women are rapidly

disappearing or lessening, under the constant attrition of lives mildly approximating to those of workers in a manufacturing town. It is the common remark of villagers above the labouring class, who know the latter well as personal acquaintances, that "there are no nice homely workfolk now as there used to be."

Despite his sentimental attachment to the old values and yearning for the old pre-industrial Dorchester Hardy knew he had to admit the benefits of historical progression such as higher living standard, raised educational level and expanded knowledge of the world. Hardy makes it clear that in view of the better material conditions of laborers the desire for preservation of the old picturesque past, however aesthetically satisfying to onlookers, is contrary to the interest of the laborers because for them past is associated with ignorance although it may be interpreted as innocence.

They are losing their individuality, but they are widening the range of their ideas, and gaining in freedom. It is too much to expect them to remain stagnant and old-fashioned for the pleasure of romantic spectators.

Indeed, as if to convince himself of the justness of the process of history in which past is constantly detached from present Hardy repeats the benefits of the historical process. However, Hardy cannot hide his sadness at the sight of reality in which a nomadic mode of laborers' life without any link to the specific land is permanently replacing the pastoral mode of life to which Hardy attaches nostalgic sentiment.

Hardy's ambivalent response to the dual effects of historical progression corresponds to his ambivalent stance on the restoration of old structures such as churches which,¹⁴ according to Peter J. Casagrande, lies on the same plane as the creation of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.¹⁵ Casagrande seeks the basis for linking Hardy's view on the preservation of old buildings, or what they represent, which is metaphorically the past, to Hardy's consciousness of the difficulty of resolving the problem of continuity and discontinuity in the fact that the novel was written "during a flurry of architectural and agrarian activity" between 1880 and 1886. During the period Hardy wrote *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Jude the Obscure*, and *Tess of the D'Urberville*; he joined the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club; and he designed and built Max Gate. Against this background Casagrande attempts to fuse Henchard with historical characters and objects. Casagrande explains that the name Henchard derives from a building called "Trenchard Mansion, a Renaissance-style house that ... was pulled down in about 1850" (186). One of the estates of Trenchard family, a once flourishing Elizabethan clan, was purchased by James Henning, Esq. around 1800. And in 1840 William Lewis Henning, "possibly a member of the same family," became mayor of Dorchester. Based on such historical facts, particularly the architectural association of Henchard's name, Casagrande concludes that "Hardy fused the human with the architectural, a man with a mansion, in peculiarly significant way." By placing on the same ontological plane both issues of history/architecture and the creation of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Casagrande tries to clarify Hardy's dilemma over the question of historical continuity and discontinuity. Casagrande reads "the irremediable tragedy of historical change" in Hardy's dilemma between the desire to preserve the old town (the past) intact and the futility of the attempt that is seen in his speech delivered to the Dorchester audience in November, 1910. And because of the novel's association with historical records

Casagrande views *The Mayor of Casterbridge* as an expression of Hardy's desire for preservation of the past and an answer to the dilemma over the issue of historical continuity and discontinuity and possibly an escape from the problem. However, as Casagrande notes that in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy may have "symbolically preserved the kernel of Dorchester-past," the preservation of the past is not meant to be on a concrete and material level but more on an abstract and essential one, for the reason that on the former level the "human interest" associated with buildings and streets are inevitably relegated to the past and detached from the present.

When all has been said on the desirability of preserving as much as can be preserved, our power to preserve is largely an illusion As a German author has said, "Nothing is permanent but change." Here in Dorchester, as elsewhere, I see the streets and the turnings not far different from those of my schoolboy time; but the faces that used to be seen at the doors, the inhabitants, where are they? I turn up the Weymouth Road, cross the railwaybridge, enter an iron gate to a "slope of green access", and there they are! There is the Dorchester that I knew best; there are names on white stones one after the other, names that recall the voices, cheerful and sad, anxious and indifferent, that are missed from the dwellings and pavements Dorchester's future will not be like its past; we may be sure of that. Like all other provincial towns, it will lose its individuality — has lost much of it already. We have become almost a London suburb owing to the quickened locomotion and though some of us may regret this, it has to be.¹⁶

