Remembering the Victorians:
Cultural Memory, Popularity, Place

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Declaration of Authorship

I, James John Cutler, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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ABSTRACT

Focusing on Charles Dickens, the Brontës, and Thomas Hardy, this thesis examines the crucial relationship between Victorian novelists who are recurringly, often enduringly popular, and their continued, close association with place in the cultural memory. It investigates how the distinctive adaptability of place in works by these writers to new contexts is a major aspect in catalysing popularity and constructing cultural legacy It analyses the interrelation between page and screen in colouring the ideas of place often associated with these novelists, thus shedding light on the cinematic and/or televisual construction of Dickens's London, the Brontës' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex. More specifically, it explores how the cultural resonance of place and its implication in various key facets of texts – principally character and ideology – on page and screen, shape and sustain the cultural memory of these writers, so that place is in the foreground of this cultural remembering, as a key artistic territory over which screen adaptors seek to establish their aesthetic and ideological mark.

The thesis adopts a case study approach, with each chapter examining the cultural resonance and adaptability of place in a text chosen on the basis of the great extent to which it has become a culture-text and contributed to the mythologizing of author, canon, and place-centric cultural memory. Chapter 1 on *Oliver Twist* examines the dialectical opposition between St. Paul's Cathedral and Fagin's London, which is central to the cultural memory of the Dickensian city. Chapter 2 on *A Christmas Carol* explores Dickens's enduring spatial poetics of confined interior space linked to the hearth dialectically opposed to extensive exterior space associated with the city. Chapter 3 on *Jane Eyre* focuses on Thornfield Hall and the screen's southernization of Charlotte Brontë's distinctive adaptation of the Gothic North for the Victorian novel form. Chapter 4 on *Wuthering Heights* addresses the adaptability of the Yorkshire Moors because of intrinsic and extrinsic framing and packaging on page and screen. Chapter 5 investigates the intensified pastoral in Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd* and Schlesinger's 1967 film adaptation, which emerges from the clash between conservative cultural expectations and progressive artistic ambitions, a complexity that both artists put into a simple form to ensure place's adaptability. The final chapter suggests *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* has been shaped through the text's interrelation via screen adaptation with evolving heritage period drama, which Hardy's ambivalent, adaptable writing of Wessex has enabled.

Branching out from Victorian studies into cultural memory studies, adaptation studies, and cultural geography, then, my work seeks to establish how places associated with these novelists operate to sustain writers and texts; why these literary places are

remembered so prominently in cultural memory; what their post-Victorian mediation suggests about the relationship of post-Victorian culture and society at different moments; and how screen adaptations – particularly contemporary ones – tread an ideological and aesthetic middle-ground between progressiveness and conservatism which they seem unable or unwilling to transcend.

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INTRODUCTION:

REMEMBERING THE VICTORIANS: CULTURAL MEMORY, POPULARITY, PLACE

In his article 'Culture and Environment: From Austen to Hardy', Jonathan Bate makes the important claim that '[a]t the end of the twentieth century, the two most popular English writers of the nineteenth century are Jane Austen and Thomas Hardy'.[1] Bate argues that the source of their continued appeal is their fictional representations of place, which are escapist and rural; where individuals have organic, pre-industrial relations with their environments. He supposes that many modern readers 'long' for this 'imagined better life […] in which people *live in rhythm with nature*' (original emphasis), because they 'are not entirely happy' with 'modernity', 'speed', 'noise', 'alienation' from nature, and 'the sickness of the present'.[2]

My thesis was inspired by the compelling relationship Bate identifies between the enduring popularity of nineteenth-century writers and their continued associations with place, which I want to take as my key critical focus. But I want to both refine and expand Bate's position through a multi-disciplinary approach. Although literary popularity is contentious and difficult to quantify, I posit Charles Dickens, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, and Hardy as the *Victorian* novelists who remain most popular in contemporary culture: since the nineteenth century, they have been recurringly and often enduringly popular.[3] Although multiple factors contribute to such cultural longevity, this thesis concentrates on these writers' continued, close associations with place because of their adaptable writing of place and its consonance with both Victorian and various new, post-Victorian contexts. Unlike Bate's argument, mine suggests that these writers are inseparable from place in cultural memory because of their indelible and *adaptable* writing of place, which is a

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[1] *New Literary History*, 30.3 (1999), 541-560 (541).

[2] *Ibid.* 541-2.

[3] 'Enduring popularity' is a key term in this thesis and refers (to paraphrase Linda Hutcheon) to the persistence, survival, and often flourishing of texts (and authors) in post-Victorian culture as cultural artefacts that are familiar and celebrated (often more than others), as their continued cultural visibility both evinces and perpetuates. The term is nebulous, slippery, and contested, but it is this *cultural visibility* of texts and authors that drives my use and interest of it here. Whilst my approach is cultural rather than sociologically or statistically driven (which are other valid approaches), it does aspire to capture a sense of Victorian writers' continued cultural visibility (or lack thereof), particularly through the frequency or cultural impact of screen adaptation, but also through the media arts more broadly. 'Enduring popularity' should not be viewed as a monolithic process or entity. My approach seeks to account for the unevenness of it, though there has been a generally upward trajectory over time in the case of the authors and texts discussed here.

distinctive Victorian phenomenon (hence my omission of Austen).[4] Shaping and determining various other factors that have contributed to sustaining texts and authors, namely characterization, ideology, social critique, form, and national heritage, these adaptable literary places have been a major aspect in ensuring these writers and texts are adaptable to new contexts, and so recurringly, often enduringly popular since the Victorian period. Even though most authorities would agree that Dickens and the Brontës are at least as popular as Hardy and Austen since the second half of the twentieth century, if not more so,[5] Bate surprisingly omits them. His reasons seem strategic: Dickens's urbanism disrupts his eco-critical stance; and the Brontës' supposedly uncultivated environments complicate his reading of Austen.

Yet both Dickens and the Brontës, along with Hardy, possess a great capacity to transcend literary culture and exist ineradicably in contemporary cultural memory,[6] after decades of continued popularity, because of their inseparable connection with place (among other factors), which screen adaptation has played a major role in reaffirming.[7] These writers are so deeply embedded in cultural memory, in fact, that fragments of their work have become detached from their origins and circulate freely in culture. Some of their writing is so well known that it is possible to 'unhinge it, break it up or take it apart so that one then may remember only parts of it, regardless of their original relationships to the whole', as in Umberto Eco's criteria for transforming 'a work into a cult object'.[8]

Such is the case for many elements of their novels, but especially their fictional places. I argue that these are particularly adaptable to new contexts, resonate, and continue to appeal because they are founded on distinctively Victorian social and cultural conditions, namely concerns about place attachment, place identity, representing verisimilitude during an unstable industrial era when machines and mobility destabilized the collective sense of physical belonging; they are inhabited by characters directly influenced by such socio-

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[4] Nevertheless, I do occasionally draw on Austen as one of the most enduringly popular English writers. For an overview of the sizeable body of scholarship on Austen's cultural afterlife, see Juliette Wills, *Everybody's Jane: Austen in the Popular Imagination* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

[5] See, for example, Margaret Harris 'Afterlife', in *George Eliot in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 52, and Juliet John, *Dickens and Mass Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010) (10).

[6] Henry James's idea of measuring literary success taken from John Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* (Woodstock: Princeton UP, 2008), 4-5.

[7] My use of *cultural* memory is deliberate: it is distinct from similar such terms (like collective memory and collective consciousness), even though critics often – mistakenly – use them interchangeably. Whereas collective memory refers to a pre-modern form of shared remembering within a lifetime of three or four generations, which relies on 'face-to-face' contact, including communication, oral tradition, and 'direct experience' of commemorative practice or ritual, cultural memory is a form of 'vicarious recollection' through 'mediation', 'textualization', and 'communication' of the past, crucial to which is 'modern media' (see Anne Rigney, 'Plenitude, scarcity, and the circulation of cultural memory', *Journal of European Studies*, 35.1 (March 2005), 11-28). Any work on shared and/or popular remembering faces the almost impossible take of accounting for the multiplicitous, heterogeneous memories nationally (let alone globally) and risks discussing the transcendental, universal 'we' of yesteryear. Whilst I am not setting out to single-handedly solve this problem, which takes a different path to this PhD, I have done my utmost to avoid it, and a cultural memory approach reduces many potential difficulties that the issue poses.

[8] '*Casablanca*: Cult Movies and Intertextual Collage', *SubStance*, 14.2 (1985), 3-12 (4).

political, even existential concerns, and so closely and complexly interrelated with them; and they are also rendered with visual, mythologized, anti-real, and mechanized poetics relating to the epoch's proliferation of mechanical reproduction. The depiction of nineteenth-century place is thus a crucial factor in their recurring popularity, chiming with both Victorian readers and post-Victorian culture and society.

Crucially, place still matters today as much as it did in the Victorian age. It is essential to the lives and very existence of mankind, but especially in the mobile and disparate contemporary age. As Edward Casey writes:

> we are immersed in it and could not do without it. To be at all and to exist in any way – is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be in some kind of place. Place is as requisite as the air we breath, the ground on which we stand, the bodies we have. We are surrounded by places. We walk over and through them. We live in places, relate to others in them, die in them. Nothing we do is unplaced.[9]

Such place-centricity comes into sharper focus the more individuals are separated from place or the more places transcend human proportions because of, as Paul Connerton outlines, 'superhuman speed, megacities that are […] unmemorable, consumerism disconnected from the labour process, the short lifespan of urban architecture, the disappearance of walkable cities'.[10] Whilst these are today's issues, their roots are in the Victorian age where they made an even more marked impact because of the period's widespread industrialization as well as the changing face of the nation and relationship to place with life speeding up and spreading out (to paraphrase Doreen Massey).[11] And this explains the acute sensitivity to place in Victorian fiction, but especially in the projected worldviews of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy, as well as the consciousness of characters inhabiting these worlds. Such acuteness of spatial vision is one central appeal of these writers as represented on page and even more so as projected on screen: not only because of the added affective dynamic to place through heightened emotional investment in it, but also because these place-related problems and anxieties have proliferated throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and so remain pressing and relevant.

Unlike Bate's essay, furthermore, my work considers how the cultural memory and popularity of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy have been sustained and shaped posthumously. More specifically, it argues that the visual medium of screen adaptation has been a significant factor in cementing certain ideas of place that are often linked

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[9] *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: California UP, 1998), ix.
[10] *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 5.
[11] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007 [1994]), 146.

inextricably to these writers in cultural memory.[12] Bate claims to focus on the enduring popularity of nineteenth-century authors and novels just before the millennium, yet, surprisingly, pays no consideration to their cultural afterlives. As I see it, however, convincing claims about enduring literary popularity and cultural memory are impossible without analysis of alternative, post-Victorian representations of these writers and their works via the screen (especially contemporary ones), which play a central role in their canonization, persistence, and survival.[13] This is particularly the case because cultural memory, as Raphael Samuel and others attest, is not 'merely a passive receptacle or storage system' but 'rather an active shaping force': it is 'historically conditioned changing colour and shape according to […] the moment; […] it is progressively altered from generation to generation'.[14]

Although data relating to recent library borrowing figures and e-book downloads suggests Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy are some of today's most read Victorian novelists, most people know them on or through screen adaptation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[15] They are the Victorian novelists adapted for film and television most frequently and with the most cultural impact,[16] having already been prevalent on the Victorian stage and silent screen.[17] On the 'Internet Movie Database', they have more

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[12] Of course, there are other ways that popularity gets produced, public perceptions of authors and texts influenced, and canons formed: for instance, school and university syllabi; abridged versions and anthologies; literary tourism; amateur dramatics; citations and allusions in culture, including popular culture; bookshops, exhibitions, and festivals; scholarship; translation; and various official recognition. See, for example: E. Dean Kolbas, *Critical Theory and the Literary Canon* (Oxford: Westview, 2001); Deborah Stevenson, 'Classics and canons', in *The Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature*, eds. M. O. Grenby and Andrea Immel (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 108-128; Jo-Ann Wallace, 'De-Scribing The Water-Babies', in *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality*, eds. Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (London: Routledge, 1994), 171-184; Andre Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992); Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); Ankhi Mukherjee, *What is a Classic? Postcolonial Rewriting and Invention of the Canon* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2014); Peggy Kelly, 'Anthologies and the Canonization Process', *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 25.1 (2000), 73-94. Unfortunately, a consideration of all factors is beyond the scope of this thesis, hence my focus on screen adaptation, which is one of the most significant of all.

[13] On adaptation's central role in the canonization, persistence, and survival of literary texts, see Linda Hutcheon's cultural Darwinian approach (*A Theory of Adaptation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013 [2006]), 31-2); Lefevere's work on 'rewriting' as a crucial 'motor force behind literary evolution' particularly among 'non-professional readers' (*Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1-2)); Dobson's examination of 'how Shakespeare came to occupy the centre of English literary culture' between 1660 and 1769 (*Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship* (1992) (3)); and also Jean Marsden's *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: Kentucky UP, 1995).

[14] *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), x.

[15] On this, see John Glavin (ed.), *Dickens on Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).

[16] 'Sherlock Holmes' screen adaptations are an exception, though the factors behind this cultural phenomenon's continued popularity are different to the writers examined here, as I will suggest.

[17] An array of Victorian visual media including illustrations, stage adaptations, and various visual technologies fed into early film adaptations, so the formation of the cultural memories I investigate is not limited to the relationship between page and screen, though this is the one I am interested in here. On stage adaptations, see: Philip H. Bolton, *Dickens Dramatized* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1987); Patsy Stoneman, *Brontë Transformations: The Cultural Dissemination of Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1996); Keith Wilson, *Thomas Hardy on Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1995)). Michael Pointer notes 41 UK Dickens silent film adaptations and 43 American ones (*Charles Dickens on the Screen: The Film, Television, and Video Adaptations* (London: Scarecrow, 1996); Stoneman records 18 silent film adaptations of Charlotte and Emily Brontë; Paul Niemeyer lists five Hardy ones (*Seeing Hardy: Film and Television Adaptations of the Fiction of Thomas Hardy* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2002)).

'credits' or hits than other canonical Victorian novelists: more film and television works have been made of their fiction or about them than these other writers. Dickens has 930 'credits', Charlotte and Emily Brontë have 237 collectively (117 and 125 respectively), and Hardy has 128. The results for other canonical Victorians include Anthony Trollope with 90, George Eliot with 68, and Elizabeth Gaskell with 59.[18] The contrast is even starker since the Millennium – and just during the undertaking of this PhD (September 2013 to September 2017), Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy have all appeared on screen in various forms at least once, indicating their continued cultural prominence.[19]

    This thesis thus considers screen adaptation as both an accurate means of gauging these writers' continued cultural prevalence and a key vista on the evolving ideas of place often associated with them in cultural memory: it is both a snapshot and perpetuator of cultural memory. My thesis analyses the interrelation between screen and page in colouring the ideas of place often associated with these novelists to shed light on the cinematic and/or televisual construction of Dickens's London, the Brontës' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex. Screen adaptation shapes and sustains the prominent cultural memories of these literary places, my thesis argues, with place becoming one of the chief artistic territories over which adaptors compete to make their aesthetic and ideological marks, thereby both 'landscaping' place and further canonising authors and texts. I engage not only with Victorian literature and culture, then, but also with what Peter Widdowson calls 'the determinate and changing sets of discursive and social relations in which they [texts] are continually reproduced in present history'.[20] Doing so allows me to establish how the versions of places frequently associated with these novelists – in both textual and cinematic forms – operate to sustain writers and texts, why these places are remembered in cultural memory so strongly and so fondly, and what their various mediations suggest about post-Victorian culture and society's relationship with the Victorians at different moments in time.

    My thesis is thus multi-disciplinary, branching out from Victorian studies into cultural memory studies, adaptation studies, and cultural geography; however, it seeks, mostly, to contribute to Victorian cultural afterlives, which has been a burgeoning field

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[18] See <www.imdb.com>. And this is not to mention the innumerable repeats of certain 'classic' screen adaptations on terrestrial television, as is evident through the 'Television and Radio Index for Learning and Teaching'. The many books and articles written on these authors adapted to film and television also attest to much higher numbers: for instance, Pointer (1996), Joss Marsh, 'Dickens and Film', in *The Cambridge Companion to Charles Dickens*, ed. John O. Jordan (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 204-223, Stoneman (1996), Niemeyer (2002), and T. R. Wright, *Thomas Hardy on Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005). Little scholarship exists on Eliot, Gaskell, Trollope, and Thackeray screen adaptations, which is indicative of how infrequently they have been adapted. Tim Dolin does mention twenty Eliot film adaptations, but only six after 1930 (*Authors in Context: George Eliot* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005)).
[19] *The Invisible Woman*, dir. Ralph Fiennes (Sony, 2013); *To Walk Invisible*, dir. Sally Wainright, BBC1, 2016; *Far from the Madding Crowd*, dir. Thomas Vinterberg (Fox, 2015).
[20] *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1989), 13.

since the Millennium.[21] Although my project is influenced by many of these works and seeks to build on them, it is the only multi-author work that puts place at the centre of its enquiry to analyse the interrelation between page and screen in both constructing cultural memory and catalysing enduring popularity, whilst also asking large questions about the place of these Victorians – and Victorian literary places – in post-Victorian culture. More specifically, my work is the only sustained investigation of how the dynamics of cultural resonance and the poetics of adaptability on page and screen have contributed to making the most enduringly popular Victorian writers and texts inextricably interrelated with certain ideas of place in cultural memory. It is the first to examine, to quote Anne Rigney on Sir Walter Scott, both 'the push factors', '"procreativity", or productive remembrance'[22] of Dickens's, the Brontës' and Hardy's writing of place: in other words, its capacity for adaptation to new contexts (whether historical periods, national and regional cultures, media forms, ideological climates). Moreover, it is also the first to investigate 'the pull factor of appropriation: the desire of different groups and later generations' to adapt these novelists' representations of Victorian place 'to meet their own ideological, aesthetic, and creative needs'.[23] Whilst I also engage with the popular area of scholarship on place in Victorian literature,[24] unlike most of it, mine focuses specifically on the dynamics of cultural resonance and poetics of adaptability: it examines how the adaptability of certain literary places to new contexts sustains novelists and colours the ideas of place associated with them in cultural memory. In examining screen renderings of Victorian literary places as well as textual representations, my work engages closely with adaptation studies,[25] though the representation and function of place in this discipline is an understudied area. My work resembles and builds on work in this field by Shachar (2012) and Rigney (2012),

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[21] On Dickens, see John *Dickens and Mass Culture* (2010) and Jay Clayton, *Charles Dickens in Cyberspace: The Afterlife of the Nineteenth Century in Postmodern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003); on the Brontës, see Lucasta Miller, *The Brontë Myth* (London: Vintage, 2002) and Stoneman (1996); on Hardy, see Niemeyer (2002) and Widdowson, *Hardy in History* (1989); on Victorian afterlives more broadly, see Mark Llewellyn and Ann Heilmann, *Neo-Victorianism: The Victorians in the Twenty-First Century, 1999-2009* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), Simon Joyce, *The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror* (Athens: Ohio UP, 2007), Cora Kaplan, *Victoriana: Histories, Fictions, Criticisms* (New York: Columbia UP, 2007), Miles Taylor and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorians Since 1901: Histories, Representations and Revisions* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), John Gardiner, *The Victorians: An Age in Retrospect* (London: Hambledon, 2002), John Kucich and Dianne F. Sadoff (eds.), *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century* (2000).
[22] *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 12.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] See, for example, Mark W. Turner, *Cruising the Queer Streets of New York and London* (London: Reaktion, 2003), Jeremy Tambling (ed.), *Dickens and the City* (London: Routledge, 2012), Tambling, *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (London: Pearson, 2009), Ruth Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016), Eithne Henson, *Landscape and Gender in the Novels of Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), Simon Gatrell, *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), Ralph Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel* (Oxford: Picador, 2002).
[25] Especially John (2010), Glavin (ed.), *Dickens on Screen*, Hila Shachar, *Cultural Afterlives and Screen Adaptations of Classic Literature: Wuthering Heights and Company* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), Miller, *Brontë Myth* (2002), Stoneman (1996), Wright (ed.), *Hardy on Screen* (2006), Niemeyer (2002), and Widdowson (2002).

as well as, to a lesser extent. John (2010), Miller (2002), and Niemeyer (2002). However, my analysis of how nineteenth-century texts, especially in adapted forms, shape and sustain cultural memory puts place at the centre of its enquiry to argue that Dickens's, the Brontës', and Hardy's writing of place is especially adaptable to new contexts for various intrinsic and extrinsic reasons; and it posits that, whilst screen adaptations of these places are frequently the crucial territory over which adaptors strive for authenticity and seek to stamp their artistic and/or ideological mark, they frequently tread a perpetuating middle-ground between the progressive and the conservative, of which twenty-first-century versions seem highly aware but unable and/or unwilling to transcend.

In this sense, my PhD draws heavily on archival working production material and press discourse surrounding adaptations, which are crucial elements of screen culture currently lacking in adaptation studies, and mostly yet to be discussed in an academic publication. This approach reveals self-consciousness and anxiety surrounding the adaptation of place in particular, which deepens my analysis of the mechanics and constitution of cultural memory. Working originally at the intersection of multi disciplines, framed with theories of cultural memory, my thesis seeks to shed new light on both how adaptable literary representations of place and subsequent screen adaptations of it function to sustain Victorian writers, as well as what these adaptations of place have meant for post-Victorian society at various moments in post-Victorian culture.

PLACING WRITERS IN CULTURAL MEMORY

Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy have been generally inseparable from place in cultural memory since the height of their cultural power in the nineteenth century. This close association developed quickly after they started to publish because their writing of place had a profound impact on many readers, which only continued as their oeuvres grew. As many Victorian reviews attest, it was quickly established among the Victorian public that Dickens wrote 'London like a special correspondent for posterity'; that the Brontës' 'scenery [… was] laid in the North, the bleak, Moorish, wild, character of which is admirably preserved'; and that readers were indebted to Hardy 'for making his favourite Wessex […] as well known to us almost as our own birthplace'.[26] Parallels were even drawn between Hardy and Dickens because both influenced extra-textual cultural

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[26] Walter Bagehot, 'Charles Dickens', *National Review* (October 1858), 459-86, in Stephen Wall (ed.), *Charles Dickens: A Critical Anthology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 120; Unsigned, '*Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*', *The Eclectic Review*, 1 (January-June, 1851), 222-227 (227); W. P. Trent, 'The Novels of Thomas Hardy', *Sewanee Review*, 1 (November, 1892), 1-25 (24).

perceptions of the places they described.[27] One *Athenaeum* article, for instance, pro-claimed that Hardy did 'for rural life what Dickens did for that of the town'.[28] These Victorian reviews were further important means of constructing the place-centric public perceptions of these authors, who, by the end of the epoch, were considered Virgils for urban London, wild Yorkshire, or the North of England, and rural Dorset, respectively. Their fictional places soon captured the public's interest to such an extent that burgeoning literary tourism industries emerged, centring on actual locations associated with their lives and writing. Much like the early critical discourse, the publication of numerous topographical guidebooks relating to these locations reinforced this cultural phenomenon, which still exists today.**[29]**

Literary tourism has waned, though each year many international tourists continue to visit the Dickens Museum (Bloomsbury, London), the Brontë Parsonage Museum (Haworth, Yorkshire), and Hardy's Cottage (Higher Bockhampton, Dorset). Yet the strong cultural associations between these writers and place have not only continued but proliferated. In the twenty-first century, Dickens's London, the Brontës' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex are all phrases in common parlance. They are arguably some of the first ideas that would spring to mind for many people on mentioning these authors' names. Moreover, on entering 'Dickens's', 'the Brontës'', and 'Thomas Hardy's' into the Google search engine – an essential mediator of cultural memory in today's 'Information Age' –, one of the top predictions relates to place in each instance: with 'London', 'Haworth', and 'Wessex' respectively all suggested to complete the searches. As a cursory look at the results indicates, these immediate links between author and place are so firmly entrenched that they have become the language of the property market and tourism advertising, particularly for international visitors. These authors have been culturally 'placed' in Dickens, Brontë, or Hardy 'country', colonizing particular regions of the country as their own and shaping ideas of England more generally across the globe, more than other Victorian writers.

However, while contemporary literary tourism certainly indicates the strength of their continued cultural associations with places and how much these literary places continue to stir the cultural imaginary, while also, to a degree, informing these place-centric cultural memories today, my thesis is most interested in the influence of screen adaptation

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[27] See Maurice Halbwachs's account of Dickens's influence on his impression of London before visiting (*The Collective Memory*, trans. J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980 [1950]), 23).

[28] Unsigned review of Hardy's *The Trumpet Major*, *The Athenaeum*, 20 November 1880, 672.

[29] On literary tourism, see Nicola Watson, *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009); and *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic & Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006). Examples of early publications on literary topography include: Thomas Edgar Pemberton, *Dickens's London* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876); J. A. Erskine Stuart, *The Brontë Country: Its Topography, Antiquities, and History* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1888); Hermann Lea, *Thomas Hardy's Wessex* (London, 1913).

in this respect. Screen adaptations have been arguably the most significant of a variety of factors contributing to *forming* this cultural memory; they also provide important vistas on it throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; and form the a bridge in my approach between Victorian literature and culture, and post-Victorian cultural memory. In post-Victorian culture, more people have accessed these authors and their writing via screen adaptation than through other cultural forms, including literary tourism and the stage. Screen adaptation's cultural reach and impact have arguably been vaster than others because of its reproducibility and portability, as well as its permanence as a text captured on film or as digital file (unlike stage adaptations, which are ephemeral). In fact, it is likely that most people today know these writers and their work on and through the screen more than they do via the page, to the extent that film and television adaptations now shape many peoples' perception of their writing and lives.

My approach through cultural memory aspires to contribute to the discipline of adaptation studies in one of the new directions Kamilla Elliott proposes in her 2014 article, 'Rethinking Formal-Cultural and Textual-Contextual Divides in Adaptation Studies'. As part of a critique of contrasting methodological approaches, Elliott calls for the 'field definitions' of 'adaptation' to be reconsidered: she argues that whilst the 'core field definition remains a formalist one, defining adaptation as a transfer of a narrative from one medium to another', 'there is no reason why we could not define adaptation as an intercultural or interhistorical transfer'.[30]

More than other forms of adaptation, screen adaptation has allowed for the easy transfer of these authors, novels, and fictional places (among other ideas) into new contexts, whether historical periods, national and regional cultures, ideological climates, or media forms because of their adaptable qualities, thereby shaping and sustaining the cultural memory of them. Screen adaptation has made the Victorian novel more easily accessible to a wider audience, condensing, visualizing, and explicating it, which has enabled its broader dissemination and so more extensive penetration of the collective consciousness than when its audience consisted of only readers. As Walter Benjamin has said of the mechanical reproduction of art, screen adaptation has brought Victorian literature '"closer" spatially and humanly' to the 'contemporary masses'.[31] It has disseminated Victorian fiction into both mass entertainment establishments and domestic spaces, projecting cinematic and/or televisual renderings of fictional places on cinema and television screens – spaces, situations, and social groups that may otherwise have been 'out

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[30] *Literature/Film Quarterly*, 42.4, 576-593 (584).
[31] 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction (1936)', in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt and trans. Harry Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999), 211-244 (216-17).

of reach'.[32] Screen adaptation has also codified Victorian fiction for the visual, commercial media of film and television, enabling it to be *received* in a more straightforward, easily understood way, to bring it 'closer' to more people.

Because many works of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy have been adapted for the screen so frequently and with such cultural – and often critical – impact, thus disseminating certain ideas (including of place) broadly and deeply in cultural memory, they have become detached from their original contexts and meanings, evolving into what Paul Davis has called 'culture-texts'. According to Davis, 'culture-texts' are those 'that we collectively remember', rather than 'fixed in [… an author's] words': a 'culture-text' 'has been re-created' since publication, ever-changing 'as the reasons for its retelling change'.[33] It is often the culturally remembered text, influenced not only by the 'original' literary work but also by various facets from all of the different screen adaptations, which makes the significant cultural impact.

Whilst various ideas have consistently become part of the Dickens, Brontë, and Hardy 'culture-texts', including those related to character, because of, in part, the interrelation between page and screen, place is one foremost element, according to my research and as the chapters that follow suggest. This prominence and prevalence indicates both the power – aesthetic, affective, and ideological – of these representations of place on page and screen, as well as their continued appeal in new post-Victorian contexts. Indeed, one of the reasons these writers endure is because of the places they are associated with in cultural memory and this close association with places stems from *how* they were written and the cultural impact of their re-mediation via screen adaptation.

<div align="center">WRITING PLACE MEMORABLY</div>

Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy were all self-conscious about their posthumous artistic longevity, seeking to write themselves into cultural memory, as critics have discussed.[34] One of the ways in which they were actually *propelled* into cultural memory, though, was through their self-consciously resonant, memorable, and adaptable writing of place. They all seem to have intuited both the potential for certain renderings of fictional place to resonate with readers in an industrial age, when mechanization and motion destabilized the collective sense of belonging (confirmed in many nineteenth-century reviews); and also the inherently spatial qualities of remembering, that is, the significance of space and place to both the constitution and mechanics of memory.

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[32] *Ibid.* 214.
[33] *The Lives and Times of Ebenezer Scrooge* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 4.
[34] See John (2010), Miller (2002), and also Simon Gatrell, ('Wessex' (2002 [1999])), 19-37), whose comprehensive manuscript work reveals how Hardy forged artistic posterity through alterations to Wessex.

Place was at the heart of the Victorian cultural consciousness:[35] mainly because of the widespread dislocation of self from locality during the epoch due to significant alterations in both interactions with place and perceptions of it. As has been widely documented, the contributing factors for this acute consciousness to place included the rapid growth of the metropolis, the increasing mechanization of labour with the introduction of steam, and the newly detached, ephemeral connection to locality. The profoundest factor of all, though, was the period's increased mobility: the 'nomadic habit', as Hardy called it.[36] As innumerable Victorians migrated within the nation and beyond through economic necessity, and because both country and globe were opened up for the newly emerging middle classes through tourism, individuals became increasingly disconnected from places they had previously been rooted in or considered home.[37] Affective ties to place were stretched and began to dissipate on a widespread scale, as many inhabited new, unfamiliar worlds. One significant consequence was the materialization of a heightened sensibility to place, which is the source of many Victorian novelists centring it in their writing and almost fetishizing it, as is especially the case for those discussed here.

Since the 'spatial turn' in the late twentieth century, place has become contested and debated in Victorian studies, among other disciplines.[38] Most recently, the field has seen rising interest in the sub-discipline of cultural geography known as 'Mobilities', which, as the eponymous journal defines it, examines the 'large-scale movements of people, objects, capital, and information'. Two recent examples include Charlotte Mathieson's *Mobility in the Victorian Novel: Placing the Nation* (2015),[39] which examines how journeys function in the Victorian novel to construct the nation; and Livesey's *Writing the Stage Coach Nation* (2016), which argues that many nineteenth-century novels were set

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[35] See Robert Dainotto, *Place in Literature: Regions, Cultures, Communities* (New York: Cornell UP, 2000), and Helena Michie and Ronald Thomas, *Nineteenth-century Geographies: The Transformation of Space From the Victorian Age to the American Century* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2003).

[36] 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', *Longman's Magazine* (July 1883), 252-69. Reprinted and cited from Michael Millgate (ed.), *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice: The Essays, Speeches, and Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 48-56 (49-50).

[37] Josephine McDonagh argues that the realist novel as a 'dominant form of fiction […] loosely coincides with […] the vast extension of demographic mobility' ('Space, Mobility, and the Novel: "The spirit of place is a great reality"', in *A Concise Companion to Realism*, ed. Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 50). See also G. E. Mingay on rural to urban migration (*The Victorian Countryside Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 1981)).

[38] For example: Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford UP, 1973); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: The Perspectives of Experience* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP: 1974); Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16.1 (Spring, 1986), 22-27; Leonard Lutwack, *The Role of Place in Literature* (New York: Syracuse UP, 1984); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000 [1974]); J. Hillis Miller, *Topographies* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1995); Dainotto, *Place in Literature* (2000); Tim Creswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Peter Brown and Michael Irwin (eds.), *Literature and Place, 1800-2000* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008); Turner, 'Zigzagging', in *Restless Cities*, eds. Beaumont and Gregory Dart (London: Verso, 2010), 299-315; Casey, *Fate of Place* (2013); Ina Habermann and Daniella Kerr, *English Topographies in Literature and Culture* (Leiden: Rodopi, 2016).

[39] (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015).

in a moment just before the railway age, enabling them to make the nation cohere through stagecoach networks. [40]

However, whilst I agree with Tim Creswell that mobility 'is central to what it is to be human […,] a fundamental geographical facet of existence', and 'provides a rich terrain from which narratives […] [are] constructed',[41] my interest is in *place* rather than the space implicated in movement or mobility, though I try not to oppose the terms. It is both the writing and then the re-transmitting via the screen of *place* – rather than space or mobility – that has been so significant in both the cultural memory and longevity of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy. Indeed, in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (1977), Yi-Fu Tuan writes that 'if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (though as Tuan continues, the 'ideas of "space" and "place" require each other for definition. For the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa').[42]

It is the figurative 'pauses' and resulting transformations into place that populate the cultural memory of Victorian texts and writers rather than mobility or space. Crucially, 'Pausing' at a location allows for human interaction with material and social environments; it allows for the formation of epistemological and affective ties. And it is such moments in the novels examined in this PhD of locations dialectically interacting with character when places do not just come into being, but also begin to take on a life of their own. When narratives and characters pause at location it becomes a hub of meaning, affect, value: it can be transformed into *place*. It becomes appealing and memorable, as well as steeped in feeling and interrelated with questions of existence because, as Alex Purves writes, it is suddenly 'felt, experienced, lived-in, embodied', unlike space which is 'abstract, global, framing, theoretical',[43] a 'system of interrelations between places'.[44] That is not to say, however, that place is static and conservative, nor 'intrinsically coherent', as Massey writes, especially as the authors discussed are concerned. Space and place need one another for 'definition', so that place can be a 'coming together of the previously unrelated, a constellation of processes', that which is 'open and internally multiple'.[45]

Writing in an era characterized by 'things speeding up and spreading out' due to industrialization,[46] and dominated by underlying fears of revolution because of the French

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[40] <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=rmob20>[accessed 19 August, 2017].
[41] *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.
[42] (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP), 6.
[43] 'In the Bedroom: Interior Space in Herodotus' *Histories'*, in *Space, Place, and Landscape in Ancient Greek Literature and Cultur*e, eds. Kate Gilhuly and Nancy Woman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 94-129 (96).
[44] William Thalmann, *Apollonius of Rhodes and the Spaces of Hellenism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 20.
[45] *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 141.
[46] *Space, Place and Gender*, 146.

Revolution's legacy, Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy seem to have intuited how particular renderings of *place* could provide equilibrium to the era's widespread, deeply rooted instabilities and insecurities – and chime with the reading public. Their novels often appear self-conscious of the epoch's burgeoning social, cultural, and indeed spatial change, including, especially, the increasing disconnection of self from place and the resulting erosion of collective memories. They consequently utilize place as a counteracting force, which appears to demonstrate awareness – unconsciously at least, but often consciously – of the inherently spatial qualities of remembering, of how place is both significant to memory's constitution and operation (a feature of cultural memory identified in much scholarship).[47] Their work is often underpinned with intricately and richly established systems of places; these scaffold and anchor the narrative for remembrance.

Working mnemonically for the reader, this 'platial system' acts as a narrative storehouse containing – but also interacting dialectically with – character, principally, but also narrative action, emotional affect, and political ideology, for recollection. Both intra- and extra-textually, it operates like a 'site of memory', or *Lieux de Memoire*, to use Pierre Nora's term. According to Nora, cultural memory crystallizes around certain 'sites' – 'topographical' ones but also 'portable' and 'monumental' – whose specificity and rootedness are secure and stable enough for cultural memory to attach itself.[48] In relation to the work of the authors under discussion, then, both narrative remembering within the text and cultural remembering of the text crystallize around these 'sites', ensuring their indelibility in the broader recollection of novels as well as the authors producing them.

Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*, for instance, which is one of the best-known Victorian fictional examinations of memory, presents Scrooge's disconnection from memory because of urban migration and the resulting shift in value systems. When the Ghost of Christmas Past leads Scrooge into the past to re-connect him with his eroded – and repressed – memories, Dickens anchors the process of remembering in place. Only when the novella describes a particular 'open country road, with fields on either side', and later the 'warehouse door' in one of the city's 'busy thoroughfares', do the memories – of abandonment at boarding school, and Fezziwig's traditional Christmas festivities – have meaning for Scrooge and begin to unfold before the reader.[49] The lane and warehouse contain or store the action, before acting as springboards for it to unfold, thus making it more memorable. They scaffold and anchor the 'busy thoroughfare' that is the narrative of Victorian fiction, making it more easily remembered; they provide stable points for the reader amidst the broader, busier thoroughfare of Victorian life. Similarly, in *David*

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[47] See, in particular, Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Arts of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 17.
[48] 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, 26 (Spring, 1989), 7-24 (22).
[49] In *Charles Dickens: Christmas Books*, ed. Ruth Glancy (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), 1-90 (34).

Copperfield, as Clare Pettitt argues, St. Paul's Cathedral (including in souvenir form as represented on Peggotty's work-box) operates to anchor and give meaning to the 'ebb and flow' of the eponymous character's recollections in much the same way as it anchors the ebb and flow of nineteenth-century London in the novel.[50]

<div align="center">WRITING ADAPTABLE PLACE</div>

Dickens's, the Brontës', and Hardy's writing of place is also distinctively memorable because it is rendered with particular aesthetic execution that suggests an authorial instinct about what readers in an industrial, mechanized, and highly visual epoch would value and find striking. Arguably more than other Victorian authors' literary places, it has distinctive adaptable qualities making it especially conducive for screen adaptation in a post-Victorian age of moving images because of visual, mythologized aesthetics; intense, projected affective attachments to place; interrelation with and perception from the consciousness of Victorian characters caught between the forces of a rapidly changing nation; and a mechanized, detachable, and portable form.

Obviously, these are not the only nineteenth-century writers who are perennially popular on screen and have some form of association with place. Most obviously, from opposite ends of the century, Austen has 407 'credits' or 'hits' on the IMDB and the 'Sherlock Holmes' phenomenon has been screened innumerably, though a significant proportion of these works are appropriations, rather than the adaptations in which I am interested: that is, works that adapt 'a posture of critique, overt commentary and even sometimes assault or attack', as Julie Sanders writes, often through updating or displacing source texts, rather than signalling 'a [more reverent] relationship' with them.[51] Scott is another nineteenth-century writer who has commanded a significant degree of posthumous popularity, though more before the World Wars than after them.

The important thing to note with these writers is not so much that they remain popular, but that they have a *different* relationship to place compared to Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy. Much of the continued appeal of the 'Sherlock Holmes' phenomenon seems to be the eponymous detective hero rather than because viewers are drawn to or identify in some way with Holmesian London, or because they seek an encounter with Conan Doyle, from whom, incidentally, the more cultish than canonical texts seem to have become separated. Holmes is disassociated from palpable place, hence the abundance of screen *appropriations* that displace and update the text. He is globalized and de-placed, a

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[50] 'Peggotty's Work-Box: Victorian Souvenirs and Material Memory', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 53 (2009). Pettitt uses 'ebb and flow' to describe memory in the novel.
[51] *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 4-6.

vector of de-racination rather than rootedness. The time and space of his existence are also themselves fluid and hazy: they evolve from the late-Victorian age to the 1920s, resisting the fixity of palpable place.

Austen's fiction is more placed and her depiction of place – on page and screen – is one of its appeals. However, it is arguably more difficult to root Austen in geography than Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy. The places Austen writes and is associated with on screen often have generic rather than specific geographical qualities because they are architecturally- and socially-focused, as well as portrayed from within country houses. Furthermore, on the surface, at least, the Georgian Austen is not writing about a culture and society under siege, as in the Victorian authors that I examine, nor is she writing in the mechanized, visual form appropriate for representing the world of industrial modernity. Her world is not the world of industrialization, where the collective sense of belonging and rootedness are threatened and destabilized, which means her writing of place does not have the same affective dimension as the Victorian examples discussed here. In addition, Anthony Trollope and George Eliot's lack of prominence on screen evinces certain failings of mid-Victorian high realism to capture a mass audience in an industrial age of moving images. The absence of visual and material poetics in Trollope, because of an overbearing, omnipresent author-narrator, and Eliot's 'ordinary' aesthetics, which privilege inwardness, are less adaptable to new contexts, including the contemporary screen. Similarly, Scott's textual aesthetics of place and projected affective relations to it feel pre-industrial and not mechanized like the proto-modern Victorian prose poetics investigated here, which is a key factor in contemporary culture's forgetting of him.[52] His prose poetics have the rhythm of the stagecoach more than the steam train, especially in taking readers to places and conjuring them up: while heritagized and mythologized, it often takes too long to arrive there and for them to emerge on the page. They lack the instantaneous visuality, as well as the detachable and portable qualities apparent in the writing of place by the authors examined in this thesis.

Indeed, Dickens's London, the Brontës' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex are often remembered so indelibly because they are written so resonantly, which, in turn, is one of the factors that makes them so adaptable. Literary resonance is rooted in intensified, amplified sounds or vibrations; it relates to the evocation of enduring images, memories, and emotions. Though my thesis transcends his cognitive-linguistic approach, Peter Stockwell has done useful work on poetic resonance from this approach, which has influenced my thinking. He argues that literature has resonance when it induces 'a feeling' or particular 'affective power' causing it to persist 'in the memory long after the actual

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[52] On this forgetting of Scott, see Rigney, *Afterlives* (201).

physical reading has taken place'.[53] Because, as Stockwell writes, resonance is 'difficult […] to pin down', he takes as his starting point the concept of cognitive '*attention*', that is, how 'sensory inputs are rendered into foregrounded and backgrounded levels of significance'.[54] In literary works, Stockwell argues, different 'objects' vie constantly for readers' attention; various 'attractors', or 'attractive' 'stylistic patterns' determine how much the reader's attention is captured.[55] Indeed, in writing place, the novelists I examine frequently implement many 'typical' formal or aesthetic features of what Stockwell would call 'good attractors', which cut across 'traditional grammatical categories to include linguistic forms […] and conceptual, experiential items'.[56] These are the formal-linguistic mechanics of literary mythologization, whose implementation particularly in conveying place makes it luminous and indelible.

However, my work goes beyond Stockwell's precise, linguistic definition of resonance, instead thinking about *cultural resonance* through consideration of the intrinsic and extrinsic factors that have enabled Dickens's London, the Brontes' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex to transcend literary culture and become engrained in cultural memory, hence my lead argument that these literary places are especially *adaptable*. Indeed, my thesis examines the various intrinsic qualities that enable these literary places – on page and screen – to signify so strongly, to seem 'enhanced, […] enriched', or 'modified', to echo, to resound, and be prolonged.[57] Whilst this can stem from particular framing, a mechanized, detachable form, and/or certain dialectical structuring, it is often so much more: literary places are fundamental to and so permeate these writers' realist modes and narratives, ideological positioning, social critique, and, crucially, the construction of character, with which they are complexly interrelated as key means of making character and the portrayal of the nineteenth-century self 'stick' in the character-driven Victorian novel. In addition, my work focuses on certain extrinsic factors that also pull these literary places into cultural memory (as well as collective consciousness more broadly): that is, the 'desire' of different and later historical periods, national and regional cultures, media forms, and ideological climates to adapt these literary places to satisfy certain 'ideological, aesthetic, and creative needs'.[58] In this sense, I concentrate on how Dickens's London, the Brontes' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex resonate in the sense of striking a chord with moments of reception, whether through chiming with an increasingly mobile and diffuse readership living in an

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[53] 'The Cognitive Poetics of Literary Resonance', *Language and Cognition*, 1.1 (2009), 29-44 (28). See also *Texture: A Cognitive Aesthetics of Reading* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2012).
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] *Ibid*. 29.
[56] *Ibid*. 31.
[57] *Oxford English Dictionary* [online], 'resonant'
<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/163744?redirectedFrom=resonant#eid> [accessed 20 March 2018].
[58] *Ibid*.

industrial age, offering mechanized, reproducible versions of Victorian modernity suitable for an age of moving images, providing malleable versions of significant, though recent versions of the national past suitable for post-war and declinist battles waged over definitions of English heritage on screen, or through their implication in the construction of characters that stretch and challenge particular ideologies.

One key reason for the cultural resonance and adaptability of these literary places is the visual, but anti-real aesthetic characterizing each of them. Influenced by painting and/or the new visual technologies emerging during the nineteenth-century's 'visual turn',[59] these novelists thought about place in particularly visual terms. They strove to provide linguistic paintings of place, to allow readers to see place in their mind's eye, rather than explaining it through interventionist authorial narrators, or signifying it through character dialogue, which was the approach taken by many Victorian 'realists', who have not endured to the same extent.

However, these writers were not just painterly. Nineteenth-century painting's realist aesthetics were too flat, static, or conservative for their modern, industrial, adaptable poetics, hence various critics' labelling of them as 'cinematic'.[60] Nor, though, were they simply photographic in writing place, which is also too limiting a categorization of their adaptable artistic mode: they did not just capture the external and material world transparently. Rather, they selectively interpret reality by stretching and challenging realist conventions. And this is one important factor in the unforgettable nature of their writing of place, and in making it mythic and culturally resonant enough for propulsion into cultural memory. Their version of the Victorian world, including place, is filtered through poetics that frame, stretch, and distort 'reality'. Steeped in melodrama, fantasy, fairy-tale, the Gothic, and the Romantic, among other modes, they embellish Victorian 'reality' through lenses that heighten emotional affect, intensify textual aesthetics, and push narrative to the very cusp of conceivability. Dickens's art, for instance, presented 'the romantic side of familiar things'. Hardy's intensified 'the expression of things […] so that the heart and inner meaning' was 'made vividly visible'; his fictional 'country' was 'partly-real, partly

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[59] On this 'sudden ubiquity of photographic images […] at large', see Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism* (Cambridge, Mas.: Harvard UP, 1999), 6.

[60] See Sergei Eisenstein, 'Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today', in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 1977), 195-223, and David Lodge, 'Thomas Hardy as a Cinematic Novelist', in *Thomas Hardy After Fifty Years*, ed. Lance St. John Butler (London: Macmillan, 1977), 78-89. The debate that Victorian novels were cinematic before cinema is hotly contested and various counterarguments suggest that Victorian novels were instead photographic or resembled magic lantern shows; even that early cinema is novelistic. See, for instance, Elliott, 'Cinematic Dickens/ Uncinematic Words', in *Dickens on Screen*, 113-21, and Joss Marsh, 'Dickensian "Dissolving Views": The Magic Lantern, Visual Story-Telling, and the Victorian Technological Imagination', *Comparative Critical Studies*, 6.3 (2009), 333-346. Whilst these debates are fascinating and important, they are beyond the scope of this PhD.

dream'. And the Brontës conveyed 'truthful observation of everyday reality heightened by intense feeling', as nineteenth-century reviews 'emphasized'.[61]

To that end, these writers are unlike many Victorian 'realist' novelists, whose aesthetic has not translated as well to a mass audience in the age of moving images, arguably because it is intelligible, conventional, orderly, domesticated, and within human scope, excluding narrative and representational extremes. Fellow novelists like Trollope and Eliot, for example, reflect this aesthetic in the flat, low, domesticated locations of their fictional worlds, often in the country's safe south or mundane middle (Eliot's drab south Midlands, or Trollope's pastoralized Home Counties, for instance).[62] Contrastingly, Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy relish extremes and excesses. Their representation of Victorian place is, to use George Levine's language of anti-realism, 'beyond the quotidian and ordinary'; it aspires for 'energies too large to be contained within inherited conventions', which they both signify through and interrelate with 'geographical pockets of excess' and intensity.[63] Indeed, all of the places they write are such pockets or 'heights' in one sense or another – aesthetic, affective, or spatial.[64] These are of course interrelated with realist boundaries of restraint so that their representations of the Victorian world remain convincing, to work as vehicles for influencing or manipulating readers' feelings.

Such tendencies to melodramatize, sensationalize, and exaggerate, as well as their propensities for the Romantic, mean that they stray sometimes towards what Levine calls 'aberrations' of realism, as in *Frankenstein* and *Wuthering Heights* (the two examples he gives).[65] However, Levine's point is problematic: using 'aberrations' privileges realism, implying it as the norm, whereas for the writers under discussion, and, indeed, as far as a mass public in an age of industrial modernity is concerned, this is far from the case. For Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy, the anti-real is not only the norm, but it is, somehow, the truthful means of replicating the external world as it is.[66]

Extremes and excesses thus key factors, then, in the aesthetic power and almost transcending qualities of their writing of place, as well as its adaptability into new cultural

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[61] 'Preface', to *Bleak House*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 5-6 (6); *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), 183; and the 'Preface From 1912 Wessex Edition (Macmillan), Vol II.', in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, ed. Rosemarie Morgan (London: Penguin, 2003), 392-395 (393); Miriam Allott (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2001 [1974]), 1-55 (23).
[62] *The Realistic Imagination: English Fiction from Frankenstein to Lady Chatterley* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1981), 204-5.
[63] *Ibid*. 205.
[64] On the dialectic between excess and restraint, see John, *Dickens's Villains: Melodrama, Character, Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 31; and John Kucich, *Excess and Restraint in the Novels of Charles Dickens* (Athens, Ga.: Georgia UP, 1981).
[65] (1981), 205.
[66] As the anonymous essay 'The Spirit of Fiction' in *All the Year Round* says: 'Greater differences will exist between the common observer and the writer of genius. The former accuses the latter of intentional exaggeration, substitution, addition, and has never been able in society to see the startling phenomena which he condemns in the romance as melodramatic and unnatural. The reason is, that such an individual has never developed the sense required for *seeing* such things.' (431 (July 27, 1867), 118-120 (120)).

contexts. These writers make the extra-textual world – both then, and now – seem 'a pale and flimsy imitation' of the fictional one.[67] Doing so suggests an intuition to tap into what Samuel describes as cultural memory's penchant for 'the eccentric' (over 'the typical'), 'the sensational' (over 'the routine'), as well as 'the comic and the grotesque', the wonderful and the marvellous; and also its crystallization, as Samuel continues, around the 'remarkable occurrence and the larger-than-life personality', which 'stir the interest of listeners'.[68] Their writing of place goes beyond the ordinary and the everyday, allowing readers the pleasure of vicariously experiencing locations beyond the norm; or it makes the ordinary and everyday extraordinary, investing it with mythic qualities sufficient for capturing the cultural imaginary.

This anti-real/real dialectic is part of a broader doubleness underpinning these literary places in their aspirations to both reflect and tap into a Victorian structure of feeling. Regenia Gagnier writes of how Victorian '[s]ocieties' found themselves 'caught between traditional cultures and the forces of modernization' because of the epoch's widespread change,[69] a culture clash she equates to a specifically 'Dickensian' aesthetic.[70] But this claim needs broadening, as I see it, to describe the Victorian poetics central to the literary places of the writers discussed here. In writing place, these novelists do not escape the changes that destabilized the coordinates underpinning many Victorians' lives in this industrial age. As a result, their poetics often capture the distinctive energy and vividness of this dynamic moment. But at the same time, they exploit the dynamics of nostalgia that naturally arise from this clash of cultures. Setting their fiction in a very recent past to achieve a deliberate aura from temporal distance, they often frame place *as the past*, for heightened emotional intensity and aesthetic vividness, whilst also demonstrating awareness of its constructedness. In writing place they are often writing about Victorian modernity, but with a self-conscious awareness of what is being lost, or what has already disappeared.

A further factor in the cultural resonance and adaptability of their literary places, then, is a fusing of different aesthetic and ideological polarities centring on the dialectic of tradition and modernity, but including other derivatives like change and stability; progress and nostalgia; resentment and optimism; melancholy and hope; mobility and roots;

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[67] Robert Douglas-Fairhurst, *Becoming Dickens The Invention of a Novelist* (Cambridge, Mas.: Belknap Press, 2011), 5.
[68] Samuel, 6; 16. Karen Armstrong also suggests that when something becomes mythic it taps into society's desire for 'ideas […] beyond […] everyday experience' (4); 'living more intensely than usual, […] and inhabiting the whole of our humanity' (8); "get[ting] beyond" our immediate circumstances, and […] enter[ing] a "full time", a more intense, fulfilling existence' (97) (*A Short History of Myth* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2005)).
[69] 'The Global Circulation of Charles Dickens's Novels', *Literature Compass*, 10 (2013), 82-91 (83).
[70] *Ibid.*

alienation and belonging.[71] But these are not straightforward binary oppositions, as in Franco Moretti's argument that nineteenth-century European novels simplify their complex spatial systems 'into neat oppositional pattern[s]' for ease of reading,[72] nor do they require an opposite for definition, for they are specified strongly in themselves. Contrastingly, these different facets of the same place, or different places signifying these different facets are in dialectical relationship with each other. The result is a mutual intensification through perceived contrast, which is an idea that Gaston Bachelard's spatial poetics illuminate. Bachelard discusses 'the increased intimacy of a house when […] besieged by winter' to suggest that winter can make a house more poetic and vice versa.[73] 'Behind dark curtains,' he argues, 'snow seems […] whiter. Indeed, everything comes alive when contradictions accumulate': 'when two strange images meet, two images that are the work of two poets pursuing separate dreams, they apparently strengthen each other'.[74] The novelists explored here frequently conceive of place founded on analogous dialectical oppositions, which intermingle and antagonize. The result is a mutual intensification of the two facets of place, or of opposing places, thus projecting a structure of feeling related to place that signifies with distinctive power.

This dialectic also has an oscillating quality, replicating the shifting excesses of melodramatic affect, which is a broader but significant influence on all of these authors, who employ a kind of melodramatic externalization in writing of place. As Juliet John writes of Dickens's urban aesthetic, for example, it often feels 'exaggerated, stylized, highly emotive', simplifying, externalizing, and ostentating 'that which is normally invisible or hidden'.[75] Whereas other Victorian novelists use place as a backdrop to root the action, place in Dickens, Brontë, and Hardy is far more an actor in the drama. It frequently becomes an external projection of the feelings the author wants readers to experience and/or share with a lead character who inhabits place, or even an extension of that character.

Such dialectical oppositions have also contributed importantly to the adaptability of these authors' literary places. In fusing tradition and modernity – or other relevant derivatives – they have appealed to both 'traditionalists' and 'progressives', as John says of Dickens,[76] but particularly traditional and progressive *screen adaptors*, which has played a crucial role in ensuring they are recurringly, often enduringly popular. In this respect, it is particularly important that their foregrounded fictional places are permeated with this

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[71] On modern literatures' 'dashes and formal aporias', which 'often move between the poles of progress/ optimism/ hope and nostalgia/ resentment/ melancholy', see Gagnier (2013).
[72] *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 107.
[73] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, Mas.: Beacon, 1994), 38. See also Alexander Welsh, *The City of Dickens* (Cam., Mass: Harvard UP, 1986 [1971]).
[74] *Ibid.*, 39; 59.
[75] *Dickens's Villains* (2001), 112.
[76] (2010), 184.

duality; for as projected on screen, place is key to cinematic communication – both in aesthetic and ideological terms. Cinematic place is interrelated with *mise-en-scéne*, which means it is crucial to the signification and organization of everything within the cinematic frame: to what is viewed and how. Consequently, it reflects, according to Stuart Aitken and Leo Zonn, 'prevailing cultural norms, ethical mores, societal structures and ideologies'; it moulds 'social, cultural, and environmental experiences'.[77]

The ambivalent doubleness in place has enabled these authors to remain relevant throughout the twentieth century despite the 'public remembrance shift from celebration to mourning'.[78] The cataclysmic World Wars shifted 'public remembrance' from the mostly 'celebratory' and pleasurable towards the 'traumatic' and painful.[79] But the ambivalence of the Victorian authors examined here has allowed screen adaptors to remember and amplify certain elements of their writing, while forgetting and muting others, depending on the version of the Victorian past they sought to transmit. Few Victorian literary places possess such propensity for malleability, reproducibility, and so capturing the cultural imaginary whether buoyant or deflated, conservative or radical. And few Victorian literary places are as adaptable or have endured into the twenty-first century to the same extent.

SUSTAINING AND SHAPING CULTURAL MEMORY

Place is frequently both a chief territory over which screen adaptors strive to stamp their aesthetic and ideological marks when adapting Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy, as well as a crucial element in that which is considered 'authentic' and/or 'fresh' in a screen adaptation of these writers. Cinematographers, directors, and producers often seem highly conscious of the aesthetic and imaginative power of these authors' writing of place. They display an almost Bloomian 'anxiety of influence' in attempting to stand up to these textual representations of London, Yorkshire, and Wessex on screen. In press and media discourse surrounding new screen adaptations, including on DVD 'making of' bonus features, for instance, adaptors often seem eager to describe the great lengths they have gone to in recreating place. They draw deliberate attention to extensive primary research, careful sourcing or building of shooting locations, and utilization of cutting-edge technology to bring place alive. These are 'inter-medial reiteration[s]', as Astrid Erll and Rigney would

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[77] 'Re-Presenting the Place Pastiche', in *Place, Power, Situation, and Spectacle: A Geography of Film* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994), 3-25 (5).
[78] Rigney, *Afterlives*, 223.
[79] *Ibid.*

term them,[80] which, in themselves, reinforce the inseparable association between writer and place in cultural memory.

Furthermore, the working production material I have accessed in various archives, including draft screenplays, production team correspondence, working production notes, and ephemera, which is original research, often yet to be mentioned in academic discourse, exemplifies further levels of self-consciousness – and some anxiety – about representing place in particular ways and with a certain impact. Much of this archival material also evinces how adaptors engage with an existing place-centric cultural memory, often coloured heavily by a complex relationship between preceding screen adaptations and literary text, which they often perpetuate through their own visualizations.

Unsurprisingly, the extensive attention that screen adaptors of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy give to place is most apparent in the projected adaptation, where it shapes and determines various other contenders for primacy in enduring popularity and cultural memory, principally character and ideology. On screen, place is frequently framed and foregrounded to command more attention and signify more resonantly. Directors and cinematographers implement various formal and aesthetic techniques to make place seem more striking, attractive, and meaningful, to construct strong affective relations between audience and place, to manoeuvre audience members into consuming place, and to etch place images deeper onto the consciousness of viewers. Their eagerness to do so stems from expectations about screen adaptations of these writers' works, where the depiction of place is considered a key signifier of an 'authentic' rendering of text and period, a key source of cinematic and/or televisual pleasure, and a crucial factor in the adaptations' engagement with various post-Victorian ideologies.

For example, projected adaptations repeatedly feature master, establishing, and re-establishing shots of place, which are usually 'extreme long shots, long shots and deep focus shots', often 'using a bird's-eye view or high angle cameras set up […] where the camera's eye can see a great distance'.[81] Long takes also often accentuate 'the meaning and value of [platial] temporality on screen', saturating 'space with meaning' and relating the 'temporality […] to the spectator's own embodied perception of lived time and transformation'.[82] Both techniques provide sufficient spatial and temporal vantage points for viewers to locate themselves in space to avoid displacement; and allow them to consume place, which is frequently constructed to attract viewers, even if it is not supposed to be attractive. Similarly, editors and directors juxtapose place images with shots presenting characters supposedly looking at place. The product encourages viewers to look

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[80] 'Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamics', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 1-11 (2-3).
[81] Chris Lukinbeal, 'Cinematic Landscapes', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 23.1 (Fall/ Winter, 2005), 3-22.
[82] Grainge, *Memory and Popular Film* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003), 227.

too, or at least signifies that place is worth observing when it appears again. Such montage also foregrounds the interrelation between characters and places to construct strong affective relations to place. Editors and directors interrelate place images with close-ups of characters' faces when emotions are visible. The product constructs affective relations between character and place, which viewers are invited to share. Consequently, places are imbued with certain feelings making them more meaningful and poignant. Affective relations to place are encouraged further and for similar reasons through layering affecting segments of the score over affecting shots of place to invoke genuine, extra-textual emotions in viewers.[83] These place-conscious screen adaptations further combine particular iconographic stereotypes of place, which are easily recognizable and memorable, with more complicated signifiers so that 'everyday complexities' of nineteenth-century place are 'available to the viewer', even if the adaptations are received only straightforwardly. Screen adaptations of these writers thus 'position place in the foreground as a supporting actor, rather than merely as background scenery', while also ensuring that, as in the original novels, 'narratives' – and so characters – are 'situated within places rather than simply focused on actions and events'.[84]

In these screen adaptations, place is thus carefully 'landscaped': it oscillates between the apparently natural and authentic, and the actually artificial and culturally constructed.[85] Projected places are carefully manipulated because striking and significant shooting locations are chosen and then landscaped in particular ways and for particular reasons, including to signify more powerfully, but also to foreground certain ideologies and social critiques. In this way, Dickens, Brontë, and Hardy screen adaptations ensure the act of watching period place is a pleasurable experience, which has become an important stylistic trait in the Victorian screen brand as a whole, as instilled at key moments when English heritage was popular on screen in British culture (Classic Hollywood in the 1930s and 1940s, BBC Classic Serial throughout the twentieth century, and Heritage Cinema in the 1980s and 1990s). The skilful manipulation of carefully selected shooting locations, which are often attractive in themselves, or at least physically constructed to appear so through cinematography, editing, sound, and *mise-en-scéne*, evokes topophilic, even

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[83] See Annabel Cohen, 'Music as a Source of Emotion in Film', in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, eds. Patrik Juslin and John Sloboda (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 249-272.

[84] Some of the ways cinema depicts a strong sense of place according to Bernard Nietschmann ('Authentic, State, and Virtual Geography in Film', *Wide Angle*, 15.4 (1993), 4-12), as quoted in Lukinbeal, 'Cinematic Landscapes', 7.

[85] David Matless drawing on Bruno Latour (*We Have Never Been Modern* (1993)), in *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998), 12-13. See also W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.) (*Landscape and Power* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1994)), who changes '"landscape" from a noun to a verb': from 'an object to be seen or a text to be read,' to 'a process by which social and subjective identities are formed' (1). Scholarship on landscape, including artistic representations of place, has frequently influenced my thinking: the places I analyse are literary and cinematic, rather than '"given" section[s] of land': they have 'been culturally and historically framed and constructed' (Kitty Hauser, *Shadow Sites: Photographs, Archaeology, and the British Landscape, 1927-1955* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 6).

scopophilic pleasure in the projected literary place.[86] Adaptors 'showcase' their 'visual splendour and period richness, using a 'pictorialist museum aesthetic', as Higson calls it.[87] In often foregrounding romantic and sexual elements of narratives for mass – or at least middlebrow – appeal, they often frame place and landscape to signify sensually or erotically, as the externalizations of characters' sexual desires that period drama conventions otherwise repress.[88]

The close association between authors and place in cultural memory has self-perpetuated since the Victorian period, not just because of anxieties about the influence of these authors' writing, which often encourages a foregrounding of place; but also because of anxieties about the influence of previous screen adaptations, especially those that have had significant popular impact. John Ellis raises this idea of the repetition and resulting pleasure of adaptation, writing that '[a]daptation into another medium becomes a means of prolonging the pleasure of the original representation, and repeating the production of a memory. The process of adaptation should thus be seen as a massive investment (financial and psychic) in the desire to repeat particular acts of consumption'.[89] Ellis's point needs broadening to include the pleasures of repeating particular tropes and ideas from preceding screen adaptations as much as the original texts, particularly previous screen adaptations that have been iconic and captured the cultural imagination.

Adaptors are aware of this adapting of previous adaptations, which often influences their approach, and the pleasures of repetition frequently relate to tropes and ideas associated with place in the case of Dickens, Brontë, and Hardy adaptations. Images of St. Paul's Cathedral towering above smoking chimneys and snowy rooftops, wild moorland vistas, and thatched cottages nestled amidst rolling hills are often author-related place-images that many viewers expect to see and take pleasure in seeing again. This platial iconography has been woven into cultural memory because of the frequency and cultural impact of screen adaptations throughout the twentieth century. And the threads of this process of weaving are lengthy and run deep, stretching back to the inception of film. These writers were particularly prevalent on the silent screen, having been adapted widely for the stage because their melodramatic, theatrical writing translated successfully to this visual form. They consequently had a proven track record of capturing a mass audience; and also provided a pedigree and brand for this emerging art form.[90] With the emergence of sound, feature-length, colour, and then television, screen adaptors sought to be the first to update

[86] My thinking here is influenced by Lukinbeal 'Cinematic Landscapes', 11, and Aitken and Zonn, 'Place Pastiche', 19.
[87] *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 39.
[88] See Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith (eds.), *Emotional Geographies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).
[89] 'The Literary Adaptation', *Screen*, 23.1 (May 1982), 3-5 (4).
[90] On this in relation to Dickens, see John (2010), 230 & 188-9.

these writers:[91] to produce, for instance, the first 'feature-length Dickens', the first 'talkies' Brontë, or the first 'colour Hardy' – and then celebrated it in the press and media when they had done so. Similarly, the Victorian period, especially through the lens of these writers, has been central to screen representations of the national past at three significant moments when English cultural heritage was at the height of its popularity on screen – that is, Classic Hollywood, BBC Classic Serial, and 'Heritage Cinema'.

Consequently, a self-perpetuating screen canon of writers and texts, including of certain versions of particular literary places, has developed. Screen adaptors have remained conscious of the need for their work to have this 'ideal order' in their 'bones', choosing the same authors and texts, and employing similar period styles, including in relation to photographing place.[92] The cultural prevalence of writers and texts continues to self-perpetuate as institutions and adaptors engage self-consciously with an already-existing screen adaptation tradition, despite new technologies, broadcasters, institutions, and decades. The result is a continual 'repetition with variation', to cite Linda Hutcheon, of writers, texts, and place images (among other threads) on screen, which has been one key factor in the longevity of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy, and in their close association with place in cultural memory.[93]

Aesthetically and ideologically, this screen adaptation canon treads a middle ground between the progressive and the conservative, but endures because of a continued market for it. The Victorian period continues to draw post-Victorian culture and society to it and perhaps more than other historical epochs, as various critics, chiefly from Neo-Victorianism, have noted.[94] But one of the specific attractions to the era seems to be screen depictions of the Victorian places that Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy imagined. Post-Victorian culture has not just been nostalgic for places from this recent past because they are disappearing or have already gone; but the noticeably acute sensitivity to place and closer relations between self and environment underpinning these Victorian texts, and interrelated with the Victorian selves within them, are particularly attractive as rendered on screen because of the diminishing relationship with place in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Many place-related issues that characterized Victorian culture have not just continued, but proliferated.

This is certainly not the first mention of the global changes to configurations of space and place throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which scholars have

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[91] See Graham Petrie, 'Silent film adaptations of Dickens', parts 1-3, *Dickensian*, 97 (2001), 7-21; 101-15; 197-213; Stoneman (1996); Wright (2003).
[92] T. S. Eliot's language of canonization, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent (1921)', in *The Sacred Wood and Major Early Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1998), 27-33 (28).
[93] *A Theory of Adaptation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013 [2006]), 4.
[94] See Sanders (2006), 120; Kucich and Sadoff, 'Introduction: Histories of the Present', in *Victorian Afterlife* (2000), ix-xxx; Elliot (2003), 3; Heilmann and Llewellyn, *Neo-Victorianism* (2010); and Llewellyn, 'What is Neo-Victorian Studies?', *Neo-Victorian Studies*, 1.1 (2008), 164-185.

traced to industrialization and the resulting transition to modern capitalism. One significant consequence of 'things […] speeding up, and spreading out', as Massey puts it,[95] even more now than in the nineteenth century through increased globalization and urbanization, is that place is becoming increasingly homogenized. Casey has, for instance, written about '[t]he encroachment of an indifferent sameness-of-place on a global scale', with an 'overwhelming […] uniformity' rooted in 'a worldwide monoculture based on Western (and, more specifically, American) economic and political paradigms'.[96] Contemporary society has consequently become increasingly 'placeless',[97] filled with what Marc Auge calls 'non-places'. His eponymous work suggests that many modern locations like airports, shopping centres, supermarkets, office blocks, executive hotels, leisure and cultural quarters) are no longer 'relational, historical and concerned with identity', because they are instead defined by unspecific identities, transience, wordless communication, 'solitary individuality': that which is 'fleeting, […] temporary, and ephemeral'.[98] Indeed, the extent of contemporary society's increasing placelessness and the continued appeal of the contrasting Victorian spatial imaginary is plain to see given that place is based on locality which is 'relational, historical and concerned with identity', as Auge claims, and characterized by the production of subjective meaning, emotional attachment, distinctive value, sufficient materiality for 'social relations', as well as security or stability, as Creswell suggests.[99] Most often, these characteristics are absent in today's places so many people seek them in the Victorian equivalents, which are anything but 'fleeting, temporary, ephemeral', especially as these novelists have rendered them.

Indeed, Casey suggests that this modern condition results in individuals longing 'for a diversity of places': 'not just as a matter of nostalgia', but rather '[a]n active desire for the particularity of place', for place 'brings with it the very elements sheared off in the plainformity of site: identity, character, nuance, history'.[100] His argument has relevance for the continued attraction of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy on screen. Screen adaptations of their literary places appeal to many not just because they are slower, quieter, healthier, more organic, and so somehow more bucolic, as in Bate's argument. Rather, many viewers – and readers – are still drawn to them because in the face of contemporary homogenization they seem distinctive and meaningful, characterized by their own individual identities, and fully defined in themselves rather than because of an opposition to elsewheres. Moreover, in the contemporary world, the intensity of the significance with which these places feature

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[95] (2007 [1994]), 146.
[96] *Fate of Place* (1998), xiii.
[97] See Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976).
[98] *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London: Verso, 1995 [1992]), 77-79.
[99] See *Place* (2004), 7.
[100] Casey, (1998), xiii.

in the worldviews underlying these Victorian narratives and the fictional human experiences evoked within them also seem striking. This is particularly in terms of the collective memories that crystallize around and underpin such places, as well as the close affective and existential ties between characters and environments, which seem closer and more meaningful than in increasingly placeless modern society, whose roots were in the Victorian period.

Furthermore, because of the screen's visual and mobile nature, Dickens, Brontë, Hardy screen adaptations often make viewers feel fully immersed in these fictional Victorian places, positioning viewers not just as voyeurs of them, but also *voyagers in* them.[101] Indeed, Victorian literary adaptations often parallel heritage tourism for two reasons. Their projected space is highly constructed and carefully staged; and viewers move constantly through or between places as they follow characters between scenes, reflecting place's fundamentality to these nineteenth-century narratives. Along similar lines, Guiliana Bruno has drawn important attention to the close proximity between cinema and tourism more broadly, suggesting that both cultural forms allow 'sites' and 'sights' not just to be beheld, but also, in many respects, actually experienced.[102] Bruno posits that '[f]ilm has much in common' with the 'travelling geography' of tourism, 'especially […] its constant reinvention of space'.[103] The '(im)mobile film spectator', Bruno writes, 'moves across an imaginary path, traversing multiple sites and times', their 'navigation' connecting 'distant moments and far apart places', meaning that they absorb and connect 'visual spaces'.[104] For Bruno, screen audiences become practitioners of 'viewing space' and so tourists:

> The genealogical 'architectonics' of film is an aesthetic tourist practice of spatial consumption. Film creates space for viewing, perusing, and wandering about. As in all forms of journey, space is physically consumed as a vast commodity. In film, architectural space becomes framed for viewing and offers itself for consumption as travelled space – for further traveling. Attracted to vistas, the spectator turns into a visitor.[105]

Indeed, this reading has important implications for a further way in which the place-centric cultural memory of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy are influenced and sustained. Although I argued earlier that viewers of screen adaptations outweigh visitors to literary tourist sites, the former are actually armchair tourists, of sorts. Screen adaptations utilize visual technologies that were unavailable to the Victorians to virtually realize the places

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[101] To pick up on Guiliana Bruno's idea about film more broadly, as the following paragraph discusses.
[102] '"Site-seeing" and the Moving Image', *Wide Angle*, 19.4 (October, 1997), 8-24 (9). See also Creswell and Dixon, 'Introduction: Engaging Film', in *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity* (Lanham: Roman and Littlefield, 2002), 1-10 (9); and Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (New York: Verso, 2002).
[103] *Ibid*. 11.
[104] *Ibid*. 15.
[105] *Ibid*. 17.

written so richly and indelibly. The screen's self-conscious, similarly striking realization of place as a form of tourism stimulates the desire for further travel – on screen, mainly, but also to actual heritage sites. Most importantly, it has been one crucial contribution to shaping and sustaining the cultural memory of these writers, and, in turn, of the period, so that certain versions of particular places are a prominent element of them.

METHODOLOGY AND OVERVIEW

Exhaustiveness and comprehensiveness are not possible in such a sizeable multi-disciplinary project, which examines some of English literature's most canonical writers, each in possession of huge bodies of work and vast, multi-modal cultural legacies, while also asking sizeable questions about the Victorians today. I have thus decided to take a 'case study' approach, with six different text-centred case studies spread over six chapters. Each tracks the adaptability of place in a key work by Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy to a variety of new contexts over time and across culture.

I have chosen the texts on the basis of the great extent to which they have become culture-texts and/or contributed to the mythologizing of author and canon. The texts I examine are arguably some of the most prevalent Victorian novels in cultural memory. They have all been adapted frequently and/or with significant cultural impact. They are some of the main windows on the authors in question and the Victorian age more broadly for the post-Victorian public, which means they are some of the most important influences in shaping and sustaining the ideas of place associated with these authors – and the Victorian period, particularly as a literary epoch – in cultural memory. Each case study provides an important vista on the dynamics of the different aesthetic relations – textual, cinematic, and televisual – in constructing cultural memory. Each chapter combines analysis of novels, screen adaptations, working production material, and press discourse, with ideas of cultural resonance and adaptability to shed light on the workings of the place-centric cultural memory of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy.

Although literary criticism often informs screen adaptation and so influences cultural memory, one contention of this thesis is that cultural memory stems from more generalized impressions of authors and texts that large numbers of viewers form and that are formed with large numbers of viewers in mind. Similarly, Annette Kuhn has drawn attention to the 'preoccupation with subtexts and hidden meanings' in 'film analysis' and its antithesis to the 'spirit of a popular entertainment medium,' and irrelevance 'to the experience of the "average" cinemagoer'.[106] Consequently, as far and as often as possible,

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[106] *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 4.

the driver for that which my thesis attempts is populism, that is, the qualities literary texts and screen adaptations have to appeal to non-academic audiences.[107] In keeping the ideas of the cultural resonance and adaptability of place at the forefront of my approach, I focus on screen adaptations that have had the strongest presence in post-Victorian culture, and been most significant in colouring the ideas of place frequently associated with these writers and texts.

My thesis also recognizes Erll and Rigney's important point that an analysis of the 'dynamics of cultural memory' needs to take into account not just 'the specifically medial processes through which memories come into the public arena and become collective', but also 'the inter-medial reiteration[s] of the story across different platforms in the public arena (print, image, internet, commemorative rituals) that the topic takes root in the community'.[108] It pays close attention to working production material, as well as press and media discourses surrounding screen adaptations. In the case of the former, at least, there is often no mention in existing scholarship of these screenplays, production notes, production team communications, ephemera, and other items accessed in various archives.

Such archival work has been absent in adaptation for too long, as Peter Lev's recent essay, 'How to Write Adaptation History', points out in encouraging adaptation scholars to 'get' their 'hands dirty and see how adaptations were actually shaped'.[109] I have indeed 'got my hands dirty': the extensive working production material I have accessed in various archives has offered key insights into the thinking and direction behind certain screen adaptations, including some 'classic' ones discussed frequently. This material has provided intimate access to the impressions of writers and texts that adaptors sought to transmit. More specifically, it has shed light on the great degree to which they are self-conscious about depicting place; it has also evinced how far they engage with existing place-related discourses or attempt to forge new ones. Beginning to interpret screen adaptation in relation to this working production material will, I hope, shed light on the workings of cultural memory and the perceived public as audience, while also alerting scholars to both the whereabouts and value of such material.

My thesis opens then, with a chapter on *Oliver Twist*, which addresses the dialectical opposition between St. Paul's Cathedral and Fagin's London. This is a prominent part of the cultural memory of Dickensian London, because of Dickens's adaptable writing of the city and David Lean and Carol Reed's adaptation of it for the screen in 1948 and 1968, where, in all three renderings, it signifies competing claims

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[107] Cher Krause Night writes that 'Populist art is genuinely inclusive of a broader range of people, which does not necessarily mean that its edge is softened, its content tamed, or that it [necessarily] pleases huge audiences' (*Public Art: Theory, Practice and Populism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 110).
[108] 'Cultural Memory' (2009), 1-11 (2-3).
[109] In *Oxford Handbook* (2017), 661-678 (677).

between normative conservatism related to Christian communality and national belonging, and compelling subversive undercurrents associated with the diasporic alienation of modernity. Chapter two, on *A Christmas Carol*, suggests that despite the extensively-layered culture-text, Dickens's spatial poetics, namely confined interior spaces linked to the hearth in dialectical opposition to extensive, exterior ones associated with the city, remain prominent in cultural memory, because they are a significant factor in the novella's adaptability of place and so its continued cultural resonance in new contexts. Focusing on *Jane Eyre*'s adaptable spatial poetics centring on Thornfield Hall, and Charlotte Brontë's adaptation of the Gothic North into the Victorian novel form, chapter three argues that, whilst the novel's portrayal of North of England was crucial to its propulsion into cultural memory, twentieth-century screen adaptation has actually southernized the text across a range of indices, including character, affect, and ideology, to ensure its continued flourishing in new contexts. Chapter four on *Wuthering Heights* argues that a crucial factor in the post-war popularity of the novel – and the place-centric cultural memory of it – is the adaptability of the Yorkshire Moors to new ideological, aesthetic, and thematic climates. This stems from their intrinsic and extrinsic framing, packaging, and mythologizing by Emily and Charlotte Brontë, and William Wyler, though not Andrea Arnold, whose recent film adaptation was too radical to capture the popular imagination. Chapter five, on *Far from the Madding Crowd*, claims that unlike the conventional, escapist pastoral of Thomas Vinterberg's 2015 film adaptation – and other vistas on the cultural memory of the text –, Hardy's and John Schlesinger's pastoral modes are intensified. They emerge from a fusing of conservative cultural expectations and progressive artistic ambitions, though both artists put such complexities into a simple form to ensure the Victorian rural's adaptability. The final chapter investigates how *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* has been shaped and sustained by the text's interrelation via screen adaptation with evolving heritage period drama; this is a textual malleability enabled by the ambivalent Hardy's adaptable writing of Wessex. Ultimately, I suggest, evolved heritage screen adaptations are unable and/or unwilling to transgress the heritage period drama idiom, which Roman Polanski's Tess establishes in 1979.

Bate argues in 'Culture and Environment' that the 'enduring appeal' of nineteenth-century writers stems from their 'lost world[s] of elegance, of empire-line dresses, of good manners, of lady likenesses and gentlemanliness in large and beautiful houses'; of 'nostalgia for a simple, honest, rustic way of life among hedgerows, haystacks, and sturdy English oak trees'.[110] Through my six case studies, each examining a key vista on the Victorian literary epoch, I seek to show that, whilst there remains a market for this kind of

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[110] 541.

conservative remembering of writers and texts on screen, there is so much more to their recurring, often enduring popularity than this. It is the *adaptability* of their fictional places, which is a major aspect in ensuring such popularity; and these fictional places are a foremost element in the cultural memory of these writers because of their cultural resonance often stemming from permeation of character, ideology, social critique, form, and   nationalism   on   page   and   screen

'"PLEASE, *SIR*, I WANT SOME MORE"': *OLIVER TWIST*, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, AND FAGIN'S LONDON

It does not come as much surprise in Roman Polanski's *Oliver Twist* (TriStar, 2005) when London is introduced through a walking sequence, which moves from a shot of St. Paul's Cathedral, elevated above the rooftops, to Oliver and the Artful Dodger's arrival at Fagin's 'lowly' lodgings in the spatial, social, and moral depths of the city. Both the sequence and the dialectical opposition underpinning it have become familiar in screen adaptations of *Oliver Twist*; they are significant components of the cultural memory of the text, as adaptors often seem aware.[1] Such is the case in Polanski's adaptation, the fourth of Dickens's second novel in the last twenty years, sitting alongside '30-plus' other screen adaptations.[2] At first in Polanski's urban entry, the camera dwells on an aerial long shot of a bustling, but respectable thoroughfare. On either side is a parade of shops, which attempts to draw the viewer's eye over and beyond the commotion to the familiar dome of St. Paul's, which seems photographed to capture their attention. Gradually, with the iconic Dickensian landmark still in view, the camera pans down and across to street level, stopping to follow Oliver and the Dodger's progress on an adjacent street. They walk past the intersection with the thoroughfare just described, without even an upward glance at St. Paul's, and continue walking: they move further from the cathedral, turning down side roads off side roads, and then alleyways off alleyways. Soon urban space constricts around them: the frame's space becomes shallower, the set smaller and narrower, and the camera positioned within the urban bustle, which is now subterranean, less welcoming. Here the emphasis is quite obviously on Oliver's perspective, because of close-ups of his face and point-of-view shots. His naïve angle of vision highlights the lowliness of this London: both spatial lowliness through shots of wooden walkways above, and also social as we encounter drunken brawls, begging, ill health, and generally squalid misery. One point-of-view shot shows Oliver's bare feet slipping and sliding on the alleyway's muddy floor as rats swarm across his path: this is quite literally a rat run and it is Fagin's – with all roads leading to his hideout.

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[1] Screen adaptations frequently suggest self-consciousness about this scene both in what is projected on screen and in working production material. See the 'Revised First Draft' of the script for Clive Donner's *Oliver Twist* (CBS, 1982), where the level of detail, including Donner's extensive annotations, is intricate and fascinating. [Script-Original story: Based on the novels by Charles Dickens – SCR-13514] [BFI Special Collections].
[2] Marsh, 'Dickens and Film', 204.

This shift from the iconographic St. Paul's protruding almost ethereally from the London cityscape to Fagin's lowly lodgings exemplifies the central idea in this chapter: that a dialectical opposition between the London associated with St. Paul's and the London associated with Fagin has been an important bridge for *Oliver Twist* into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and is foregrounded in the cultural memory of the text. The example above is not an isolated instance in Polanski's film, which points to its prominence in the director's remembering of the text. The dialectical opposition is reaffirmed when Oliver has been recaptured from Brownlow's care and returned to Fagin's clutches. Here, Oliver stares longingly at the cityscape from a window, the glass separating him from both camera and viewer to emphasize his disconnection from the surrounding world and so national community while trapped in this subterranean depth.

What is so interesting about both examples is that no such cityscape shots appear in Dickens's novel. For instance, Oliver's London entry, which the Dodger navigates, is in a generally southern direction: from Islington to Saffron-hill, which is just northwest of St. Paul's. The cathedral is not mentioned explicitly (although, of course, the area in and around Saffron-hill might well have provided views of it, as certain Victorian readers familiar with inner London may have realized). Moreover, when Oliver is recaptured, his 'melancholy' view from 'a black-garret window, with rusty bars outside' is of 'nothing […] but a confused and crowded mass of house-tops, blackened chimneys, and gable-ends'.[3] St. Paul's is mentioned not as part of the cityscape, but with figurative irony to signify the entrapped hopelessness of Oliver's situation: 'he had as much chance of being [seen or heard], as if he had lived inside the bell of St. Paul's' (139). Yet shots of the St. Paul's-dominated skyline of Dickensian London, particularly in dialectical relationship with Fagin's low, labyrinthine version of the city, feel as if they *should* be part of *Oliver Twist*, at least as remembered in cultural memory.[4] This chapter sets out to investigate why.

It argues that the dialectical opposition between St. Paul's and the sphere of the city associated with Fagin is a prominent part of the cultural memory of *Oliver Twist*, signifying competing claims that are at the heart of the culturally remembered version of Dickensian London between a normative conservatism (with a small 'c') related to Christian communality and national belonging, and a compelling subversive undercurrent associated with the diasporic alienation of modernity. My argument starts with the contention that Dickens writes London as if intuiting what will both resonate with a Victorian readership in an industrial age and chime with a later age of moving images: London has particular

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[3] Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008 [1999]), 139. Hereafter cited in the text with the page number.
[4] When *Oliver!* was revived for the London stage in 1994, production designer, Anthony Ward, added 'two different views of St. Paul's Cathedral' – 'a small one, intended mainly for background views, and a larger version, intended for close-up appearances' (Marc Napolitano, *Oliver!: A Dickensian Musical* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 202), and the rebranded artwork was based around Fagin's face.

resonance, I suggest, because it is constructed on melodramatic dialectics that invoke mutual intensification and require intellectual engagement; because it is frequently interrelated with two diasporic characters, Oliver and Fagin, at times even standing in for them which gives it an added affective dimension; and because the condition of urban modernity and alienation that it signifies as a result is highly and self-consciously framed, as well as contained and distanced, to appear truthful yet satisfying.

The chapter then argues that David Lean's and Carol Reed's films (*Oliver Twist* (Cineguild, 1948) and *Oliver!* (Romulus, 1968)) take up this dialectical opposition and weave it into culture in various ways and for various reasons. In Lean's Expressionist version of London, whose aesthetic has consonance with Dickens's melodramatic, hyper-real city, St. Paul's is used prominently to re-establish a particular white, middle-class version of the culture and identity of capital and nation following two world wars; this is at the expense of the excluded Fagin, for whom London is a brutishly real slaughterhouse. Reed's shapes the cultural memory in an opposite direction, repositioning the urban dialectical opposition to suggest Dickensian London as a swinging, liberal centre of opportunities for all, including the subversive and compelling Fagin. In its final section, the chapter contends that Coky Giedroyc's recent mini-series (*Oliver Twist*, BBC1, 2009) seems hyper-aware of the place-centric cultural memory of the text, as well as Lean and Reed's key influences on it. It exaggerates both polarities of London but ultimately advocates the values and ideologies of St. Paul's and Brownlow as means of surviving both Victorian and twenty-first-century London. It thereby exemplifies the adaptability and sustainability of Dickens's city in *Oliver Twist*, which, is mouldable to satisfy traditionalist adaptors and viewers as well as progressive ones depending on which side of the urban dialectical opposition is emphasized.

THE PARISH BOY'S PROGRESS

The 'Preface to the Third Edition' of *Oliver Twist* (1841) offers not only a defence against accusations that the novel glamorized criminality and falsely represented nineteenth-century urban life, but it also reveals much about Dickens's thinking on his own cultural longevity. Dickens's self-mythologizing artistic manifesto appears to indicate the intention to forge this through writing London, particularly in *Oliver Twist*. First, he first self-consciously aligns himself with 'the noblest range of English literature' (Henry Fielding, Daniel De Foe, Oliver Goldsmith, Tobias Smollett, Samuel Richardson, Henry Mackenzie, as well as Miguel de Cervantes and John Bunyan, whose popular *The Pilgrim's Progress*

(1678) is invoked through the full title to Dickens's novel).[5] For Dickens, these writers were unlike many of their contemporaries who were 'of the hour, […] raised their little hum, and died, and were forgotten'.[6] Dickens next refers to 'Sir Edward Bulwer's admirable and most powerful novel', *Paul Clifford* (1830), a broader allusion to the Newgate novel phenomenon, whose tales of criminality were popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In doing so, he invokes this tradition of popular fiction to, in some respects, differentiate himself from it, and, in others, to suggest his updating of it from eighteenth-century 'moonlit heaths, […] merry-makings in the snuggest of all possible caverns, […] attractions of dress, […] embroidery, […] lace, […] jack-boots, […] crimson coats and ruffles,' and 'dash and freedom' of "the road"'.[7] Dickens has a different focus: the 'miserable reality' and 'stern and plain truth' of *nineteenth-century* London, its 'cold, wet, shelterless midnight streets'; 'foul and frowsy dens, where vice is closely packed'; and 'haunts of hunger and disease, […] scarcely' held together with 'shabby rags'.[8] This focus is not just the more effective means of demonstrating Dickens's 'principle of Good surviving through every adverse circumstance, and triumphing',[9] but it is also key to his intentions to be 'held in […] respect by his posterity'.[10]

But future generations could not 'respect' art if they did not remember it; indeed, the novel appears to have in mind place's relation to collective remembering when it draws attention to the different temporal layers of place in describing the old house where Oliver is imprisoned after his recapture. Dickens writes how '[t]he rooms up stairs, had great high wooden chimney-pieces and large doors, with panelled walls and cornices to the ceilings: which, although they were black with neglect and dust, were ornamented in various ways; from all of which tokens Oliver concluded that a long time ago, before the old Jew was born, it had belonged to better people, and had perhaps been quite gay and handsome: dismal and dreary as it looked now' (139). Dickens draws attention to London's various historical layers here, but doing so also draws attention to the novel's own status as a fictional work which is itself contributing to constructing the city, and thus the different *cultural* as well as material layers constituting nineteenth-century London. Just a few pages later, in the same location, Oliver reads a 'soiled' and well-'thumbed' 'volume' detailing the 'history of the lives and trials of great criminals' (157), a direct allusion to the infamous *Newgate Calendar*, and seemingly to Newgate-style fiction more loosely.

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[5] On its popular circulation, see Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004).
[6] Dickens, 'Preface to the Third Edition', in *Oliver Twist*, liii-lvii (lvi).
[7] *Ibid.* lv.
[8] *Ibid.* liii.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.* lv.

In this key moment, then, Dickens draws attention to London's cultural and/or literary archaeology, and communicates its equal importance to the city's material construction. The novel seems consciously in dialogue with this cultural archaeology, within which Dickens seeks to forge a place for his art through writing *nineteenth*-century London in particularly resonant, memorable, and adaptable ways. He writes London to be 'firmly impressed upon […] memory, as if it had been deeply carved in stone' (as the images of Fagin and Monks are for Oliver (272)), so that his fictional construction of the city is firmly embedded within this literary archaeology, established for the wider posthumous cultural memory.

London has resonant and memorable qualities in *Oliver Twist* from its very introduction. A sequence in chapter 8 announces, even flaunts the novel's status not just as a London novel, but as a novel of *Dickensian London*. At this point the setting shifts from the flat, satirical Mudfog to the modern metropolis, which had so captured Dickens's fancy in childhood, both magnetizing and repelling him. Mudfog and its workhouse are represented vaguely and typically, but seemingly on purpose: to signify how the pejorative effects of the new Poor Law (Amendment Act) of 1834 were universal rather than characteristic of only one particular location.

However, such a depiction of Mudfog means that when the narrative attempts to replicate the overwhelming experience of a young, provincial workhouse boy plunging into the vivid and dynamic metropolis for the first time, London is amplified because of perceived contrast with what has come before. After acknowledging the Dodger's objections to 'entering London before nightfall', meaning it was 'nearly eleven o' clock' when they reached 'the turnpike at Islington', the novel describes how:

> They crossed from the Angel into St. John's road; struck down the small street which terminates at Sadler's Wells Theatre; through Exmouth-street and Coppice-row; down the little court by the side of the workhouse; across the classic ground which once bore the name of Hockley-in-the-Hole; thence into Little Saffron-hill; and so into Saffron-hill the Great; along which, the Dodger scudded at a rapid pace […].
> Although Oliver had enough to occupy his attention in keeping sight of his leader, he could not help bestowing a few hasty glances on either side of the way as he passed along. A dirtier or more wretched place he had never seen. The street was very narrow and muddy; and the air was impregnated with filthy odours. There were a good many small shops; but the only stock in trade appeared to be heaps of children, who, even at that time of night, were crawling in and out at the doors, or screaming from the inside. The sole places that seemed to prosper, amid the general blight of the place, were the public-houses; and in them, the lowest orders of Irish were wrangling with might and main. Covered ways and yards, which here and there diverged from the main street, disclosed little knots of houses, where drunken men and women were positively wallowing in filth; and from several of the doorways, great ill-looking fellows were cautiously emerging: bound, to all appearance, on no very well-disposed or harmless errands. (59-60)

In the second paragraph Dickens shifts the action, attempting almost to position the narration down at street level with Oliver so that the first depicted experience of London replicates a naïve, unworldly child's perception of it. Consequently, London is represented here to register a heightened, chaotic initial impression: first through quick shifts between different topographical points and then through successive rapid snapshots of urban details, which replicate Oliver's 'hasty glances on either side'. Both the narrative and perception seem rapid and transient, as if Oliver's descent towards Fagin's den and criminality are inevitable and inescapable.