If *The Mayor of Casterbridge* represents Hardy's response to the dilemma over historical continuity and discontinuity and if Hardy has to admit the inexorable law of history according to which the past becomes irrecoverably severed from the present, but cannot help showing nostalgic feeling for the past, we can infer how the issue of historical continuity and discontinuity comes to occupy a prominent place in the novel set in the historical time frame stretching from the Roman occupation suggested by the Amphitheatre or even from the prehistoric days of Egdon Heath to the mid-nineteenth century. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Henchard represents the man of the past with the methods and values associated with the pastoral and agrarian phase of historical development (although as I have shown above he is a complex character who also possesses market-oriented mentality) and thus symbolizing a man who becomes obsolete in the historical progression. However, Hardy's description of Henchard is with full of sympathy, indicating the existential significance Hardy attaches to Henchard. Compared to Farfrae, who supersedes Henchard as a representative of the new age, Henchard is delineated as a tragic figure to whom the reader's sympathy is to be directed. For example, while Farfrae decides to work for Henchard purely for a mercenary reason, the latter retains Farfrae not because of calculated forethought but because of the instinctive attraction he feels toward the other. From a business perspective Henchard's decision is extremely risky and exhibits his vulnerability to a man like Farfrae, who is motivated by a cold mechanical drive to win in competition; however, in the novel Henchard and all the values attached to him are described to draw a positive response from the reader. For instance, Henchard in revenge reads Lucetta's old letters within earshot of Farfrae, but he cannot bring himself to disclose the writer's name. Although the scene may be interpreted as revealing Henchard's realization of Lucetta's worthlessness, the act of resisting temptation to humiliate

Lucetta as well as Farfrae increases Henchard's inherent worth. An incident that can be placed on the same plane is the one in which Henchard ties one of his own hands to offset his obvious physical superiority to Farfrae. In the scene Henchard's nobility emerges magnified when we consider that despite his deadly intention he cannot forgo the sense of fairness. On the other hand, Farfrae, who easily switches lovers between Elizabeth-Jane and Lucetta, appears only as a shallow methodical man. His response to Abel Whittle's description of Henchard's death typifies his indifference to human emotions: "Dear me—is that so!" (XLV)

In contrast to Farfrae, Henchard, who almost reflexively saves Lucetta and Elizabeth-Jane from a charging bull, is invested with positive value for his instinctive, pre-rational quality. In fact, Henchard's attributes partake of a heroic nature as indicated by his association with grand figures in the old Testament and Shakespearean tragedies. As pointed out in Julian Moynahan's "*The Mayor of Casterbridge* and the old Testament's First Book of Samuel," Henchard is associated with King Saul and Farfrae with David.¹⁷ As Farfrae's song attracts Henchard, David's harp consoles Saul's heart and as David's popularity makes Saul feel insecure and drives him to an attempt to kill David, Henchard too is affected by Farfrae's success and motivated to discharge him from a managerial position. Both Henchard and Saul are initially attracted to the others, but later their relations turn sour because of the envy the older ones feel toward the young. The clearest evidence of Henchard's association with Saul is found in chapter XXVI when Henchard visits the weather-prophet and feels "like Saul at his reception by Samuel." Indeed, the move to set Henchard against the biblical background, thus investing the novel with the significance that arises from the interplay between the two ontological planes, can be located at various places in the work such as in chapters XLI and XLIII.

Then Henchard shaved for the first time during many days, and put on clean linen, and combed his hair; and was as a man resuscitated thenceforward. (XLI)

"If I [Henchard] had only got her [Elizabeth-Jane] with me — if I only had!' he said. 'Hard work would be nothing to me then! But that was not to be. I — Cain — go alone as I deserve — an outcast and a vagabond. But my punishment is not greater than I can bear!' (XLIII)

There is also a Shakespearean echo detectable in the resemblance between the Henchard-Abel Whittle and the King Lear-Fool relations. The homology seems valid when we consider that both Henchard and Lear mistreat the others when they are at the height of their power but when they are discarded by all and robbed of former glory only Abel Whittle and Fool look after them. Henchard's visit of the weather-prophet for a speculative purpose in the future seems to parallel even Macbeth's encounter with witches who foretell the future development.

Because of the biblical and Shakespearean overtones in the novel Henchard's life assumes a magnitude and nobility of a heroic figure which are further enhanced by his doomed struggle to resist the inevitable. If Henchard's Samsonian struggle and heroic existence are seen from the perspective of historical continuity and discontinuity, the symbolic entity Henchard reveals a sympathy Hardy feels with those values that are fated to be superseded by the new age or generation represented by Farfrae and Elizabeth-Jane. By placing Casterbridge in the early to mid-nineteenth century when social and economic structures were rapidly changing because of the advance of the Industrial Revolution Hardy heightens the difficulty of reconciling

the historical duality. As, according to Hardy, the restoration of old churches can never preserve the essence of its original past state, the search for connection between past and present inevitably fails. Therein lies sadness of historical progression. What foregrounds Hardy's nostalgia is his valorization of the symbolic figure Henchard who bravely faces the uncontested challenge of the age and in death arouses pity in the reader. *The Mayor of Casterbridge* as a site of Hardy's dilemma therefore emerges as a work filled with the author's tragic sense of history.