The noticeable geographical shift from province to metropolis here exemplifies Dickens's melodramatic poetics, as set out explicitly in the famous passage from chapter 17, which refers to 'the layers of red and white in a side of streaky, well-cured bacon' to describe the frequent alternations of contrasting scenes influenced by melodrama (129). It is this melodramatic aesthetic that led to film director and theorist Sergei Eisenstein's classic claim that Dickens was the precursor to cinematic montage.[11]

But rather than getting caught up in debates about cinematic novels, I want to use Eisenstein here to open up Dickens's urban poetics and shed light on their aesthetic – and affective – resonance. At one level, Eisenstein refers to montage as 'mutual intensification of entertainment, tension and tempi' through the 'interweaving of thematically variegated strips', as is apparent in the geographical shift above.[12] However, the passage marking this shift, I argue, also exemplifies this dualistic, melodramatic aesthetic at micro level, which is important to Dickensian London's resonance here and elsewhere, as well as to the adaptability of urban place. Elsewhere in his film theory, Eisenstein compared the juxtaposition of contrasting, seemingly unrelated frames in Soviet avant-garde film to the workings of Japanese hieroglyphs. He argued that the 'product' of the 'copulation' or 'combination' – of cinema frames, like hieroglyphs – formed 'another dimension, another degree', another 'concept', which was otherwise 'graphically undepictable'; it formed 'a new qualitative element, a new understanding', 'a new realm: from the sphere of action into the sphere of significance'.[13]

Without implying anachronism, similar thinking often seems to underpin Dickens's textual aesthetics of urban place. For instance, in the passage's second paragraph Oliver's 'hasty glances' are reflected through quick shifts between successive images, each separated with a semi-colon. The effect is to represent continuous waves of new and unfamiliar urban signs as they are thrown at Oliver, accumulating and overwhelming him in the same way they make the reading experience of this passage aesthetically and

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[11] According to his classic essay, 'Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today', 195-256.
[12] *Ibid.* 205.
[13] 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', in *Film Form*, 28-44 (29-30).

affectively accumulative and overwhelming. They also fail 'to cohere as a continuous space or action', meaning they 'must instead be thought through',[14] pieced together and their 'combination' taken into account, much like the feeling of entering a new city. Dickens thus captures that which could be described as 'the "onflow of everyday life"', the 'sort of […] qualitative immediacy that transcends objective consciousness and privileges the effervescent energies of the pre-cognitive',[15] which makes this London entry so striking. It requires the intellectual engagement of readers, which draws them in. Some readers might presume that the filth, narrowness, and impenetrability produce children as commodities, which adds to the compelling diasporic homelessness pervading the locality and hints at Oliver's hopeless situation. However, definite, objective knowledge is denied.

It is important to note, though, that despite the intensity and vividness of this initial fragmented visuality, Dickens simultaneously creates an important degree of closure, completeness, and satisfaction. Dickensian London is not the Eliotian 'Waste Land' of Modernism: its fragmentation and alienation are *constructed* and highly framed. There is a self-awareness to the projected urban, alienated modernity, which avoids actually alienating the reader. Indeed, as John has written of Dickens's aesthetic more broadly, Saffron-hill here feels 'exaggerated, externalized, stylized, highly emotive', despite appearing 'empty of feeling'.[16] It encapsulates the '"ostentation" or objectification' of his prose poetics, where 'that which is normally invisible or hidden' is simplified and externalized.[17] It exemplifies the melodramatic externalization that is a significant factor in Dickens's resonant and adaptable writing of London. Although the sequence reads as if, uncannily, Oliver is walking down into his own nightmare of homelessness and child trafficking, expressions like 'impregnated with filthy odours' and 'wallowing in filth' have a deliberate richness and fullness about them.

Similar restraint on Dickensian excess[18] stems from framing the sequence with temporal and spatial anchorage. Oliver's descent into the dense urban web begins just before 'eleven o' clock' from 'the turnpike at Islington', which controls the narrative viewpoint, positioning it stably. Moreover, Dickens maps the London entry with high specificity and precision. A succession of topographical references, each with the definite article, implies the narrator's familiarity with the route and localities along it. The reader is encouraged to notice these parts of the city; perhaps even re-trace Oliver's footsteps. And if the reader already knows them, their historical significance means that the mapped version

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[14] Garrett Stewart, 'Dickens, Eisenstein, film', in *Dickens on Screen*, ed. John Glavin (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 122-144 (123).
[15] Annette Markham, 'The Dramaturgy of Digital Experience', in *The Drama of Social Life: A Dramaturgical Handbook*, ed. Charles Edgley (London: Routledge, 2013), 279-297 (296).
[16] To quote John on the description of Marseille in *Little Dorrit* (2001), 112.
[17] John, 'Melodrama and its Criticism: An Essay in Memory of Sally Ledger', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 8 (2009), 1-20 (3).
[18] To paraphrase Kucich's *Excess and Restraint* (1981).

of London seems anchored and familiar. The effect is that readers of Dickens's London are not actually 'groping' around in the figurative dark as Oliver is at the end of this entry (60), even if Dickens gives the impression that they are.

Indeed, Oliver's 'groping […] with one hand' when he enters Fagin's den for the first time (60) signifies his – and arguably the reader's – need for some kind of roots or belonging, perhaps from a home or family; they are all particularly pressing here because of that which John O. Jordan calls the 'novelty and anticipation', and 'danger and opportunity' invoked in such a moment of 'urban initiation'.[19] And the novel provides exactly these once Oliver reaches his destination – albeit in a distorted form. When the Dodger opens 'the door of a back-room', he reveals a scene complete with many hallmarks of Dickensian comfort and conviviality: a warm hearth, food and drink, laughter and merriment, and communal spirit signified by the huddling round the fire and dining table (60; 63). Just before illustrating this domestic interior, Dickens writes how the Dodger 'drew Oliver in [to the space] after him', which also applies to Dickens's positioning of the reader here: he attempts to draw us into London, particularly its subterranean parts, both imaginatively and affectively. It is a similar case for Oliver. Even if the reader can deduce the sinister sub-text, the eponymous hero cannot, which makes it more easily overlooked. Compared to that which has come before, this is certainly a preferable alternative. As James Kincaid writes, 'it is certainly better to be a thief than to be alone'.[20]

As a Jewish immigrant, Fagin is more alone, marginalized, and rootless than Oliver, which explains his attempts to forge a family-like unit and feeling of home in his hideout. As Anthony Giddens has suggested, '[t]here is perhaps more nostalgia surrounding the lost haven of the family than for any other institution with its roots in the past', and especially for those whose existence is diasporic.[21] Indeed, Fagin is labelled a 'Jew' before he is called Fagin, which immediately foregrounds the importance of Jewishness to his construction, as well as the stereotypical nature of this construction, particularly because of the emphasis on physiognomic features: the 'age-old stereotype, the Jew as scapegoat', Stephen Gill writes.[22] In Fagin, the novel seems to have in mind the 'small but steady trickle of impoverished Jews from Eastern Europe', who immigrated 'before and after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars'.[23] Like Fagin's, their poverty and alienation were concurrent 'with crime, squalid surroundings, low-status trades, and coarse behaviour', as

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[19] 'Urban Initiations: Arriving in Dickens's London' [paper given at Humanities West Conference on 'Dickens's London: Heart of Victorian Britain' in San Francisco (1991)], quoted in Murray Baumgarten, 'Reading Dickens Writing London', *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas*, 9.2 (June 2012), 219-231 (220).

[20] *Dickens and the Rhetoric of Laughter* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 72.

[21] *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives* (London: Profile, 2011), 53, quoted in Daniela Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2013), 3.

[22] 'Introduction', to *Oliver Twist*, vii-xxv (xxii).

[23] Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley: California UP, 2002), 81.

'the skyrocketing rate of Jewish convictions at the Old Bailey' in the 1810s and 1820s testifies.[24] Immigration is not mentioned explicitly in relation to Fagin, whose exact lineage is never revealed; but the reference to 'the lowest orders of Irish […] wrangling with might and main' (60) in the vicinity of Fagin's hideout certainly brings it to mind. Yet Fagin does not seem even to identify with other Jewish immigrants, unlike the Irish immigrants appear to in this brief mention of them as a homogenous, diasporic whole; or with Jewish culture. He cooks sausages and drives 'away' the 'venerable men of his own persuasion' who 'come to pray beside him' with his 'curses' (430). He is even more isolated as a result.

Fagin's social position is often dramatized and externalized via the novel's ethnic spatialization of the city in some of its most resonant illustrations of London. In these instances, London stands in for Fagin; urban place almost actually becomes character. Fagin, particularly his Jewishness, has been another of the text's main bridges into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries: he was revived for ITV's Sunday afternoon serial, *The Further Adventures of Oliver Twist* (1980), in which he escapes from prison and eludes the gallows;[25] his name has entered the contemporary vernacular as an insult allusively designating evil and thievery, as in Labour's 2005 General Election poster, which depicted the Jewish, then Conservative Party leader, Michael Howard, as Fagin, hypnotizing the public with a swinging watch accompanied by the slogan, 'I can spend the same money twice'.

But a crucial factor in Fagin's foregrounded position in cultural memory is his close interrelation with London to the extent that it is almost impossible to separate him from place. At times London is not only associated with Fagin, but frequently feels like a projection of his very being. A classic example is when he walks to Sikes's lodgings at the start of chapter 9:

> It was a chill, damp, windy night, when the Jew: buttoning up his great-coat tight round his shrivelled body, and pulling the collar up over his ears so as completely to obscure the lower part of his face: emerged from his den. He paused on the step as the door was locked and chained behind him; and having listened while the boys made all secure, and until their retreating footsteps were no longer audible, slunk down the street as quickly as he could.
> [...] The Jew stopped for an instant at the corner of the street; and, glancing suspiciously round, crossed the road, and struck off in the direction of Spitalfields.
> The mud lay thick upon the stones: and a black mist hung over the streets; the rain fell sluggishly down: and everything felt cold and clammy to the touch. It seemed just the night when it befitted such a being as the Jew, to be abroad. As he glided stealthily along, creeping beneath the shelter of the walls and doorways, the hideous old man seemed like some loathsome reptile, engendered in the slime and darkness through which he moved: crawling forth, by night in search of some rich offal for a meal.

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[24] *Ibid.* 82.
[25] Pointer, 93.

> He kept on his course, through the winding and narrow ways, until he reached Bethnal Green, then, turning suddenly off to the left, he soon became involved in a maze of the mean and dirty streets which abound in that close and densely-populated quarter.
> The Jew was evidently too familiar with the ground he traversed, however, to be at all bewildered, either by the darkness of the night, or the intricacies of the way. (147-8)

Dickens makes the externalization and exhibition of Fagin's self clear here, writing that it was 'just the night when it befitted such a being as the Jew, to be abroad', and suggesting the external world as displacing Fagin's 'obscure[d]' face, and so access to his psyche. His otherness is evident not just in his reptilian associations, which seem both beget from this lowly environment and also to produce it, but also through his 'zigzagging' through urban space, to use Mark Turner's useful term. As Turner writes in his eponymous chapter in *Restless Cities*, urban 'zigzagging' epitomizes the various 'forms of creative resistance to the normativity of everyday life', especially that 'marginalized people' implement as a means of 'survival' in modernizing cites that consist of 'circles and squares, of order, geometry, exactitude and perfection', which are encapsulated, for Turner, by the 'straight line', as the antithesis of the zigzag.[26]

The idea of 'zigzagging' is central to Turner's 'queering' of urban space, and, although critics and adaptors have pointed similarly to Fagin's sexual queerness,[27] I see his 'queerness' in the passage above as related more to his forced resistance of a national, Christian-based belonging and communality associated with the all-seeing and always seen St Paul's. His pauses, slinking downs, creeping beneaths, crawling forths, windings, turnings through London labyrinth mean that his production of space, and, indeed, time, are more zigzag than straight line. Zigzagging is his attempt to forge an alternative London out of necessity because of marginalization and alienation from the 'norm', which St. Paul's comes to symbolize.

And Fagin's London is the London that captures the imagination of Dickens and many readers. Not only is it 'exaggerated, externalized, stylized, highly emotive', even if it should be 'empty of feeling' (to return to John's astute reading of Marseille in *Little Dorrit*),[28] but it is also heightened through dialectical opposition to the other side of London, characterized by the Brownlow and Maylie worlds, which are linked through their middle-class social status, and signified by St. Paul's. Oliver's – and readers – entry into middle-class London, when Brownlow takes him in after court, involves a quite deliberate reversal of the route into Saffron-hill quoted earlier to highlight the two opposing urban worlds. From this moment, the world of the novel is 'Manichean', as Graham Green argued famously. But whereas Fagin's London in its 'most extreme exaggerations' moves and

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[26] (2010), 307.
[27] See Holly Furneaux, *Queer Dickens: Erotics, Families, Masculinities* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).
[28] (2001), 112.

'touches us with fear', as Green suggests, the 'benevolence' and 'sweetness' of the Brownlow and Maylie worlds 'never really touch' us, even 'wilt'.[29]

Crucially, the places characterizing their world are flat, restrained, and typical, especially Chertsey, where Oliver recuperates after the failed burglary. The Maylies' Chertsey is a generic, pastoralized rural location of 'fine warm weather', 'young leaves and rich blossoms' (252-3); it lacks the self-conscious framing, the distinctive eye, and the vivid intensity of London. But like Brownlow's Pentonville, it is necessary for restraining the novel's urban excesses. Not only are such locations included 'for the purpose of *reculer pour mieux sauter*', as classic *Guardian* film critic C.A. Lejeune argues perceptively in relation to Lean's film;[30] but they also prevent Dickensian excesses from toppling over into that which readers cannot believe in, or is genuinely alarming. In this respect, Dickens always makes readers aware that Dickensian place is always aware of itself.

But the novel is actually brought to the brink in chapter 24, when Fagin and Monks appear at Oliver's window in Chertsey, which overlooks a typical pastoral vista (garden, paddock, and meadows) (271). The novel makes it explicit that this moment is designed to shock. Dickens describes how '[s]uddenly the scene changed; the air became close and confined; and he [Oliver] thought, with a glow of terror, that he was in the Jew's house again' (271-2). The moment signifies the clash of worlds, the excessive forces of subterranean London breaking their urban bounds to invade and threaten the English countryside, which is here the quintessential space of the English middle classes, made all the more horrifying because instigated by Fagin – a Jewish criminal. As Dickens writes it, Fagin's zigzagging through parts of London that may be alien to many readers, however resistant, is one thing, but it is nightmarish when he operates in the English countryside. Even so, this moment encapsulates the novel's dialectical oppositions coming together and antagonizing one another *in extremis*; it is the moment that is supposed to have 'firmly impressed itself upon [...] memory [Oliver's and readers'], as if it had been deeply carved in stone' (272).

Despite the aesthetic and imaginative failings of places associated with Brownlow and the Maylies, these spheres must ultimately triumph: they purvey genuine national community, as Dickens evinces. Middle-class Pentonville is aligned with national culture and belonging through the novels that Brownlow consumes there, which situates him – and the location – within the 'imagined community' of nineteenth-century novel readership, the kind Dickens was trying to forge through serial publication, and that the thieves reject when they are reluctant – or unable – to read the books in Oliver's possession (124).

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[29] Graham Greene, 'The Young Dickens', in *Collected Essays* (London: Penguin, 1970 [1950]), 79-86 (83-5).
[30] 'At the Films: Drawn by Cruikshank', *Observer* [no date; no pagination], in Rodney Giesler collection scrapbook [BFI Special Collections], 40.

The novel reminds readers of national community more explicitly in its final quarter through the St. Paul's/subterranean dialectic that emerges from this aesthetic and moral labyrinth. St. Paul's features only twice after the example described earlier, which is surprising given its foregrounded, iconographic position in the cultural memory of author and text. However, these two instances become externalizations or objectifications of a dialectic that has simmered under the surface of the novel until now. The first example is in chapter 46. Here Nancy walks to meet Brownlow and Rose Maylie on London Bridge to inform them of Monks's whereabouts for information about 'Oliver's little history' (373). At this moment, 'the heavy bell of St. Paul's' is said to have 'tolled for the death of another day'; for '[m]idnight had come upon the crowded city' (368). It signals the time of Nancy's meeting, and so contributes to initiating her subsequent murder, as well as foreboding it. The second example features in chapter 48 in the illustration 'Sikes attempting to destroy his dog' when the murderer is on the run. Here, as eagle-eyed Jeremy Tambling notes, 'Cruikshank shows the dome of St. Paul's on the horizon'.[31]

In novels after *Oliver Twist*, Dickens returns frequently to St. Paul's and the surrounding area.[32] In those instances, as in these ones, the Cathedral, which was the tallest building in Victorian London, operates as a hyper-visible signifier of English national identity and belonging (even as early as the nineteenth century when it was a popular tourist attraction).[33] It thus reinforces the Christian-based, normative morality that underpins this national community. Concomitantly, it emphasizes the separation of particular marginalized individuals – in this instance, Nancy, Sikes, and by association Fagin – from national community, which Dickens spatializes in the sense that, as Moretti details: 'Fagin and his associates are driven further and further east […]: from the initial den in Field Lane, near Saffron Hill to the Whitechapel one […], then to Sikes's abode in Bethnal Green (where Nancy is killed), and finally to Jacob's Island (to the southeast of the Tower)'.[34] Indeed, according to Tambling, St. Paul's signifies 'a source of salvation' for these individuals – Sikes, Nancy, Fagin, *et cetera* – but is 'remote and aloof', and 'cannot be laid hold of'.[35]

As the tallest building in London, as Dickens was writing, St. Paul's also provides panoramic views across the whole city. It is visible from miles around, acting as a platial anchor in the confusion of urban space. It also signifies the key means of seeing 'everything, with its opposite extreme and contradiction, close beside',[36] as Dickens's narrator achieves in describing London, as if positioned atop the cathedral. This unique

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[31] See *Going Astray*, 74, for an outline.
[32] See *Ibid*. 195-6.
[33] See Pettitt, 'Peggotty's Work-Box' (2009).
[34] *Atlas* (1999), 116.
[35] (2009), 74.
[36] *Master Humphrey's Clock* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1840), 226.

epistemology would save Fagin and his associates; it would also save the 'good many ladies and gentlemen, claiming to be out-and-out Christians' (141), but actually ignorant of the marginalized and deprived people they live alongside.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, St. Paul's has become the key iconography of a mythic Dickensian London, as the three case studies to follow evince; this is the sum of all Dickens's writings, often blurring with textually-specific versions of the city when projected on screen. There is an argument to be made, as I see it, that St. Paul's is representative of how Dickens framed himself as a novelist for the Victorian public and in Victorian culture. As Dickens sought to be, it is ubiquitous in protruding above all else; it works as an omnipresent guiding beacon, helping society navigate 'the way'; it is embedded in English culture, signifying the national identity and community Dickens advocated; and its aesthetic is also grand and ostentatious, yet accessible to all.

LEAN'S *OLIVER TWIST* (1948): PLENTIFUL OFFERINGS

Oliver Twist (1948), Lean's second Dickens film adaptation following his highly successful *Great Expectations* (Cineguild, 1946), succeeds in standing up to the novel's poetics, even managing to 'out Dickens' Dickens at times, particularly in depicting London – but not without some anxiety of influence.[37] Lean's film streamlines but amplifies the doubleness between the Brownlow and Fagin spheres at the heart of Dickens's London. As John writes, 'evil looks Jewish and goodness is a respectable middle-class family life in a large, symbolically white home'.[38] She refers to one of the film's enduring images which, as the final frame, is held from a front-on position for long enough to show Oliver running up to its front door, and then for the entire end credits as if to etch it onto the memory of viewers. The text's urban dialectic is most apparent in relation to Brownlow's house when the projected adaptation progresses from Brownlow taking in Oliver after court, to Nancy and Sikes recapturing the boy. Here, the action shifts quickly from a place of four-poster beds, sunlight streaming in through large windows, whitewashed walls and fresh linen, breakfast in bed, swings in peaceful gardens; to one of alleyways, imposing dilapidated tenements, jarring sounds, startling angles of vision, imprisonment, and crime. Yet even though Brownlow's London is often depicted as preferable to Fagin's, the 'Shooting Script' suggests more self-consciousness about the former's construction, as if in Lean's artistic

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[37] Both press books convey an anxiety to prove that every possible effort had been made to try to match Dickens's platial poetics. The small pressbook refers to 'the outstanding sets' which are '[a]mong the most important contributory factors to the success of *Oliver Twist*'. It further details 'the great research' carried out for the construction of both 'scenic design' (8) (*Oliver Twist [Pressbook small]*, PBS - 39922); *Oliver Twist [Pressbook medium]*, PBM – 39922) [BFI Special Collections].
[38] (2010), 226.

vision, Brownlow's London is actually the 'other' to the imaginative centre of the film that is Fagin's.[39]

St. Paul's is a key element of London's doubleness in Lean's film and so is woven in the cultural memory of author and text. It is shot iconically and frequently, appearing in the frame no fewer than eight times, though the draft script indicates intentions to photograph it more often.[40] It features perhaps most famously in the shots of what the screenplay calls 'FAGIN'S BRIDGE': 'a little bridge crossing the street […] in the world of roofs and chimney pots' and '[i]n the background St. Paul's' towering 'above the squalid surroundings'.[41] Highly stylized to the extent of hyper-reality, the film returns continually to this mythic shot, which has influenced the cultural memory of both *Oliver Twist* and Dickensian London more broadly. Indeed, even as recently as 2016 in the BBC's television experiment, *Dickensian*, London was in dialogue with Lean's from *Oliver Twist* (1948): the wooden walkway often visible over the main street in the period soap to signify a London nook that had survived the Great Fire was an updating of Lean's 'Fagin's bridge'.[42]

However, in Lean's film, St. Paul's plays a more significant role than straightforwardly suggesting geographical authenticity, for it is a key geographical and ideological organizing principle, with the dialectical opposition at the heart of Lean's London often positioned strategically around the cathedral, even materializing in relation to it. For example, when Oliver first arrives in London and the Dodger leads him to Fagin, St. Paul's is visible in the background of two frames to suggest the boys are walking away from it. The cathedral is similarly positioned in a frame when Oliver walks unknowingly into the clutches of Sikes and Nancy from Brownlow's, before he is returned to Fagin. In contrast, when Oliver accompanies the Dodger and other boys on a pickpocketing mission, the projected film makes it obvious that they are walking towards St. Paul's as they approach the bookstall and Brownlow. Not only does Lean capture how Dickens's writing organizes narrative space around iconic London sites such as St. Paul's, but he also aligns the cathedral with Brownlow's London: when Oliver walks towards Fagin, his back is

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[39] In the draft script (12 April, 1947), more attention is given to character than place in the Brownlow scenes, yet the surroundings to Fagin's hideout are illustrated in great detail: 'A dirty, narrow, wretched street. It is night. GROUPS of POVERTY-STRICKEN PEOPLE lounge in doorways. SCREAMING CHILDREN crawl about the pavement. / Coming towards Camera, the BOY, followed closely by OLIVER, makes his way through the puddles and mud. […] TRACKING SHOT from OLIVER's viewpoint. / A GROUP OF CHILDREN sit listlessly in the gutter. A little GIRL OF SIX wearing clothes much too big for her, nurses a BABY. […] CAMERA TRACKS BACK as they cross a small filthy courtyard and enter another door. The BOY takes OLIVER by the hand. OLIVER looks up. / N.B. – The following shots are intended to be impressionistic – very close shots with very little construction. They should give the idea of the TWO BOYS passing through a human rabbit-warren' (39-40) (Reference: SCR-13511, Script number: S197, 64-69, [BFI Special Collections]).
[40] As part of the classic montage sequence after Sikes bludgeons Nancy to death, the *Shooting Script* refers to a 'MEDIUM SHOT' of 'the early sunlight [striking] the Dome of St. Paul's […] [l]ike a cloud passing', which does not make the projected film (BFI Reference: DLE-3, Item number: DL/3, 112) [BFI Special Collections].
[41] *Ibid.* 41.
[42] As Producer David Boulter and academic advisor Robert Douglas-Fairhurst informed me when I visited the set in August 2015.

turned on this signifier of national belonging and Christian-based communality and morality because he walks away from it; when he walks towards Brownlow, though, he also walks towards the cathedral. Moreover, this organization of the projected space, aesthetics, and values, also reinforces Fagin's otherness, which the film signifies explicitly through his exaggerated, stereotypical appearance complete with large prosthetic nose with significant anti-Semitic connotations. This depiction resulted in rioting in Berlin on the film's release, as well as the delayed and censored projection in America because of the post-WWII sensitivity surrounding this subject.[43]

Moreover, considering the prominence of St. Paul's in the projected film in relation to broader and cultural contexts, it is also apparent that this Dickensian iconography was foregrounded to re-establish a sense of both English and London culture and identity after World War II (which makes the exaggerated 'othering' and marginalizing of Fagin more troubling). It is impossible to view the iconic shots in Lean's film without thinking of Herbert Mason's classic photograph entitled 'St. Paul's Survives' taken on the night of 29th/30th December, 1940. Here, the cathedral amidst the Blitz looks, paradoxically, almost 'beautiful […] apart from the tragedy of it', because it is 'silhouetted blackly' and 'illuminated faintly' against 'flames […] leaping up in the air' and 'smoke […] going up very slowly', 'almost like the Day of Judgement as pictured in some of the old books' – but nevertheless remarkably unaffected.[44] The mythic image became 'a symbol of togetherness, survival and suffering',[45] as well as courage and resilience. It seems likely that this image influences Lean, or that he is trying to bring it to mind. Invoking it does not just make the depiction of London more relevant and resonant to post-war viewers, but it also aligns both film and original text with English heritage and national identity more closely. Furthermore, given the Americanization of Englishness in cinemas around this time because of the dominance of 'Classic Hollywood' film versions of English heritage and literature, Lean also seems to be announcing his representation of period Englishness through the medium of *English* cinema. Significantly, he is using Dickens as the vehicle to do so.

Lean's depiction of London also has resonance because its pronounced employment of melodramatic, expressionist poetics translates Dickens's externalized aesthetic to the screen. As Allan Rowe and Paul Wells argue, cinematic expressionist aesthetics, namely 'reflective light scenes and […] dominant […] shadows', were frequently employed in film to signify 'a world of threat and danger, but also one where

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[43] See John (2010), 219-226.

[44] In the words of Tom Chalmers, the 'BBC commentator, speaking live to his audience from the roof of Broadcasting House' that night, as quoted in Malcolm Smith, *Britain and 1940: History, Myth, and Popular Memory* (London: Routledge, 2000), 80.

[45] Andrew Saint, 'The Reputation of St. Paul's', in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London*, eds. Derek Keene *et. al.* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004), 451-463 (461).

characters' motivations were hidden from one another and, by implication, from the viewer'.[46] Lean's expressionism, then, ostentates and objectifies the indiscernible and the concealable, much like Dickens's fiction, and sometimes even more than the novelist, hence the foregrounded, visualized dialectical opposition of St. Paul's and Fagin's London in the projected adaptation.

Two significant forces behind the intense realization of the novel's 'visual potential'[47] were Guy Green, a 'top' cinematographer in 'British cinema during the […] 1940s' and John Bryan, one of the period's 'most imaginative cinematic art directors working in Great Britain'.[48] Having already collaborated to depict Pip's nightmarish experience on the Kent marshes in the opening to *Great Expectations* (1946), the duo similarly implemented a 'design' or '"trick" perspective' to create 'the impression […] of a "natural" yet curiously enhanced field of vision', combining the 'stylized and brutishly real'.[49] Indeed, from the moment the inter-title announces that Oliver sets out for 'LONDO/ that great large place', the city has an excessive and stylized hyper-reality about it, as if larger than life. The depictions of St. Paul's and Fagin's London, mentioned already, are the two contrasting polarities in this exaggerated version of the city. The effect is to capture the cultural imaginary, which, as Samuel has pointed out, is often attracted to 'the remarkable […] and the larger-than-life'.[50]

However, it was also the 'brutishly real' that contributed to propelling *Oliver Twist* via Lean's film into cultural memory, while also fixing a particular remembered version of text, author, period, and place. The combination of Lean's bleak additions (including opening with Oliver's pregnant mother struggling through a storm to the workhouse and Sikes's dog, Bullseye's distress at Nancy's murder), with the gloominess of black-and-white film and exhibiting of urban squalor has led critics to view the film as 'fixing a notion of the Victorian as a time of oppression and fear', as well as 'captivity' and 'darkness'.[51]

These aesthetic – and, in many respects, ideological – choices appear self-conscious based on comparing the 'Shooting Script' with the projected film. A number of editions and omissions emerge from close scrutiny. Just before Brownlow is pickpocketed at the bookseller, the script refers to another street scene, which does not make it into the projected film, described as follows:

[46] 'Film Form and Narrative', in *An Introduction to Film Studies, Third Edition*, ed. Jill Nelmes (London: Routledge, 2003), 62-76 (70).
[47] John, 'Fagin, Mass Culture and the Holocaust; or, *Oliver Twist* on Screen', *Dickens Quarterly*, 22 (2005), 205-23 (208-9).
[48] Geoff Mayer, *Guide to British Cinema* (London: Greenwood, 2003), 254; Michael Stephens, *Art Directors in Cinema: A Worldwide Biographical Dictionary* (London: McFarland, 1998), 45.
[49] Marsh (2001), 213.
[50] (1994), 16; 6.
[51] *Ibid.* 402; 421.

OLIVER, the DODGER and CHARLEY BATES […] are sauntering along a pavement of a busy thoroughfare – their eyes skinned for possible victims. […]

A SMALL BOY carrying a huge basket overtakes them. The DODGER takes off the boy's cap, shows it to him for one brief second and tosses it down an area.

CHARLEY BATES is doubled up with laughter. A MAN passes him balancing a heavy basket on his head. CHARLEY BATES gives him a quick movement with his foot. The MAN falls out of Picture. There is a loud crash of breaking glass.[52]

This playfulness and merriment is the kind of material expected of the screenplay for *Oliver!* (1968) rather than Lean's film. Removing it makes the Dodger and Bates seem more driven in their criminality; it suggests Oliver's urban experience amongst Fagin and company, and the projected version of the Victorian world, as void of hope, a portrayal of the period that is similarly invoked through cutting the Maylie scenes.

Most of the film's fear, oppression, and darkness centre on Fagin's London, which, as I have suggested, operates much like an externalization of Fagin himself. The most obvious example is Fagin's reaction to Sikes setting out for fatal revenge on Nancy on discovering her 'peaching', which reveals less ambiguous and more sinister intentions than in Dickens – and even more so compared to subsequent screen adaptations. In the novel, Fagin whines: '"You won't be – […] You won't be – too – violent, Bill? […] I mean […] not too violent for safety. Be crafty, Bill, and not too bold"' (382). There is just a hint of compassion before Fagin quickly corrects himself, because Bill's reply and then a short description of the 'day […] breaking' separate and delay the different parts of Fagin's speech which I have separated with ellipsis. Yet, although Lean's film uses Dickens's speech verbatim, the absence of gaps between the different parts, and the look of delighted relish on the grotesque Fagin's face suggest there is no doubt in his actual, merciless reasons for wanting Bill not to be '"too violent"'.

But in the projected film's final scenes, this fear and oppression are interestingly reversed: Fagin is positioned as the victim this time, in arguably the only moment 'where we are made to think about' his 'situation as a Jew, an outsider in an anti-Semitic society'.[53] With a baying mob closing in on the new hideout in Jacob's Island, Fagin finds himself trapped in the space between the hideout's inner and outer doors. He is abandoned by his associates who flee deeper into the den, locking the inner door behind them and on him; but he cannot escape through the outer door as the hunted prey of the mob on the other side. Belonging nowhere and to no-one, as the liminal zone in which he is captured signifies, Fagin's desperate cry of '"What right have you to butcher me?"' remains one of the film's most hauntingly indelible moments, particularly because of the close proximity of the

[52] 49.
[53] John, '*Oliver Twist* on Screen', 209.

Holocaust. Moreover, the reference to 'butchering' and the depiction of Fagin as prey invoke the film's introduction to London sequence which takes place in Smithfield Market, a 'shameful place, being all asmear with filth and fat and blood and foam', where animals were led to slaughter, as Dickens writes in *Great Expectations*.[54] The novel does not feature Smithfield until chapter 11 when Oliver and Sikes pass through en-route to Chertsey. But Lean reorders and foregrounds it for strategic reasons. For those 'other' to the world of Brownlow's white stucco house and with their backs turned on St. Paul's, London is something of a slaughterhouse, where the marginalized and the excluded, such as Fagin, are forced to look after '"number one"' (348), because nobody else will look after them.

And this London of dirt, oppression, dilapidation, labyrinths, and night-time is the kind of London that purveyors of the 'aesthetics of light and space' sought to eradicate in the 1950s and 1960s, shortly after Lean's Dickens films.[55] Yet through Lean it engrained itself in the cultural memory of *Oliver Twist*, Dickens, and the Victorian period for two reasons: because it was startlingly different to the previous decades' fetishization of Dickens and the nineteenth century on cinema screens, where the past was filtered through an MGM-style gloss; and because of the decline in British – and also American – cinema production standards and attendance in the 1950s, which meant that, except for, perhaps, *Scrooge* (dir. Brian Desmond Hurst, Renown, 1951), the cinematic impact of Lean's *Oliver Twist* (1948) was not matched by a film adaptation of Dickens or indeed another Victorian text until *Oliver!* in 1968. Lean's film taps into the 'public remembrance shift from celebration to mourning', from the pleasurable towards the 'traumatic' and 'painful' as a consequence of the world wars.[56] Generally, this had influenced screen adaptors to overlook Dickens as source material as too cheerful and jolly, because of how previous film adaptations – particularly in the thirties – had interpreted him, an optimistic version of the author that became relevant again in the late 1960s.

OLIVER! (1968): RADICALLY RESONANT LONDON

For many people, *Oliver Twist is Oliver!*. A significant proportion of the general public has accessed the text in this musical adaptation form – and as it has been projected on screen more than performed on stage.[57] *Oliver!* is the version of *Oliver Twist* that has influenced the cultural memory of the text most significantly. Indeed, its contemporary cultural prevalence and familiarity are encapsulated in a recent television advert for Lloyds Bank,

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[54] Ed. Charlotte Mitchell (London: Penguin, 1996), 165.
[55] Samuel (1994), 51.
[56] Rigney (2012), 223.
[57] Napolitano asserts that 'the version' of this 'musical that would reach the widest global audience' was the 1968 film adaptation (*Oliver!*, 177).

which features two clips from the film. To communicate the central premise that the bank's new 'Club Current Account' will allow customers to get '"more out of life"' from the 4% interest rate, the advert opens with the classic clip of Oliver asking for '"more"'; and then concludes with the Dodger tossing Oliver an apple during the 'Consider Yourself' London entry sequence, before both boys bite keenly into their fruit to signify the bank's magnanimousness. The implication is that the bank has satisfied the request for more in an ironic, even perverse detaching of the moment from original contexts and meanings, so that Dickens's criticism of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) becomes the whimsical marketing of wealth accumulation. Those familiar with *Oliver*! will recognize the second clip's setting in London, in contrast to the first's anonymous location. For these viewers, this adaptation of an adaptation implies that opportunities stemming from getting '"more out of life"' coincide with urban migration, which is a key thread in my reading of *Oliver*! to follow.

The advert conveys a number of important ideas about the relationship between *Oliver!* and contemporary cultural memory. Firstly, it evinces the contemporary cultural familiarity with the film adaptation, even when re-transmitted in such fragmented form. If these moments did not resonate in some way with viewers because of unfamiliarity, the advert's impact would have been dramatically reduced, which explains their inclusion via *Oliver!* rather than another screen adaptation. Secondly, the advert's framing of the clips with the crimson seats and curtain of a traditional cinema auditorium suggests self-awareness about access to the text in post-Victorian culture coming mostly via the screen; and, in particular, via *Oliver!*, because of its cultural impact as both classic musical film and Dickens adaptation. As a Dickens film, its commercial and critical success are unrivalled: it captured a world-wide box office gross of over £210 million and received six Academy Awards in 1969, including for Best Picture.[58] The advert implies that because *Oliver!* is viewed so widely as a classic, the target demographic remembered it with certain nostalgia: a nostalgia not just for Dickens or the Victorians, but for the sixties and even childhood, when they may have watched or even acted in a version. The two clips appear within a montage of other whimsical memories of things the narrator always wanted more of in youth: gold stars at school, hair volume, sweets, and Scrabble points. They are transformed into that which Stam calls 'the commodified ideograms of advertising': 'the whole', which is here the invocation of nostalgic, familiar memories of British childhood

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[58] John (2005), 206. *Oliver!* also won Academy Awards for Best Director (Carol Reed), Best Musical Adaptation Score (John Green), Best Art Direction – Set Direction (John Box and Terence Marsh), and Best Sound. It also had successful foundations in the theatre, as Sharon Weltman points out ('"Can a Fellow Be a Villain All His Life?"': *Oliver*!, Fagin, and Performing Jewishness', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 33.4 (September, 2011), 371-388, (372)).

and adolescence, 'is more than the sum of its parts'.[59] The implication in the advert is that certain remembered vignettes from *Oliver!* are as familiar to the cultural memory for a particular generation as other intimate and immediate personal recollections.

The depiction of Dickensian London is one of the most memorable aspects of *Oliver*!, which perpetuates the prominent St. Paul's/Fagin's London dialectical opposition of Lean's film, but colours it dramatically. Because of the extensive resources at its disposal, *Oliver*! fixes a particular version of Dickensian London in cultural memory. It transforms the city into something hyper-attractive and ultra-appealing, combining an all-singing, all-dancing communal aesthetic; a vast, intricate, and lavish set, projected through Technicolour and Panavision, which causes the urban setting and action to hover self-reflexively on the threshold of unreality; and its success in translating the essence of Dickens's externalized, exaggerated poetics to the screen in the form of a sixties musical film. All of these elements often crystallize around the dialectic of St. Paul's and Fagin's den. They are brought together powerfully in the two 'London entry' sequences, 'Consider Yourself' in Act One (featured in the advert) and 'Who Will Buy?' in Act Two, which are the main spectacle numbers, performed on the largest scale. Centring on the city, they quite literally showcase the depiction of London, drawing viewers in and imprinting it in cultural memory.

The first experience of London in 'Consider Yourself' in particular seems to have been designed to be remembered. From the moment Oliver emerges from the basket of vegetables he has stowed away in to enter the heart of the city, the film encourages viewers to look at London with the kind of wonder that they, too, might feel if inspired to travel there in search of such an enticing cultural myth. While Oliver is in the basket, the film cuts between his awe and amazement and point of view shots of the city to establish an affective and epistemological relationship between London and this newcomer, as Dickens does in the novel. After climbing out, he leaves the market through a passageway whose darkness frames and displays a vista of the city at its other end, almost as if projected on a big screen. The panorama is deliberately prolonged through Oliver's sedate pace because of his amazement, so that the majestic, almost awe-inspiring music accompanying the sequence can reach an impressive crescendo, heightening the projected affective relations to the city of almost sublime wonder, as this lone traveller's journey reaches crescendo.

The captivation in relation to London continues once 'Consider Yourself' begins. Its marching rhythm – driving and memorable – whisks Oliver and viewers through various parts of the city, where there is always something enthralling to see or participate in, and which become interrelated with the feel-good lyrics about communality and conviviality.

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[59] *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 41.

Although 'Consider Yourself' is *Oliver!*'s interpretation of the novel's London entry, and so concludes with the boys scurrying to Fagin's den, it resists the linearity of Polanski's more naturalistic interpretation. In *Oliver!*, this is no functional journey; no means of simply moving from one point to another. It is rather an urban exhibition: a meandering, 'zig-zagging' (to return to Turner's phrase), side-stepping, doubling back through urban space. This works analogously to Dickens's melodramatic (montage-like) poetics to signify the 'abrupt impulses of passion and feeling' (129) to which urban life in *Oliver!* gives rise, while also subverting the linear narrative flow to hint at its potential for ideological subversion.

London seems even more striking during 'Consider Yourself' because this is the first depiction of the city, which means it is dialectically opposed to that which has preceded it (both within and without the film), and so seems heightened when the action arrives there. London in *Oliver!* contrasts noticeably with the opening scenes in and around the workhouse. These are drab, melancholic, lonely, and cold, particularly because snow and ice conceal and grey any sense of place. It is also markedly different to Lean's – and also, in fact, to the entirety of the Dickens cinema oeuvre before 1968: *Oliver!* was the first Dickens film adaptation to be made in colour, which makes its depiction of London seem spacious, open, and light compared to previous renderings.[60]

These visible shifts in space, aesthetics, and ideology feed into the film's foregrounding of the universal trope of urban migration for fortune, fame, and opportunity, which is significant to the city's resonance, particularly during 'Consider Yourself'. Whilst this narrative feature has mythic qualities, it was also a prominent feature in sixties popular culture, which often suggested the almost centripetal forces emanating from London as the 'swinging' capital of the decade. Indeed, it is revealed twice that Oliver has travelled to London to make his fortune. And the opportunities London offers are apparent within moments of arriving. The abundant harvest on sale at Covent Garden evinces how winter has turned straight into summer over the course of Oliver's seven-day journey, which suggests London as the film's warm, sunny centre. Oliver is also told to consider himself 'at home', 'one of the family', and 'one of us' throughout 'Consider Yourself', a song whose lyrics and choreography exude induction into not just a community of thieves, nor even the wider London community, but the broader national community. London *is* the nation in this film, as the pronounced national iconography often on display (Union Jacks, St. Paul's Cathedral, maps of Great Britain, and various references to monarchy and military) seeks to establish, with all transport and communication networks on show (canals, trains, newspapers, market produce) seemingly centring on the city.

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[60] Charlotte Brunsdon, 'Attractions of the Cinematic City', *Screen*, 53.3 (2012), 209-227 (225).

The feeling of belonging to the city and so the nation is based on the democratized, inclusive practice of singing and dancing. 'Consider Yourself' is one of seventeen occasions when characters' most intense feelings and emotions are externalized through singing and dancing, as if the excessiveness of affect forces them to break out into song or dance. In Dickensian style, community and belonging centre on such expressions of affect. With characters' feelings so much more open and visible, they become closely fused with certain parts of London, which gives the city an added affective resonance. To sing and to dance is to be inducted into this national, London-centric community; those who do not risk exclusion from it.

The induction to London via 'Consider Yourself' concludes with Oliver and Dodger arriving at Fagin's lodgings, meaning it culminates with the first of many projections of the St. Paul's/Fagin dialectical opposition. The boys reach Fagin's den at the end of the song by crossing wooden bridges and climbing wooden staircases over filthy tidal creeks, and amidst dilapidated rooftops and chimneys. From here Oliver steals a glimpse of St. Paul's, just out of reach. Although Reed's Dickensian urban iconography is rooted in Lean, it is not mere surface data or pastiche; it is not included just to signify as Dickensian for the audience, but without provision of new explications of what the Victorian city 'means' in sixties popular culture.

Rather, such Dickensian iconography is important to the film's aesthetic and ideological radicalism, which has been an important factor in its cultural impact and enduring appeal. It contributes, in part, to the highly stylized, exaggerated representation of the city, thus echoing the externalization of affect characterizing urban life in *Oliver!*; and an apparent attempt to outdo both Dickens and Lean in its aesthetic and affective representation of the city. It is also at the centre of the Reed's ideological repositioning whereby the relationship between the two poles of London is suggested as more of a connection than an opposition.

In line with the film's objective correlative, such iconography suggests the closeness of Fagin's den to this key signifier of national community and belonging: for Fagin is a part of it, rather than the marginal figure he is in Dickens and Lean. In Reed's utopian Dickensian London of the sixties, induction to urban/ national community and the resulting opportunities are not just for individuals like Oliver, but also for Jewish immigrants. Indeed, *Oliver!* shifts both the depiction of Fagin and the projected affective relations to him dramatically. As Sharon Weltman points out, Fagin is rewritten due to a hyper-awareness of the furore that Lean's Fagin caused in 1948, and also the Jewishness of Lionel Bart who wrote the original stage adaptation. The Jewishness of Ron Moody as Fagin is signified through performance rather than inherently – and grossly stereotypical – racial characteristics, and he is much easier to like. Removing the plot thread surrounding

Monks also means that Fagin's sole aim is not to ruin Oliver's reputation through criminalization; and his insistence on non-violent crime is a far more acceptable, almost trivialized means of making ends meet both for him and his boys, for whom he seems to take genuine care as part of the positive domestic role he undertakes.[61]

Fagin is immediately recognizable as Moody plays him, but he is not startlingly 'othered', as in Alec Guinness's performance and Lean's direction. He seems assimilated within the musical film's ensemble of Victorian Londoners, which replicates his accepted position within the film's diegetic urban world. Furthermore, he is an all-singing, all dancing-performer, which makes him seem attractive to viewers and positions him firmly within London's national community, which unites through externalized, melodramatic affect, expressed through song and dance.

In fact, Fagin's faux-military number, 'Be Back Soon', which, through parody, anticipates the marching band of 'Who Will Buy?', actually aligns his villainy and criminality with a pseudo-national cause. The song's choreography, resembling a military roll call, its marching rhythm, and subject matter of coming home 'safe and sound' have parodic connotations of national military service, especially because the Union Jack on Fagin's wall and St. Paul's often form backdrops to the number, positioning Fagin and his criminality within national culture. The effect is to break down any opposition between St. Paul's and Fagin's lodgings, or what Napolitano calls splendour and squalor:[62] for Fagin's den actually offers a kind of splendid squalor, drawing in viewers rather than alienating them as it metamorphoses between lodgings, tavern, music hall, military barracks, and later, throne room, but at all times connected to St. Paul's Cathedral's national connotations.

Ultimately, *Oliver!*'s London does not simply accept Fagin, but it seems to empower him, and the city's potentially subversive nature in this respect is important to its resonance. Although 'Be Back Soon' does bring the military and national music to mind, with various connotations for national belonging, it parodies them as a playful exaggeration for comic effect. Its intentions thus seem deliberate: 'unsettling the certainties which sustain the social order, and placing all final truths under suspension', it 'attacks the official word, mocks the pretensions of authoritative discourse, and undermines the seriousness with which subordinates should approach the justification of their betters', as Simon Dentith says of parody more broadly.[63]

The representation of Fagin in relation to Victorian London unsettles and undermines not only within the urban world of the film's diegesis, but also within the

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[61] 'Performing Jewishness', 376-380.
[62] *Oliver!*, 185.
[63] *Parody* (London: Routledge, 2000), 20.

broader culture-text of *Oliver Twist*, so that the St. Paul's/Fagin's London dialectic is deconstructed and then repositioned. Fagin's number, 'Reviewing the Situation' is perhaps the clearest example of this subversive spirit. The song focuses on Fagin 'reviewing' whether or not to 'go straight', as he contemplates: '"Can a fellow be a villain all his life?"'. Over its course, Fagin considers settling down, finding a wife, and making an honest living, before deciding defiantly that: '"I'm a bad 'un/ And a bad 'un I shall stay!/ You'll be seeing/ No transformation"'. The oscillation of his thoughts between honest normativity and subversive villainy are externalized through his oscillating movements, which take him outside his den and on the wooden bridge, with St. Paul's visible behind. The first occurrence of this coincides with the lyric about '"Titled people with a station"' who Fagin knows and would call on if he did transform. This is a direct allusion, of course, to authority, which the film aligns with the cathedral through its visibility behind. In fact, as the number progresses and Fagin seems close to renouncing villainy, he edges closer to descending from his wooden bridge, apparently towards St. Paul's and the normative London it signifies. However, eventually, he decides to remain as and where he is. He turns his back on St. Paul's, hurries back into his den, and slams the door on the alternative existence he contemplated. His triumphant defiance, even deviance is implied at the song's finale when he takes a gold crown from among his loot and places it on his head, before leaping onto a stone ledge as a makeshift throne. This parody of the monarchy, like his earlier parody of the military, is anti-authoritarian, mocking national community and normative existence. Fagin *chooses* to operate on the margins, or under the radar, rather than being forced to, which makes his urban existence so compelling.

Indeed, as the final image of 'Reviewing the Situation' exemplifies, Fagin certainly reigns supreme in Reed's Dickensian London. So much is this so, that the film reprises the number at the end, with even more pronounced implications. In the penultimate scene, Fagin and the Dodger dance into the sunset through a kind of zigzagging, side-step, their perfect synchronicity in movement and song as they reprise Fagin's number is playful and hugely defiant. Firstly, in marked contrast to Dickens's and Lean's endings, they have slipped the net, avoiding punishment, which the disparate relationship between lyrics and melody in 'Reviewing the Situation' reinforces. I disagree with Napolitano's reading of this disparity as signifying Fagin's vulnerability and loneliness because of his 'status as "other"', the 'Jewish motifs' in the song underscoring the notion that he wants to live an alternative existence, but is inhibited because of his Jewishness, which the critic suggests is reinforced through Fagin's loss of control in the number.[64] For me, Fagin is in full control in 'Reviewing the Situation': he is always just ahead of the melody, which can never quite

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[64] Napolitano, 156.

follow or catch up with him completely,[65] and this echoes his experience of London in *Oliver*!, where his playful villainy allows him to undermine any established authority, power, or truth.

Along with the Dodger, he not only resists punishment, but it seems as if he will prosper at the conclusion. As the duo dance towards the bridge ahead, which stretches into the sunset and presumably the future, they sing how they are '"[t]he living proof that crime can pay"'. The implications of this romantic, utopian, and memorable image are obvious. Reed's London is a swinging Dickensian London of opportunity and optimism. It is not just the kind of city where Oliver can migrate and find a home, but where a villainous Jewish immigrant (albeit a playful and likeable one) can forge his own subversive and flourishing place, even after turning his back on national community and belonging, and defying their normativity.

NEGOTIATING THE CULTURE-TEXT: *OLIVER TWIST* (2007)

"I was nervous when the BBC first approached me about doing *Oliver Twist* again because I […] thought this story's been told many times, people feel really familiar with it; they feel they own it. What could I do to […] top Oliver Reed [sic] and David Lean? […] It was quite intimidating really"'.[66] So says Coky Giedroyc about directing the BBC One mini-series in 2007, the most recent screen adaptation of the text. Her comment demonstrates how adaptors are attuned to the great extent to which Lean's and Reed's films have impacted the cultural memory of *Oliver Twist* and the concluding section of this chapter examines the negotiation of these cultural legacies in representing London.

Lean's and Reed's legacies are felt most in the projected adaptation's representation of London. The mini-series seemed aware that a certain version of the Victorian city was fundamental to this cultural memory and a prerequisite for an appealing adaptation, as Giedroyc reveals. '"My first task was to create the world outside of the characters"', she says: '"the […] streets and the underworld and the gin shops and the textures and life outside of these really, really strong emotional knots"'.[67] More specifically, the projected adaptation evinces an acute awareness of how central the 1948 and 1968 visualizations of *Oliver Twist*'s London are to cultural memory, and of the need

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[65] Reed's Fagin is similarly empowered through cultural hybridity. As Weltman points out, many of Fagin's numbers are rooted in Jewish melodies, harmonies, and rhythms (377). When performed by Fagin, who is not obviously Jewish racially, he is hybridised, stretched between the spatial and temporal bridge back to his Jewish roots, but operating very much in the Dickensian London of the Victorian/ sixties present. The effect is an 'uncontainable' identity which 'breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/ outside […] as it inserts its insurgent interrogations in the interstices' (Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004 [1994]), 165-7).

[66] *Special Feature: A New Twist on 'Oliver Twist'*, (dir. Sven Arnstein), on DVD of *Oliver Twist* (2007).

[67] *Ibid.*

to invoke these somehow. Consequently, *Oliver Twist* (2007)'s rendering of London often feels like a Janus-faced bricolage of these films as it stretches to speak to both contrasting poles of the cinematic canon and cultural memory of the novel (Lean's at one end; Reed's at the other). It returns to the dialectical opposition between St. Paul's and Fagin's urban sphere, but stretches and exaggerates them, so that they are more pronounced than in Polanksi's film. It foregrounds a doubleness between the diasporic nature of Victorian urban experience for many, and the resulting need for roots and home. It suggests home and roots as both the key antidote to, and the crucial means of restraining, the diasporic experience, which had potential to be too progressive for a BBC television adaptation.

The dialectical opposition between diaspora and home both underpins the depiction of London in Giedroyc's adaptation, and contributes to its resonance. From the moment Oliver first plunges into London and eventually manages to look up at St. Paul's as it rises out of the urban confusion and relentless mobility to symbolize roots and belonging, the mini-series dramatizes the search for a particular kind of home in this diasporic city (including the permanency and community that it provides), suggesting the contemporary relevance of this structure of feeling. Indeed, as Daniela Berghahn argues, '[o]n account of their multi-locality, transnational mobility and local/global networking strategies, diasporas seem to epitomize what we commonly associate with the trendy catchphrase "the age of globalization"': '[t]ransnational mobility and migration are amongst the most powerful forces of social transformation in our contemporary world'.[68] Diaspora can refer to '[a]ny group of people who have spread or become dispersed beyond their traditional homeland or point of origin'; but its primary definition relates to 'the dispersion of the Jewish people beyond the land of Israel', including 'the countries and place inhabited by the[m]'.[69] The search for a home, roots, and belonging to counteract diasporic Victorian London is a prominent thread in *Oliver Twist* (2007), characterizing the depiction of the city. The mini-series foregrounds it as the sole aim – or at least the desperate need – for almost all of its underclasses, especially Nancy, the Dodger, and even Sikes (as well as Oliver). However, it is felt strongest in relation to the unmistakably Jewish Fagin.

The mini-series foregrounds the specific link between racial 'otherness' and spatial marginalization as a key characteristic of Dickensian London, but particularly in relation to Fagin.[70] Unlike Moody's performance in *Oliver!*, Timothy Spall's emphasizes Fagin's racial, cultural and also, crucially, religious Jewishness, which is suggested as the inescapable source of rootlessness and alienation in the Victorian city. Spall's Fagin refuses

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[68] *Far-flung families*, 1.
[69] *OED* [online], 'diaspora' <www.oed.com/view/Entry/52085?redirectedFrom=diaspora> [accessed 12 September 2017].
[70] It is no coincidence that the three other marginalized main characters are played by actors who visibly represent 'ethnic minorities'. The father of mixed-race Sophie Okenedo, playing Nancy, was Nigerian; Tom Hardy, playing Sikes, is of Irish descent; and Adam Arnold, who plays the Dodger, is Jewish.

to eat sausages when they are not '"Kosher"', wears a yarmulke, and keeps a pet raven called Ezekiel, to whom he soliloquizes inner thoughts and feelings. Folky, Jewish musical riffs frequently accompany his appearances on screen. His wandering accent slips between Yiddish, German, Italian, Cockney, and Received Pronunciation to reflect his wandering existence '"as a German Yiddish Jew who'd come out of Venice and then been kicked from pillar to post and been affected by all these different cultures"'.[71] Fagin is thus 'othered': in an alluring, mainly exoticized sense in the eyes of most viewers, which draws them to him, and makes the alienating, harshly anti-Semitic 'othering' in the eyes of his fellow Londoners, particularly Christian ones, more painful.

The clearest example of such painful othering is the mini-series' most radical departure from the novel, when it dramatizes Fagin's court case following his arrest. Addressed as 'the Jew' by the authorities, Fagin is sentenced to death for '"abduction and conspiracy to murder a *Christian* child"' (my emphasis). In response to his professed innocence and visible distress, Judge Fang, played by Rob Brydon, offers Fagin a potential reprieve. When Fagin pleads, '"I don't want to die, sir"', Fang responds with arguably the most uncomfortable line of the adaptation: '"Then ask Christ. Fall to your knees before this assembly and take Christ as your saviour"', he mocks; '"Remove your faith; your God. Pray to Christ, Fagin"'. With the camera fixed on Fagin's face as he looks slowly to the floor, he responds matter-of-factly, looking up at Fang again: '"I can't do that"'. He thereby suggests the centrality of religion to his identity. The court heckles, a guard whips off his yarmulke, and the next time we see him is at the gallows.

With similarities to the novel and Lean's film, this explicit manifestation of Fagin's othering and marginalization is spatialized more implicitly throughout, often in juxtaposition with Brownlow's London, which is again associated with St. Paul's, so that Giedroyc's London is characterized by these extreme poles of the urban dialectical opposition I have discussed. The London Fagin is forced to produce is either on the peripheries, as in episode two when anxious hand-held camera shots follow him hurrying, paranoid, down a narrow, grey, and grimy alleyway to the sound of echoing, background voices, whose homogeneity signifies the collective London voice from which he is excluded. Or Fagin's London is in the city's depths, as suggested when Sikes throws him into a gutter, with a derivation of an Eastern European folk ballad accompanying the sequence to remind viewers of Fagin's Jewishness. '"I weren't born to this. I was meant for better. When I'm rich, I won't have to associate with people like you!"', Fagin cries, trying to sound defiant. But it is to no avail, as the growling Sikes makes clear: '"You won't ever be rich, Fagin. This is all you're ever going to be, a fat, stinking, 'orrible little fence lying

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[71] Spall, quoted in Jasper Rees, 'A very Jewish twist', *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 December 2007.

in the dirt."' Fagin might have expected more of life based on his background, but in the adaptation's Victorian urban world, these expectations are impossible to realize for a Jewish immigrant.

Fagin's London is even more pronounced through dialectical opposition with Brownlow's, whose residence provides the elusive home, roots, and belonging that St. Paul's appears to signify at the end of Oliver's London entry. The mini-series spotlights the two poles in this urban dialectic and their interrelation when it foregrounds Rose's muddied shoes on her return to Brownlow's after searching for Oliver in insalubrious parts of London associated with Fagin and Sikes. The mud is pronounced against the light and clean *mise-en-scéne* of Brownlow's residence; this works microcosmically to signify how Fagin's London is noticeably heightened each time the action parallel cuts there from Brownlow's contrasting urban sphere, and vice versa.

This parallel cutting is perhaps clearest in the concluding scenes, where tensions between diaspora and home are most explicit, but eventually resolved, to a degree. The final sequence begins with Oliver escaping from Sikes, who had abducted the boy when fleeing the authorities after murdering Nancy. As Oliver hurries through the streets, he comes face-to-face with the Dodger, who pleads for assistance in saving Fagin from hanging. Oliver refuses to comply, continuing his hasty progress through the city, not as a direct spurn of the Dodger's desperate request, but because he '"has to go"'. An elsewhere draws Oliver towards it, in much the same way that St. Paul's seemed to in the first London scene. Where exactly Oliver is heading, however, we are unsure. After Fagin's court appearance (described above) Sikes is shown fleeing into the figurative depths of the sewers, before hanging himself in a part of the city even lower than the gutter into which he threw Fagin, the action cuts to the Brownlow residence, whose contrast is stark. We see Rose racing down the staircase in response to dramatic knocking at the door, before it reveals Oliver, blood-stained and soiled, which again exemplifies the two poles of the dialectical opposition underpinning London. Rose picks him up, sobbing: '"You've come home!"'

The wider significance of home – that is, the family and social unit, and the feelings of comfort, belonging, and security – as a prerequisite for survival in Victorian London, and also, apparently, twenty-first century diaspora, continues at the mini-series' conclusion. Following close-ups of Oliver and Rose playing the piano, the shot repositions, moving outwards to reveal a comforting tableau of the whole room. The *mise-en-scéne* consists of a roaring fire, warm candlelight, rich greenery from Christmas tree and overmantle garland, Brownlow enjoying the music, and Bedwin sewing. This set-piece loosely relates to Cruikshank's original 'Fireside' plate – which Dickens cancelled – but its strategic inclusion here taps into the Christmas seasonal scheduling, and, importantly, the

Christmas Carol cultural phenomenon. After their performance, Oliver and Rose move to the seated fireside circle to resounding applause: Rose sits but Oliver moves into the middle, now secured and protected. A final close-up shot presents him bowing to his audience in the room, before looking directly at the camera and repeating the gesture to viewers, as the applause continues.

The parallel cutting in the build-up to this conclusion encourages viewers to reflect on the parallel fate of another lonely boy: the Dodger. It is telling that the Dodger is not 'transported' as in Dickens, for this makes possible his final encounter with Oliver, as both helpless children forced to make a way for themselves in London come together and their antithetical fates are emphasized at the denouement. Whereas the adaptation's conclusion signifies for Oliver the potential to thrive through roots and closure, because he has returned home and established a family and social unit, the Dodger's ambiguous final appearance sees him in-motion alongside Bullseye, strutting through London and snarling at anyone in his way The image of the Dodger here bleakly insinuates that his prospects might be heading in a similar direction to the murderer, Sikes, as well as Nancy and Fagin – all without home and family.

Indeed, this modern, ambiguous conclusion seems part of the adaptation's foregrounding of the relevance of Victorian London and the means of surviving it to the contemporary moment, as part of its attempts to imply the currency of Dickens for the twenty-first century (a remembering of Dickens that rose to the fore with Andrew Davies's television adaptation of *Bleak House*, which, like *Oliver Twist* (2007), modelled itself on soap opera through scheduling, casting, and aesthetics in striving for popular appeal). The screenwriter, Sarah Phelps, said herself that *Oliver Twist* (2007) strove for viewers '"to feel that even though this is a classic story set in the nineteenth century, it has echoes of the modern world"': '"[w]e hear about feral gangs of boys in hoodies"' and '"[r]eally they're just our modern version of Fagin's boys"'.[72] The Dodger may well grow up to be the new Sikes, but it might have been a different story if, like Oliver, he had his own Brownlow, just like a feeling of home, roots, and belonging may work as antidotes to the social ills of twenty-first-century London.

The blending of modern grittiness and cosy domesticity apparent here and elsewhere in the mini-series ensures Dickensian London appeals to both traditionalists and progressives, which is testament to the adaptability of Dickens's place; however, ultimately, there is something conservative about the conclusion, which is surprising given the emphasis on contemporaneity in the popular press and preview material, and the

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[72] Quoted in, 'More? You Want Some More *Oliver Twist*?', *WalesOnline*, 15 December, 2007 <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/more-you-want-more-oliver-2211267 > [accessed 12 September 2017].

boldness of the adaptation's apparent critique of hypocritical Christianity. The adaptation's penultimate scene sees Oliver, Rose, and Mrs Bedwin lighting candles for Agnes and Nancy in church, an emulation of Cruikshank's final 'church plate'. Given the extensive Christian iconography in the scene – a Bible, crosses, candles, and, significantly, a small domed structure complete with a crucifix on top, which resembles a miniaturized St. Paul's –, its inclusion is surprising, especially because of the previous foregrounding of Fagin's Jewishness and the broader 'othering' of him. It gives the Christmas scene that follows greater religious connotations than it might have had otherwise.

These final scenes thus appear to privilege the white, middle-class, Christian London over urban spaces that are 'other' to this 'norm' in a move away from the progressive critique in Fagin's court scene, especially as the church scene immediately follows the Dodger strutting through the London streets after Fagin's hanging, which emphasizes the conservatism of these scenes. However, the highly self-reflexive nature of the mini-series suggests that such conservatism is knowing and intentional; for market reasons more than ideological purposes. The adaptation demonstrates a frequent awareness of itself as adaptation or art, including through Oliver's bow at the end, but also when Mrs Corney refers to Oliver's backstory as '"like something you might see on the London stage"'. Such self-reflexivity helps alleviate certain gritty, hard-hitting, sometimes uncomfortable moments. But it also suggests the adaptation's awareness of itself as the latest layer of a highly constructed culture-text, which consists not just of other *Oliver Twist* screen adaptations, but, crucially, other BBC renderings of Dickens and the nineteenth century, from which it cannot stray far. On British television at Christmastime, the version of Dickensian London that apparently appeals to the public is more Brownlow's drawing room than Fagin's gutter. Whilst Giederoyc stretches London's gutter down into the sewer, at the same time it has to exaggerate the urban sphere that St. Paul's signifies to compensate. On the surface, then, *Oliver Twist* (2009)'s ending seems feel-good, pantomimic, and full of festive cheer, but the sub-text suggests the heavily constructed nature of text and city, which a BBC television adaptation can only ever move so far beyond.

Its foregrounding of the dialectical opposition between St. Paul's and Fagin's London exemplifies the continued competing claims at the heart of the cultural memory of *Oliver Twist* between normative conservatism related to Christian communality and national belonging, and compelling subversive undercurrents associated with the diasporic alienation of modernity. As I have argued, these stem from the adaptability and resonance of Dickens's London, and through how Lean's and Reed's films have shaped and foregrounded them to appeal to mid-twentieth-century audiences, thus weaving certain

ideas of Dickensian place deeply and broadly into culture, which subsequent adaptations, including Giedroyc's 2009 mini-series, are forced to negotiate.

'MILKING THAT GOAT FOR YEARS': HEARTH AND CITY IN *A CHRISTMAS CAROL*

A Christmas Carol (1843) remains so prevalent in cultural memory that it is parodied in an episode of *The Simpsons*. ''Tis the Fifteenth Season' (2003) adopts Dickens's redemptive and transformative narrative structure, with Homer Simpson in the role of Scrooge. His typical selfishness and ignorance culminate in the bizarre purchase of a talking astrolabe over presents and a respectable Christmas tree.[1] Castigated by wife, Marge, and children, Bart and Lisa, Homer spends the night alone on the sofa. Here he watches the animated *Mr McGrew's Christmas Carol* (parodying *Mr Magoo's Christmas Carol* (1962)) and fragmented parts are projected for viewers: Ebenezer McGrew demands Bob Cratchit works on Christmas Day; the Ghost of Christmas Past warns McGrew about selfishness; and the Ghost of Christmas Yet To Come leads McGrew to his grave.

Between fragments two and three the action returns to Homer, who realizes, with alarm, that he is watching a '"cartoon version"' of himself. The blurring between the *Simpsons* and *McGrew* worlds is then made explicit in fragment three. The gravestone inscription reads, '"HOMER SIMPSON: UNLOVED BY ALL"', and, succeeding Homer's ludicrous misreading of it as '"Unloved by Al"', he eventually recognizes the significance and realizes the implications, before he is reduced to a despairing wreck.

The following morning, Homer reveals his changed outlook. He promises to '"reform"', before recounting the inspiration for this transformation:

> HOMER: I just saw the greatest cartoon of all time: it was about a miser who was visited by three ghosts at Christmas; and get this, he learns a lesson!
> LISA: Dad, what you saw was *A Christmas Carol*. It was written by Charles Dickens one hundred and sixty years ago.
> BART: Yeah! T.V. writers have been milking that goat for years.

To demonstrate his point, Bart switches on the television, revealing fragments of *Steve Urkel* (from American sitcom *Family Matters*) and *Star Trek* parody versions, before turning them off again, much to Marge's disappointment. '"That last one looked kind of good"', she laments.

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[1] Season 15; Episode 7, *Fox*, 14 December 2003.

Although ephemeral and light-hearted, this sequence provides an important vista on the cultural memory of the *Carol* (while simultaneously sustaining and shaping that memory). Not only does it exemplify the contemporary *Carol* 'culture-text' and add another layer to it, but it also illustrates how particular Dickensian poetics centred on the dialectical opposition between interior and exterior spaces endure prominently in the cultural memory of the text, even when filtered through *The Simpsons* lens.

Firstly, ''Tis the Fifteenth Season' clarifies how the same reproducible mass culture it both critiques and exemplifies has been crucial to the *Carol*'s enduring popularity and cultural legacy. The very fact that an episode of *The Simpsons* is not just based on the *Carol*, but actually parodies the widespread adaptation culture surrounding it almost speaks for itself. Given that *The Simpsons* is 'one of the most recognizable and celebrated icons of […] popular culture' and a 'worldwide franchise',[2] the episode encapsulates how, as Fred Guida writes, the *Carol* is 'one of the most famous and popular' fictional works, and now 'an important part of convergence within our popular culture,' rooted firmly in the 'collective consciousness' rather than simply a 'book'.[3] The text endures enough to feature in *The Simpsons* because it has been adapted frequently and with cultural impact. Much like the *Simpsons* world, which is flooded with screen adaptations of the text, screen adaptors really have been '"milking that goat for years"'. It is not only the most adapted Dickens text for the screen, but various critics have argued that it is the most adapted Victorian text, even the most adapted work of English literature.[4]

Each 'milking' of the *Carol* 'goat' disseminates the text broadly and makes the public more familiar with it, while also shaping the remembered version. Aside from Lisa's fleeting reference to Dickens's *Carol*, neither text nor author is mentioned, which implies how two versions of the text exist in contemporary culture: Dickens's 1843 novella and a collectively remembered version, or the '"culture-text"', as Davis calls it.[5] The latter is the *Carol* 'as it has been re-created […] since it first appeared, chang[ing] as the reasons for its retelling change' – a version whose creation is on-going with each new adaptation.[6] The *Carol* culture-text is 'the sum of all its versions',[7] from Dickens's novella and Leech's illustrations to the most recent film adaptation, Disney's *A Christmas Carol* (dir. Robert Zemeckis, 2009).

''Tis the Fifteenth Season' indicates further that the 'culture-text' is so familiar that it has been transformed 'from a continuous narrative into a chain of remembered scenes, a

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[2] Matthew Henry, *The Simpsons, Satire and American Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 2.
[3] *A Christmas Carol and Its Adaptations: Dickens's Story on Screen and Television* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2000), 3.
[4] Davis, *Lives and Times*, 4. Marsh also alludes to '30-plus' screen versions of the *Carol* (2001), 204.
[5] Davis (1990), 4.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.* 5.

series of visual stations'.[8] As the makers of the episode apparently presume, and to many viewers, such scenes are recognized easily and immediately, perhaps even without direct familiarity with Dickens. For instance, eight-year-old Lisa recognizes the text from Homer's modest description ('"about a miser who was visited by three ghosts at Christmas"' and '"learns a lesson"'), and far less bookish Bart (aged ten) nods knowingly before commenting on the adaptation culture surrounding the text. Furthermore, given that only three fleeting projections of *McGrew* are projected to signify the *Carol* and each with just a stripped back *mise-en-scéne*, the episode almost takes for granted that viewers will comprehend the allusions, particularly because much of the episode's impact hinges on grasping the Dickens references.

Despite innumerable layers of adaptation between Dickens's *Carol* and ''Tis the Fifteenth Season', however, there remains evident a certain 'Dickens-ness', or particular Dickens poetics, which are apparent in the dialectical relationship between interior and exterior spaces in the sequence described above, an allusive translation, it seems to me, of the dialectical opposition between hearth and city underpinning the novella. Indeed, Robert L. Patten notices that a common thread in Dickens's writing is the transformation of individuals 'from selfish, hard-hearted, cold, worldly' to 'charitable, loving, warm, and spiritual', which often coincides with spatial transformation:

> [f]requently the locus of that altered setting is a hearth […]. The hearth […] becomes associated with three things: greenery (vitality, renewal, persistence), food and drink (nourishment, fulfilment of physical and spiritual needs, communion with others), and fire (warmth, love, the family circle, healing, energy, dancing, and spiritual values) […] turning night into day, cold to warmth, loneliness to communality, selfishness to charity, brooding to acting, and man to Christian.[9]

As the embodiment of such values, aesthetics, and affect, the interior space centring on the hearth is Dickens's fictional answer to the 'problem' of the city outside and beyond, as Alexander Welsh quite rightly argues.[10]

Whilst there is no hearth in the *Simpsons* world, an apparently modern equivalent is featured and similarly endorsed as the 'answer' to modern life's 'problems'. Some of the qualities Patten outlines are epitomized in the classic image of the Simpson family sitting around the television, which always frames the programme as the final image of the opening credits, as if to foreground and advocate it. This image and the qualities it embodies are lacking in ''Tis the Fifteenth Season', as encapsulated in the almost anti-image of Homer watching television in the darkness, with only his astrolabe for company,

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[8] *Ibid.*
[9] 'Dickens and the Hearth', in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, eds. U. C. Knoepflmacher and G. B. Tennyson (Berkeley: California UP, 1977), 153-170 (157).
[10] *City of Dickens*, 142.

before dismissing his elderly father's pleas from outside in the snow for assistance back to his nursing home. The image of family around this twenty-first-century equivalent of Dickens's hearth – and the values it encapsulates – is eventually reinstated after Homer watches *McGrew*. It has particular consonance with contemporary culture's relationship with the *Carol*: watching mediated adaptations of it (or Christmas 'specials' rooted in Dickens's Christmas story tradition) with loved ones has become something of a seasonal Christmas ritual.

Using this discussion as a springboard, then, this chapter argues that Dickens's spatial poetics remain prominent in the cultural memory of the *Carol*, despite the extensively layered culture-text from numerous 'milkings' of the *Carol* 'goat'. More specifically, Dickens's novella foregrounds and spotlights confined interior spaces that epitomize the community, rootedness, and connections to collective memory of traditional cultures; it fuses these onto seemingly vast exterior spaces where industrial and capitalist London is suggested as isolating, disconnecting, and inducing short- and narrow-sightedness. And this urban doubleness, the chapter suggests, is key to the novella's adaptability, particularly of place, and so its continued resonance in new contexts.

My argument begins with the contention that through the interrelation of character and place, spaces of tradition are fetishized, conveyed with a compelling intensity, immediacy, and intimacy, not as wistfully nostalgic escapism from the modernity of industrial and capitalist London, but as the vehicle for advocating solutions to its social ills, and addressing the epoch's social and existential problems, which Scrooge embodies. In short, Dickens uses place to advocate traditional values in a modern city; he strives to make rural traditional cohere in and with urban modernity. The resulting fused doubleness has both a restraining and mutually intensifying effect on the representation of place. Treading the ideological middle-ground of conservatism – with a small 'c' – this depiction of London is particularly adaptable, I suggest, not just because it makes the text sufficiently malleable for both traditional and progressive screen interpretations in the twentieth century's shifting political climate, but it is also ideally suited to early film's spatial, aesthetic, and technological limitations.

The chapter's second section contends that such suitability for early cinema combined with the text's automatic repeatability through association with Christmas means that it was particularly popular with early filmmakers and woven into culture, which catalysed its popularity and quickly established its cinematic idiom. This culturally remembered text centring on Dickens's spatial poetics – of intense, immediate, and intimate interior spaces associated with tradition, fused with the modern, all-encompassing exterior city –, has an aesthetic and ideological doubleness that subsequent adaptations remain in touch with but are able to reposition to reflect the social and cultural conditions of

production and projection, thus enabling the text to continue resonating with post-Victorian audiences.

Finally, section three argues that it is in fact less ambitious screen adaptations (spatially, aesthetically, even ideologically) that embrace the studio reproduction of the Dickensian world and continue to privilege interior spaces over exterior ones that chime most with Dickens's poetics of place and period (and so make a more significant cultural impact). In contrast, those attempting to adapt the text naturalistically or more ambitiously than Dickens's 'Ghostly *little* book' dilute and numb the subtle but resonant poetics – including of place – that propelled the novella into cultural memory. The chapter combines argument with partial survey of certain key moments of the *Carol* adaptation chronology to provide some sense of the innumerably layered *Carol* culture-text, which accumulates with the repetition of Christmas, while also demonstrating how the doubleness central to Dickens's writing of London remains prominent in the contemporary cultural memory of the text.

HEARTH AND CITY IN DICKENS

Thousands of teenagers beginning their English literature GCSEs each year encounter Dickens's novella for the first time. And it is easy to see why many expect a conservative, perhaps wistfully nostalgic text, characterized by a Victorian London protected and pastoralized through a blanket of snow. Contemporary culture is saturated with such versions of the text and many students will have grown up with them. Often they mediate safe, feel-good, and light-hearted narratives suitable for children, which one familiar visual station epitomizes: the panoramic, elevated shot of Victorian London's snowy rooftops, before a slow descent to a bustling city street. The image, as Thomas Leitch argues, casts 'a picturesque scene, blanketing the city's ugliness and creating a pastoral scene of preindustrial innocence'.[11]

Dickens writes no such cityscape: the novella depicts London to reflect a crucial moment 'caught between traditional cultures and the forces of modernization'.[12] In it, Dickens strives to make rural traditions cohere in and with urban modernity. Contrary to popular perception, the *Carol* is a 'tale of the times', an attempt to depict the contemporary realities of 1840s London, albeit through highly stylized and mythologized poetics, which are, at times, almost animated, seemingly prefiguring magic realist aesthetics.[13] As Dickens

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[11] *Film Adaptation and Its Discontents: From Gone with the Wind to The Passion of the Christ* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2007), 79-80.
[12] Gagnier, 'Global Circulation', 82-91.
[13] On Dickens's animation of the inanimate, see Dorothy Van Ghent, 'The Dickens World: A View from Todgers's', *The Sewanee Review*, 58.3 (1950), 419-438.

writes London, it strains under burgeoning changes catalysed by industrialization and urbanization, especially their damaging alterations to human relations to others and to places. The Industrial Revolution and the resulting urbanization caused mass migration for millions seeking employment: consequently 'the English people […] became an urban rather than a rural people'.[14] Inhabiting new urban places and living in fractured, disjointed communities caused many to become detached and disconnected from their rural roots and the collective memories that crystallized around these loci, previously binding them to both other people and place.

Scrooge embodies this widespread cultural forgetting and disintegration of community; and the novella sets out to reconnect him to many values, customs, and traditions from his rural past, especially those fostering community and belonging, to rectify his urban present for an improved urban future. In fact, such is the text's wider intentions both within the depicted urban world and also the extra-textual one in which it circulates. Initially, Scrooge lives only in the narrow, shallow, individualist present, disconnected from his rural past, and unable to perceive human relations beyond the 'cash nexus', that is, beyond monetary, utilitarian, and industrial connections. In response, the novella proposes a reinstating of pre-industrial, rural values amidst the industrial modernity of 1840s London; these crystallize, Dickens suggests, around traditional Christmas festivities. The novella suggests they are not only genuine possibilities, but potential antidotes to the Victorian social and cultural ills that Scrooge embodies: they are means of fostering social cohesion, raising people morally and spiritually, as well as advancing the well-being and improvement of society.

The *Carol*'s London is populated with various intense and vivid pockets of interior space, where traditional cultures are protected and flourish; and where organic, rooted examples of community still propound. The novella spotlights them with amplified states or feelings that fuse '"cosiness"' and 'comfort', yet almost defy distillation into English linguistic translation, as G. K. Chesterton pointed out.[15] Such projected affective relations to place and poetic aesthetics of it are arguably more effectively encapsulated in the German, 'Gemütlichkeit', meaning 'the quality of being […] [p]leasant, cheerful, cosy, snug, homely; genial, goodnatured'.[16]

These aspects of the city are made to seem even more adaptable and written with noticeable resonance because of how self-consciously they are positioned within the novella's broader urban structure. They are situated, seemingly knowingly, amidst

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[14] Mingay, *Victorian Countryside*, 1.
[15] *Charles Dickens* (London: Burns & Oates, 1975 [1906]), 119-120.
[16] *OED* [online]
<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/77457?redirectedFrom=gemutlichkeit#eid> [accessed 18 September 2017].

antithetical exterior urban space, which results in their 'interweaving' and so a 'mutual intensification of entertainment, tension and tempi', as Eisenstein says of Griffith's 'montage esthetic', which influenced by Dickens's melodramatic poetics.[17] Bachelard's spatial poetics when discussing 'the increased intimacy of a house when it is besieged by winter' chime with what Dickens is doing here: for with the novella's interior spaces 'besieged' by forces associated with the industrial city outside – rather than snow – there is a strong added feeling of 'everything com[ing] alive' with such an accumulation of 'contradictions'.[18]

Furthermore, these interior spaces are imbued with what John calls the 'heritage aesthetic', an element of Dickens's prose poetics encapsulating both polarities of the adjective 'Dickensian': his writing of 'cosy, rosy England' and his 'grim, urban cityscape of grinding poverty and deprivation'.[19] In these examples, Dickens invests place with a 'peculiarly Dickensian nostalgia: not a watercolour nostalgia, but an unusually intense feeling (and indeed an unusual feeling) of nostalgia satisfied'.[20]

Dickensian nostalgia as 'nostalgia satisfied' is important for considering the adaptability and resonance of place in the *Carol*. The interior spaces Dickens colours with the 'heritage aesthetic' have heightened aesthetic power and affective impact rather than straightforward sentimental affection, or wistful longing for the past. They instead suggest a highly framed nostalgia that is fully aware of its own constructedness, as if Dickens is writing knowingly for cultural adaptability and resonance: to tap into nostalgic Victorian sensibilities for traditional Christmases of bygone generations amongst the increasingly mobile and diffuse industrialized nation, as well as the attraction of pauses and/or moments of stasis amidst the increasing motion of this industrial age.

The significance of traditional culture and the 'heritage aesthetic' in Dickens's London vision is established through the graphological structure of the *Carol*'s first edition.[21] The frontispiece foregrounds them through its richly coloured engraving of 'Old Fezziwig's Christmas Ball' from 'Stave III', which displays the rural Christmas of previous generations 'associated with the manor house, peasant revels, and baronial feasts'.[22] The sense of a pre-industrial location abounds in the image through the fiddler, greenery, and the warehouse's wooden aesthetic, as well as through Fezziwig's relationship with his workers: this surpasses the '[c]ash payment' that was often 'the universal sole nexus of

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[17] (1977 [1944]), 254.
[18] *Poetics of Space*, 38.
[19] (2010), 263.
[20] *Ibid*. 254.
[21] Illustrations were of course some of the earliest forms of adaptation and, like theatrical adaptations, fed into earlier films, though this thesis is only interested in the relationship between text and screen.
[22] Davis, 13. Similarly, the penultimate page contains an analogous engraving of 'Scrooge and Bob Cratchit' drinking smoking bishop before the hearth.

man to man' in post-division-of-labour, Victorian society, which Carlyle attacked in *Past and Present* (1843).[23] Moreover, the scene implies a wish to preserve this traditional culture through its protective framing: a semi-circle of guests and employees surround Fezziwig's dancing with his wife, a ring that the curved frame along the engraving's bottom edge completes. The bottom of the frame also gives prominence to an elderly woman, who sits with one young child on her lap and another adjacent on a stool. As I see it, this image is microcosmic of the stability provided through roots in the past, with the young children signifying the future and modernity as the next generation, the woman suggesting a previous generation, and thus the former visibly – and significantly – rooted in the latter.

Dickens thus advocates connectedness to a previous age for changing, unstable, and fragmented Victorian England, where collective links with the past were ruptured as the present generation of urbanites migrated from rural places associated with their parents. Generally, Fezziwig's decorated warehouse signifies that such urban existence does not have to mean abandoning the values, human relationships, and place attachments associated with traditional culture. Alternatively, Dickens is striving to re-establish them in the contemporary urban landscape, advocating their existence amid the 'real city' rather than illustrating them through wistful escape into the past.

Arguably the *Carol*'s most powerfully remembered visual station is the epitome of Dickensian hearth and 'heritage aesthetic': the Cratchit home during Christmas dinner. It is evidently central to Dickens's vision for the city in the narrative. Not only is it the text's longest sequence, but in aesthetic, emotional, and ideological terms, it is written as if to strike a mass readership, which has made it a perennial favourite of adaptors and prominent in cultural memory. An illuminating example is in the famous passage that describes the serving of the Christmas pudding, where Dickens writes:

> A great deal of steam! The pudding was out of the copper. A smell like a washing-day! That was the cloth. A smell like an eating-house and a pastrycook's next door to each other, with a laundress's next door to that! That was the pudding! In half a minute Mrs. Cratchit entered – flushed, but smiling proudly – with the pudding, like a speckled cannon-ball, so hard and firm, blazing in half of half-a-quarter of ignited brandy, and bedight with Christmas holly stuck into the top. [...]
> At last the dinner was all done, the cloth was cleared, the hearth swept, and the fire made up. The compound in the jug being tasted, and considered perfect, apples and oranges were put upon the table, and a shovel-full of chestnuts on the fire. Then all the Cratchit family drew round the hearth, in what Bob Cratchit called a circle, meaning half a one; and at Bob Cratchit's elbow stood the family display of glass. Two tumblers, and a custard-cup without a handle.

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[23] (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), 232.

These held the hot stuff from the jug, however, as well as golden goblets would have done; and Bob served it out with beaming looks, while the chestnuts on the fire sputtered and cracked noisily.[24]

Framed as a vision that the spirit presents to Scrooge, the scene has a surreal, uncanny, and 'remarkable quality' (50) about it, like many others in the novella: as a result, it achieves a heightened intensity and density of experience. To convey this, Dickens emphasizes aesthetic excess and affective abundance, even though the Cratchit family has little in material terms. The copper operates as an important metaphor in this respect. Like this vessel that usually boiled laundry but cooked the Christmas pudding in many poor nineteenth-century households, the Cratchit's modest home is itself a kind of pressure cooker of aesthetics and feeling. The description of it combines onomatopoeic vocabulary, overwhelming sensory signification, and listing syntax to replicate the sense of being overwhelmed with an abundant accumulation of rich details. The projected reality is intensified to feel more vivid than reality so that the depiction of the Cratchit home recreates in the reading experience the great strength of the idealized Cratchit family's relations to each other and to their modest home. Because these relations are organic rather than materialist, mercenary, or utilitarian, the novella advocates them as an antidote for the social and existential problems of the text's Victorian world.

Like the copper, however, the Cratchit home has a restraining lid on it: scenes there are prevented from boiling over into diluted ineffectiveness and unpalatability, and the intensity of the projected experience remains simmering. Throughout the *Carol*, spaces that are similar aesthetically and affectively are not widespread because, rather than just 'idealizing the past and […] eradicating what had been difficult', as is the standard, monolithic way of thinking about nostalgia, the depiction of London 'readily acknowledges the troublesome as well as the blissful'[25] elements of the city. The pockets of interior space like the Cratchit home and Fezziwig's warehouse only 'work' because situated definitely within London, rather than outside the city in an escapist, pre-industrial, pre-modern sphere.

They are crucial to the dialectical opposition that underpins London in the text: between interior spaces centred on the hearth, and the exterior urban space surrounding them. The exterior city feels constantly present in relation to these interior spaces so that they remain under the forces of its urban pressures. Both spheres antagonize one another, resulting in a perceived threat but also mutual intensification. Dickens does attempt to seal off the Cratchit home, as if for shelter and preservation, as the text does with other similar spaces like Fezziwig's warehouse. Scenes there give little attention to thresholds that

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[24] 'A Christmas Carol', 54-55. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number.
[25] Ann Colley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 4.

provide access to the city, to points of vulnerability; at one point Dickens even doubly fortifies the interior space when the family draw 'round the hearth, in what Bob Cratchit called a circle' (55), in an image analogous to the ring of guests in Leech's illustration of Fezziwig's ball. Yet even in the apparently 'blissful' Cratchit home, there are undertones of the 'troublesome': Dickens heteroglossically demonstrates the Cratchit children's fear of someone climbing 'over the wall of the back-yard' and stealing the Christmas pudding (54); Scrooge's name casts 'a dark shadow' over them; and Tiny Tim is close to death, seemingly because of Victorian urban life, which points to the more explicitly troublesome moments to come.

In fact, as implied through Scrooge's looming 'dark shadow', and the illness Tiny Tim brings inside from the surrounding city, it is London's troublesome elements that blanket the Cratchit home rather than pristine, freshly fallen snow. Dickens's representation of London's snow works like a yardstick for gauging the aesthetics and ideologies of his city. Snow is not actually mentioned in London until Stave III (aside from a brief reference in the 'Christmas Past' sequence to 'snow upon the ground' (29), though the setting is rural). Here Dickens writes:

> in the city streets on Christmas morning, where (for the weather was severe) the people made a rough, but brisk and not unpleasant kind of music, in scraping the snow from the pavement in front of their dwellings, and from the tops of their houses (47)

But this is no visual panorama: the snow registers only through the sound it makes in forcing Londoners outside into the 'severe' conditions and potentially dangerous city for difficult labour. Later, Dickens does provide a more aerial perspective, describing a:

> smooth white sheet of snow upon the roofs, and with the dirtier snow upon the ground; which last deposit had been ploughed up in deep furrows by the heavy wheels of carts and wagons; furrows that crossed and re-crossed each other hundreds of times where the great streets branched off; and made intricate channels, hard to trace in the thick yellow mud and icy water (47).

But here snow actually increases the city's ugliness. It melts and congeals with 'thick yellow mud', worsening as traffic passes through to become an aesthetically ugly visual record of urban mobility: either linked to travel for industrial or capitalist purposes; or a perceptible symbol of the migration diminishing human ties to places and other people. The snow only has the kind of untouched serenity characteristic of many screen adaptations when glimpsed from above. But only the omniscient narrator and spirits are afforded this vista, unlike the London residents within the 'real city' of 'strife and tumult [...] where shadowy carts and coaches' battle 'for the way' (34).

Far less romantically, it is actually fog that characterizes London, as in the opening description, which is afar from the culturally remembered version:

> It was cold, bleak, biting weather: foggy withal [...] The city clocks had only just gone three, but it was quite dark already – it had not been light all day – and candles were flaring in the windows of the neighbouring offices, like ruddy smears upon the palpable brown air. The fog came pouring in at every chink and keyhole, and was so dense without, that although the court was of the narrowest, the houses opposite were mere phantoms. (7)

The fog, though, operates similarly to snow. As if blighted by disease or infection, both conceal the usual 'magic lantern' of Dickens's London, forcing its repositioning in alternative interior spaces. The enshrouding qualities turn the city into a large homogenous whole, devoid of topographical landmarks and metropolitan pleasures. Against this often out-of-focus urban background, which frequently feels large and incomprehensible as a result, the small pockets of interior space, steeped in the heritage aesthetic and associated with traditional culture, come into sharper focus in the text's foreground.

The fog and snow separate individuals (and readers) from the exterior city, turning urban topography into 'mere phantoms'. The image above of Londoners scraping snow from pavements and roofs thus becomes an exercise in place making: an attempt to excavate the city, to turn homogenous space into meaningful, familiar place. Fog and snow also separate and distance individuals from each other, making them seem 'mere phantoms' to one another, as the image of fog-obscured candlelight separated from the omniscient narrator suggests. The 'smearing', which implies indistinctness of visual or affective connection, also infers a dirtying or staining, an apparent comment on the capitalist business line that characterizes the district associated with Scrooge. Like the candlelight, this stains London's atmosphere, obscuring traditional relations to places and other people.

In addition to this implicit, 'troublesome' sub-text, a more explicit one pressurizes and intensifies the interior hubs of traditional culture further. The *Carol* often associates London with death, apparently because of how rapidly the Victorian city grew from industrialization and urbanization, posing a threat to many.[26] Along similar lines, Dickens's distress at the 'Condition of England Question' is key to the novella's conception. Some of his letters from 1843 indicate dismay at children working in coalmines, the heart and lungs of industrialization and Victorian modernity. He reveals to Dr. Southwood Smith (who served on the 1842 'Children's Employment Commission' investigating child labour) that he was 'stricken down' by the recently published Commission's 'Second Report' and intended to publish a responding pamphlet: "An appeal to the People of England, on behalf

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[26] See Welsh and F.S. Schwarzbach, *Dickens and the City* (London: Athlone, 1979).

of the Poor Man's Child'".[27] He was horrified by the revelation of the 'physical states, [...] ignorance and complete moral and educational neglect' of many children who 'began work under seven years of age and worked 10-12 hours, without legal protection'.[28] Dickens wrote again to Smith, revealing that he had changed his mind about the pamphlet but would write something that would feel like 'a Sledge hammer has come down with [...] twenty thousand times the force' of his 'first idea'.[29]

More force was added after visiting Field Lane ragged school in the notorious Saffron Hill slum in September 1843, as recounted in a letter to Miss Burdett Coutts. Comparing the school to Fagin's den, Dickens reveals that he had 'very seldom seen [...] anything so shocking as the dire neglect of the soul and body in these children'.[30] Most disturbing of all were the school's 'hopeless characters', who showcased the 'Truth' that 'the seeds' of England's 'certain ruin' were sown by the 'prodigious misery and ignorance of the swarming masses of mankind in England' that Dickens had witnessed.[31] After speaking at the Manchester Athenaeum's re-opening, he decided against including a surprise pamphlet in the final instalment of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, because '[t]he idea of the State as a bad or neglectful parent to the children of the poor' came 'together in his mind'.[32] Dickens considered this best unveiled through, to use the Preface's phrasing, an individual 'Ghostly little book,' where 'the Ghost of an Idea' could be raised without putting his 'readers out of humour'.