Notes

¹ The dual nature of Casterbridge is pointed out by Jean R. Brooks in his *Thomas Hardy: The Poetic Structure* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 207.

² Douglas Brown perceives a crucial interrelationship between Hardy's major fictions and their historical background. See his *Thomas Hardy* (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), p. 32.

³ Bruce Johnson locates the wife-sale on a symbolic plane and interprets it as Henchard's initiation into a commercial sphere in which he is destined to be outmaneuvered by Farfrae. Quoted from *True Correspondence : A Phenomenology of Thomas Hardy's Novels* (Tallahassee : University Presses of Florida, 1983), p. 78.

⁴ The homology between the wife-sale and Marx's statement in *Communist Manifesto* is suggested by G. W. Sherman in his *The Pessimism of Thomas Hardy* (London : Associated University Presses, 1976), p. 126.

⁵ Jean R. Brooks' reading of Henchard's "violation" in the social context seems useful in defining the difference between Henchard and Farfrae. Quoted from *Thomas Hardy*, p. 210.

⁶ See Brooks, *Thomas Hardy*, p. 207.

⁷ D. A. Dike, "A Modern Oedipus : *The Mayor of Casterbridge*," *Essays in Criticism* II (1952) quoted in Brooks' *Thomas Hardy*, p. 196.

⁸ Quoted from Peter J. Casagrande, *Unity in Hardy's Novels* (Lawrence : The Regents Press of Kansas, 1982), p. 196.

Casagrande raises Farfrae to a symbolic level and gives multivalent significance to his role as "the agent of renewal and hope."

⁹ In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Keith perceives a shift in Hardy's allegiances between his acceptance of regional values and his "insistence on the newer dictates of Victorian bourgeois society. See "A Regional Approach to Hardy's Fiction" in *Critical Approaches to the Fiction of Thomas Hardy*, Dale Kramer, ed. (London : The Macmillan Press, 1979), p. 45.

¹⁰ In "The Mayor of Casterbridge as Tragedy" Paterson interprets the bestialization of Casterbridge ruling class as a reflection of the town's moral and social disorder. See his detailed explication of the dehumanizing process in *Hardy : A Collection of Critical Essays*, Albert J. Guerard, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ : Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 106.

¹¹ Simon Gatrell derives the historical force existing in Casterbridge from the destabilizing class tension. The class struggle, according to him, will eventually bring down Farfrae from his position. See his *Thomas Hardy and Proper Study of Mankind* (Charlottesville : University

Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 81.

¹²Anne Alexander perceives Mixen Lane as the locus of forces that will eventually subvert the existing order. See her *Thomas Hardy: "The Dream-Country" of His Fiction* (London: Vision and Barnes & Noble, 1987), p. 160.

¹³Quoted from *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings*, Harold Orel, ed. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1966), p. 180. The subsequent two quotes in the text are from pages 180 and 181 of the same book respectively.

¹⁴A passage from "Memories of Church Restoration" in *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings*, pp. 216-17 well illustrates Hardy's dilemma:

The artist instinct and the care-taking instinct part company over the disappearing creation [i. e. the ruinous church]. The true architect, who is first of all an artist and not an antiquary, is naturally most influenced by the aesthetic sense, his desire being, like Nature's, to retain, recover, or recreate the idea which has become damaged, without much concern about the associations of the material that idea may have been displayed in. Few occupations are more pleasant than that of endeavoring to recapture an old design from the elusive hand of annihilation. Thus if the architect have also an antiquarian bias he is pulled in two directions — in the one by his wish to hand on or to modify the abstract form, in the other by his reverence for the antiquity of its embodiment In short, the opposing tendencies excited in an architect by the distracting situation can find no satisfactory reconciliation. All that he can do is of the nature of compromise.

¹⁵Casagrande's argument is essentially based on the ontological equation between Dorchester and Wessex histories. See *Unity in Hardy's Novels*, pp. 184-89.

¹⁶Quoted from Florence Emily Hardy, *The Life of Thomas Hardy 1840-1928* (London: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 352-53.

¹⁷Julian Moynahan, "The Mayor of Casterbridge and the old Testament's First Book of Samuel," *PMLA*, 71 (1956), 118-30.

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The Mayor of Casterbridge における歴史の継続性と断続性

The Mayor of Casterbridge において Hardy の歴史感は様々な個所に見られる。そこで、この論文では歴史の継続性、断続性の問題が Hardy の歴史への二重意識構造的反応と関わって、いかに前近代経済から近代経済への歴史的変遷の直中に置かれた町の描写に具体的に表われているかを調べてみた。