The most explicit social critique appears in Stave III where the Ghost of Christmas Present horrifyingly reveals the 'wretched, abject, frightful, hideous, miserable' 'Ignorance' and 'Want' (66-67). They seem taken directly from the aforementioned 'Children's Employment Commission' report when the spirit claims they belong to 'Man', before warning Scrooge to prepare himself to '"abide the end!"' of '"Doom"' if nothing is done about them.

The nightmarish pair is a product of fog-enshrouded, snow-concealed 1840s London, where people are disconnected from their surroundings and each other, a version of the city that Dickens's vision of the future suggests will only worsen. Tellingly, the spirit stretches 'out its hand towards the city' (67) during this chilling warning speech. The gesture establishes the children as products of the modern, industrial city, connecting them directly to Scrooge and other members of society, who deny the situation, dismiss and castigate those who attempt to draw attention to it, or admit it purely for individual,

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[27] ('6 March 1843'), in *The Pilgrim Edition: The Letters of Charles Dickens: Volume Three: 1842-1843*, eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 459-460.
[28] Footnote, in *ibid*. 459.
[29] ('10 March 1843'), *Letters: Three*, 461.
[30] ('16 September 1843'), *Letters*, 562-564 (562).
[31] *Ibid*.
[32] Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens: A Life Defined By Writing* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), 218.

political gain, as the Spirit points out. The connection between children and city is explicit in Leech's engraving in which the spirit points to the smoking chimneys between two large, utilitarian buildings in the background (perhaps the prison and workhouse that Scrooge previously mentions). Factory smoke drifts down from one chimney towards bare, crooked trees so that the wasteful product of industry links the two elements of the scene, implying the environmental blight on display as the legacy of this signifier of industrialization, which parallels the social blight it also causes. Like the coal mining children from the 'Children's Employment Commission Report', Dickens suggests that Ignorance and Want are direct products of 1840s London, but simultaneously – and ironically – contribute to the making of it (in fuelling its industrialization, and changing social and spatial relations).

A final 'troublesome' remembered visual station is the graveyard during the 'Christmas Yet to Come' sequence, which exhibits the dialectic of the city's threatening exteriority and the home's safe interiority even more explicitly – but this time from the more alarming perspective of the outside. The churchyard is '[w]alled in by houses; overrun by grass and weeds, the growth of vegetation's death, not life; choked up with too much burying' (82). Exemplifying this clash of cultures, the secure interiority of houses literally comes into direct contact with the embodiment of urban and industrial deadness. Like the overbearing undergrowth with apparent potential to grow beyond its bounds, an encroachment by the destructive, life-threatening city on the last bastions of traditional cultures of interior spaces seems imminent. Leech's accompanying engraving pictorializes this alarming closeness just as starkly. It clearly connects the death associated with the gravestones to the houses overlooking and surrounding them: the bottom edge of the spirit's cloak touches Scrooge's gravestone, while the top of its hood finishes just below the adjacent house window to suggest the death associated with the city moving closer to the home. Likewise, the desiccated tree is rooted in the graveyard as a product of the city, but it has grown towards the house, its branches stretching across the window's entire width, obscuring and tainting the perspective within. It appears inevitable that the industrial city's forces will do more than simply press against the traditional cultures associated with hearth and home if those like Scrooge do not change their ways: not only are both intertwined visually, but the physical encroachment of the former on the latter is also implied.

MYTHOLOGIZING THE *CAROL*'S LONDON

In contrast, the remembered version of the *Carol*'s London in cultural memory is a mythologized version shaped and sustained by numerous screen adaptations, although it is

Dickens's writing of the city that facilitated this widespread adaptation culture.[33] In particular, the novella's damning social critique wrapped in a cosy, festive, 'feel-good' veil has been sufficiently adaptable for remodelling to reflect post-Victorian culture's changing zeitgeist. With the propensity to seem either traditional or modern, especially through visualizing London in a particular way, the *Carol* managed to reflect the changing 'perspective[s] of our contemporary world […;] the emerging needs' of different 'individual[s]' and 'group[s]',[34] hence its continued appeal to adaptors since cinema's inception. Furthermore, Dickens's shrewd aligning of the text with Christmas, which was becoming popular and prevalent in the nineteenth century, gave it an almost automatic repeatable and reproducible quality. At least annually, with each new Christmas, it moves to the cultural foreground and is revisited by many – especially via the screen – much like a Christmas carol's musical refrain.

The *Carol* was of course adapted on a widespread basis before the invention of cinema. Within weeks of publication, a Grubb Street 'hack' version and eight theatrical versions had emerged.[35] Dickens also adapted the text himself, making it 'definitive' in his public reading 'repertoire': it was the second most performed of all his works after *The Trial from Pickwick*, featuring in his first charity reading (1853), and in both his first and last professional readings (1858 and 1870).[36] Dickens read from a reduced, ninety-minute version, which omitted most social criticism while preserving the Cratchit Christmas dinner sequence, a somewhat de-politicized adaptation that often informed subsequent adaptations.[37] When cinema was realized at the turn of the twentieth century, then, a collectively remembered version, which was influenced, principally, by Dickens's public readings and stage adaptations was already circulating in cultural memory. Nevertheless, as the second section of this chapter evinces, particular spatial poetics of Dickens's continued to endure, with screen adaptations able to oscillate between and/or fuse the hearth/city dialectic (or certain derivatives of it) in their depiction of London because of its adaptability and resonance across different epochs and cultures.

The *Carol* was popular with early filmmakers not only because it had proven mass appeal, including in another important sphere of mass culture, the theatre, while providing a brand and pedigree for this emerging art form,[38] but also because many of the novella's most memorable visual stations took place in confined and everyday interior spaces, which

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[33] Of course, early film adaptations were also influenced by an array of visual media, including stage adaptations and various Victorian visual technologies, and so the formation of this cultural memory is not limited to the relationship between page and screen, though this is the one in which I am interested.

[34] Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs (eds.), 'Introduction', in *Cultural Memory: Essays on European Literature and History* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 11-32 (12).

[35] Guida, 39-40.

[36] *Ibid*. 42.

[37] Davis, 56.

[38] See John (2010), 230 and 188-9.

could be translated effectively in early cinema despite the restrictions of studio production. Unlike large, complex, exterior spaces, locations like the Cratchits' home or Fezziwig's warehouse could be filmed convincingly, despite early film's technological, spatial, and temporal limitations. Such intimacy, immediacy, and so intensity of interior space are aesthetic concerns of *Carol* screen adaptations that perpetuated beyond early cinema, right up to the end of the twentieth century.

While *Carol* screen adaptations concentrating on large, exterior spaces more than intimate, interior ones have influenced the cultural memory, it seems to be those that embrace the interior and intimate that succeed in capturing the aura of Dickensian London, while also chiming most with the cultural imaginary. The spatial and aesthetic 'boxing in' from studio production (particularly on television)[39] means that the *Carol*'s Dickensian city has to be signified more directly and intensively in only a few square feet of studio space: it thus operates to capture a Dickensian essence of place more effectively than the largeness often characteristic of the cinema screen. Studio production's usually quite obvious sense of constructed reality also often works to distil the novella's anti-real, highly stylized aesthetic more effectively than the naturalistic and opened-up aesthetics of on-location shooting.

Because the earliest silent adaptations were limited to combining the recording of tableaux from stage adaptations with trick photography, character and plot often took precedence over place. Yet there are still glimpses of an awareness of place and clear attempts to signify it. *Scrooge, or, Marley's Ghost* (dir. W.R. Booth, R.W. Paul, 1901), which scholars commonly consider as the first *Carol* film, depicts the Cratchit home and a snow-covered graveyard containing Scrooge's headstone, at the back of which is a stained-glass window and architecture in an evidently Gothic style. *A Christmas Carol* (dir. Ashley Miller, Thomas Edison, 1910) also foregrounds the association of Scrooge's transformed state with seeing the cityscape: the film provides a background glimpse of the urban skyline when Scrooge emerges on Christmas morning a changed man, as if his transformation coincides with urban space becoming a meaningful place.

Such early indications that at least some signification of London, even in short, aesthetically and technologically limited adaptations was required for authentic visualizations of Dickens's novella develop in two slightly later films that benefit from the art form's continued evolution. *A Christmas Carol* (dir. Harold Shaw, London Film Company, 1914) introduces the Cratchit home with an inter-title stating: 'the humble house of poor Bob Cratchit – where happiness sings in every leaf'. This compensates for spatial

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[39] On studio production aesthetics, see Martin McLoone, 'Boxed In? The Aesthetics of Film and Television', in *Big Picture, Small Screen: The Relations Between Film and Television*, eds. John Hill and McLoone (Luton: Luton UP, 1996), 76-106.

and aesthetic limitations, suggesting the idyllic, organic nature of this interior space. A concluding 'iris shot' also frames the Cratchits in an oval shape, working analogously to Dickens's aesthetic framing: it isolates their home to focus attention on its idealized nature, as well as appearing to preserve it. Furthermore, *A Christmas Carol* (dir. D. Edwin Greenwood, British and Colonial Kinematograph, 1923) introduces a window to Scrooge's office – amidst what is still, essentially, a stage set – through which he glimpses visitors arriving. This addition suggests formative thinking about shooting the dialectic of interiority and exteriority spaces in representing London, which becomes central in later *Carols*.

Because of technological and financial developments in 1920s and early-1930s cinema, the two earliest film adaptations that make significant contributions to mythologizing the *Carol* and capturing the cultural imagination on a widespread scale are the black-and-white *Scrooge* (dir. Henry Edwards, Julius Hagan-Twickenham Productions, 1935) and *A Christmas Carol* (dir. Edwin L. Marin, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1938). Aesthetic and affective traces of them are evident in more recent screen adaptations, mainly because they were the first feature-length films with greater resources at their disposal, which allowed for more extensive exploration of the text. In fact, many of the visual stations they depict are longer than the entirety of previous adaptations. They also use a wider repertoire and greater complexity of cinematography, thus commanding greater aesthetic richness than their predecessors.

Both adaptations remember a 'squeaky clean' London,[40] an 'urban idyll' full of 'pastoral sentiment',[41] in an attempt to chime with a mass audience, living through World War I's devastating legacy. These attempts appeared to succeed, for traces of their depictions of place remain in the contemporary 'culture-text', including the opening to both films: the classic extreme long shot of a snow-capped Victorian London skyline, which features in many more recent screen adaptations is introduced into the *Carol* canon for arguably the first time. Nothing in either shot is threatening or ugly, and there is certainly no sign of industrial blight or danger: if there is, it has been blanketed and made innocent by the snow, as Leitch points out.[42] There is also a newfound focus on branding the scene *as London*, seemingly influenced by contemporary needs to re-establish British national identity and heritage because of the decade's instabilities. Both films portray the paternal St. Paul's overlooking and protecting London. The *Carol* (1938) even includes an inter-title, reading, 'London ... On Christmas Eve [...] More Than a Century Ago', which

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[40] Guida, 97.
[41] Davis, 162.
[42] *Film Adaptation*, 79-80.

suggests an eagerness to signify London explicitly from the outset and etch this adaptation of place on the consciousness of viewers.

Given the social and cultural context, it is unsurprising that both adaptations represent the Cratchit home most prominently and foreground the novella's interior/ exterior dialectical opposition. In particular, they foreground the Cratchits' window, both as means of seeing inside and to intensify and stabilize this interior space against the surrounding cityscape. In *Scrooge* (1935), the Cratchit home scene cuts six times to Scrooge standing outside and peering in through the window. This continually reminds viewers that despite appearing to view the interior of the home first-hand, they are actually viewing it through a window, which self-consciously frames it as a set piece 'scene', and heightens both focus and intensity (in a development of the iris shot mentioned above), which is mythologizing cinematic technique reminiscent of Dickens's aesthetic that reminds viewers of its constructedness. The window also emphasizes Scrooge's separation from the scene. As Gillian Beer suggests, the window is a torturous boundary appearing to connect but actually separating and isolating.[43] Scrooge's visual connection but physical separation heightens his – and many viewers' – desire for the interior.

In 1938, the Cratchit home is even more prominent, featuring three times: when Cratchit finishes work before the spirits visit Scrooge; in Scrooge's post-Ghost-of-Christmas-Present dream; and as the concluding scene. The home is also 'framed' even more self-consciously because the first and last glimpses into it are shot over Scrooge's shoulder and directly through a windowpane. Objectifying and distancing the projected relationship to place, viewers consequently experience the scene in its entirety, so that it seems richer, more plentiful. As in 1935, the window also emphasizes Scrooge's exclusion, but in contrast, the four cuts to him looking in are close-ups from within the Cratchit home; this suggests that only Scrooge is excluded, whereas viewers are situated inside. In both films, then, using the window exhibits the uneasy 'connection and difference between interior and exterior', affirming 'the presence of other ways of being, other patterns of objects,' which are agonisingly 'just beyond' Scrooge's 'concentrated space'.[44]

Both thirties adaptations do also suggest the Cratchit home as part of the wider geographical network of city and nation (picking up on the novella's projected desires for community and belonging): this is not just to evoke a perceived threat to this organic space, but to suggest that the rest of London (except for Scrooge) is analogous, thereby linking the house to a national community. Following Tiny Tim's opening notes of 'Hark the Herald Angels Sing' in *Scrooge* (1935), the carol is taken up by a choir as the scene moves away

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[43] 'Windows: Looking In, Looking Out, Breaking Through', in *Thinking on Thresholds: The Poetics of Transitive Spaces* (London: Anthem, 2011), 3-16 (5).
[44] *Ibid.*

from the Cratchit home. The camera pans across dark exteriors of nearby houses, presenting small beacons of welcoming light, which shine out into the overwhelming darkness of the city, and glimpses of residents' silhouettes, which resemble the Cratchits. Mirroring the film's opening, the camera moves out into a panoramic extreme long shot of the snow-capped, city rooftops, with St. Paul's watching over, though now many glowing windows are dotted throughout the cityscape, as if illuminated through the power of communal song. As the spread of Tiny Tim's song and the scene's sequential development suggest, the values of the Cratchit home diffuse into the wider community, which stretches further than the surrounding dwellings. After cutting to a shot of sunlight breaking through a clouded sky, the sequence moves to portray the contagiousness of the values associated with the traditional culture the Cratchits epitomize: they spread to the country's peripheries, where the carol singing continues in a lighthouse and trawler off the Cornish coast. As the sequence suggests, Dickens's title does not just evoke the free cultural and societal adaptability and portability of a Christmas carol, which he seems to strive to inject in his fictional work; but it also invokes the idea of a national community of carollers centred on the values and ideologies of the Cratchits, from whom the puritanical Scrooge is excluded, a feeling of belonging that Dickens replicates through the analogous community of readers he seeks to forge.

In comparison to the 1930s *Carol*s, Hurst's *Scrooge* (1951) exemplifies the stark difference between pre- and post-war Dickens adaptations. Similarly influenced by world war, Hurst's film takes a darker turn in representing London, giving more focus to alienating and lonely exterior spaces than interior ones: as if sufficient distance has passed since World War II to be able to confront the realization of a crueller, bleaker world; or as if Dickens's Victorian world now seems crueller and bleaker because of this global cataclysm.

Nevertheless, there remains a clear desire to foreground certain stabilizing elements of national heritage, for which there continued to be a taste in post-war British cinema. Foreseeably, *Scrooge* emerged during a mini-resurgence of film adaptations of English 'classics'.[45] Sandwiched between *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (dir. Gordon Parry, Renown, 1951) and *Pickwick Papers* (dir. Noel Langley, Renown, 1952), the *Carol* (and Dickens more widely) provided a remedy for post-World War conditions, offering a more coherent, stable version of national history prior to the early twentieth century's great cultural and historical ruptures. In marketing and publicity, the film consequently draws attention to authenticity and fidelity, as in the *Press Book*'s speculation that Dickens would approve of

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[45] *Scrooge* [*Pressbook – small*], PBS-44194, 6 [BFI Special Collections].

the adaptation, foregrounding his granddaughter's comment: '"How my grandfather would have loved this film!"'.[46]

Scrooge also uses actual London buildings and locations rather than studio recreations, as another means of striving for 'authenticity'. According to the *Press Book*, the vestry of Southwark Cathedral and the Royal Exchange exterior are photographed not just for 'authenticity' but to showcase defiantly two enduring landmarks that had remained proudly intact despite the Blitz. Through such celebratory foregrounding of London iconography, Hurst's film thus seeks to use Dickensian London to re-establish London heritage and culture in the fractured, unstable post-war age, indicating the prominence of this literary city in twentieth-century ideas of national identity.

The attention given to London's exterior also means moving much of the action outside into individualistic Victorian London and so reducing the prominence of interior scenes of community and conviviality. After all, the film's production and projection just precede the introduction of the welfare states, and its interpretation of period and city certainly suggest an absence of social welfare. Fezziwig, for instance, *is* prominent, but only as central to an invented plot strand portraying the collapse of his business to emphasize this city's harsh 'realities'. In Hurst's Dickensian London, individualist, mercenary values seem more important than communal and affective ones, as modern orders replace traditional ones. At one point, an invented character called Jorkins (a modern man of '"vision and progress"') warns Fezziwig that '"[i]t's the age of the machine and the factory and the vested interest"': '"small traders are old history, […] dodos"'. Fezziwig is not tempted when Jorkins offers to buy him out, instead remaining '"loyal to the old ways"' and asserting that he will '"die out with them if needs must"'. And this is exactly what happens. During a sombre added scene, Fezziwig's sign reading 'AD 1766 – S. Fezziwig and Co.' is removed in an unforgiving close-up shot. Society *quite literally* changes before viewers' eyes: pre-Victorian culture is replaced with modern forces. Both the sound of horses' hooves to signify Fezziwig moving on and a shot of Scrooge's tracking vision confirm that Fezziwig (and the traditional cultures he embodies) are displaced: as Jorkins points out, '"time and tide [...] wait for no one"' in Dickensian London of the 1950s.

Inevitably, London worsens in the present and future, where the emphasis remains on alienating exterior urban space, rather than the communality and belonging of the interior. The end of the 'Christmas Present' and 'Christmas Yet to Come' sequences depict, as James Chapman describes, 'a grim and in hospitable [sic] environment, with wind

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[46] *Ibid.* 5.

howling down the streets and pavements empty save for the occasional beggar'.[47] In fact, the London streets frequently contain far worse than just an absence of community: for instance, the sobering revelation of Ignorance and Want; Old Joe's squalid warehouse, populated with malnourished, apathetic children, a nod to Dickens's social critique; and the climax of the graveyard climax, which is one of the film's most prominently remembered visual stations.

Hurst's adaptation of the graveyard scene shares aesthetic and thematic concerns with 'Film Noir' and 'German Expressionist' cinema. It follows a jagged, discordant fade from the Royal Exchange, as if framing the location with Scrooge's kaleidoscopically fragmented and traumatic subjectivity. Hurst alters Dickens's structure here, juxtaposing the graveyard with the Royal Exchange (rather than the revelation of Tiny Tim's death) to emphasize the natural progression from individualist capitalism to a lonely grave. Following the fade, a deeply-spaced extreme long shot with Scrooge positioned in the background emphasizes his isolation and indefensibility: he is barely distinguishable and insignificant against the vast surrounding space. The scene prolongs the agony by delaying Scrooge's fate until he traverses the sizeable space from background to foreground. As he moves, the nightmarish tension escalates through non-diegetic sounds of haunting chanting, as well as sharp, threatening angles cast by branches, graves, and lighting. Expressionist lighting is particularly important. Little fill light contrasts with the brightest and darkest lit parts of the scene to cast deliberate, emphasized shadows, which obscure and illuminate. They make the spirit indistinguishable, but irradiate Scrooge's anguished face and grave through contrast, which heightens the traumatic emotions he externalizes when unleashing a disturbing cry before collapsing in terror on his grave. The Expressionist aesthetics suggest not only 'a world of threat and danger, but also one where characters' motivations […] [are] hidden' including from viewers.[48] Scrooge is thus not only disconnected from the community of Londoners, but also from the community of viewers. His emotional distance distances them from him.

Scrooge (1951) influenced many succeeding darker *Carols*, including elements of Disney's (2009), and so marks a significant contribution to the cultural memory; however, the next notable influence came in 1970 via the contrasting musical film *Scrooge* (dir. Ronald Neame, Cinema Center). Neame's adaptation sought to exploit the success of *Oliver*!, marking new territory for adaptations of the *Carol*'s London. Unsurprisingly, Dickensian London appears central in Neame's vision for the text. As the *Press Book* makes explicit, the film had an extensive budget and timescale to convey an authentic-

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[47] James Chapman, 'Movie Adaptations of *A Christmas Carol*', in *Christmas At The Movies: Images of Christmas in American, British and European Cinema*, ed. Mark Connelly (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 9-38 (21).
[48] Rowe and Wells, 'Film Form' (2003), 70.

looking city on a sizeable scale: a 'team of skilled craftsmen' constructed a 'gigantic set' at Shepperton Studios over three months, screenwriter and composer, Leslie Bricusse, maintained, 'perfectly duplicating Dickens's nineteenth-century London' with '[e]very detail [...] authentic'.[49] As in *Oliver!*, *Scrooge* uses musical song sequences to exhibit the London set's 'sheer size and depth' and 'considerable visual appeal'.[50] Often London actually seems fundamental to these numbers, as if they are choreographed with the constructed urban space in mind: their singing and dancing allow for an enhanced and novel showcasing of the city.

Interrelating the city with such exaggerated and externalized affect contributes to its compelling heightened sense of reality. This is particularly obvious visually given the first use of Technicolour and Panavision in a *Carol* screen adaptation. As the *Press Book* boasts, the novelty of colour adds a 'new dimension to the Christmas classic':[51] it gives London an aesthetic antithetical to Hurst's 1951 rendering, removing shadows and gloom, but thereby drawing attention to the studio aesthetic.

Indeed, though much of the discourse surrounding the film pronounces the London set's size and authenticity through apparent anxiety over this crucial platial component of Dickens film; and while there are occasional glimpses of distant urban skyline, hinting at broader urban space, the film's most prominently remembered visual station is the city at street level – and one principal shop-lined street in particular. Consequently, although much action takes place outside, there remains a strong sense that exterior space is confined, and even, paradoxically, interior, which heightens the intensity of the Victorian urban experience. A prime example is the film's opening number, 'Christmas Children', which follows Cratchit and his children as they shop on Christmas Eve. It employs point-of-view camera angles from a child's height to suggest a child's perspective, which confines and constricts urban space so that the projected experience of moving through a bustling, magically lit shopping street seems immediate and heightened. Similarly romanticized senses of wonder and plenitude are evoked because the *mise-en-scéne* is flooded with colour and illuminated with light that is obviously more powerful than from candles or oil lamps. These also add to the stylized hyper-reality of London.

During 'Christmas Children' the Cratchits are also often captured in the immediate distance, which allows Londoners to move into, across, and through the space between them and the camera to suggest the bustle of a community that is content and comfortable enough to undertake last-minute Christmas shopping. With similarities to *Oliver!* (1968) and *Scrooge* (1935), this number exemplifies the communality and belonging that

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[49] *Scrooge 1970* [*Pressbook – small*], PBS-44195, 3 [BFI Special Collections].
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.

characterize Neame's adaptation of London, and are founded on singing, dancing, and externalized affect. They are most pronounced in the film's grand musical medley finale, the reprised 'I Like Life', 'Father Christmas', and 'Thank You Very Much'. Scrooge's integration into the community after his transformation is signified through participation in this communal singing and dancing.

During both musical sequences, the communal dancing moves naturally towards the Cratchit home, suggesting its connection with the affective relations to place evoked through the songs, as if this interior space is at the heart of the singing, dancing, and externalized affect flowing through the streets. In Cratchit home scenes, Technicolour filming heightens the visualization of Dickens's 'heritage aesthetic', which literally flows from the house, its warming light glowing intensively on the snow outside. Like the 1930s *Carols*, Scrooge glimpses into the Cratchit home through a window, but only after he has wiped away the frost masking the perspective; this suggests a hyper-awareness of the intensity that framing the scene evokes, as well as a desire to shield this almost sacred interior space from the city outside. However, in this remembered version of London, no shielding and protecting are really required. Because of the importance of maintaining a 'U certification' for mass family appeal, many darker, more troubling remembered visual stations are trivialized. For instance, in the graveyard scene, Scrooge actually falls into his grave with great melodrama, landing in hell where he is forced to work as Lucifer's clerk. The confined studio space of the film's depiction of London not only heightens the intensity of experience, then, but also seals off this mythical urban sphere from anything that may disturb it.

In contrast, two succeeding late-twentieth-century film adaptations, Donner's *A Christmas Carol* (Entertainment Partners, 1984) and *A Christmas Carol* (dir. David Hugh Jones, Universal, 1999), pick up where *Scrooge* (1951) left off: they depict grittier, unadorned versions of Victorian London. Both films clearly seek to shift the cultural memory towards the darker of the polarities underpinning Dickens's novella, as if fully conscious of the feel-good, 'gemütlich' qualities popularly associated with the *Carol*, because of previous screen adaptations. They strive to rid 'the tale of much of 140 years' accretion of sentimentality' and restore 'the toughness that is inherent in the original […] presented as dreadfully as it should be', as the *Times* review of Donner's adaptation stated.[52]

More specifically, both films re-instate and foreground Dickens's social commentary, suggesting its relevance for the late-twentieth-century moments of production and projection. Patrick Stewart, who played Scrooge in 1999, suggested that Dickens's text

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[52] David Robinson, '*A Christmas Carol*', 7 December 1984, 9.

had always been a '"pertinent story"' because of its '"wider social implications"' and '"profoundly serious"' nature, which are startling indictments of '"many urban societies today"'.[53] Donner's in particular has been interpreted as '"a gratuitous swipe"' at the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan years,[54] which coincided with increased poverty and inequality due to the hard-line economics and austerity. Thatcher's emphasis on individualism over 'society', as in her famous statement that '[t]here is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women […] It's our duty to look after ourselves', is particularly relevant for the *Carol*, given Dickens's emphasis on forging community and social cohesion – over selfish, isolating individualism.[55]

Along these lines, one distinctively remembered visual station in Donner's adaptation is the revelation of Ignorance and Want in a location resembling Gustave Dore's 1872 drawing, 'Under the Arches'.[56] The scene's overwhelming darkness suggests placelessness, reinforced when the spirit replies to Scrooge's enquiry about where he is: '"[t]he name would mean nothing to you. It's a place, like many in this world"'. Echoing Dickens's mocking of Sir Peter Laurie in his second 'Preface' to *Oliver Twist* after Laurie denied the existence of Jacob's Island, the spirit's line points to Scrooge and his contemporaries' short-sightedness in relation to such locations and people, as well as suggesting their typicality throughout London in the 1840s and 1980s. It soon becomes apparent that a small group huddled around a meagre fire is a young family barely surviving: the unemployed father has to steal for food; the mother fears parish poorhouse relief will separate the family and contemplates suicide. This enclave of squalor and hardship resembles one of the locations Dickens describes in his essay on homelessness and rootlessness, 'Night Walks' (1860), and worsens as 'Ignorance' and 'Want' are revealed. Their fear and desperation are emphasized through an upwardly tilted close-up of their faces, whose impact is increased with non-diegetic stabs of brass to emphasize the social point at the sequence's centre. They are the products of 'no society' and need looking after by the likes of Scrooge and his associates at the Royal Exchange.

Both late-twentieth-century film adaptations also naturalize Dickens's novella, diluting or removing its pockets of anti- or hyper-real excess. In Jones's film, London seems aesthetically and affectively liminal: all magic, romance, and intensified reality are stripped back and diluted to suggest somewhere more 'ordinary'. The opening sequence, which establishes the sense of urban place, begins with a shot above the city, before the camera drifts down to street level. Only patches of partially melted snow are visible on the

[53] Quoted in 'Patrick Stewart Story', in *'New From 4': Press Releases* [no further information] [BFI Special Collections, Press Cuttings].
[54] Guida, 142.
[55] See 'Interview for *Woman's Own* ('no such thing as society')', 23 September, 1987 <www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689> [accessed Sunday 27 August, 2017].
[56] Davis, 235.

rooftops, and the sallow, grey light makes the time of day indeterminable – it could either be dawn or twilight. As the camera descends, it pauses outside the window of a house, offering a glimpse inside. But this is no Cratchit home; there is no interior zone of festive intensity here, but only further gloom. At ground level, London is analogously ordinary. The streets are narrow and roughly surfaced with little snow and glimpses of mud. Light and colour are absent, even in shop windows. The buildings are plain, utilitarian, and unattractive. The Cratchit home is similarly anaemic, flooded with natural, rather than the stylized, artificial light. While Fezziwig's adorned and festive warehouse appears initially to provide the traditional 'Gemutlichkeit' that is missing, especially when its warming glow illuminates Scrooge's face on the threshold, the dynamics of this potentially nostalgic space are critiqued and its authenticity undermined as Scrooge states that '"looking back, perhaps things seem better than they really were"'.

The unusual absence in Jones's 1999 film of any fetishization of Dickensian interior space chimes with Donner's in 1984. Donner's *Carol* is caught up in the same heritage-focused currents as many other early-eighties films, which fetishized historical buildings' sumptuous exteriors and lavish interiors, which often brimmed with costumes and props to signify period authenticity. It is this lavish aesthetic of buildings and period objects associated with upper-middle or upper classes which acts as a counterpoint to the tough social realism, rather than the cosy domesticity of the Cratchits or Fezziwig. Distancing itself from the studio 'look' of previous screen adaptations, Donner's film attempts to capture Victorian London with an exterior look, which the trends and styles of so-called heritage cinema dictated. The emphasis on exterior spaces was made possible because of on-location filming in Shrewsbury, with the film even going so far as to authenticate this town's topography as London by superimposing St. Paul's into various shots. Like *Scrooge* (1951), Donner's film gives particular prominence to the Royal Exchange as part of its exterior look, a key capitalist signifier, which contributes to depicting Victorian London as brutally individualist, without community. In this adaptation, Scrooge is a corn dealer who raises the price of his product considerably, even though this means most remains unsold, causing a market shortage and the poor's suffering. Foregrounding this location also allows for the showcasing of various lavish costumes and impressive sets, again in the style of heritage cinema. In addition to prolonged shots of the building's late-Regency architecture, interior scenes exhibit lavish costumes, mahogany furnishings, chandeliers, and paintings. In many respects, these enhance the darker, harsher realities of Victorian London, exemplifying the deeply fractured society, as much press discourse suggested.[57] However, they do not have quite the same effect as the simplistic

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[57] See John Leonard, '"Blithe Spirits"', *New York Times*, 10 December 1984, 83-84 (84).

abundance without materialism that the confined interior spaces of the Cratchits and Fezziwig are able to evoke.

Indeed, while these more naturalistic film adaptations photographed on location and a large scale have contributed to the *Carol* cultural memory, it is the arguably less ambitious screen versions (spatially, aesthetically, even ideologically), as in *The Muppet Christmas Carol* (dir. Brian Henson, Walt Disney, 1993) and *Blackadder's Christmas Carol* (dir. Richard Boden, BBCTV, 1988), which amplify such abundance without materialism, and so chime with the public and capture the essence of Dickens's London. As indicated in both production and cinematography, *The Muppet Christmas Carol* pronounces London in its adaptation. Henson drew particular attention to production designer Val Strazovec's 'crooked, claustrophobic false perspective and purposely stagebound set'.[58] The opening credits foreground this through a prolonged aerial shot of the London rooftops, which are clearly an artificially constructed model, resembling, as a *Cinefantastique* review communicated, an 'old-fashioned Hallmark greeting card-type' London,[59] dusted with snow, featuring black-and-white timber-framed houses with glowing windows. As the elevated camera moves slowly across the rooftops, before descending to the streets, the adaptation establishes a sense of the city that mirrors the highly stylized, exaggerated, and light-hearted aesthetic of *The Muppets*, which has some consonance with Dickens's knowingly anti-real, mythologized poetics. At street level London has the feeling of interior more than exterior space because of the hyper-reality suggested in the architectural facades and the confined height and depth, which are further constricted because the *mise-en-scéne* is so packed with nineteenth-century urban paraphernalia and a chorus of stylized puppets in Victorian dress, thus suggesting the heightened intensity of the Dickensian urban experience.

The film also seems self-conscious of the doubleness central to Dickens's city, even suggesting self-awareness of Dickens's narratological movement in and out of different scenes (including interior and exterior spaces) for heightened aesthetic and affective impact. The adaptation omits much social commentary, but preserves various darker, unsettling elements. They are, though, almost always undercut through typical self-conscious playfulness and humour out of the need to maintain suitability for a family audience. For instance, the graveyard scene begins with a prolonged shot of Scrooge, standing alone amidst thick fog, as a nearby bell tolls. But it is soon apparent that narrator Gonzo (playing Dickens) and his sidekick Rizzo are cowering in fear nearby. Rizzo whispers, '"this is too scary; I don't think I want to see anymore"', to which Gonzo replies, '"[Y]ou're right […] you're on your own, folks: we'll meet you for the finale"' – and they

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[58] Alan Jones, 'Henson's Christmas Carol', *Cinefantastique*, 23.5 (February 1993), 8-11 (8-9).
[59] *Ibid.* 8.

disappear for the rest of the sequence. The effect is to disrupt the darkening of atmosphere and lighten the change in mood; it frames the remainder of the sequence, including the space where it unfolds, as external to the parameters of narrative, and also the Christmas card aesthetic of London, which it ultimately seeks to preserve.

This apparent allusion to the narratological movement in and out of different spaces in Dickens's *Carol* is analogous to *Blackadder's*, which utilizes Ebenezer Blackadder's shop door to similar ends. *Blackadder's Carol* suggests the text's place-centricity as deeply ingrained in cultural memory through its successful and evocative signification of Dickensian London with even less square footage of studio space than Strazovec's 1993 set – and more limited resources overall. In BBC television's parodic inversion, where Blackadder transforms to become less kind and charitable, but then misses out on a title and fortune, the condensing the action also shifts the text to the interior space of Blackadder's moustache shop, which commands over half of the running time. However, there is a constant awareness of the exterior urban space just beyond the threshold, which is glimpsed in the opening credits, and consists of minimal, but clear and familiar signifiers of the *Carol's* London as remembered in cultural memory: snow; illuminated shop fronts; street traders; faint gas lamps; and a brick archway implying the continuation of urban space.

Viewers are similarly manoeuvred to imagine the Victorian city outside the glass frontage and beyond the shop doorway. Blackadder is visited no fewer than a dozen times throughout the adaptation, with six visitors each calling once before and once after the proprietor's transformation. Every visitor's arrival and exit is reinforced by the bell that sounds when the door opens and directs viewers' attention to the city space outside: either visually via glimpses of the city street through the door or window, or through the various hints of the city that visitors bring inside with them, as in the icicles that hang from the noses of the chubby, overfed orphans, which contrast with Blackadder's fire. The aesthetics of Blackadder's shops, which are already intimate and intensified because of the set's constricted, typically studio-bound nature, and warming but artificial lighting, are amplified because of the obviously darker, colder, unbounded space beyond the door, especially because it is populated by those who want to exploit Blackadder's goodwill. This interior urban space also manages to communicate a convincing sense that it is located amidst a bustling but morally questionable city, even though the action mostly remains inside.

Even in this attempted inversion of Dickens's novella, where ghostly visions transport the action to Elizabethan, Regency, and 'Galactic' Britain in true *Blackadder* style, the dialectical opposition of interior and exterior spaces underpins how Dickensian London is remembered. Its fundamentality to the cultural memory of the novella is clearly apparent given that it is foregrounded and recognizable even in this stripped back, constricted studio representation of the *Carol*.

The hearth/city dialectic remains central to the contemporary cultural memory of the text, as Disney's *A Christmas Carol* (2009) exemplifies. Zemeckis's adaptation is one of great excess, but with little restraint. Both the projected film and much surrounding discourse position the adaptation as 'outdoing' all preceding versions. It adapts many of the remembered scenes and visual stations that resonated in previous screen adaptations, but attempts to adapt them in bigger and better ways. To use Julianne Burton-Carvajal's phrase, there is a sense of 'spectacular excess and excessive spectacle'[60] throughout the projected adaptation and its publicity. This is particularly evident in its pushing of both polarities of the hearth/city dialectic to extremes. However, in doing so, it actually dilutes and numbs much of the aesthetic and affective impact of the city.

At first this ostentatious excess seems inherently Dickensian; but, crucially, it lacks the key restraint that Dickens implements to temper such excessive poetics, thereby making them more satisfying, acceptable, and effective. Indeed, as John argues of the nineteenth-century melodrama that influenced Dickens, it 'is not simply excessive: apparent excess always exists in a dialectical relationship with restraining mechanisms': melodramatic 'excesses […] are only palatable' because of these.[61] Within the platial poetics of Dickens's *Carol*, and many adaptations that have captured them on screen, the hearth/city dialectic has a restraining, as well as a mutually intensifying effect. Squeezing the polarities together makes them intermingle and antagonize, whereas Zemeckis's film's unrestrained excesses pushes them further apart, reducing their impact.

Spectacular excess and excessive spectacle characterize, firstly, the ostentatious publicity campaign behind Disney's *Carol*, which demonstrated how in cultural memory the text has transcended formal and authorial limits, as well as many original contexts and meanings. The campaign suggested that the *Carol* was so well known that it had become its own brand independent of Dickens's wider oeuvre, and with a particular mythologized Victorian London at its heart. In the six months before release, Disney Studios toured almost forty American cities through a 'multi-car exhibit showcasing different aspects of the production'.[62] Each carriage featured a different film-related exhibit. Curiously fusing the modernity of Zemeckis's motion-capture with the tradition of Dickens's novella, the

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[60] '"Surprise Package": Looking Southward with Disney', in *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom*, ed. Eric Smoodin (London: Routledge, 1994), 131-147 (141). Burton-Carvajal uses this phrase in relation to *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988), which Zemeckis also directed. On Dickens and Disney, see PC Fleming, 'Dickens, Disney, Oliver, and Company: Adaptation in a Corporate Media Age', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 41.2 (Summer 2016), 182-198.
[61] (2001), 30-31.
[62] Anthony Breznican, 'The "Christmas Carol" train tour', *USA Today*, 5 October 2009 <usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/movies/news/2009-05-07-disney-christmas-carol-train_N.htm> [accessed 31 January 2014].

exhibits ranged from interactive showcasing of motion-capture technology to artefacts from the Dickens Museum, including a first edition of the novella and Dickens's writing accoutrements.[63] A second strand of the campaign coincided with London's efforts to host 'the biggest festive celebrations […] ever seen', as Boris Johnson, the city's then mayor, claimed;[64] these were part of an effort to increase international consumer tourism to the capital, as a much needed boost to the nation's recession-hit economy. As part of this, Johnson travelled to New York's Fifth Avenue Disney Store, which was decorated as Dickensian London to promote London's *A Christmas Carol* (2009) themed illuminations.[65] The tie-up between Christmas illuminations and adaptation concentrated on Oxford Street and Regent Street as icons of British retail and where the tradition of switching on public Christmas illuminations started. St. Paul's Cathedral was the third location because of its enduring synonymity with the London Dickens frequented and illustrated. Switching on the illuminations at these three locations were three of the adaptation's leading actors: Jim Carrey, who played Scrooge; Colin Firth, who played Scrooge's nephew, Fred; and Bob Hoskins, who played Bob Cratchit. To accompany the switch-on, St. Paul's Cathedral choir led the visiting public in a Guinness World Record breaking attempt at the largest ever Christmas carol rendition, which was part of Disney's fundraising for Great Ormond Street Hospital.[66]

This rich marketing campaign presents extensive material for analysis: for instance, the synonymity of a particular version of Victorian London with Dickens and the *Carol*; the continued association of parts of contemporary London with both author and text; the longevity of Dickens's idea of an egalitarian, inclusive community, which encompasses different demographics; the commodification and internationalization of the Dickensian; the *Carol*'s continued cultural prevalence and commercial weight.

It also points to the various unrestrained excesses that characterize the projected film. For instance, the campaign transcended national boundaries and crossed the Atlantic. London's *Carol*-themed 'festive celebrations' were supposedly 'the biggest […] ever seen'. The community of carollers that the campaign sought to forge strove to break a world record as the largest ever. The London mediated in the campaign far surpassed the urban space of Dickens's *Carol*. The film adaptation did not just brand itself as traditional or modern, or even a light fusion of both, but showcased its simultaneous indebtedness to Dickens's first edition and craft, and cutting edge motion-capture technology to depict the

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[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Boris Johnson, quoted in James Hall, 'Disney's *A Christmas Carol* will be theme for London's Christmas Lights', *Daily Telegraph*, 12 September 2009.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Public relations material for *Disney's A Christmas Carol* produced by <www.wdsfilmpr.com> [no further information] [BFI Special Collections, PDF Press Cuttings].

Victorian world. To appropriate the metaphor of the American publicity tour: Zemeckis's *Carol* really was a runaway train of a film adaptation in more ways than one.

In the projected film, such excess without restraint characterizes the depiction of London, as the opening frame exemplifies. The first shot nods to the dialectic of interior and exterior spaces that clearly remains prominent in the cultural memory of the text and the city at the heart of it. Through a frosted window we glimpse an enamelled Victorian street scene complete with pedestrians and slow-moving carriages, falling snow, and a warm glow from the buildings opposite. This city scene is resonant because of its hyper-real intensity – because of the twilight and aesthetic framing through frosted windowpanes –, appearing as a mythologized version of the Victorian world.

However, the depiction of place lacks much of Dickens's poeticness, or that of other more intimate adaptations: the interior space is not 'besieged' by perceived threat from outside.[67] Instead, it seems a continuation or extension of interior space – and both sides of the window seem less potent as a result. Furthermore, from this opening frame, the camera pans down to a desk below the window, before focusing on a leather-bound edition of the novella. The book opens, the camera dwells on an engraving of Marley's corpse, which blends into motion-capture animation, before the film begins. This narrative framing harks back to film adaptations from the early twentieth century, which often make explicit allusions to the adapted author as a stamp of authenticity; its combination here with motion capture exemplifies the splitting of the film between tradition and modernity. It also draws attention to the screen adaptation's status as screen adaptation, so that the narrative to follow is safely contained and distanced much like the panes of glass frame and contain the city beyond.

The clearest example of the excess of place is the opening credits: this features an aerial tour of London's rooftops with occasional swoops down to take in particular city details. Because of the sequences's point-of-view camera angle and motion, this first direct city experience evokes the sensation of riding a Disney rollercoaster. The film's intention is to exhibit, even flaunt the possibilities of representing Dickensian London using motion-capture technology, and at the same time *affect* the viewer. The sequence begins by climbing above the city from street level and the precise mapping of London soon becomes obvious as the perspective rushes from Whitechapel towards the Tower of London. On reaching this iconic landmark, the camera dwells on the frozen Thames, before floating west towards St. Paul's, until the camera is positioned before the Mansion House. Mirroring a sequence from the 1938 film, Zemeckis provides a glimpse inside of preparations for a sumptuous feast among lavish decor, before returning outside and

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[67] See Bachelard, 38.

downwards to three boys begging for food at the kitchen grate: the divided society is impossible to overlook. Next, the camera rises into the sun-drenched sky, presenting another shot of St. Paul's, before descending into a bustling street. Moving through and among it with a mobile point-of-view perspective, viewers are overwhelmed with endless successions of sensations and details.

This introductory tour of London functions to showcase Zemeckis's realization of the Victorian city with motion-capture, which the director and cast members were eager to foreground. Comments in the press revealed how they considered such technology to set this screen adaptation apart from preceding ones, as the seminal version. The 'Press Release Material' boasted that motion-capture digitally reproduced 'the performances of the actors with computerized cameras in full 360 degrees', which meant the film could present what it called 'a true Dickensian world with no artistic restrictions', transporting the audience 'to a time and place previously unavailable'.[68] Zemeckis also celebrated the aesthetically liberating possibilities of motion-capture: he could 'move the camera anywhere, to take any angle on a scene without worrying about the physical thing getting in the way'.[69] Carey revealed further that using motion-capture meant that '"Victorian London […] is not the usual blend of studio sets and matte paintings, but a fully realized 3-D environment, built from the ground up in the digital dimension"'.[70]

Because of how much the capital has changed since 1843, the apparent geographical, architectural, and historical accuracy of urban place in this opening realization of London would have been impossible without motion-capture, especially with this kind of naturalistic aesthetic. However, the depiction of the city lacks the highly charged aesthetic and affective power of Dickens's novella and many preceding adaptations, which are diluted and numbed because of excess without limits. The film firstly enlarges urban space to the kind of scale found in Dickens's larger novels rather than his 'Ghostly little book', which illustrates London in small, confined pockets of excess and intensity, without the spread of his novels. Motion-capture aesthetics also situates the representation of urban place in an aesthetically liminal space. Its hyperrealism is not 'live-action', but nor is it heavily stylized and exaggerated to the point of anti-realism, as in Dickens, so that it lacks the resonant possibilities of both cinematic forms.

As in the city image framed by the frosted windowpane discussed above, this opening exhibiting of London also evinces how Zemeckis's city is permeated with the kind of 'Gemütlichkeit' typically associated with certain interior spaces in cultural memory of

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[68] 'Press Release Material' for *Disney's A Christmas Carol* [no further information] [BFI Special Collections; PDF Press Cuttings].
[69] Quoted in Dave Kehr, 'Dickens's Victorian London Goes Digital', *New York Times*, 30 October 2009 <www.nytimes.com/2009/n/01/movies/01kehr.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0> [accessed 16 December 2013].
[70] *Ibid.*

the *Carol*, which the popular press acknowledged. *The Times* suggested that 'so tidy are the snow-dusted holiday neighbourhoods of industrial-age England […] that the only malign element in view is […] Scrooge'; the *Independent* considered it 'as cosy and familiar as piping-hot tea and buttered, toasted crumpets'.[71] Indeed, while Zemeckis's permeation of Dickensian London with this aesthetic indicates the popular market for it, such overabundance reduces the resonance that characterizes the pockets of intensity apparent in the 'studio sets and matte paintings' of previous adaptations (to use Carey's disparaging description), as well as in Dickens's novella.

A significant factor in the numbing and laming of place is the lack of a convincingly gritty, social-realist counterpoint. The adaptation does depict many 'darker' elements, including potentially frightening moments and locations. It features the revelation of Ignorance and Want, introduces a sequence where Scrooge is chased by a ghostly funeral carriage, and includes the graveyard scene, which the film confirms as a prominently remembered, enduring visual station. The graveyard scene is certainly unsettling, bleak, and despairing. The gale, blizzard, and thunder accentuate the moment Scrooge is engulfed and enveloped by his own grave, which sucks him down towards an implied hell. However, much of the potential impact is reduced because the vast graveyard appears situated in a spatial vacuum, rather than as part of the geographically and historically accurate Victorian city: it is impossible to see beyond the graveyard's perimeter railings, so it seems disconnected from a wider geographical network, especially because the transitions to and from it are even more fantastical than in Dickens. Indeed, although the supernatural and time-travelling elements of Dickens's *Carol* defy realist conventions, the text still always manages to convey the overarching suggestion that they are happening within a generally 'real' Victorian world, and this is the source of much of their appeal. In contrast, the graveyard and most other elements of social commentary (including the revelation of Ignorance and Want inside a giant, distorted clock face and bell tower) do not and so fail to disturb or jar to the same extent. They instead become part of the film's 'spine-tingling' and 'gothic horror extravaganza' lacking the potency for social critique.[72]

Zemeckis's *Carol* is therefore a victim of the dense layering of the twenty-first-century culture-text. It attempts to at least mimic, but often surpass many prominent visual stations from previous influential adaptations (the snow-covered urban pastoral from the 1930s, the colour and spectacle from 1970, the graveyard scenes in 1951 and 1984). But in attempting to blend many of these most striking aspects from the *Carol*'s screen heritage in striving to be seminal, the opposite is actually achieved: it consequently lacks a distinctive identity; and much aesthetic and affective resonance – particularly of place – is numbed and

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[71] Wendy Ide, 'God help us, everyone', *The Times*, 6 November 2009, 15.
[72] *Ibid.*

diluted. In remembering both polarities of the *Carol* culture-text with equal excessiveness, Zemeckis's *Carol* forces both poles further apart rather than bringing them closer together to intermingle, antagonize, and mutually intensify.

Although in this excessiveness Zemeckis overlooks the intense intimacy of Dickens's writing of London and also various culturally impactful studio representations of it, the film nevertheless exemplifies the continued prevalence of the hearth/city dialectic – or at least various derivatives of it – in the cultural memory of the *Carol*. It also evinces how this duality continues to capture the imagination of adaptors and viewers alike, as I have argued. Despite innumerable layers to this collectively remembered version of the *Carol*, the doubleness of Dickens's original spatial poetics continues to both endure in the popular memory and resonate with a mass audience, for it is a key factor in the adaptability of London in the novella.

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3

JANE EYRE AND THE 'SOUTHERNIZATION' OF PLACE

Jane Eyre's enduring popularity and continued close association with place in popular consciousness is exemplified in the following exchange between the Fox sisters in a recent episode of *EastEnders*:

Kim:	So, this Jane Eyre, she's the one with the moody boss, innit? […] You know, the one lurking around the house, giving her the eye. I reckon she's got a very good case for harassment.
Denise:	But they were in love! And … Hold on, how do you know about that?
Kim:	I tried watching the film after you left, to find out why you were so interested in it. And that Rochester bloke, he's just a weirdo, innit.
Denise:	Well, he did have a wife locked up in the attic.
Kim:	See! Weird.
Denise:	Yeah, but it's also about the position of women in society back then. And, tell you what, there is all this symbolism in the book…
Kim:	Oh, yeah?
Denise:	… which is about the internal conflict of the characters and how … You sure you want to talk about all of this?
Kim:	No. I mean I watched half of the film … and get the idea![1]

This amusing conversation arises after Kim spots Denise reading *Jane Eyre* for her adult English literature GCSE course, on which she has enrolled following a midlife crisis. Presumably, *Jane Eyre* is chosen because of the transcending female experience it offers and as a novel actually on GCSE syllabi, which many viewers might have studied. As Denise reads around work and domestic life, members of the soap's working-class community notice the novel and various entertaining exchanges ensue.

The example is seemingly ephemeral, yet actually provides a rich window on the cultural memory of *Jane Eyre* and contributes to shaping and sustaining that memory. As *EastEnders'* mostly uneducated – and often uncultured – characters remember *Jane Eyre* for the benefit of the soap's mass audience, the text 'means' Jane and Rochester's romance. But not only that: as well as references to romance, the remembered text also features place, and more specifically, Thornfield Hall, evincing how place is implicated in character and character relationships in cultural memory (as well as the novel). The spatial threads are clear through references to the 'house' and 'attic'; the romantic when Denise mentions how Jane and Rochester are 'in love', which further indicates the important interrelation between affect (romantic, principally) and place in the cultural remembering of *Jane Eyre*,

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[1] BBC1, 10 October 2016, 20:00.

with one amplifying and accentuating the other, a phenomenon that characterizes the text on page and screen. The sequence also implies that, although some people do read *Jane Eyre*, particularly in educational contexts, most know the text today on and via screen adaptation: '"I watched half of the film"', Kim says. The at least eighteen screen adaptations since 1909 (not to mention other 'loose' remediations), including two post-Millennium, have ensured the continued cultural flourishing of *Jane Eyre*;[2] and this chapter seeks to investigate the relationship between this extensive adaptation culture and the culturally remembered text exemplified in *EastEnders*.

The *EastEnders* sequence is particularly striking because, although *Jane Eyre* is a northern novel centred on the North of England and written by a native of Yorkshire, no traces of this northernness remain in the text remembered in the southern-metropolitan *EastEnders*. This is a spatial difference that foregrounds – and neatly captures – how the screen has 'southernized' *Jane Eyre* – especially in representing place, which is the central claim in this chapter.[3]

Screen adaptations have diluted much of the novel's northernness, even though, paradoxically, the novel's representation of the North of England was crucial to Charlotte Brontë's propulsion into cultural memory in 1847. The screen adaptations that provide easy and frequent access to *Jane Eyre* select particular shooting locations and also 'landscape' place to moderate the North's topographical heights of rougher, undomesticated uplands, moorlands, and pastures, as well as the extreme, visceral affect and Romantic energies to which these landscapes are apparently conducive (at least according to the cultural stereotype, which the Brontës contributed to forming). They instead re-locate the text to spaces that are more southern or at least appear so: with rolling hills or manicured lawns that are neat, orderly, green, and pleasant, and coincide with restrained, conventionalized, and domesticated emotional affect.[4] The version of place remembered in *Jane Eyre* screen adaptations has thus become generically southern, losing much of Brontë's distinctive northernness. However, it remains a self-consciously represented element on screen that signifies resonantly and indelibly because linked inextricably with Jane's growing romantic

[2] See Stoneman (1996), Miller (2002 [2001]), and Patricia Ingham, *Authors in Context: The Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006). Of course, cultural memories – and the recurring popularity – of *Jane Eyre* and the Brontës emerge through other factors, namely education and literary tourism, and place is often implicated in them; however, I am only interested in the relationship between screen and text here.

[3] Higson in *English Heritage* discusses heritage film's preference for southern landscapes and places but does not mention a *southernization* of non-southern ones.

[4] On the north/south spatial and behavioral divide as represented culturally, see Denis Cosgrove *et al.*, 'Landscape and Identity at Ladybower Reservoir and Rutland Water', *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21.3 (1995), 534-551; C. Delheim, 'Imagining England: Victorian Views of the North', *Northern History*, 22.1 (1986), 216230; Peter Taylor, 'The English and Their Englishness: "a curiously mysterious, elusive and little understood people"', *Geographical Magazine*, 107.3 (1991), 146-161; Levine, *Realistic Imagination* (1981).

attachment to Rochester. And this is to such an extent that it is foregrounded in the memories of fictional consumers of screen adaptation in *EastEnders*.

This chapter thus argues that place – and, more specifically, Thornfield Hall – is one of the most prominent aspects in the cultural memory of *Jane Eyre* and a crucial factor in ensuring the text is enduringly popular, because of both the adaptability of Brontë's original writing and the cultural resonance stemming from its interrelation with the text's idealized, transcending romance. Section one makes a case for the adaptability of the novel's nineteenth-century north, especially Thornfield. It contends that Brontë's writing of place is itself a kind of adaptation, tapping into popular Gothic romance and adapting it to the Victorian novel form, seemingly intuiting what would resonate with a Victorian readership and ensuring place's analogue in the mythic and fantastic rather than more fixed socio-political 'reality'. Similarly, the first-person retrospective narrative focalizes the action – and so place – through the prism of a Yorkshire self's memory, which colours 'reality', thus freeing it from fixed contexts and meanings. Consequently, the representation of Thornfield is linked inextricably to Jane's romance with Rochester, existing, as the narrative evinces when Jane returns to its charred remains at the novel's end, as myth and legend even within the novel itself, which lays foundations for adaptability to new contexts in post-Victorian culture.

Section two argues that the adaptability of place has been crucial in enabling the southernization of the text to fit various aesthetic, thematic, and ideological concerns at three moments when English heritage was prominent on screen (Classic Hollywood, BBC Classic Serial, and Heritage Cinema); this ensured the codifying and canonizing of the text for a twenty-first-century mass audience.[5] I contend here that the 1943 film adaptation depicts a neutrally codified version of the nineteenth-century national past, which also appears extra-real and mythic, so not tied to regional specificity. This textual flattening enables the text's more straightforward and portable reception thereby bringing it closer to a mass audience. The chapter suggests that this version of the text is naturalized but woven further into culture through both the 1973 and 1983 BBC television serializations, and Franco Zeffirelli's 1996 film adaptation: because of the BBC's limited resources and its broader ideologically conservative agenda, privileging southern England nearest the capital; and Zeffirelli's need to homogenize form and content as international mythology for easier international dissemination. Consequently, the text is further southernized as it is sustained into the twenty-first century across a range of indices including place. Indeed, the concluding section asserts that the two most recent adaptations generally perpetuate this southernized version of the text, despite both attempting to re-inscribe the Brontë

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[5] *Jane Eyre*, dir. Robert Stevenson (20th Century Fox, 1943); *Jane Eyre*, dir. Joan Craft (BBC Two, 1973); *Jane Eyre*, dir. Julian Amyes (BBC One, 1983); *Jane Eyre*, dir. Franco Zeffirelli (Miramax and Pathe, 1996).

mythology's northernness, though with apparent knowingness about the constructedness of this southernized cultural memory.[6]

JANE EYRE'S LITERARY ARCHAEOLOGY

Jane Eyre is regularly self-conscious about the processes of remembering and forgetting. As an 'autobiography' presenting Jane *Rochester*'s recollections of her coming of age,[7] the mechanics of memory are fundamental to the novel's form and its representation of the nineteenth century. The narrative examines both conscious and unconscious forgetting of memories that are not required in the present moment of recall, as well as amplified and distorted remembering to fulfil particular wants and needs in the present. Indeed, although Miss Temple advises Jane to '"Say whatever your memory suggests as true; but add nothing and exaggerate nothing"' (71), *Jane Eyre* is 'bound to invoke memory' only where it possesses 'some degree of interest' (83). Everything else is forgotten, 'tottering, and plunging' into the 'chaos' of 'formless cloud and vacant depth' (82).

Such self-consciousness about memory is explicit when Brontë describes Thornfield Hall's 'third story rooms', which Jane encounters on her first morning through housekeeper, Mrs. Fairfax's tour of the house. Although 'the third story' is 'dark and low', Jane finds it 'interesting' because of its 'air of antiquity' (105). She describes how:

> The furniture once appropriated to the lower apartments had from time to time been removed here, as fashions changed; and the imperfect light entering by their narrow casements showed bedsteads of a hundred years old; chests in oak or walnut, looking, with their strange carvings of palm branches and cherubs' heads, like types of the Hebrew ark; rows of venerable chairs, high-backed and narrow, stools more antiquated, on whose cushioned tops were yet apparent traces of half-effaced embroideries, wrought by fingers that for two generations had been coffin-dust. All these relics gave the third story […] the aspect of a home of the past: a shrine of memory. I liked the hush, the gloom, the quaintness of these retreats in the day; but I by no means coveted a night's repose on one of those wide and heavy beds: shut in, some of them, with doors of oak; shaded, others, with wrought old English hangings crusted with thick work, portraying effigies of strange flowers and stranger birds, and strangest human beings, – all which would have looked strange, indeed, by the pallid gleam of moonlight. (105-6)

As a 'shrine of memory', storing 'antiquated' 'relics' and 'effigies', the third storey evokes John Locke's classic concept of memory from the seventeenth century as a 'Store-House of our Ideas […,] a Repository'.[8] Whilst this almost accidental historical archive works to

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[6] *Jane Eyre*, dir. Susanna White (BBC One, 2006); *Jane Eyre*, dir. Cary Fukunaga (Universal Pictures and Focus Features, 2011).
[7] *Jane Eyre*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 83. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number.
[8] *The Works of John Locke Esq. In Three Volumes* (A. Churchil, and A. Manship, 1722), 54.

memorialize Thornfield's past and exemplify its lineage, its most significant implications are extrinsic to the novel rather than intrinsic.

The passage reads as an analogy for Brontë's aspirations to be remembered as a writer: it seems, in other words, to suggest her self-consciousness about the remembering and forgetting of cultural artefacts; and also her intuitive literary sensibility in attempting to write herself into an existing cultural memory of northern England constructed through literature. The passage nods to the artistry of writing fiction through references to craft forms like 'carvings', 'embroideries, wrought by fingers', and 'old English hangings'; the linguistic slippage in the pre-1860s use of 'story' to signify 'storey' also seems an oblique allusion to fiction. There is also an awareness of how 'fashions' change and art becomes 'effaced' in cultural memory. The description of the third storey thus seems analogous to *Jane Eyre*'s wider endeavours through careful alignment with ideas of memory to ensure that the novel is not simply 'laid up' in 'the Repository of the [cultural] Memory', but that it can always be 'revived'.[9]

Brontë certainly had ambitions 'to be for ever known', as Miller describes in *The Brontë Myth*.[10] On 29 December 1836, she wrote to Poet Laureate, Robert Southey, requesting feedback on her poetry. Although her letter has not survived, Southey's response from 12 March 1837 quotes '"to be for ever known"' as if citing her directly or paraphrasing. Later, his letter advises Brontë to '[w]rite poetry for its own sake, not in a spirit of emulation, & not with a view to celebrity: the less you aim at <u>that</u>, the more likely you will be to deserve, & finally to obtain'.[11] The aspirational twenty-year-old had seemingly been inspired through insatiable consumption of Lord Byron and Scott, among others. As Miller points out, Charlotte read and reread poetry, fiction, and non-fiction published in periodicals like *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Fraser's*.[12] She was fully aware of Scott as '"some living mythological personage, and ranked among the chief wonders of the world"',[13] and, moreover, that Byron was posthumously 'a fixed star ascending to the heaven of literature and there establishing its glory […] to all eternity'.[14] Although disadvantaged as a female writer, Brontë sought to emulate Scott and Bryon, but through novel writing, which was the most likely means of doing so in the 1840s because of the period's burgeoning novel market and especially after *Poems* (1846) by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell was a commercial failure.

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[9] *Ibid.*

[10] The first chapter (1-25) is entitled 'To be for ever known'.

[11] Charlotte Brontë, *Selected Letters*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 10.

[12] *Brontë Myth*, 3.

[13] Carlyle, 'The Amoral Scott', *London and Westminster Review* (Jan. 1838), 293-345, in *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*, ed. John O. Hayden (London: Routledge, 1970), 345-372 (362).

[14] Charlotte Brontë, *The Poetaster* (July 1830), in Christine Alexander (ed.), *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford, 1983), 179-196 (180), quoted in Miller, *Brontë Myth*, 4-5.

Through *Jane Eyre*, Brontë seemingly intuits how an unfamiliar, mythic, and romanticized rural north with analogues in much successful Romantic literature has the potential to capture a broad readership and propel herself into cultural memory. Indeed, the novel's telling opening in which Jane reads *Bewick's History of British Birds* from the window-seat of Gateshead Hall's drawing room, and is transported imaginatively to far-flung locations, works as a crucial analogy for what the novel is attempting through its northern setting. From this conventional, domestic space, the action shifts to a quick succession of Arctic landscapes rooted in artistic conventions of the Sublime and Gothic, consisting of 'rocks', 'promontories', 'bleak shores', 'dreary' spaces, reservoirs of 'frost and snow', 'heights above heights', 'solitary' churchyards, 'torpid' seas. All are said to be 'profoundly interesting' (8-9). Knowingly including this moment at the very beginning of *Jane Eyre* means that it frames the action to indicate the novel's similar construction: as a portal to rural northern locations which seem foreign, exotic, almost other-worldly, seemingly with southern and/or metropolitan readers in mind.[15]

Shifting the action from drawing room to extreme north is no coincidence, for this domestic space is where most nineteenth-century readers (who were far-removed geographically and culturally from the Brontës' northern peripheries) would have consumed the novel. Charlotte was aware of the geographical division between nineteenth-century fiction's mainly southern readership and the northern locations of her life and writings. In her 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell', which accompanied the second (1850) edition of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, she imagines her 'tale plodding its weary round in London', a reference to *The Professor*,[16] but an encapsulation of self-consciousness about her art's circulation among metropolitan or southern networks, where it provided gateways to unfamiliar regions. In her 'Editor's Preface to the New Edition of *Wuthering Heights* (1850)' she addresses readers who deemed the novel immoral and indecorous as 'strangers […] unacquainted with the locality where the scenes of the story are laid'. She suggests their criticism of *Wuthering Heights* stems from its geographical and cultural 'otherness' to their chiefly metropolitan worlds.[17]

A northern setting in itself would have struck readers in 1847, not just because of the literary marketplace's southern weighting, but also because of its 'aesthetic distance' from the literary 'norm'.[18] By 1847, Scott had been dead for fifteen years and Gaskell, the nineteenth century's other prominent muse of northern Britain, was yet to publish a novel.

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[15] Kate Flint's 'The Victorian novel and its readers' implies the metropolitan and/or southern composition of Victorian novel readers, suggesting that 'book-selling, outside major urban centres, was not a profitable trade during the Victorian Period' (21), and suggesting that Gaskell's *North and South* offered 'exotic exploration' for many (28) (In *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Deirdre David (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 13-35).

[16] In *Wuthering Heights*, ed. Ian Jack (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), 319-324 (321).

[17] In *Ibid.* 324-327.

[18] Peter Stockwell on artistic resonance more broadly, in *Texture*, 24.

Jane Eyre thus emerged amid a literary culture where the aesthetic norm was mostly southern English subject matter, its benchmark, to a significant degree, still Austen's domestic realism.[19]

But *Jane Eyre* goes further: it taps into Romantic, namely Gothic sensibilities to offer an amplified representation of northern England, which is exaggeratedly alien, threatening, and quasi-mythic, because inextricably connected to the eponymous protagonist's first-person focalization. Such focalization interrelates northern place with the extremes of reality and excesses of feeling of Jane's consciousness, whose analogue is in the landscape: the 'great moors behind and on each hand' and 'waves of mountains far beyond that deep valley', for instance (322). These topographical heights provide space for the narrative's unconventional affective heights, signifying, on the surface, affective relations to place that are wild, untamed, and raw.

Indeed, readers would be excused for considering parts of the novel 'moorish, and wild, and knotty as a root of heath', because 'hewn in a wild workshop' by a 'home-bred country girl', as mythologizing Charlotte says of *Wuthering Heights* and Emily.[20] It is easy to see how Charlotte and Austen, as two of the most popular and important female novelists of the nineteenth century, and purveyors of romance, have been rigidly polarized: the latter epitomized by '[a]n accurate, daguerreotyped portrait of a common place face; a carefully fenced, highly-cultivated garden, with neat borders and delicate flowers'; the former encapsulated by 'bright physiognomy, […] open country, […] fresh air, […] blue hill, […]', a wildness Austen rejects. In fact, this is a dichotomy that self-mythologizing Charlotte was keen to forge herself.[21]

However, on closer examination, the novel's northernness is actually as 'highly' and 'carefully' cultivated as Austen's garden; the cultivation is just less obvious. Brontë's thorough and meticulous construction taps into many cultural, literary, and artistic references, centring on predecessors of Gothic romance, including the genre's broader Romantic influences that would have been familiar for early-Victorian readers. Doing so is the essential source of this fictional region's conveyance of 'a tone, an atmosphere in the mind that […] persist[s] long after the pages have been put down', in one sense.[22] But furthermore, and more importantly, aligning the novel with already popular and familiar artistic representations of the North also intuits what would resonate with early-Victorian readers and cultural memory: it adapts such popular Gothic tropes and conventions into the

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[19] Kathleen Tillotson makes this apparent in *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties* (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1954).

[20] 'Editor's Preface', 325.

[21] Brontë's response to G.H. Lewes's letter (January 12, 1848), which expressed concern about *Jane Eyre*'s melodrama and recommended Austen as a model for her writing. Quoted in Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë Vol. 2* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1857), 52-5. See also Lewes's 'Recent Novels: French and English', *Fraser's Magazine* (December 1847), 686-695 (687).

[22] Stockwell, *Texture*, 17.

mechanized, accessible, and far-reaching Victorian novel form, thereby setting in motion a process of adapting place to new contexts, which post-Victorian screen adaptors take up, as this chapter suggests.

Northern England in *Jane Eyre* often reads like archaeology of literary memory, whose roots are in Brontë's cultured (rather than culturally vacuous) upbringing.[23] Significantly, she read with great relish the Gothic romances in *Lady's Magazines*, as revealed in a letter to Hartley Coleridge (10 December 1840), which states how she 'shall never see anything which will interest' her 'so much [as *Lady's Magazine*] again'.[24] Biographers also reveal the great extent to which she was equally well versed in broader Romantic literary culture, including the Gothic. She grew up immersed in the complete works of Byron (including Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron*) and a wide range of Scott's novels and poetry, including George Allan's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1834). She is also known to have read James Hogg's partially Gothic novel, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), which induced terror and sensation, as well as Edmund Burke's philosophical theory of the sublime, and William Gilpin's artistic theory of the picturesque.

Her astute bricolage recombining these various Gothic and Romantic literary forms to construct a memorable, resonant, and adaptable North of England is especially evident throughout the novel's most prominent section at Thornfield, which is frequently the most prominent location in cultural memory. The narrative strives to illustrate Thornfield, whose name exudes clear Gothic connotations, encapsulating the region's unwelcoming 'thorniness', and its surrounding landscape as ominous, threatening, and alien, even from their introduction. On Jane's journey there, she describes the 'strange sensation' of feeling 'alone in the world; cut adrift from every connection, which '[t]he charm of adventure sweetens' but 'the throb of fear disturbs', a 'fear' that starts to become 'predominant' (93-4). Jane arrives at night, which means Thornfield's outside is 'dark', except for 'candle-light' in one curtained bow-window, so that its inside is illustrated before its exterior (95). Its external appearance is delayed until the following morning, which is a strange sensation invoked to heighten the impact when the description does arrive. Like the single illuminated candle surrounded by darkness, this strange epistemological delay sets a precedent for the location's mysterious hidden depths that gradually unfold: namely, the supernaturally presented 'madwoman in the attic', Bertha Mason, whose roots are in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, where the old woman Ulrica is imprisoned in Torquilstone castle, eventually burning it down.

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[23] The myth that Haworth Parsonage was culturally vacuous was disproved at the end of the twentieth century with the publication of Juliet Barker's *The Brontës* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994).
[24] Smith (ed.), *Letters*, 25-28.

Thornfield's Scott-inspired poetics are continued through evocations of antiquarian Medievalism, as well as earlier traditions of Medieval Romance and fairy-tale. Much of the hall's interior resembles 'a church rather than a house', because of the all-pervading 'chill and vault-like air', suggesting 'cheerless ideas of space and solitude' (97). In addition to earlier references to 'Bluebeard's castle' (107), the 'old English hangings' (105-6) bring to mind *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*'s 'wild' northern landscapes where there is 'not a soul to be seen, nor sign of a dwelling,/ But high banks on either hand hemmed it about,/ With many a ragged rock and rough-hewn crag;/ the skies […] scored by the scowling peaks'.[25] Such Medievalism undermines the distinctively northern version of 'domestic comfort' (95-7), despite the initial suggestion of it.

When light is restored on Jane's first morning, the hall's exterior is similarly constructed through Gothic tropes and conventions. '[C]awing tenants' in its 'rookery' are frightened off 'on the wind' by Thornfield's very imposing presence, which is signified by Jane's veneration at having to look 'up' at it. Its surroundings are sinister – more 'knotty' 'thorn trees' and 'quiet and lonely hills' signifying 'seclusion'. The hall also has a 'picturesque look' (99), which signifies not only Charlotte's pictorial imagining of place, but also evokes Gilpin's architectural theory, relating to the "rugged, rough, intricate" aesthetics of "scathed" tree branches, ruined buildings, uncultivated ground, rough, rocky streams, broken rocks and ragged figures'.[26] These ideas extended to Gothic architecture which Gilpin saw as one of 'the richest legacies of art' because 'consecrated by time', and so deserving 'the veneration we pay to the works of nature itself'.[27] Charlotte is evidently imagining Thornfield within these aesthetic parameters.

 The novel's Gothic North is further apparent during Jane's famous first encounter with the Byronic Rochester whilst exploring the countryside surrounding Thornfield. Again, like the broader representation of the hall on which Charlotte centres her writing of northern place, the experience here is constructed as almost mythic and legendary, rather than tightly bound to rigid socio-political realities, thereby laying foundations for subsequent adaptability and portability. In the sequence Charlotte seems to recognize how it is the 'remarkable occurrence' and the 'larger-than-life' which 'stir the interest of listeners', as Samuel says is key to cultural memory's construction; she also apparently intuits how myths, as Armstrong argues, form around 'ideas […] beyond […] everyday experience'; those that '"get beyond" our immediate circumstances and […] enter a "full time", a more intense, fulfilling existence'.[28] As Jane wanders along the strangely desolate

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[25] Trans. Marie Boroff (New York: Norton, 1967), 45, (ll. 2163-2167).
[26] Henson, *Landscape*, 14-15.
[27] *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales: Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (London: R. Blamire, 1789), 46.
[28] (1994), 16; and *Short History of Myth*, 4; 97.

country lane, characterized by 'utter solitude' and an 'absolute hush', the narrative is interrupted abruptly by '[a] rude noise […]; a metallic clatter, which effaced the soft wave-wanderings'. This is an aural intervention the novel describes pictorially in Gilpinian terms as resembling a painting where 'the solid mass of a crag, or the rough boles of a great oak, drawn in dark and strong on the foreground, efface the aerial distance of azure hull, sunny horizon and blended clouds' (111-112).

Again, this sudden intrusion is a knowing echo of a similar moment in the second canto of Scott's *Marmion* when the 'silence' and 'solitude' of Saint Mary's lake are disrupted by 'horse's hoof-tread sounds too rude'.[29] The allusion adds depth to what is one of the novel's many disruptive impulses occurring in and around Thornfield. Like the others, it seeks to excite readers affectively through evoking 'terror, rather than the full face of horror': that is to say, it presents ambiguous hints that readers might take up and work into 'sublime images in their own minds' which are made more 'powerful' as 'the joint creation of writer and reader'.[30] In fact, Jane's reaction is analogous to that which Charlotte strives to instil in readers: she takes up the 'din […] on the causeway' and weaves it imaginatively into Bessie's 'North-of-England' legend of the '"Gytrash;" which, in the form of horse, mule, or large dog, haunted solitary ways, and sometimes came upon belated travellers' (112).

Invoking this folkloric spirit that, in turn, evokes Scott, frames the following encounter with Rochester as a supernatural moment from a remote, mythic, almost-otherworldly past to give it a certain affecting aura. Following a further attempt at exciting readers' senses as Jane mistakes a 'lion-like creature' – actually Rochester's dog – for the Gytrash, Rochester is introduced in sensational fashion. Riding 'a tall steed', breaking Jane's 'spell', and illuminated in the 'moon', yet characterized by 'dark face, […] stern features and a heavy-brow', Rochester immediately epitomizes the Byronic blend of hero and villain, which sets the tone for the remainder of the novel.

The memorable set-piece's melodramatic, sensationalist nature chimes with many further instances of extreme reality and excessive feeling (as in the 'red-room' (13), 'the great horse-chestnut […] struck by lightning' (257), Bertha's resemblance to 'the foul German spectre – the Vampyre', when she tramples Jane's wedding veil (284), and the careful patterning of fire and ice), which are the result of Jane Eyre as the focalizing prism for both the action and the novel's northern environment. These extremes and excesses combine with regular glimpses of surrounding topographical heights to cement an overwhelming Gothic sense of place that outweighs the novel's realist impulses related to

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[29] *Marmion; A Tale of Flodden Field* (London: John Murray, 1810), 70.
[30] Rictor Norton (ed), 'The Radcliffe School of Terror', in *Gothic Readings: The First Wave, 1764-1840* (London: Leicester UP, 2006 [2000]), 42.

setting. These Gothic tropes align the novel with an existing literary archaeology as well as establishing place with particularly adaptable and memorable qualities.

Such melodramatic extremes of reality and excesses of feeling bring to mind nineteenth-century debates about Gothic romance's shaping effect on female readers' minds. Brontë, though, positions herself against the conventional view that Gothic romance harmed the intellect of female readers and was a 'silly genre' preventing many from taking female writers seriously.[31] The novel positions itself against the philosophy that women should be educated out of the 'voluntary, self-created delusion, each trifling circumstance receiving importance from an imagination resolved on alarm, and everything forced to bend to one purpose by a mind which […] had been craving to be frightened' that many Victorians 'traced to the influence' of popular Gothic tales of terror and romance.[32] Austen shared this view, parodying this fiction and its supposed effects in *Northanger Abbey* (1803) through protagonist Catherine Morland's misconceptions about life because of her too diligent readings of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, among others. Along similar, although more puritanical lines, Patrick Brontë 'burnt' Charlotte's copies of the *Lady's Magazine* because 'they contained foolish love-stories', as Charlotte laments in the letter to Coleridge quoted above.[33]

Contrastingly, in *Jane Eyre* Brontë shows signs of not just believing in the primal origins of emotional life, but privileging them; she also blurs the dichotomy between 'real life' and 'Gothic fiction' established in *Northanger Abbey*, suggesting that what cannot happen in the 'real' world of Austen's fiction *can* happen in Brontë's. A key characteristic of the projected experience of the north is its ability to 'make the pulses gallop and the heart beat; and to fill the eyes with tears', passions that often build to an 'intensity which is almost sublime'.[34] But such projected extreme reality and excessive feeling appear credible because they emerge through the focalization of the similarly credible eponymous protagonist. Whereas the typical heroine of Gothic romance 'never could learn or understand anything before she was taught; and sometimes not even then, for she was often inattentive, and occasionally stupid', as Austen says of Catherine Morland (6), Jane Eyre is sharp, shrewd, worldly, strong-minded, and strong-willed. Consequently, during moments of acute affective intensity, such as after Jane's sexually charged encounter with Rochester, when her 'heart' 'tremble[s]', her 'veins glow' as her 'eyes and spirit' are 'drawn from' material reality to the 'fathomless depth and measureless distance' of the sky, moon and stars (116-17), readers can only take the almost primal affect seriously. The stereotype of northern topography as undomesticated, unbounded, and wild, which *Jane Eyre* both taps

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[31] See George Eliot, 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists', *Westminster Review* (October 1856), 442-61.

[32] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1903 [1817]), 242.

[33] Smith (ed.), *Letters*, 25-28.

[34] 'From an unsigned review, *Atlas*, 23 October 1847, 719', in *Critical Heritage*, ed. Allott, 67-69 (68).

into and helped to form, provides the space and freedom for these affective excesses and extremes of reality. Such heightened feeling also becomes an 'energizing vehicle that carries and lends force' to the depiction of place 'that then transfers that energy to the real world by way of the reader's reception of it'.[35] The northern region is more striking and indelible as a result.

Jane Eyre's highly cultivated North is also evident at the conclusion, where further familiar, though contrasting cultural tropes related to the nineteenth-century realist mode are utilized for closure and popular appeal, which amplify the desirability and memorability of the earlier Gothic and Romantic poetics. The ending taps into the archetypal marriage plot of fairy-tale, but also, more significantly, realist fiction, because of the resulting closure they provide. Crucially, this generic shift coincides with Jane's return to Thornfield from Moor House, where she finds not Rochester's romantic hall, but a 'blackened ruin' and 'spectacle of desolation' (424-5) because of the fire. The moment's impact is self-consciously heightened through extensive framing during Jane's return journey: here she expresses the anticipation of return, even predetermining the angle from which she intends to view Thornfield again.

The eradication of Thornfield through fire signifies the novel's Gothic romance burning itself out as the narrative breaks from that which has come before, especially because this symbolic centre of the novel's bricolage of Gothic romance is burnt down by one of its own Gothic tropes, 'the madwoman in the attic'. Moreover, it exemplifies how even within its own narrative, the location becomes folkloric, the stuff of local legend, so that it develops a distinctive aura while also drawing self-conscious attention to its potential for adaptation. The novel communicates Thornfield's fate to both Jane and readers via the 'host' of the Rochester Arms. With some irony for added poignancy, the host begins to recount Jane's own narrative, from which Jane tries to 'recall him' in fear (426). The moment evinces how Thornfield, the events that took place there, and Jane's part in them have already slipped into the myth and legend of the local recent past. Gossip in the local public house now shapes and sustains them freely in much the same way as Jane's own recollections did, and also subsequent screen adaptation will do, for which the novel's construction of Thornfield paves the way.

This self-conscious amplification through juxtaposing the Gothic romance of Jane's past before Moor House and the present realism of Thornfield's ruins draws attention to the contrasting actuality of Jane's present as a less attractive alternative to her past. The novel's concluding location, Ferndean, is not the 'primitive ideal of private and

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[35] John Reed writes similarly about the relationship between narrative and place in Dickens in 'Dickens on Jacob's Island and the Functions of Literary Description', *Narrative*, 7.1 (1999), 22-36 (26).

protective space' or 'perfect castle' from fairy tale, as some critics have written:[36] it is stifling and mundane, as signified by its 'twilight of close ranked trees', 'interwoven stems, columnar trunks, dense […] foliage', with 'dank and green […] decaying walls', 'no openings anywhere' (430). In fact, Rochester previously refuses to re-locate Bertha to this 'ineligible and insalubrious' (430) place because of its 'unhealthiness' and 'damp walls', his 'conscience' 'recoil[ing]' at the potential 'arrangement' (300). Curiously, though, Brontë chooses it as the location to begin Jane and Rochester's married domesticity, in line with conventions of the archetypal 'marriage-plot' of nineteenth-century realist fiction. Brontë apparently yields to the need to provide conventional cessation over more radical northern romance as a consequence of literary market forces. In doing so, she comments subtly but knowingly on the extinguishing of Gothic and Romantic tropes, whose presence is actually accentuated by their absence, reinforcing their position as the most poetic and indelible elements of the text.

'SOUTHERNIZING' JANE EYRE

Ferndean is written as if Brontë does not want readers to remember it, and, indeed, it is rarely somewhere screen adaptations pay much attention. But, significantly, concluding the novel there shifts its geography, feeling, and values away from radical northern 'heights' towards conventional southern Englishness. It consequently catalyses a southern trajectory, which the *Jane Eyre* screen adaptation chronology has perpetuated and constructed a southern cultural shaping of the text, a phenomenon traced in this section.

Stevenson's 'Classic Hollywood' adaptation, *Jane Eyre* (1943), has been particularly influential in this process, not just as the most important cinematic influence on the *Jane Eyre* culture-text, but, with *Wuthering Heights* (1939), the most significant adaptation of a Brontë novel in terms of cultural reach and impact.[37] It dilutes any distinctive northern regionalism to adapt a version of text and place for extensive dissemination. This shift away from northern regionalism is alluded to in an invented scene at Lowood. While hanging washing out to dry in the institution's moor-side grounds, Jane becomes distracted by 'a little winding country road' below,[38] which in the projected film is flanked by dry-stone walls characteristic of Brontë Country (the Yorkshire Dales) and surrounded with faint outlines of undulating moorland to signify quintessential Yorkshire iconography. After Jane asks where the road goes, Helen Burns replies: "I told you before.

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[36] Panama Roy, 'Unaccommodated Woman and the Poetics of Property in *Jane Eyre*', *SEL*, 29 (1989), 713-27 (725), quoted in Jennifer Fuller, 'Seeking Wild Eyre: Victorian Attitudes Towards Landscape and the Environment in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*', *EcoZon*, 4.2 (2013), 150-165 (161).
[37] For Ingham, who estimates that 18 million people have seen it, it has a 'classic - even mythic - status' (288).
[38] *Jane Eyre 1943 Script: February 2, 1943; Revised Final* [Brontë Parsonage Museum], 19-20.

To Bradford". Unsatisfied, Jane probes further: "But after Bradford", she questions. Helen's response maps a southwards journey: "Derby, I suppose, and Nottingham – then London". With Jane's 'imagination running away with her', as the screenplay describes, while gazing longingly along the road, the gentle breeze ruffling her hair affectingly on screen, she daydreams the journey's continuation: "And from London to Dover, and across the sea to France. And then over the mountains and down to Italy – and to Florence and Rome ... and Madrid. [...] [W]e'll drive along it one day".[39]

Like the lane and Jane's daydream, the adaptation's trajectory in representing nineteenth-century Englishness is southwards: its Americanized national mythology dilutes much of the text's northernness for a more neutral Englishness so that the text is codified to suit Hollywood cinema audience tastes in the 1940s and conforms to the generically southern version of England Hollywood sough to transit. The screenplay exemplifies that a general Englishness is in mind over a specific Yorkshire regionalism. It mentions the 'pleasant *English* countryside' that Jane traverses in an '*English* mail coach' en-route to Lowood (my emphasis), which indicates the mythic national, rather than specific regional focus.[40] Whilst the screenplay does refer to 'moors' and 'moorland', moreover, their textual presence does not filter through into the projected film: instead, vague northern landscapes constructed artificially work as nebulous backdrops to amplify more intricate and graphic representations of places that are more universal, neutral, and mythic, such as Thornfield and its garden.

A northern-inflected England and Englishness would arguably have been too heterodox for Hollywood tastes and trends in the forties. *Jane Eyre* (1943) was produced and projected when Hollywood favoured 'English' and 'period' subject matter, as H. Mark Glancy has suggested. Between approximately 1939 and 1945 American cinema treatment of a particular kind of British 'source material' – or source material 'set in Britain' – proved popular on both sides of the Atlantic.[41] But as Glancy points out, 'Hollywood Britain was seldom an average Britain'.[42] It was rather a highly stylized version of England existing 'in the past',[43] consisting of classic, recognizable iconography from the nation's heritage, often with an underlying patriotism in response to the wartime condition.[44] These films were successful because they provided escape from the world's turbulent realities and revitalizing, implicitly patriotic reminders of the national heritage under threat.

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *When Hollywood Loved Britain: The Hollywood "British" Film: 1939-45* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), 2.

[42] *Ibid.* 3.

[43] *Ibid.* 4.

[44] *Ibid.* 3.

Jane Eyre's (1943) neutralizing of northernness to project a more easily disseminated English heritage transpires most prominently in Jane and Rochester's mythologized relationship, which is interrelated self-consciously with Thornfield's romanticized garden. The film's script reveals self-consciousness about constructing and photographing this place. In particular, it suggests deliberate attention to the garden at two key romantic moments: the morning after Bertha's attack on Richard Mason and Rochester's proposal. Here the script describes the garden in extensive, almost literary detail: as 'an ornamental garden where fruit trees have been planted for decoration', with 'a walk edged with box and apple trees and peach trees and cherry trees on one side, and a border on the other full of old-fashioned flowers', in addition to 'white-blossomed fruit trees' to signify a 'happier mood' compared to Thornfield.[45]

The projected film's cinematography similarly emphasizes place's connection with Jane and Rochester's romance. The proposal scene begins with the pair entering the garden, which is photographed through a deeply-spaced, over-shoulder shot that manipulates viewers into consuming the space, as if to etch it firmly into their consciousness as the site of the subsequent proposal. When, after Bertha's attack, Rochester and Jane enter the garden front-on to the camera and look beyond the frame as if gazing longingly at the garden, viewers are again encouraged to consume the location and associate it with the high romance that follows.

As an unworldly escape from Gothicized Thornfield, where '"all is sweet and real and pure"', as Rochester tells Jane, the garden provides space for romantic affect that is free but contained by the 'careful fencing', 'high cultivation', and garden 'neat borders and delicate flowers', as well as the popular conventions of Classic Hollywood. The film's roots are in the novel's description of the '"wholesome soil"' of Thornfield's '"English country garden"', whose Englishness is reaffirmed through explicit opposition to Paris's '"slime and mud"' (144). Although Brontë's garden is 'sheltered and […] Eden-like' (248), its framing through Jane's heightened recollecting consciousness amplifies the reality of the projected experience, which is filtered through a distorting lens of excessive, vivid prose, as in the 'solemn purple, burning with the light of red jewel and furnace flame' of the Midsummer day's intense heat and vivid light (247-8). Consequently, the garden in the novel does not appear conventional, cultivated, and controlled, unlike the film's, in which emotional affect never strays beyond the bounds of conventional, sentimental melodrama, so that it tows the line of broader romantic trends in 1940s Hollywood.

Indeed, the film transforms *Jane Eyre* into one of the 'greatest love stories ever told', as it self-proclaims, moulding the text to fit 'conventional romance[46] by diluting the

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[45] *Revised Final Script*, 101-2.
[46] Miller, 155.

subversiveness – and transcendence – of Jane's relationship with Rochester in the novel, namely the 'complex […] proto-feminism of her power struggles with him',[47] which the southernization of place reflects. For Sumiko Higashi, the projected shift in Jane and Rochester's relationship reflects its socio-cultural wartime contexts of production and projection. It introduces, Higashi argues, 'clichéd formulas about romance', encouraging female viewers 'to daydream about masterful lovers' without analyzing 'the realities of power in their relationships with men'.[48] It provides the 'narcotic' of 'romance' for women whose daily lives were changing rapidly, as wartime conditions forced them beyond the domestic sphere to fill jobs vacated by conscripted men.[49] This reading is demonstrated through Jane's increased passivity, as well as Rochester's greater dominance: after his proposal in the novel, she delays her acceptance while interrogating him to establish his seriousness; yet on screen in 1943, Jane accepts him immediately. This follows a cut to a high point of melodrama: as the screenplay describes, 'a great burst of wind […] sweeps the camera up into the air' before presenting 'a peal of thunder and crash of lightning as it strikes the tree',[50] which, the inter-title communicates, signifies Jane's 'doubts and all the grim shadows that hunger over Thornfield' vanishing – 'shattered like the riven chestnut tree' because she 'loved and was loved', a moment conveyed more subtly in the novel, which suggests much about Stevenson's adaptation.

Higashi's reading is problematic, though. The film makes no claims for realism, nor does it attempt to confront the contemporary moment. In fact, the adaptation toys with reality, diluting specific northernness to make the text seem more mythic and fantastical than the novel. Not only is this essential to its enduring appeal and cultural longevity, but it also both perpetuates and heightens the adaptability of the text's nineteenth-century world. In this respect, the highly stylized – and memorable – Gothicization centring on Thornfield is key. Effectively utilizing black-and-white film aesthetics, the adaptation transforms Thornfield into a studio-recreated Gothic castle with arches, turrets, towers, battlements, flagstones, and lurking shadows, which has an exaggerated, vast, and imposing presence. Its striking introduction follows a montage of extreme long shots presenting the silhouette of Jane's carriage traversing undulating landscapes, whose bleakness is emphasized by large, threatening skies that dominate the frame and a jarring score. On arriving and alighting, Jane's silhouette in the frame's background is dwarfed by Thornfield's tower in the foreground. Its verticality appears to stretch above even the clouds, signifying the heightened, larger-than-life reality associated with the hall. The screenplay also suggests

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[47] Sumiko Higashi, '*Jane Eyre*: Charlotte Brontë vs. the Hollywood Myth of Romance', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 6 (1977), 13-31 (28).
[48] *Ibid*.
[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Revised Final Script*, 116.

self-consciousness about this moment, referring to the 'profile of a vast tower' on 'one side of the screen' to suggest 'the mass of the hall' in contrast to Jane's silhouette, which is '[l]ow on the screen' so that 'the hall is more frightening than it will ever be again'.[51] There are also references to Fred Serson's special visual effects ('Sersen Long Shots'), namely matte paintings, and expressionist reflective light scenes and heavy shadowing, which are fundamental to Thornfield's Gothic aesthetic in the projected film, while also making this studio recreation appear to at least resemble an actual location.

There are two valid interpretations of the Gothicization of Thornfield. Firstly, for Rowe and Wells, 1940s Hollywood's adoption of German Expressionist-influenced reflective light scenes and heavy shadowing signified 'a world of threat and danger, […] where characters' motivations were hidden' from fellow characters and viewers.[52] Along these lines, the popular interpretation of Thornfield's expressionist Gothic, which certainly impressed upon audiences, is the externalization of Rochester's hidden depths, which posed danger for Jane; it is also the implicit dramatization of Jane and Rochester's 'impulses and feelings', whose 'depth or mysteriousness or intensity or ambiguity […] are only dimly understood'.[53]

However, more imperceptibly, the film's heightened Gothic signifies the impossibility of breaking definitively with what precedes *Jane Eyre* in cultural memory, namely its northern roots, relating to tensions between competing northern and southern versions of nineteenth-century Englishness in the *Jane Eyre* culture-text. My thinking here is influenced by David Punter's argument that the Scottish 'Gothic's chief mode of functioning' relates to the 'distortion of [British] history',[54] namely Scotland's alienation from 'modern' British 'life', as Ian Duncan states.[55] For these critics, the Scottish Gothic represents the 'uncanny recursion of an ancestral identity alienated from modern life',[56] the 'distorted and halfway monstrous' return of the repressed '[w]hen myth becomes channelled through the splintered prism of the present'.[57] My reading of the Gothic in *Jane Eyre* (1943) is related, even though it is not Scottish. Like Scotland's position in relation to British mythologies, northern England is a periphery of the southern nation and repressed in favour of the latter, particularly when it comes to cultural hegemony. Foregrounding and

[51] *Ibid.* 41-2.
[52] Rowe and Wells, 'Film Form', 70.
[53] Michael Riley, 'Gothic Melodrama and Spiritual Romance: Vision and Fidelity in Two Versions of *Jane Eyre*', *Literature/ Film Quarterly*, 3.2 (Spring 1975), 145-159 (153).
[54] 'Heartlands: Contemporary Scottish Gothic', *Gothic Studies*, 1.1 (August 1999), 101-118 (101-2). For this reference and the following three, I am grateful to Kirsty MacDonald's article: 'Scottish Gothic: Towards a Definition', *The Bottle Imp*, 6 (November 2009), 1-2.
[55] 'Walter Scott, James Hogg and Scottish Gothic', in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2015), 123-134 (123).
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Alan Bissett, '"The Dead Can Sing": Introduction', in *Damage Land: New Scottish Gothic Fiction* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 1-8 (6).

heightening the Gothic through Thornfield in 1943 points to the emergence of uncanny, distorted, and monstrous recursions as the fabricated myths of Englishness, which dilute and repress northernness, are channelled through the 'splintered prism' of the 1940s present. Such contested questions of Anglo-American versions of English mythologies and traditions would have been pressing in 1943 when the context of world war increased the extent to which they were threatened, fluid, and questioned.

This particular reading of the Gothic may not have been widespread among popular audiences, though the broader foregrounding of this artistic mode – as a reflection of Jane's gendered circumstances, Rochester's troubled past, and repressed feelings – certainly captured viewers' attention, as popular press coverage suggested. It was crucial to portability of the text in this 1943 form, which resulted in the wide and deep dissemination of a southernized version of *Jane Eyre* into twentieth-century culture. The heightened Gothic contributed to making the text's projected reality larger-than-life, fantastical, and mythic, thereby complementing the pronounced, otherworldly romance and sentimental melodrama, and so contributing to much of the film's enduring appeal as a successful film as well as a literary adaptation.

These resonant aspects combined with the film's mechanized form: the way it streamlined the text through omission of anything without dramatic potential, which allowed it to move rapidly through condensed, melodramatic set-pieces. The result was a cinematic visualization of the text with even greater adaptability than the novel, and an important shaping influence on cultural memory. Indeed, as Glancy's statistical evidence evinces, *Jane Eyre* (1943) was the top grossing British film released by Twentieth-Century Fox in wartime, grossing £300,000 compared to *The Black Swan*'s (1942) £275,000 and *Coney Island*'s (1943) £260,000. It set box-office records on the Odeon Circuit in Britain in 1944.[58] So successful and seminal was it that *Jane Eyre* was not adapted again for cinema until 1970.

Jane Eyre was further 'southernized' through the 1973 and 1983 television serializations which offered the next signification cultural dissemination of the text via the screen, aligning it with an institution of quintessential Englishness, the BBC. Although ten years apart, both adaptations epitomize the aesthetics, formal features, and thematic concerns of much BBC 'classic serial'. They strive for fidelity, verisimilitude, and conventionality, communicating them through the prominence given to a Thornfield whose Gothic colouring is removed and whose projected experience is mainly an interior one due to studio-bound production.

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[58] (1999), 27.

The text has a southern feel because of these preferences for interior spaces. Both adaptations concentrate on what Patricia Ingham calls 'a domestic form' of the text's 'love story',[59] a domestication related not only to moving the text inside, but also to taming projected emotional affect. Much of the text's traversing of space through travel, vision, or communication to provide space for the affective fullness of Jane's Yorkshire self is reduced to a small fraction of airtime, with the sedentary, constrained drawing room instead the preferred space. For example, one of the novel's most romantically affecting moments after Bertha's attack on Mason occurs in Thornfield's garden, with Jane and Rochester's inability to conceal their ever-increasing attraction paralleled in the luscious, sensuously suggestive flora and syntax (247-8). But the 1983 adaptation transports this exchange to the drawing room, resultingly restraining emotional affect and melodrama. Likewise, although the proposal scene does take place in the garden, the *mise-en-scéne* is so dark because of the night-time setting that it might as well have been filmed in the studio. Similarly, the second fifty-minute episode of five in 1973 takes place almost entirely inside Thornfield after Rochester's inadvertent introduction to Jane on horseback, except for a forty-second scene when Adele and Jane walk outside. Consequently, all but about four minutes of the episode are situated inside Thornfield, without even a glimpse of the space outside.

The *mise-en-scéne* of Thornfield's interior in 1973 and 1983, which typically suggests the high quality, intricate period detail, and sumptuous visuals characteristic of BBC classic serial, further signifies a southern location. The overall ornateness suggests style more decorative and ornamental than the novel's northern 'chill and vault-like air' (97), or austere 'domestic comfort' (95), so that much of the coarse northern character of the hall's interior is lost. The *mise-en-scéne* often seems so full of ornament and decoration that there is no room for emotional affect, which is restrained already because of enclosure within the hall's four walls. In fact, related to this controlling and diluting of affect, and mirrored in the period verisimilitude of *mise-en-scéne*, is the removal – or in the very least, control – of much melodrama, sensation, and romance. Writing in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1983, Lynne Truss considered *Jane Eyre* a 'dreary serial', despite great potential for something more 'romantic' and 'dynamic', because 'sensational events' were presented prosaically or 'omitted'.[60] More recently, Stoneman comments on the serialization's 'slow, relatively static camera work, which allows dialogue, rather than action, to figure as the crucial means of "development": '[a]ction scenes which were given prominence in previous (shorter) film versions […] are treated glancingly […] to make room for the conversations which carry the weight of the drama'.[61]

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[59] *The Brontës*, 238.
[60] 'Fanny and Jane', 25 November, 26.
[61] Stoneman, 200.

Both television adaptations reduce or remove much that has been fundamental to *Jane Eyre*'s enduring appeal – and the Brontës' more broadly –: the romantic, dynamic, and melodramatic. Much of this continued appeal stems from representing the nineteenth-century world beyond the drawing room and landscaped garden of southern England, as well as illustrating the experience of these locations in ways that transcend the ordinary and everyday. Their absence conventionalizes the narrative, region, and human relationships, which is the case in the two television adaptations in question where the text begins to seem like something quite different altogether.

Further 'southernization' stems from the few scenes that are located outside. The 1983 adaptation features a telling sequence in the third of its eleven thirty-minute episodes when Fairfax leads Jane on a tour of Thornfield. Unsurprisingly, no such sequence occurs in the 1943 film, where Thornfield is depicted opaquely and in fragments that require piecing together, but defy it as part of the Gothic agenda. However, in 1983, the comprehensive tour and noticeably well-lit *mise-en-scéne* explicate Thornfield, making it transparent and knowable, much like characters' feelings and emotions. Similarly, when the tour reaches Thornfield's roof, Jane's retrospective voiceover narration mentions looking 'out to the far skyline', because longing 'to reach past it to the busy world beyond'. But neither narration nor cinematography imply any excessive 'power of vision', which Jane yearns for to 'overpass' the 'limit[s]' ahead of her, as in the novel (109). This lessening of affect means that Jane's affective relations to place in 1983 – and also in 1973 – have 'human scope' and fit within 'the only intelligible reality – the humanly ordered world',[62] as the treatment of place reflects, but also seems to induce, which characterizes the southern landscape of mid-Victorian realism. Rather than associating these rooftop moments with transcendent, even transgressive vision where symbolic heights of repressed feelings are displaced onto the surrounding undomesticated northern land (as in the novel), Thornfield's roof suggests Bachelard's reading of rooftop spaces in his study of spatial poetics, namely, rationality, comprehension, and clarity. [63] These characteristics are similar to the surrounding landscape, which viewers are encouraged to absorb, as Jane does.

Indeed, Thornfield's surroundings in 1983 and 1973 are further southernized because of how they are photographed and their southernness in actuality. From the rooftop, the countryside which Jane calls a 'splendid' view and 'grand prospect' looks antithetical to somewhere the Brontës traversed, imagined, and wrote about: it is topographically flat, verdantly green, and aesthetically bright and fresh. The 1983 adaptation uses Deene Park and surrounding Northamptonshire countryside for Thornfield and its immediate vicinity. More specifically, it is the estate's landscaped gardens (a

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[62] Levine, 205.
[63] (1994), 18-19.

twentieth-century creation) that feature most as the surrounding land: in the rooftop scene mentioned above and in further similar ones, including when Jane's carriage initially approaches Thornfield, a sequence featuring two clear shots of the Park across its contemporary landscaped gardens. The 1973 adaptation uses Renishaw Hall in Derbyshire, which feels similarly southern because of its location within the flatter, softer countryside east of the wilder Derbyshire Peak District. So much so, indeed, that the BBC television mini-series of *Pride and Prejudice* (1980) considered Renishaw a worthy visual representation of Pemberley, whose fictional Derbyshire location is as far north as Austen goes in her direct representation of place, an interesting cartographic representation of shaping *Jane Eyre* towards Austen.

Although obvious technological and economic factors influenced the BBC's domestication and southernization of *Jane Eyre* in 1973 and 1983, this shaping of the text also points to the BBC's broader ideological agenda related to the southern version of English literary/cultural heritage broadcast at the time. It appears to evoke debates about the BBC's broader southern bias, which scholars have identified from its inception because first director-general, Lord Reith, was 'an ardent centralizer, who disliked provincial cities and treated the regions as a kind of dumping-ground for the unwanted'.[64] Although Scottish, Reith is sometimes seen as 'thoroughly metropolitan in his political and cultural tastes' to the extent that the 'glamour of London […] was one of the great excitements of the BBC', particularly in its early stages.[65] Later in the twentieth century, especially in the eighties, the BBC's 'southern bias' related to debates about 'the "two nations" of North and South':[66] with the North a 'byword for backwardness',[67] and semi-rural south closely aligned with the royal, political, legal, economic, and imperial centre of nearby London, and so a more 'authentic' version of the nation, hence the '*Home* Counties' or '*Crown Heart*land' (my italics).[68] This is a cultural hierarchy that many BBC classic serials re-inscribed either consciously, perhaps due to the typical demographic of many BBC executives at this time (principally white males from the south, educated in independent schools and/or Oxbridge), or unconsciously due to a need to conform to particular aesthetic norms of the literary television adaptation.

Despite this privileged skewing of nation and national heritage, the BBC has been 'fundamental to twentieth-century [national] character formation', given its '[s]traddling some eighty years of national existence; operating, influentially' across spheres – 'public

[64] Samuel, 'The Voice of Britain', in *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain: Theatres of Memory, Volume II*, ed. Alison Light (London: Verso, 1998), 172-193 (177).
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Tim Madge, *Beyond the BBC: Broadcasters and the Public in the 1980s* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 24
[67] Samuel, 'North and South', in *Island Stories*, 166.
[68] Taylor, 'English and Their Englishness', 151.

and […] private' and 'speaking simultaneously' to all ages.[69] Television adaptations of classic literature – including *Jane Eyre* – have been central to this agenda. Indeed, John argues quite rightly that Dickens television adaptations 'gave the BBC what Eisenstein claimed Dickens gave film: ancestry, a past, and a pedigree', whilst television serializations 'helped to make Dickens respectable and culturally central'.[70] The relationship between *Jane Eyre* and television in particular has been mutually beneficial. But this has come at the expense of *Jane Eyre*'s northernness, which in the 1970s and 1980s jarred with southern-centric versions of national/cultural heritage central to the broadcasting corporation's agenda. With these debates in mind, BBC television adapted *Jane Eyre* in 1973 and 1983 because of the novel's cultural pedigree, but sought to shape the text to make it fit a particular version of the nation that the corporation saw fit to transmit and for which there was a market: one that was apparently refined, high cultural, controlled, conventional, and, ultimately, southern. Given that BBC serialization was a means of identifying 'past literature' as 'worthy of classic status', thereby constituting and maintaining a certain canonization, a particularly southern-shaped version of the *Jane Eyre* culture-text became 'part of the valued cultural heritage and inherited by subsequent generations'.[71]

Such was the case in the 1996 film adaptation, directed (and also co-written) by auteur Zeffirelli, which further perpetuated the southernized *Jane Eyre*. Much of this southernization centres on the recurring landscape shot that comes to epitomise Thornfield in the film. Such cinematography is the result of improved financing and technology at Zeffirelli's disposal and utilised by his expressive eye, but it also demonstrates the film's focal shift from the inside of this building to the outside in line with particular formal and aesthetic conventions of much European 'quality costume drama' since the mid-1980s, or so-called 'heritage cinema'.[72] Yet despite this photographing of Thornfield epitomizing heritage cinema's 'recurrent image of an imposing country house seen in extreme long shot – sometimes an aerial shot – and set in a verdant landscape of gently rolling hills' to showcase 'visual splendour and period richness',[73] there is not the resulting weakening of emotional affect as is a common criticism. Rather, Zeffirelli injects the visual plane with affective depth through the moving film score, even if place is southernized. A subtle and controlled sense of strong Brontëan feeling is consequently reinscribed, which, in turn, enhances the photographing of place and imprints it on the cultural memory of the text.

Viewers are manipulated into both recognizing the significance and appreciating the visual pleasures of Thornfield even from its introduction, which is imprinted through

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[69] Samuel, 'Voice of Britain', 176.
[70] (2010), 230.
[71] Giddings and Selby, *Classic Serial*, vii.
[72] See Higson (2003).
[73] *Ibid.* 39-40.

resonance and repetition. Thornfield is first depicted near the end of Jane's carriage journey from Lowood, a sequence commanding substantial screen time. After landscape shots presenting a shift from Lowood's bleaker, wilder moorland, to Thornfield's softer, more cultivated countryside, the hall is displayed as nestled amidst a valley of sun-kissed rolling green hills in a shot reminiscent of that which Higson describes above. Instead of following the carriage's progress into the valley, the camera remains focused on Thornfield. It zooms in gradually on the hall through a fixed long lens shot, separate from character point of view, with Jane's carriage moving out of the frame. Evidently, Zeffirelli desires here 'to offer […] a more aesthetic angle' on Thornfield, to display 'ostentatiously the seductive *mise-en-scéne*', than attempt 'to follow' Jane, as Higson writes about heritage film generally.[74] The location is invested with significance, which also arises from careful editing. As the carriage travels, Fairfax's letter to Jane is dictated aloud to inform viewers of important plot details, while also allowing the words 'Mrs Fairfax, Thornfield Hall' (the letter's sign off) to coincide with the prolonged ending of the slow zoom, long lens shot, which quite literally announces Thornfield.

When the carriage finally arrives, the action cuts to a close-up of Jane's face as she gazes out of the carriage window, apparently at the hall, a manipulating of viewers to look that continues as she alights. After the shot is held for thirteen seconds to emphasize Jane's wonder and delight, the camera cuts to a long shot of Thornfield, revealing the object of her affections. Similar affective relations to place are constructed in viewers through juxtaposition between shots (of subject and object) and because of simply how striking Thornfield looks in this self-conscious shot: elevated imposingly atop a grassy slope and illuminated with bright sunshine. The hall's resonant introduction is reflective of Zeffirelli's visual cinematic style, which is apparent throughout the film, though particularly in relation to Thornfield. Many similar subsequent shots (both to establish and for narrative action) mean that the landscape shot of the building becomes the film's central and recognizable spectacle.

It is the combination of how Thornfield is photographed and the choice of shooting location that is key to Zeffirelli's continued southernization of place. Haddon Hall in Derbyshire was used for Thornfield, a shooting location that in reality provides countryside combining the 'northern' landscapes popularly associated with the Brontës, and 'southern' ones characteristic of heritage cinema. According to the *Sunday Times Travel* section, Haddon is 'a bewitching yet bipolar property, lurching […] between the savage and the sweet, depending on the light': 'from the southwest, when the sun is sparkling off the River Wye […] it looks like […] where you'd want to get married', but '[s]ee its backlit

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[74] *Ibid.* 38.

crenellations from the […] hill behind, and it looks like […] where you get murdered'.[75] However, the projected film only ever foregrounds Haddon's 'sweet' side, while omitting traces of the 'savage'. The film landscapes the representation of this place – in comparison to its 'reality' – which exemplifies its southernization of Brontë's nineteenth-century world.

The film's intentions were to make *Jane Eyre* fit the semi-rural southern period Englishness that was a proven selling point of period film in the eighties and nineties, and so assumed to provide much viewing pleasure, as well as 'meaning, significance, and poignancy for international audiences'.[76] The film was produced and projected among period drama tastes and trends where the typical 'period' England on display was the southern England of successful Austen and E. M. Forster film adaptations, as well as the cinema of Merchant Ivory. The period English of Zeffirelli's adaptation certainly seems more aligned with these versions of the nation than with the Brontës' northern England.

Significantly, Haddon Hall was Zeffirelli's choice of shooting location: '[b]eing Italian', Production Designer, Roger Hall, reveals, 'Franco had a different eye to us in what he sees as authentically English' and 'Haddon obviously said English country house to him relatively quickly'.[77] The film has other Italian influences, namely composers, Claudio Capponi and Alessio Vlad, but also French (Charlotte Gainsbourg, who plays Jane, and Pathe, the distributor), American (William Hunt, who plays Rochester), of course British, and even Australian (with supermodel Elle Macpherson playing Blanche Ingram).

Consequently, the film becomes something of an 'international mythology';[78] it emerges from a blend of different national influences, produced for a range of different nations. Its production and projection bring to mind Moretti's argument about the nineteenth-century European novel's 'ubiquity of imitation', 'growing sameness' and 'reduction of diversity to unity'.[79] Analogously, Zeffirelli's film is symptomatic of so-called heritage cinema's broader 'homogenization of form and content' and 'mode of address' where 'idiosyncrasies of taste and locality' are 'suppressed or toned down'.[80] Here the idiosyncrasies suppressed and toned down relate to nineteenth-century northern English, namely landscape and characteristic emotional affect.

Much like the novel and earlier adaptations, Thornfield and romantic affect are linked inextricably in Zeffirelli's film – and nowhere more obviously than the film's poster. The film pulls much feeling inwards towards more moderate centre ground to ensure its potential to travel across national and continental boundaries. Like the previous adaptations

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[75] Chris Haslam, 'Cory Fukunaga, the director of the new adaptation of *Jane Eyre*, talks locations', 11 September 2011, 4.
[76] Higson (2003), 6.
[77] 'The Locations', in *Production Notes* (Guild: Pathe Cinema), [Brontë Parsonage Museum].
[78] Higson (2003), 6.
[79] (1999), 192.
[80] Belen Vidal, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (New York: Columbia UP, 2012), 54.

discussed, the film streamlines the text to maximize the romance at Thornfield, which is restrained and conventionalized much like the landscape within which Rochester's pile is nestled. This connection between moderated places and conservative affect is indicated on the film's poster, which, as a condensed, portable representation of the film, contributed importantly to broader collective discourse and cultural memory, much like press coverage, setting certain expectations to encourage prospective viewers. The poster features a side-on shot of Jane and Rochester's romantic embrace, without any of the novel's intense passions. Jane's eyes are closed and she lays her hand affectionately on Rochester's neck while he offers a satisfied smile. The embrace is sexualized and romantic, but controlled and staged. Their caressing forms from below the shoulders blur into the sky of the landscape shot of Thornfield below, which resembles the projected film's opening shots of the hall. Its green pastures that slope down and away are populated with sheep and trees in full bloom, signifying a southernized pastoral rural – which is an apt arena for amplifying the 'year's most romantic love story', mined from 'the timeless classic of *Jane Eyre*', as the poster self-proclaims. The landscape shot's soft focus, its moderate colours, and characters' dispassionate expressions and gestures epitomize the projected film's restraint from Brontëan extremes in favour of more moderate ground.

Yet strong emotional affect is evoked in other, indirect forms, which also heighten Thornfield's resonance: the hall's representation resists one common criticism of so-called heritage cinema that emphasizing spectacle and surface through attention to period *mise-en-scéne* and location over narrative dilutes or erases meaningful emotional affect.[81] Some popular press commentators made related claims about Zeffirelli's adaptation, accusing it of 'prettifying' the text and lacking the novel's 'fire'.[82] However, these readings suggest a film at odds with the novel's affective extremes, and Zeffirelli would surely not have overlooked such crucial characteristics of the novel – and the Brontës' wider oeuvre – given his intellectualism and familiarity with English literary heritage (two examples of which – *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Romeo and Juliet* – he adapted for cinema in 1967 and 1968 respectively), regardless of aesthetic and stylistic trends.

Despite Zeffirelli's visual emphasis, he frequently evokes affective depth through Vlad and Capponi's score, which adds significant layers of feeling when place is showcased. Music is effective in conveying Jane's emotions and signifying her developing selfhood, at the same time as evoking genuine affective responses in viewers.[83] Affecting music features at crucial moments in her evolving romance with Rochester, which frequently coincides with visual indulgence or excess relating to place. Although some

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[81] See Higson (2003), 40.
[82] Godfrey Cheshire, '*Jane Eyre*', *Variety Movie Reviews*, 4 August 1996, 62.
[83] On film music and affect see Cohen, 'Music as a Source of Emotion', 249-272.

emotional affect appears in external and material form when Jane's behaviour and actions are visualized and combined with a visual excess of place, it is importantly supplemented with the extra-diegetic space of the non-material world via the film score. In certain respects, musical supplement echoes the novel's internal voice, which is challenging to film without the voiceover narration considered unfashionable by the nineties, especially for a film aimed at the middlebrow market. The film's score thus evokes an affective depth analogous to Brontë's writing, without dislodging the visual, restrained look and feel. In fact, much of the film's visuality, particularly in relation to period setting, is enhanced through this musicality.

Thornfield's introduction is a telling example of music adding affective depth to the visual plane, thereby amplifying the resonance of southernized place. The sequence begins immediately after Helen Burns' death, with Jane the child laying flowers at her friend's grave. These initial shots are accompanied by plaintive – though not pessimistic – piano music. Its thin texture reflects Lowood's generally sparse, wan *mise-en-scéne*, as well as Jane's difficult experience there. Until now, music has been mostly sparse. But with the ringing of church bells, the film shifts in multiple ways. Suddenly, the score becomes fuller and sizeably orchestral, its sound gradually aspiring for greater optimism. At the same time, Miss Temple calls Jane's name. Responding to the calls, a changed, now adult figure walks towards the camera and after a delay for dramatic effect, the adult Jane is introduced through a medium shot held for significance and poignancy, and to allow the optimistic music to reach its richest note and climax. The effect is to emphasize Jane reaching maturity, while also communicating the affective and aesthetic fullness to come. Indeed, the feeling is heightened as the scene progresses, because of the music's continuation. Miss Temple reveals Jane's "coach is here" for her "new life", and the journey continues as described above. But at the point of the slow, long-lens zoom shot of Thornfield as Fairfax signs off her letter, the music reaches a melodious peak that continues as Jane gazes at the hall while alighting. It spotlights Thornfield in aural terms to add layers of resonance that complement the visual highlighting of place. Evoking the optimism, but unfulfilled desires of Jane's consciousness here, the musical piece also sounds at other key moments in Jane's developing selfhood and the plot, becoming the film's recognizable refrain. Most relate to her increasing closeness to Rochester and their developing romance, including when the affecting piece is heard for a final time as Jane reveals in the closing scene, "And so, I married him".

Zeffirelli's adaptation might not have matched the economic success and cultural influence of Stevenson's in 1943, but its striking depiction of Thornfield certainly impacted the cultural memory of *Jane Eyre*. It fixed the televisual/cinematic memory of this fictional location so that both subsequent screen adaptations (in 2006 and 2011) also used Haddon Hall for Thornfield. Such glaring inter-textuality is ironic and presents a tension, however, given how both adaptations also foregrounded their originality and freshness, as if aware of the southernized shaping of the text during the twentieth century.[84] In addition to producer Diedrick Santer's press comments that his 2006 adaptation was 'brand new' and 'original',[85] the 2011 film has a bold, *near*-original opening with Jane's hopeless isolation on the moors of 'a north midland shire' (322), which quite literally announces its distance from the 'norm'.[86]

Thus, this final section explores how the 2011 and 2006 screen adaptations suggest a renewed interest in the Brontës' northern moorland landscapes and seek to realign *Jane Eyre* with this broader Brontë mythology to distinguish themselves from the generic, southernized myth of period English in preceding screen adaptations (and period drama more broadly). However, whilst drawing attention to the constructedness and artificiality of the cultural memory of Thornfield's softer, southern landscapes, and appearing to work against them, they actually manipulate viewers into desiring the conventionalized, southern version of the nineteenth-century nation, as Jane does.

Initially, the 2011 film appears to veer radically away from preceding screen adaptations, foregrounding rugged, wild northern landscapes and untamed emotions through altering the narrative structure to begin in media res with Jane fleeing Thornfield after learning of Rochester's wife. Jane soon reaches vast, hostile moorland, struggling against it with increasing desperation, before arriving at the welcome refuge of St. John's moor-side cottage after near-collapse. Once inside, the film flashes back to Jane's childhood. After the classic window-seat sequence, the narrative follows its traditional course until Jane enrols at Lowood when it returns to Moor House.

The shift marks a return to what the film constructs as the *present reality*: Jane's recuperation at Moor House under the Rivers' watchful eye. The initial shift between present reality and past fantasy is the first of a number of occasions when Moor House

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[84] See Rebecca White, '"Fresh Eyre?" How Original is Sandy Welch's Televised *Jane Eyre*?', Brontë *Studies*, 33.2 (2008), 136-147, which argues recent adaptations from 2004 have 'heralded a […] striking revolution in the approach to period productions' (137).

[85] <http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2006/04_april/18/janeeyre.shtml> [accessed Wednesday 19 April, 2017].

[86] I use 'near-original' deliberately: the final revised screenplay in 1943 indicates original intentions to open similarly, although this never transpired on screen.

scenes are intercut with flashbacks of Jane's earlier life. This structural patterning continues until Jane recollects arriving at Thornfield, from which the action continues uninterrupted until the opening sequence is repeated as past catches up with present.

The uninterrupted continuation of Jane's recollections from Thornfield until the repeated opening sequence signifies the sacredness of the hall. This is a reinscribing and perpetuating of the place-centric remembered version of the text because of the location's interrelation with Jane's powerful developing romance with Rochester. Jane's escape into these memories is prolonged; she evidently wants them to remain unbroken. In fact, their status as recollections at all quickly dissipates. They absorb Jane and viewers so much that they evolve into the film's reality (or at least idealized reality). However, the slippage depends on dialectical juxtaposition with the opening's northern English moorland and interrelated painful affect. Whilst the moors are an essential topographical feature of the novel's St. John section, the 'crystallization' of Jane's 'dizzying negative freedom',[87] they do not resonate quite like Thornfield as Brontë writes them, nor command so much attention on screen. They signify an anti-romantic pinnacle when Jane and Rochester's union seems impossible, and are antithetical to the 'southern' period English 'look' characteristic of screen adaptations.

In attempting to re-inscribe the *Jane Eyre* culture-text with hyper-northernness, the opening re-aligns *Jane Eyre* (2011) with key elements of international Brontë mythology, because the film is what Claire Monk calls 'a transnational film […] for an expressly global audience', blending American, British, and European influences.[88] Around the Millennium, the lives and times of the Brontës, particularly in their Haworth home, received renewed cultural interest following seminal biographical publications by Barker (1994) and Miller (2001). The 2006 and 2011 screen adaptations seem in dialogue with this biographical scholarship in moving away from the southernized screen memory of the text, instead apparently returning to nineteenth-century historicist influences.

A crucial example is Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857), which Miller foregrounds as a significant influence on the cultural memory of the Brontës. In particular, Gaskell's famous opening describing the journey from Keighley railway station to Haworth captured the public consciousness, influencing various screen interpretations of this famous literary family and provoking numerous ideas in the Brontë biographies mentioned above. On approaching Haworth, Gaskell illustrates the small town's:

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[87] Livesey, 'Communicating with *Jane Eyre*: Stagecoach, Mail, and the Tory Nation', *Victorian Studies*, 53.4 (Summer 2011), 615-638 (631).
[88] 'Eyre Conditioning', *Sight and Sound*, 21.10 (October 2011), 44-5.

> background of dun and purple moors, rising and sweeping away […]. All round the horizon
> there is this same line of sinuous wave-like hills; the scoops into which they fall only
> revealing other hills beyond, of similar colour and shape, crowned with wild, bleak moors

Next, Haworth Parsonage comes into view:

> at right angles to the road, facing down upon the church; so that, in fact, parsonage, church,
> and belfried school-house, form three sides of an irregular oblong, of which the fourth is
> open to the fields and moors that lie beyond. […] The house is of grey stone, two stories
> high, heavily roofed with flags, in order to resist the winds that might strip off a lighter
> covering.

Haworth is highly mythologized here as more isolated and closer to the moors than in actuality. According to Miller, Haworth Parsonage 'was not in reality as isolated' as Gaskell's account – 'the basis of subsequent legend – suggested'.[89] A visit today demonstrates that rather than 'a lonely unprotected structure surrounded on all sides by miles of windswept moor' it 'is seconds from the nearest pub and post office'.[90] It takes approximately fifteen minutes to reach the moors on foot from the Parsonage. Still, Gaskell's mythic, escapist portrayal has resonated with readers, literary tourists, and film directors alike, even in 2011, perpetuating and so etching itself into cultural memory.

Fukunaga's film seems not just to draw on this mythology, but to take it to extremes. The Rivers' Moor House resembles an exaggerated version of Haworth Parsonage, as Gaskell described it. Numerous extreme-long shots, often from low positions to capture surrounding moorland and expansive sky emphasize its isolated situation, dwarfed from all angles by landscape and sky, as well as its overwhelming greyness. Moreover, St. John's work as clergyman and Jane's school teaching bring to mind the church and schoolhouse from Gaskell's portrait of Haworth.

Inside Moor House, the projected film further invokes the domestic lives of Brontë mythology. Miller points out that Gaskell heightened the ominous, even fatal 'legend' that the *Life* had 'laid down': of 'three lonely sisters playing out their tragic destiny on top of a windswept moor with a mad misanthrope father and doomed brother', from which the moors offered escape and solace for the sisters.[91] Similarly, Fukunaga's photographing of domestic space often frames the three Rivers siblings together with Jane, echoing and imprinting Brontë-like family iconography of three sisters and a controlling male. The suggestion of siblings is actually explicit at one point when Jane says to St. John that '"[i]f you would accept me as a sister, perhaps we could live together at Moor House"' (a line

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[89] (2001), 57.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] *Ibid.* 141-1.

echoing his words in the novel: "'Jane, I will be your brother – my sisters will be your sisters'" (387)).

Significantly, Fukunaga's altered narrative structure constructs Moor House life as the unfavourable present reality (with Thornfield thereby the escapist fantasy of the past). It is stifling, isolated, and mundane for Jane, who is mostly confined to the interior space, which seems monotonous and muted. Its *mise-en-scéne*, including costume and make up, feels watery and wan, reflecting the affectless mediocrity of Jane's life. In fact, the nature of this existence, including its female inhabitants' yearning for escape, is suggested when Mary Rivers reveals fears that she would have to take Jane's "'remains to an unmarked grave'", to which her sister exclaims that she has read "'*The Bride of Lindorf* and suddenly it's all woebegone maidens and dramatic deaths'". This invented reference to Letitia Elizabeth Landon's short Gothic writings hints at the desires for romantic escape that Moor House life induces: the kind of material that Brontë herself had in mind when writing the novel. Jane's arrival is "'the most exciting thing that's happened since St. John's sermon on the fall of Babylon,'" Mary Rivers jokes. It is unsurprising that this location ingrains in both Jane and viewers the desire for reconnection with Rochester at Thornfield, particularly through contrasting representations of place.

White's 2006 mini-series works similarly: it foregrounds the moors – more than in preceding screen adaptations – to disrupt the action and viewing experience, associating them with three painful moments in Jane's narrative: when Rochester emerges from the mist on horseback before near-collision with her; when Jane reveals to Rochester the mysterious destruction of her wedding veil; and when at her lowest ebb and most estranged from Thornfield (as above). The opening depiction of the moor is as an abyss, evoking a sinister sense of the unknown through misty greyness, and eerie, discordant music and unnerving sounds that accompany Jane's progress, before quickly beginning to threaten. White employs a montage sequence juxtaposing shots of Rochester's horse galloping ferociously and relentlessly with Jane's fear-stricken face, which jars because of how sudden, noisy, and uncharacteristic of period drama it is. Added immediacy to intensify the action comes from handheld camerawork, especially when the horse pulls up just short of catastrophic collision with Jane. When Jane is estranged from Thornfield after the shocking revelation at the wedding, furthermore, the moor's topography is photographed to seem almost lunar in its barrenness, with extreme long shots emphasizing the landscape's swamping of Jane to signify her alienation from society.

In contrast, both twenty-first-century adaptations construct Thornfield as escapist fantasy by flashing back to it, which allows for a certain creative license to inject it with the aura of the remembered past, and through a more general juxtaposition. In both instances, the moor aids the construction and definition of Thornfield as the 'contrasting image, idea,

personality, experience', as Edward Said says of *Orientalism*.[92] The most explicit example is in Fukunaga's film where life at Moor House actually catalyses Jane to recollect Thornfield with yearning and immediate intensity, as in the invented sequence when she fantasizes that Rochester is at her door, when it is actually St. John. This signifies Jane's desire for Rochester and the sensual, passionate nature of existence that Thornfield offers, rather than the 'enough of love' that puritanical St. John thinks will follow if Jane marries him. The adaptation seeks to manipulate similar feelings in viewers.

One part of Thornfield – or Haddon – Hall which is especially pronounced in both adaptations, particularly because it contrasts starkly with the bleak barrenness of the Moors, is the riverside pasture just below it (clearly a south-west perspective on the location where the sun sparkles 'off the River Wye', as the *Sunday Times* journalist quoted earlier writes). Both adaptations depict Thornfield's pastures as a contrasting rural idyll. They are at all times shown as protected by Rochester's pile whose recognizable exterior is always apparent on the cliff above.

In both adaptations, the edenic pastures become the suitable cinematic space for nurturing romance and sexuality; and frequently mirror idyllic moments in Jane's personal narrative, particularly those related to her relationship with Rochester. In 2011 the marriage proposal takes place there, a scene that exploits the license to romanticize and embellish particular moments at Thornfield, as if to reflect the distorting effects of Jane's recollection, thereby heightening the resonance of location and moment, especially with the added sense that time is short-lived as the action moves inevitably towards the unfavourable present. Fukunaga's proposal scene is the film's romantic and passionate pinnacle. It begins with deliberate shots presenting Rochester hurrying over the bridge across the river below Thornfield in pursuit of disgruntled Jane. The bridge is a significant spatial boundary, marking Thornfield's edges; crossing it brings the pair out into pastures that are less domesticated than Thornfield's gardens, though not quite untamed wilds.

Crossing the bridge into the pastures also signifies a swelling of emotional affect beyond Thornfield's limits, as well as Jane and Rochester's escape from social constraints to express their feelings fully. Various scenes before this have implied Jane's swelling passions for Rochester, but their confinement within Thornfield's bounds has indicated that social convention and misunderstanding stifles them. Jane's sexual desires are explicit when, after an intense fireside conversation with Rochester, augmented by the extremes of light and darkness that the fire casts, she raises her candle to illuminate and survey a picture on the wall, and a point-of-view shot presents a slow pan over the form of a nude, prostrate female subject. Jane's sexuality is often projected onto Thornfield's spatial boundaries and

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[92] (London: Penguin, 2001 [1978]), 1.

beyond, either through gazing from windows or walking without any real freedom. When Rochester leaves Thornfield on one occasion, Jane walks in circles on the frosty lawn and then along the perimeter wall, before a jump cut (suggesting time's passing) shows her leaning over and balancing atop it. As in Brontë's careful narrative patterning, Jane's sexuality is frozen up, trapped inside by the walls of the social space that is Thornfield. It demands to transcend its confines, as Jane appears to do in actuality through nearly toppling over the wall.

Trapped sexuality becomes freer on crossing the river below, in a scene marking the breaking of social bounds so feelings can finally come to fruition. On Jane's acceptance of Rochester's proposal with a passionate, drawn-out kiss, the camera cuts to a longer shot that pans around the pair with little editing so that the moment is uninterrupted and inscribed. The passions previously confined now burst beyond their bounds onto and into the surrounding landscape as the long panning shot signifies. The frame's deeper, wider space means the pair's embrace is framed with the sweeping, overhanging branches of a sturdy English chestnut tree. As they continue, the rising wind becomes visible on leaves and branches, before developing quickly and sensationally into thunder, lightning, and torrential rain. A lens flare filter, as if the last of the sun in viewers' eyes, hints at the transcending nature of the projected emotions, as does the pair's momentary look to the heavens because of the storm's sudden severity.

There is something almost authentically Brontëan about this moment, even if it is obviously manufactured; its powerful, externalized affect seems capable of stretching the boundaries of the restraint and repression in previous southernized screen adaptations. It also has mythic qualities reminiscent of the 1943 film, its framing as Jane's yearning, recollective daydreams excusing any apparent lack of reality, especially because it is such a preferable alternative to Jane's present reality at Moor House.

In 2006, the affect on display in Thornfield's pastures moves closer towards sexual suggestiveness. The final episode's penultimate scene on the riverbank resembles many preceding ones with Jane and Rochester's relaxed and sustained conversation bringing them together after lengthy, pained absence. Rochester laments to her: "'I want a wife […] to share my bed every night. All day, if we wish. […] We are not the platonic sort, Jane'". Following this addition, the pair shares a passionate kiss and sensual embrace on the grass, with strong sexual implications as the camera pans suggestively along their intertwined bodies, before cutting to the final scene.

Jane's closeness towards Rochester here is romantic and sexual, but it also equates to her finding a place in the nineteenth-century world, a home-related thread from the novel to which the mini-series gives much attention, contributing importantly to Thornfield's significance to Jane and viewers. The most important example is the family portrait motif,

which features at the beginning and end of the 2006 adaptation to visualize Jane's lack of place in the world and then her forging of one. In part one, the Reed family pose for a family portrait, but Jane is excluded because "[s]he is not part of the family". However, the conclusion of the final part returns to the same motif. This time, Jane, Rochester, their new baby, and servants assemble to be painted in front of their new home, a Georgian red brick house, with highly cultivated gardens. Clearly, Jane has finally found a home and her place in the world, though this is seemingly only possible in a space resembling southern rather than northern England, as the *mise-en-scéne* signifies: through its perfectly balanced symmetry and static control through manicured gardens, with an interesting nod to Austen through the Regency aesthetic and style.

However, this ending is highly self-conscious, especially as the portrait tableau fades into an actual portrait to signify the constructedness and artificiality of this 'southernized' representation of place in the adaptation and wider cultural memory. The key here is the mini-series' re-use of Haddon Hall as Thornfield to the extent that some of Zeffirelli's photography appears to be repeated. Sarah Mead-Willis points out the reuse of 'Jane's arrival at Thornfield,[93] the sequence examined above at length. Many shots from the riverside pastures also closely resemble those later on in Jane's arrival sequence in Zeffirelli's film when she reaches the end of her journey. Indeed, the reuse of location shots is so obvious and widespread that Mead-Willis suggests the 2006 adaptation is frequently 'less a revival of Brontë's novel than of Zeffirelli's adaptation'.[94]

These allusions to Zeffirelli have important implications for considering the screen-influenced cultural memory of *Jane Eyre*. Combined with the adaptation's self-reflexiveness through motifs of artistic representation and its blurring of fantasy and reality (as in 2011), they announce the nature of place in *Jane Eyre* (2006) and in the broader cultural memory of the text as constructed, mythologized, and so precarious, because an amalgam of many different interpretations and re-mediations that have woven it deeply into culture. They suggest its fluidity and fragility, with its points of reference as much Zeffirelli's film and Haddon Hall, as Brontë's novel, because of the screen's shaping, sustaining, and southernizing of the text especially in representing place and corresponding emotional affect. And so much is this the case that characters from *EastEnders* can talk freely about it, particularly Thornfield Hall's interrelation with Jane's evolution and romance with Rochester. But as this chapter has argued, this remembering is without a trace of the novel's original northernness. Although key to the adaptability and cultural resonance of place in the novel, the North has been southernized throughout the twentieth

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[93] '"Negotiating with the Dead": *Jane Eyre* in the Postmodern', *Literature/ Film Quarterly*, 38.1 (2010), 29-38 (31).
[94] *Ibid.*

century with the screen's adaptation of the text to new contexts to reflect various artistic, cultural, and indeed ideological climates. As this final section has contended, this southernized version of text and place (which is implicated in other facets of the text) is so deeply embedded in contemporary culture that twenty-first-century adaptations are unable or unwilling to transcend it.

WUTHERING HEIGHTS AND THE YORKSHIRE MOORS

There are few Victorian novels as culturally prevalent and so closely associated with place in contemporary culture as Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*. The untamed and transcendent Yorkshire moors are a central element of the cultural memory of the text, whose recurring – and to some extent, enduring – popularity and cultural legacy have been evident since William Wyler's 1939 film adaptation (United Artists/ MGM).[1] For example, the 1939 and 1978 screen adaptations featured in the British Film Institute's Gothic season, 'The Dark Heart of Film' (2014). The novel is included on the new Cambridge IGCSE English Literature syllabus (examined from 2017). Kate Bush's 1978 popular music hit, 'Wuthering Heights', still commands cult status.[2] In 2016, moreover, BBC2 aired their well-publicized documentary, *Being the Brontës* (dir. Linda Sands) at primetime on Easter Saturday (a significant slot in the television calendar given the Bank Holiday weekend). Presented by Radio 4's Martha Kearney, alongside journalist Lucy Mangan and novelist Helen Oyeyemi, the documentary was one of many cultural outputs marking the bicentenary of the siblings' births (between 2016 and 2020). It caught the attention of most British broadsheets, as well as the *Radio Times*, which disseminated some of the documentary's Brontë narratives beyond the medium of television.

Significantly, the documentary foregrounds both *Wuthering Heights* and the Yorkshire moors in its analysis of the Brontës, a prominent close association between text and place that this chapter investigates. The programme opens with a prolonged extreme long and wide shot of sunrise over the moors. Kearney narrates that 'windswept landscapes' in 'the wilds of West Yorkshire' are central to the programme because they 'inspired' the Brontës' writing. Moments later Kearney introduces *Wuthering Heights* as one of the 'greatest novels in the English language' and thenceforth *Being the Brontës* returns repeatedly to the moorland landscape. At one stage, the presenters re-trace the sisters' footsteps to the waterfall at Ponden Kirk. Wrapped in warm clothing and battling with a map in the wind, the presenters emphasize the moors' immensity, wildness, and remoteness. The sequence suggests the hazardousness and potential threat of the moors ('"You don't want to get lost"' on them, Oyeyemi worries); but it also makes clear that for

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[1] In *Rethinking* (2003), Elliott asserts that the novel sold more copies in the year following the release of this film 'than in nearly 100 years between the book's publication and the film's release' (55).
[2] As these examples evince, there are various factors that have sustained and shaped *Wuthering Heights* in the cultural memory. Though place is implicated in all of them, I am most interested in the relationship between the text's adaptability of place and the screen's shaping and sustaining of it.

the sisters they provided liberation, refuge, and even companionship from Victorian conventions and domestic existence at Haworth Parsonage.

From the perspective of much place scholarship, Kearney's reference to '*landscape*' is at odds with the documentary's representation of the moors. As Kearney uses it in the conventional sense, 'landscape' simply refers to 'a tract of land with its distinguishing characteristics and features'.[3] She thus sets out the programme's intentions to explore the Yorkshire moors as part of its narrative about the Brontës, which suggests their importance to the cultural memory of these famous sisters, because of, in part, *Wuthering Heights*.

However, the use of 'landscape' also brings to mind a specific artistic tradition and a particular packaged, cultural way of seeing, relating to, and representing, the characteristics and features of the land, of place.[4] Landscape in this sense refers, as Kitty Hauser asserts, not to 'a "given" section of land' but to 'something which has been culturally and historically framed and constructed';[5] as John Wylie writes, it points to 'a cultural entity, something human-crafted, a modification of nature rather than a natural environment'.[6] 'Shuttling between [the] fields of reference' of 'nature and culture',[7] landscape is both noun and verb: 'an object to be seen or a text to be read' (*the* landscape) and 'a process by which social and subjective traditions are formed' (*to* landscape).[8] A landscape of this kind has been *landscaped* for 'the construction (or replication) of a form': so that 'suddenly the view becomes organized, it "holds" together as a whole, there is either balance or imbalance in the composition'.[9]

Kearney's use of 'landscape' in relation to the Yorkshire moors is so striking because it seems so at odds with them, especially given the moors' representation in the documentary. In common parlance and especially according to *Being the Brontës*, the moors are anything but the highly cultivated representation signified by 'landscape'. Rather, they epitomize a complete lack of cultivation given their wild, rugged, primordial,

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[3] *OED* [online] <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/105515?rskey=U1nNRV&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 11 August, 2016].

[4] On landscape, see: Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998); Roger Ebbatson, *Landscape and Literature, 1830-1914: Nature, Text, Aura* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013); W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1960 [1955]); Jeff Malpas (ed.), *The Place of Landscape: Concepts, Contexts, Studies* (London: MIT Press, 2011); Christine Berberick, Neil Campbell, and Robert Hudson (eds.), *Affective Landscapes in Literature, Art and Everyday Life: Memory, Place and the Senses* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside: The Classic History of Landscape, Flora, and Fauna* (London: J. M. Dent, 1986); Stephen Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013); Christopher Heywood, 'Pennine Landscapes in *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*', *Brontë Society Transactions*, 26.2 (October, 2001), 187-198; Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815-1850* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997).

[5] *Shadow Sites*, 24.

[6] *Landscape*, 20.

[7] Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, 12.

[8] W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Landscape and Power*, 1.

[9] Martin Lefebvre (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Landscape and Film* (London: Routledge, 2007), xv (xi-xxxi).

infinite, extreme connotations; these appear to jar with the organization, stability, and balance signified by the cultural idea of landscape. It is this antagonism between the cultivation of landscape and lack of cultivation of the moors in relation to their prominence in the cultural memory of *Wuthering Heights* that is this chapter's central concern.

Indeed, this chapter argues that a crucial factor in the post-war popularity of *Wuthering Heights* – and the place-centric cultural memory of it – is the adaptability of place in the novel, especially to new ideological, aesthetic, and thematic climates. The chapter suggests that, unlike Andrea Arnold's 2011 film adaptation (Curzon Artificial Eye), Wyler's from 1939 chimes with Brontë's adaptable place, which it further mythologizes through interrelation with Catherine and Heathcliff's softened, conventionalized, and codified romance, thus weaving it deeply into cultural memory.

The chapter initially contends that Arnold's most recent addition to the culture-text strives for self-conscious directness, realism, and radicalness. It positions the moors at the centre of an aesthetic and ideological agenda that seeks to deconstruct Wyler's mythologizing, which is exemplified through the many parodies of Heathcliff and Catherine's romantic inhabitation of the landscape. I suggest that Arnold interrelates the moor with the film's transgressive elements, particularly those related to character. These disrupt the ideological conservatism related, especially, to national and gendered ideologies of previous period drama, but, crucially, fail to command mass contemporary appeal.

My argument is that Arnold almost mis-adapts Brontë's novel, which is actually both extrinsically and intrinsically framed and packaged for adaptability and remembering, as sections two and three argue. I suggest that Charlotte's 1850 'Preface' to the 'New Edition' of *Wuthering Heights* draws explicit attention to the novel's emergence from and association with the wild, uncultivated Yorkshire moors, thereby planting the seed of this popular association in cultural memory. Analogously, the novel frames and packages this landscape in various ways to ensure their easy comprehension, and thus cognitive and cultural portability, whilst giving the impression they are all-encompassing, transcending, and otherworldly. A significant factor in this adaptability of place, I suggest, is their inextricable connection to character, character relationships, and childhood.

The final section focuses on Wyler's classic film, which has most significantly influenced the continued, post-war popularity and cultural memory of *Wuthering Heights* – and the Brontës more broadly –, shaping and sustaining much popular iconography associated with the text, as comparison with the screenplay of the preceding film adaptation exemplifies (*Wuthering Heights* (dir. A.V. Bramble, Ideal Film Company, 1920)). Here I argue that the 1939 adaptation's highly framed and constructed poetics surprisingly complement Brontë's aesthetic mode. They package the moors for mass appeal and cultural indelibility through closely interrelating them with the codified but seemingly transcendent

romance of Catherine and Heathcliff (or Olivier and Oberon, its star leads); through embedding the moors within the collective memory of the film's framing narrative, which paves the way for indelibility in the extra-diegetic collective memory; and, finally, through providing escape and stability in world war conditions, as embodied through the centrality of Penistone Crag, which I read as an allusion to the film's self-consciousness about its own endurance and longevity.

ANDREA ARNOLD'S UNCULTIVATED MOOR

Arnold's *Wuthering Heights* (2011) is currently the most recent screen adaptation of the novel and so offers a more substantial vista on the place-centric cultural memory of the text than *Being the Brontës*. It is the top-most layer of the multi-layered *Wuthering Heights* culture-text, which it seeks to both undermine and deconstruct, through, principally, its representation of the Yorkshire moors.

During the twentieth century, *Wuthering Heights* has been mythologized and its sense of place landscaped. Like many other 'mythic' texts, it has 'become reduced, in the process of retelling', to its 'simplest and memorable patterns', as Chris Baldick says of *Frankenstein*.[10] Certain tropes from *Wuthering Heights* are so well known that they have become detached from their original contexts and meanings, and now float freely in contemporary culture, readily available for cultural appropriation. Arguably the most familiar example is the innumerably parodied tableaux of Heathcliff and Catherine gallivanting on the moors, which are made to appear wild and rugged, though are actually relatively tame. A sketch in an episode of *Dave Allen at Large*, a popular BBC television programme in the 1970s, for instance, apparently comments on *Wuthering Heights'* widespread permeation of culture to the extent of irritation, blending a number of moments from the novel.[11] The sketch begins with Catherine on her deathbed, calling repeatedly for Heathcliff, who runs across the moorland landscape to her bedside, arriving just as she takes her last breath. Much to Heathcliff's bemusement, Catherine's ghost then floats out of the bedroom window towards the moor from whence he just came and again calls his name. Heathcliff pursues Catherine only to plunge head first out of the window to his death. His ghost rises up, and with Catherine's ghost still calling his name, he exclaims exasperatingly, "All right! All right! I'm coming!". Similarly comedic is Monty Python's absurdist 'Semaphore Version of *Wuthering Heights'*, which reduces this remembered

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[10] *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 3.

[11] ['Cathy and Heathcliff' clip from *Dave Allen at Large*, aired on BBC television between 1971 and 1979 [no further broadcasting details available]] <www.youtube.com/watch?v=OOWsBW-OvTs> [accessed Wednesday 17 August 2016].

scene further. In it, Heathcliff and Catherine are forced to communicate via flag semaphore because separated by a moorland ravine. Subtitles reveal that both characters simply repeat each others' names until their flag semaphore liaison is interrupted by the disgruntled Edgar Linton.[12] Finally, even an episode of teenage sit-com, *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*, has parodied *Wuthering Heights*.[13] Forced to read the novel for an assignment, Sabrina magics herself into the novel to speed up progress through the narrative and experience the action more directly. The episode cuts to Sabrina, who is now dressed as Catherine and calling for Heathcliff amidst the moors, which are immediately recognizable through the thick mist, heavy wind, and bare, crooked tree of the *mise-en-scéne*. But within moments, Sabrina curses, "Damn these moors are cold", returning hurriedly to the comfort of her home and vowing to actually read the novel.

This small selection of the many *Wuthering Heights* parodies demonstrates two important things. Firstly it indicates that the moors and especially Heathcliff and Catherine's romantic inhabitation of them, are central to what the text 'means' today. Secondly, it illustrates that countless cultural reproductions and repetitions have resulted in certain elements of *Wuthering Heights* becoming detached from original contexts and meanings, so that they are ripe for aesthetic and affective dilution, before reinvestment with new meaning (comedy in these examples). This very point is implied in the first two examples through Heathcliff and Catherine's repetitive, affectless, clichéd calling to each other, which has become meaningless in one sense, whilst developing new meanings in another.

Such myth-making begins even in the nineteenth century with Emily Brontë's novel and then Charlotte Brontë's 'Preface' to the 1850 edition, before Wyler's 1939 film adaptation catalyzes it, thereby shaping and sustaining a mythic and enduring version of the text, as this chapter will contend. Subsequent twentieth-century screen adaptations perpetuate a similar version. They adhere to the more general heritagized, aestheticized cultural expectations in relation to period drama; these stem from feature-length, Hollywood produced film adaptations in the thirties, before perpetuation through BBC 'Classic Serial', and then screen adaptations influenced by so-called 'heritage cinema'.

In contrast, Arnold's film positions itself in opposition to this culture-text as an *anti-mythic* adaptation and at the heart of this stance is its representation of the moors. Through their depiction, the film seeks to deconstruct the culture-text which has been mythologized and landscaped by extensive cultural familiarity and screen adaptations' adherence to various conservative, sanitized period drama tastes and trends. Instead, *Wuthering Heights* (2011) strives to be an apparently more 'authentic' adaptation, aligned

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[12] *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, BBC Television, UK, 1970.
[13] 'The Long and Winding Short Cut', *Sabrina the Teenage Witch: The Third Season*, 2008.

more closely with Brontë's novel, as Arnold indicates herself. She revealed dissatisfaction with the 1939 film adaptation and also wider antipathy towards period film. Despite the '"profound effect"' of Wyler's film on Arnold in her youth, it suggested '"classic romance,"' rather than the unsettling, '"dark and complex"' text she had in mind.[14] Arnold had also vowed never to '"do a period film"' because she was '"not interested in the past"' nor '"in doing adaptations"',[15] and so her usual gritty, social-realist subject matter of contemporary life on urban council estates was poles apart from this genre.

Unsurprisingly, her film adaptation aims for something different to both Wyler's adaptations and period drama conventions more generally. Indeed, as Patricia Thomson suggests in *American Cinematographer*, '"Visceral" is a word that came up several times in Arnold and [cinematographer Robbie] Ryan's separate interviews' with the journal.[16] Arnold revealed that she '"really wanted you to feel what it would be like to live somewhere like this [the setting of *Wuthering Heights*], to be that close to nature"' and '"wanted it to have a very visceral, tangible feeling"'.[17] Thus, with loose resemblance to Sabrina the Teenage Witch's attempts to experience *Wuthering Heights* more directly through inhabiting the novel to eradicate distance between reader and text, Arnold's *Wuthering Heights* strives for a more direct, social realist, and so apparently 'authentic' rendering of the novel. She recognizes the centrality of the moors to the culture-text, utilizing them as central means of communicating and differentiating the screen adaptations' various ideological, aesthetic, and thematic concerns.

The first draft of Arnold's shooting script is to my knowledge yet to be discussed in an academic publication, though it sheds important light on the film's adaptation of the moors, including, in the first instance, its emphasis on their gravity and omnipresence. The script refers repeatedly to the scene heading 'EXT: MOOR' (meaning an exterior scene on the moor), seemingly more frequently than other locations, and, in the projected film, the moor seems present in almost every scene. This is not just because of the singular moorland setting and frequency of moorland scenes, which result in the gradual intensification of an overwhelming sense of the moor as the film progresses. But it is also because the moor apparently penetrates nearly all interior scenes (at Wuthering Heights, Thrushcross Grange, and the village church) through the wild elements that characterize it, characters' conversations, its negative impact on individuals, and the numerous journeys to, from, and between these interior spaces that involve traversing the moor. In fact, moorland scenes

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[14] Arnold, quoted in Graham Fuller, 'Possessed', *Film Comment*, 48.5 (Sep/ Oct 2012), 76-79 (77).
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] 'Wild Passion', 93.5 (May 2012), 42-51 (43).
[17] *Ibid.* 43.

frame the film's action, featuring as the first, last, and therefore *lasting* impression of the film.[18]

Though the film's structure is important to the moors' resonance and the adaptation's distinctiveness, it is Arnold's formal, aesthetic, and thematic concerns that really create the indelibility of this landscape. Both the shooting script and projected film evince how the moors are crucial to the interpretation of Brontë's novel without the traditional embroidering and sanitizing associated with period drama, or at least as Arnold views this screen genre. The moor is the apt and powerful platial accompaniment to the film's extreme, offensive, and racist language; its brutal violence; its transgressive, even abnormal, sexual behaviour; its scarce soundtrack of just two songs by popular folk rock band 'Mumford and Sons'; and its casting of two mixed race male actors as Heathcliff (James Howson and Solomon Grave). But the moor is far more than a background feature operating to enhance more important elements in the foreground: the language, violence, sexuality, soundtrack, and casting also strikingly accompany and enhance the representation of the moor. And all of these elements combine to construct the film's contemporaneity, individuality, and radicalism as a screen adaptation of a Victorian novel.

Sue Thornham makes a related argument in her essay, '"Not a country at all": Landscape and *Wuthering Heights*', which has influenced my thinking in this chapter.[19] One of Thornham's central points is that the film's representation of the moors is so distinctive and radical for a Victorian literary screen adaptation because it is without period drama's usual 'framing' of place so often 'conventionally arranged for "the single point of the omniscient observer"',[20] and 'bound up' with 'notions' of landscape painting and therefore 'knowledge, ownership or penetration, and national as well as gendered ideologies'.[21]

Her point is effectively illustrated through considering the opening presentation of the moor in *Wuthering Heights* (2011) in relation to two previous screen adaptations. In *Emily Brontë's Wuthering Heights* (dir. Peter Kosminsky, Paramount, 1992), the first glimpse of this landscape is an objectified, deeply-spaced long shot, fixed for approximately ten seconds while the tourist, Lockwood, rides a white stallion into the foreground.[22] Despite the moody clouds, the shot is clear and well lit; the green undergrowth and grey rocks that dominate the frame are bright and clean, as if digitally

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[18] This is except for the adaptation's brief preface scene, of course.

[19] *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, 13.1 (2016), 214-231. Thornham does not consider the culture-text, screenplay, resonance, adaptability, and portability (or lack thereof) of the moors, instead focusing on the film's correspondence with alternative feminist genealogies. However, her readings of the film's 'unframing' of the moors are useful.

[20] G. Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 12; quoted in Thornham, 'Landscape and *Wuthering Heights*', 220.

[21] Thornham, 'Landscape', 220.

[22] The moor does feature earlier in a prologue sequence which imagines Emily Brontë's moment of inspiration for the novel and is discussed later.

enhanced. The craggy peak in the left of the shot provides an edge and bounds to frame the landscape, containing it so that it seems more comprehensible. Sloping away from the camera towards the foreground, the peak also draws the eye downwards and outwards to the continuation of the moor in the distance, framing it – along with the beams of sunlight from breaks in the cloud – so that it nestles safely in a valley. The scene is unthreatening: the lack of inclement weather and apparent safety of the path allow Lockwood to travel on horseback at speed, despite his unfamiliarity with this locale. His period costume and handsome steed add prestige to the shot, announcing the film's lavish, high production status.

The five-part television serial *Wuthering Heights* (dir. Peter Hammond, BBC Two, 1978) is similar albeit without such high production values. It opens with three fixed, objective shots of Lockwood galloping on horseback across the moors towards Wuthering Heights. All three are long shots and static (except for the opening shot, which pans gently round the landscape to follow Lockwood's progress), allowing – even encouraging – viewers to enjoy the natural scenery. Again the moors signify safety and pleasure through association with Lockwood's tourism, his speed, despite not knowing the route, and the bright weather. In the second shot, the camera is situated amidst long grass, which is bathed in sunlight and nestles Wuthering Heights safely within a valley, thus invoking the leisure and pleasure of the pastoral. Non-diegetic music in both instances invokes affective relations between viewer and landscape, drawing attention to the cultivated and constructed nature of both places.

In stark contrast, Arnold's film strives to represent the moor to appear anything but cultivated and constructed, as the opening projected depiction illustrates. After the brief 'preface' scene, viewers are literally plunged into the action of Mr Earnshaw leading Heathcliff across the moor to Wuthering Heights. The sequence features various out of focus point-of-view shots of the moor at dusk, which are photographed on a handheld camera and edited disjointedly. Full comprehension and locatedness in space are difficult and often impossible. As the camera moves through and amongst the undergrowth, it becomes just about possible to observe the hazy horizon distinguishing the dark land from the slightly lighter sky, as well as lapwings flying above. At all times, the emphasis is on the landscape's sounds, including wind, rain, the lapwings' calls, and movement through undergrowth.

Such opacity, ambiguity, and directness are similarly suggested in the script, when, for this scene, it reads:

EXT: MOOR. DUSK
The low moor. The blur of land and sky in thickening light.

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Something moving in the isolation. Climbing the hill. Something dark against the bleached grass of the moor.
A hooded figure. A teenage boy. Around 12. His face is hidden in the darkness of a shapeless filthy hood. The whites of his eyes startling in the black.[23]

The language here – and throughout the screenplay – is unusually poetic and emphasizes the inability to see clearly and know fully; these are epistemological and affective relations to place at odds with the cultural idea of 'landscape'. Similarly, the projected film's opening soon reveals the teenage boy as Heathcliff, through whom the moor if often focalized (in this scene and much of the projected film). Significantly, Heathcliff is suggested explicitly as a racial and cultural 'other' through hints that he is an escaped slave.[24] The film constantly draws attention to this focalization of the moor via the text's 'other' through frequent shots of Heathcliff looking at the moor ('The whites of his eyes startling in the black' in the example above), and through how the film is framed at the beginning and end with Heathcliff experiencing it.

Consequently, the moors are never framed as if from a privileged, omniscient perspective in the projected film, because, chronologically, the Yorkshire landscape is neither represented nor experienced before Heathcliff enters it. If, as Denis E. Cosgrove has famously argued, 'the landscape idea' – which is commonplace in period drama's spatial imagination – 'represents a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it',[25] the non-European Heathcliff perceives the moor differently which the film attempts to signify through its focalization of place. The moors' opening representation is opaque, abstruse, visceral, tactile, harsh, and jarring, which is typical of its representation throughout Arnold's film. In formal terms, the projected viewpoint avoids any omniscient and objective distancing of place: the film rarely affords long or extreme long shots of place so characteristic of period drama. Instead, as in the example above, the moor is frequently shot on hand-held cameras and through close-ups to the extent that the photographing of it is often unfocused and edited disjointedly.

In this respect, Arnold's film avoids the usual emphasis in period drama on visually displaying period space, an idea that is evident not only through the projected film but also in the screenplay. This makes numerous references to obscurity and absent clarity: for instance, the 'blur of empty, dark land and vast grey white nothing sky. Completely out of focus'; 'The blur of land and sky in thickening light'; and the implication that Heathcliff is

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[23] *Wuthering Heights (GB, 2011) Shooting Script: First Draft: Rev 1, by Andrea Arnold* (12 September 2010), BFI archive reference SCR-49788, Script number S-21632, 1 [BFI Special Collections].
[24] This is apparent from Arnold's casting of mixed race actors as Heathcliff, the brand on Heathcliff's shoulders, and Hindley's open racism towards him, including multiple uses of 'nigger'.
[25] *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Winconsin UP, 1984), 1. See also Thornham's argument about 'alternative genealogies' (226).

at one point 'consumed by it [the moor]. Disappears. The empty, empty black, black moor, the wind and rain lashing down'.[26] The moor's consumption of Heathcliff here relates to the projected film's implication that the camera is insufficient to capture the moor fully because of its topographical vastness. The film's close, direct, and abstruse photography denies a panorama of the Yorkshire landscape with clear bounds and edges. Consequently, the moor is made to seem infinite, incomprehensible, and uncontainable; it is much like the 'desert' to which the screenplay refers at one point,[27] as further descriptions of it as 'never ending' and 'stretching away for ever' reinforce.[28]

Indeed, as Thornham quite rightly states, direct and opaque representations of the moor make it impossible to 'read the shape of things, only their texture,'[29] which deepens and intensifies the projected experience of landscape. Such unusual intensity of place also stems from the infrequency of speech and absence of diegetic soundtrack until the film's final moments. Unconventionally, sounds of the moor come to the fore, so that the soundscape (and therefore the land) is privileged over non-diegetic sound and human presence.

This unusual immediacy of projected affective relations to place and the landscape's temporal and spatial ubiquity both heighten the strong sense of the moor's hostility and bleakness. As the quotations from the script above demonstrate, the extreme elements – particularly wind and rain – frequently interfere with characters' lives and viewers' relationships with the moors. Along with the alienating colours of the exterior *mise-en-scéne*, which is always dark or wan, these suggest the moors as a locale where it is not easy to exist, nor particularly attractive to visit.

Removing the tourist Lockwood from the film is important in this respect: it removes the novel's touristic framing to represent the moors in more social-realist terms rather than as suitably landscaped and mythic for intra- and extra-diegetic tourism. The projected film indicates this quickly when, on Heathcliff's first morning at Wuthering Heights, his initial view of the moors from the window is anything but the long or extreme long shot of the aestheticized, period landscape often expected in Victorian literary screen adaptation. Not only is the view obscured by the window's lattice work and a tree, with the long lens zoom allowing only a small part of a much larger, uncapturable whole, but Catherine enters the wet greyness to empty her chamber pot over the garden wall. Her actions are only the first of many instances of coarse and unrefined behaviour, which take

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[26] *Shooting Script*, 91; 1; 54.
[27] *Shooting Scrip*, 9. A description not used in the novel directly but seemingly literalizing the young Catherine's romantic view of the moor when she pretends in childish play to be 'an Arabian merchant, going to cross the Desert with his caravan' (Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, 169. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number).
[28] *Shooting Script*, 40; 134.
[29] Thornham, 'Landscape', 222.

place in association with the moorland locale. These include barbaric violence, brutal treatment of animals, offensive language, savage racism, and transgressive sexual activity, a great deal of which did not make it into the projected film, but was intended in the screenplay.[30]

Arnold's representation of the moors thus has a doubleness, which the screenplay encapsulates when the final scene refers to the 'swell of moor' which is 'Nothing yet everything'.[31] Generally, the moor does evoke a sense of 'nothingness': it is composed as anti-aesthetic, opaque, and anything but conservative, as well as photographed to jar and alienate. However, fleeting wider, clearer glimpses of it in brief establishing or transition shots do occasionally provide a deeply spaced, focused, and coherent view, with the implication that, much like for Catherine and Heathcliff, it has the potential to be simultaneously 'everything'. Whilst these establishing or transition shots do not quite fully capture the landscape, they do hint at its breath-taking beauty, and its freeing and invigorating qualities. Indeed, the film strives to convey an affective connection, even propinquity, to the moors that transcends the power of language and is instead only just conveyable through visual media. The screenplay frequently indicates that language cannot adequately convey Arnold's artistic vision for the moors. In the example quoted above, for instance, she employs adjectival repetition in describing the moor as 'empty, empty' and 'black, black' as if one adjective is not quite sufficient.

The adjectival repetition is an example of the script's literariness, which is unusual given their normal functionality and hints at Arnold's attempts at a more 'authentic' rendering of the moor's aesthetics and the affective relations to it. Although not directly related to the moor, one striking example is the description of a trapped moth, with apparent figurative parallels to the social circumstances of the locale's inhabitants. Arnold writes:

> INT. BEDROOM. NIGHT.
> A fluttering shadow on the wall. The shadow of a moth at the window. It's [sic] wings clip, clip against the glass. It's [sic] fruitless aim for the moon.[32]

Moments like this suggest Arnold striving for something more literary, complex, almost primal, and perhaps 'authentic' compared with the perceived artificiality of the archetypal representation of nineteenth-century space on screen. In almost trying to out-poeticize Emily Brontë and un-landscape the landscape, the film is apparently 'challenging what we

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[30] The screenplay evidences original intentions for scenes showing masturbation and necrophilia.
[31] *Shooting Script*, 144.
[32] *Ibid.* 18.

think of as beautiful' in its representation of place and period, as Peter Bradshaw observes astutely.[33]

Indeed, concerns with the constructedness and landscaping of period space are visible throughout the script through frequent references to labour. Don Mitchell argues that landscape 'is much like a commodity: it actively hides […] the labour that goes into its making,' erasing or neutralizing 'images of work'.[34] Yet references to labour abound in the screenplay, with wall building, shepherding, and peat cutting all mentioned to suggest that various practices continually shape the land.[35] The apparent concerns with a more authentic representation of place and period also emerge from how self-consciously Thrushcross Grange is made to seem constructed and artificial in the script. Much attention is devoted to describing the Lintons' house – the text's signifier of culture – ensuring that its construction and signification are visibly differentiated from the moors. The screenplay states explicitly that the Grange is 'vastly different to the moor' because it is 'Cultivated'; in other instances it is described as 'like a dolls [sic] house' and 'like a Theatre'.[36] Arnold's artistic vision for the moors and then their projected representation thus situate them as the polar opposite of this self-conscious depiction of Thrushcross Grange (which, in the projected film, has many common trappings of period drama): as not landscaped and so somehow more 'authentic'.

Despite the film's efforts and claims, however, its representation of the moor is actually at odds with both Brontë's adaptable writing of place and the screen adaptations (and period dramas) that have traditionally resonated most with audiences and so 'travelled' culturally. Unlike Arnold's adaptation, both of these are highly framed and heavily landscaped – and self-consciously so – as the next section of this chapter argues. Whilst the parody from *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* appears futile, it actually captures this important point effectively: because of the moor's very nature, it needs framing and containing for consumers of Victorian texts (both on page and screen), with just the hint of transcendent possibilities to give it the sufficient energy and vitality for capturing a mass audience and the cultural imaginary. Otherwise, as Sabrina reveals, it becomes just too cold and windy for popular appeal, as is the experience in Arnold's cinematic version.

CURRER BELL'S MYTHMAKING

Wuthering Heights is popularly associated with ideas of thematic, aesthetic, even compositional wildness and uncultivatedness, which Arnold's film both reinforces and

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[33] 'Wuthering Heights - Review', *The Guardian*, 10 November 2011.
[34] *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell, 2000), 103-4.
[35] *Shooting Script*, 37; 52; 36.
[36] *Ibid.* 29; 46; 33; 50.

exaggerates. The Yorkshire moors are often considered to encapsulate this cultural remembering of the novel; they are as all-encompassing and ubiquitous in the novel as they were in Emily Brontë's life. Emily's supposedly esoteric, isolated persona is often suggested as a product of this rugged environment and reflected in the novel's form and aesthetic, the natural, if wild, fruits of her sheltered, undomesticated existence.[37] The opening sequence of Kosminsky's 1992 film adaptation suggests exactly this through its inclusion of Emily Brontë's moorland wandering and the supposed moment of inspiration for her novel in a kind of docu-drama prologue. The film begins with a youthful Sinead O'Connor as Brontë, a lone, hooded female figure walking across the wild, barren landscape dominated by dramatic grey skies. Wuthering Heights, here an imposing Gothic mansion, soon comes into view as if for the first time, apparently from Brontë's perspective. Her journey on foot continues, passing granite blocks and a bare tree with jagged branches (perhaps deliberately placed, nodding to Charlotte's 'Preface'), before she enters the house, whose interior is derelict and dilapidated. The camera pans around the interior ruins and the supposed voice of Emily narrates:

> First I found the place. I wondered who had lived there; what their lives were like. Something whispered to my mind and I began to write. My pen creates stories of a world that might have been, a world of my imagining. And here is one I'm going to tell.

Two important things are evident here. Firstly, Brontë is a lone, marginalized, pensive wanderer, whose novel emerges from a chance encounter, a kind of pseudo-romantic moment of inspiration. Secondly, place is foregrounded as central to both this film and the inspiration for the novel. It is seemingly prioritized over anything else: it comes before and is the catalyst for both character and narrative.

Kosminsky's opening perpetuates the myth surrounding author and novel, which scholars commonly attribute to Charlotte's 1850 'Editor's Preface to the New Edition of *Wuthering Heights*', a key extrinsic factor in the packaging and adaptability of place in the novel. Published approximately two years after Emily's death, this 'New Preface' addressed the criticism that the novel had received because of its 'faults': for its coarseness, savage violence, cruelty, profanities, immorality, and lack of a relieving, moral character with which readers could identify.[38]

The preface attributes many of these issues to the environment where the novel was supposedly composed, which, Charlotte self-consciously constructs – a kind of cultural landscaping using the landscape. She establishes a binary opposition between readers'

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[37] Oddly, Arnold was quoted as saying that she thought Brontë '"wrote the book [*Wuthering Heights*] stream-of-consciousness for herself and hadn't meant anyone to read it, and I think that makes sense – it's as if she just let rip"' (Fuller, 'Possessed', 78), which explains her attempts at 'un-landscaping' the text.
[38] See Barker, *Brontës*, 637.

southern/metropolitan environment and Emily's 'outlying', 'wild' West-Riding of Yorkshire. This enhances the latter's remoteness and lack of cultivation (in both topographical and cultural senses).[39] In relation to Emily specifically, Charlotte heightens the remoteness and lack of cultivation further, drawing attention to her sister's typical spatial experiences: that is, 'her tendency to seclusion' to the extent that 'except to go to church or take a walk on the hills, she rarely crossed the threshold of home'.[40]

The 'Preface' further suggests that certain kinds of people are the products of certain places and that particular places are produced by particular people; this establishes a Yorkshire 'character', perhaps just the exaggerated, memorable public version that Emily observed from afar and tried to convey: 'The rough, strong utterance, the harshly manifested passions, the unbridled aversions, and headlong partialities of unlettered moorland hinds and rugged moorland squires'.[41] For Charlotte, these inhabitants are the product of their environment, but they also produce their environment, an idea that resembles the 'root of heath' to which *Wuthering Heights* is famously compared.[42] The novel, as Charlotte describes it, is 'rustic all through. It is moorish, and wild, and knotty as a root of heath'.[43] In other words, it has sprung from its immediate environment and then been shaped by it, detached from external influences and so unaffected by them. Through the 'Preface' Charlotte hopes that this is a sufficient excuse for the novel's 'coarseness'.

She conveys a similar point via an equally well-known analogy for *Wuthering Heights'* composition. She likens this practice to sculpting a moorland granite stone, an image with important implications for the novel's cultural afterlife. Charlotte writes that *Wuthering Heights* was:

> hewn in a wild workshop, with simple tools, out of homely materials. The statuary found a granite block on a solitary moor: gazing thereon, he saw how from the crag might be elicited a head, savage, swart, sinister; a form moulded with at least one element of grandeur – power. He wrought with a rude chisel, and from no model but the visions of his meditations. With time and labour, the crag took human shape; and there it stands colossal, dark, and frowning, half statue, half rock: in the former sense, terrible and goblin-like; in the latter, almost beautiful, for its colouring is of mellow grey, and moorland moss clothes it; and heath, with its blooming bells and balmy fragrance, grows faithfully close to the giant's fork.[44]

Emily's novelistic creation is excused here once again. Charlotte presents the novel as a pre-existing part of its environment, simply carved into shape by her sister with only the

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[39] Currer Bell, 'Editor's Preface', in *Wuthering Heights*, ed. Jack (1998), 324-328 (324-5).
[40] *Ibid.* 326.
[41] *Ibid.* 325.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.* 328.

coarse, unsophisticated ideas and tools at her limited disposal. Charlotte also suggests that the novel's existence in the imagination (of both artist and critic) is autonomous, transcending the artist's mastery and so relieving them of responsibility. Charlotte suggests that the artwork in its natural, rather than cultivated, state (rock rather than 'statue') has more artistic beauty. Therefore, the natural state of Emily's writing – in composition and representation – should be celebrated, or at least excused.

However, much of what Charlotte says is thrown into doubt and her mythologizing agenda self-consciously revealed through references to the crag's 'colouring […] of mellow grey', the 'moorland moss' that 'clothes it', and the 'heath, with its blooming bells and balmy fragrance' that 'grows faithfully close to the giant's foot' that make it 'beautiful'.[45] Like the images of colouring, clothing, and sprouting over Emily's crag, Charlotte's 'Preface' has constructed a representational veil to shroud *Wuthering Heights* and its author. It has landscaped the novel, including the novel's representation of the Yorkshire landscape. Indeed, the idea of the novel's supposedly organic, unprocessed, and innate aesthetic as the natural product of isolated and wild Yorkshire moors (or 'workshop') is as much a careful construction as the 'statue' that Charlotte dismisses. Charlotte has sculpted and fabricated a version of place surrounding the novel that complements Emily's representation of place within the novel. Emily's 'knottiness' is not so much chaotic and accidental, but rather self-consciously and carefully constructed to be compelling and digestible for the reader, as well as adaptable for both Victorian and post-Victorian culture.

LANDSCAPING *WUTHERING HEIGHTS*

Charlotte's 'Preface' crucially associates *Wuthering Heights* with the Yorkshire moors, thereby highlighting the novel's representation of place – while also paving the way for an increased appreciation of it among readers –, which is itself significant, adaptable, and resonant, yet curiously understated. *Wuthering Heights* is an unusual case compared to works by the other Victorian novelists discussed in this thesis, which are often closely associated with place because of widespread formal descriptions (among other things). Unlike, for example, Thomas Hardy's chapter-length description of Egdon Heath, a similar 'vast tract of unenclosed wild', in *The Return of the Native*,[46] there is a surprising absence of extended formal descriptions of place and directly presented encounters with it in *Wuthering Heights* because of the highly framed and recounted narrative structure, which has not gone unnoticed by critics.[47] Nevertheless, the Yorkshire moors still appear crucial

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[45] *Ibid.*
[46] (London: Penguin, 1999), 9.
[47] See Stoneman, 127.

to the novel's structure and form; they also manage to impose their redolent presence on the reader, remaining firmly in their consciousness long after they have finished reading.

At the heart of Emily Brontë's depiction of place is an important tension between artistic representations and authentic depictions of the moors, which Charlotte Brontë's 'Preface' identifies. Referring to the novel's 'scenery and locality', Charlotte writes that Emily:

> did not describe as one whose eye and taste alone found pleasure in the prospect; her native hills were far more to her than a spectacle; they were what she lived in, and by, as much as the wild birds, their tenants, or as the heather, their produce. Her descriptions, then, of natural scenery, are what they should be, and all they should be.[48]

Charlotte establishes two means of representing place here: one as artistic or touristic, and another, which is apparently more authentic. She invokes the semantic field of landscape art ('eye', 'taste', 'prospect', 'spectacle') to suggest that *Wuthering Heights* succeeds in getting behind the veil of a landscaped representation of place (fictional and/or artistic), and instead strives to depict the moors more intimately, truthfully, and so authentically.

However, this idea of the fictional representation of place as uncultivated, untamed, and incomprehensible as the moors jars with the novel's carefully crafted narrative structure. In spatial and aesthetic terms, such an illustration would resist readers' cognition and pleasure, jarring with the conventions and expectations of the realist mode. It would alienate much like Joseph's dialect, especially before Charlotte's revisions made it more accessible, risking commercial failure similar to that of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* the previous year.

Emily Brontë thus avoids writing the moors directly and immediately. She instead filters their representation through the narration of Lockwood (the romanticizing, metropolitan tourist) and Nelly Dean (the nostalgic, myth-making servant). She constructs a carefully framed representation of the moors that is packaged and adaptable, and so culturally portable. It is highly cultivated, yet still manages to satisfy the wild, untamed, and transcendent cultural associations of this place. My reading here is influenced by an important point that Moretti makes in discussing Balzac's and Dickens's literary cities: that because of the city's complexity and vastness, particularly in their burgeoning Victorian form, 'novels protect their readers […] by reducing it' and making 'simplifications of the urban system, that make it easier to grasp and inhabit'.[49] Whilst the nineteenth-century city is inherently distinct from the moors, there are overlaps between the two spaces: the difficulty in mapping, comprehending, containing, and taming because of size; their

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[48] 'Editor's Preface', 325.
[49] Moretti (1999), 105-6.

amorphous spread and fluidity of space, without definite bounds and perimeters; their potential for threat and danger.

Indeed, in *Wuthering Heights*, Brontë landscapes and frames these elements, but in such a way that creates the impression that she is not, an effective combination for easy adaptability and mass dissemination. Firstly, as Christopher Heywood discusses, Brontë actually depicts 'a generalized Yorkshire setting', rather than writing with the kind of precise spatial and topographical verisimilitude required to depict the area surrounding Haworth and up to Top Withens farm, onto which the novel is so commonly mapped.[50] Alternatively, Heywood's compelling cartographic exercise suggests that *Wuthering Heights* combines the 'mountainous limestone highlands' of one Yorkshire region, with 'low-lying gritstone moorland' of another, situating them alongside and on top of each other 'in a single setting' despite their geological and geographical distinctiveness.[51] The novel's generalized perception of the Yorkshire moors (which in the nineteenth century was a national periphery) thus evokes the timeless qualities of myth – somewhere that is carefully framed and easily disseminated.

However, the novel creates the impression of representing a real, locatable place, with temporal and spatial specificity. For instance, it refers to the culture and society of Gimmerton (the nearby village), with deliberately ambiguous suggestions that it is based on Haworth. Moreover, Brontë maps a wider novelistic space that includes places like Liverpool, London, even Gretna Green to situate the novel's two key locations (Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange) amidst networks of transport, communication, agriculture, and commerce. As a result, place in the novel has an important doubleness: it combines a mythic framing with a sense of reality of location and time. Both facets work together to create a fusion of place, which is in some ways meta-historical and de-localized, while in others fixed in a particular location in time. The combination plays a crucial role in the adaptability of place in the novel.

Brontë's representation of the moors is framed through Lockwood's framing narrative, which both opens and closes the novel, becoming, as a result, the medium that provides the first and last impressions of place. Lockwood, as Nancy Armstrong quite rightly points out, 'encounters the regional landscape as a tourist, converting that landscape and its occupants into a private aesthetic experience'.[52] Brontë does not conceal this: in fact she makes it explicit. Immediately after Lockwood's ambiguous encounter with Catherine Earnshaw's ghost (chapter 3), he reveals that he is '"now quite cured of seeking pleasure in

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[50] 'Pennine Landscapes', 193.
[51] 'Yorkshire Landscapes in *Wuthering Heights*', *Essays in Criticism*, XLVIII.1 (1998), 13-34 (13).
[52] Armstrong, *Age of Photography*, 186.

society, be it country or town"' (23), which highlights his leisured, touristic way of perceiving.

But for reasons outlined above, the novel suggests that the moors resist Lockwood's linguistic landscaping: they defy reduction to Lockwood's touristic narrative and also, more generally, the form of the Victorian novel. Lockwood's most sustained portrayal of the natural moorland topography surrounding Wuthering Heights is concealed by heavy snow – in a rare moment when characters are described traversing this topography and so directly experiencing it. When first visiting Wuthering Heights, Lockwood becomes agitated about his safe return to Thrushcross Grange because of the inclement weather and rapid onset of night. At first he requests a *linguistic* guide between the two locations. He asks young Catherine, '"Do point out some landmarks by which I may know my way home – I have no more idea how to get there than you would have how to get to London"' (12). Catherine responds: '"Take the road you came […] It is brief advice, but as sound as I can give"'. With the route between Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange resisting the language of even a local inhabitant, Lockwood is forced to request someone to actually show him the way. The next morning he sets out with Heathcliff, revealing, significantly, that the temperature is like 'impalpable' ice, a telling adjective given the apparent incomprehensibility of the landscape that follows:

> "the whole hill-back was on billowy, white ocean, the swells and falls not indicating corresponding rises and depressions in the ground – many pits, at least, were filled to a level; and entire ranges of mounds, the refuse of the quarries, blotted from the chart which my yesterday's walk left pictured in my mind". (26)

In one sense the snow performs an important narrative function, forcing Lockwood to spend the night at Wuthering Heights so that he encounters Catherine's ghost. But its figurative masking of the moor also points to both Lockwood's inability to articulate this landscape sufficiently as metropolitan tourist, and metropolitan readers' inability or unwillingness to grasp, let alone interpret it. It is as if Lockwood is lost at sea, without the nautical skills to find his way, as Brontë's language suggests. For Lockwood, the moor is as impalpable as the icy temperature. Blanketing the moor in snow allows Brontë and Lockwood to amalgamate, simplify, and conceal its complexities, without lessening its strong narrative presence given that it actually becomes more dangerous under snow. The snow covering, which Lockwood says blots 'from the chart which yesterday's walk left pictured in my mind', hints at the constructedness and perhaps ephemerality of Lockwood's recall and representation especially in relation to place.

However, Brontë's landscaping of the moors via Lockwood resists falling into the listless, static, or idealized. She frequently hints at how their transcendent potential could

easily disrupt and unsettle her carefully crafted text, even if they are kept firmly out of reach, just beyond the novel's many thresholds. Because of Lockwood's inability to articulate place (and Brontë's seeming reluctance to confine its illustration to the bounds of the Victorian novel), his establishing of location rarely gets beyond a description of the elements. In fact, early in his narrative, Lockwood actually foregrounds the definition of the 'Wuthering' found in the name of Heathcliff's dwelling as 'a significant provincial adjective, descriptive of the atmospheric tumult to which its station is exposed in stormy weather' (2). Consequently, Wuthering Heights and the surrounding moorland are both immediately associated with powerful and turbulent weather. Furthermore, as Lockwood's narrative progresses, the frequently mentioned weather appears as a projection of the moor – a device to convey the moor's all pervading, transcendent but intangible presence. The wuthering weather, particularly its wind, snow, and rain, frequently penetrates the physical boundaries of the Heights. This signifies its penetration of characters' very being, in much the same way that it penetrates Catherine's diaries and Lockwood's dream after discovering them.

The novel also hints at the moor's transcendent qualities through the way in which natives linguistically map its features onto their perception of reality as their means of comprehending the world and then communicating their comprehension. Along these lines, Janet Gezari argues that '[t]he characters whose story Lockwood hears' turn 'repeatedly to features of the landscape [...] to convey the quality of their understanding and experience'[53] – to make sense of and articulate their life through figurative use of the moor. A significant example is when Catherine compares Heathcliff and Edgar Linton, in what is arguably the novel's central complication. Nelly herself marks the difference between both men as 'a bleak, hilly, coal country' versus 'a beautiful fertile valley' (61), a contrast that Catherine then takes up, revealing famously that her '"love for Heathcliff resembles the eternal rocks beneath"', whereas her '"love for Linton is like the foliage in the woods. Time will change it"' (73).

The conception of Heathcliff via the moor and the close connections between character and place are further factors in the moor's indelibility. Even at a fundamental level, Heathcliff's name *is* the moor, namely its transcendent facets – its desolate fauna and sublime heights. Less tangibly, elements of Heathcliff's character such as his mysterious origins, feral childhood, extreme, even transgressive emotions, dangerous, unpredictable behaviour, as well as his alluring Byronic heroism, align him closely with this landscape. Indeed, at times, Heathcliff and the moor appear to merge: he literally inhabits the landscape and the landscape inhabits him.

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[53] 'Introduction' to *The Annotated Wuthering Heights* (Cambridge Mas.: Belknap, 2014), 1-32 (23).

One reason for both Heathcliff's close associations with the moor and the moor's resonance is its connection with childhood and adolescence. The moor is central to the childhood experience to which the novel devotes much narrative time and space, particularly for Catherine and Heathcliff's childhood, which is the only occasion they are ever on the moor together in the novel, despite what screen adaptations suggest. On screen, the moor's wildness and openness are often connected with Catherine and Heathcliff's romantic passions and sexual desires, which sexualizes the landscape so that it becomes almost more reminiscent of Hardy than Brontë. However, in the novel, the moor provides for Catherine and Heathcliff an outlet of freedom for escaping life's confines and constraints; it also provides from a distance a space for the projection of strong feelings, particularly those relating to Catherine and Heathcliff's otherworldly connection formed in youth. Catherine and Heathcliff almost always escape onto the moor after conflict, mistreatment, or tyranny. Moorland scenes are moments when narrative tension is released. The fragment of Catherine's diary that Lockwood reads is the first indication of the moor's importance to Catherine and Heathcliff's lives and its association with their childhood. In this example, Catherine reveals her intention to '"have a scamper on the moors"' with Heathcliff because of Hindley's '"conduct"' towards him, which is '"atrocious"', and because they '"cannot be damper, or colder, in the rain"' than inside Wuthering Heights (17). Similarly, Hindley's return after Earnshaw's death and 'tyrannical' behaviour towards Heathcliff results in Heathcliff and Catherine running 'away to the moors' to forget 'everything' (40). Furthermore, in one of the novel's most emotionally intense scenes when Catherine is trapped inside Thrushcross Grange through fever, the moor is the hallucinatory destination of her delirious episode induced by feathers plucked from her pillow. The feathers make Catherine recall moorland lapwings, '"wheeling over heads in the middle of the moor"' (108), a suggestion of moorland freedom and space that she desires from her sickbed and because of her restricted societal position.

The moors are also central to young Catherine's childhood in Volume II, where they are represented in relation to youthful imagination, curiosity, and adventurousness, which makes them appear more exotic and remote. For Catherine especially it becomes the space beyond the confining bounds of Thrushcross Grange's garden wall: a desired, unknown 'Other', which is the unknowing spatial connection with the forbidden Wuthering Heights. At thirteen Catherine is still to move beyond the Grange's park alone. But she begins noticing the moor from her nursery window, a safe, domestic vantage point from which Brontë illustrates the landscape with apparent self-consciousness. Framing through the window both intensifies the distant, yearning affective relations towards it and invests it with the kind of exoticism that a child's imagination may project onto such a strange, distant, almost other-worldly land mass. Brontë describes the '"golden rocks"' of

'Penistone Crag', which are artistically spotlighted and foregrounded in this landscape scene, for 'when the setting sun shone on it and the top-most Heights, […] the whole extent of landscape besides lay in shadow' (168). As Catherine gets older, the allure of this enticing prospect remains unsatisfied by vision alone. She soon wants to experience more tangibly the space that she has only so far viewed from afar, especially when a maid's mention of a 'Fairy cave' attaches added romance to it. This romantic framing continues (much to Nelly's dismay) when Catherine makes the moor central to her game in which she pretends to be 'an Arabian merchant, going to cross the Desert with his caravan' (169). Such filtering of the moors through Catherine's youthful imagination and longing for adventure attributes to them an exoticism and remoteness, thus functioning to hint at the spatial polarity (Wuthering Heights) that lurks just out of sight, though connected to the Grange by what is to Catherine a vast, unexplored wilderness.

Because of parallels between the two generations of children and the moor's double temporal layers, one lasting impression of the moor is as a space associated with the freedom and passion, imagination and romance of an amorphous rather than a specific childhood. Moreover, because Heathcliff and Catherine are central to the cultural memory of *Wuthering Heights* (unlike Linton and the young Catherine, for the third generation rarely features in screen adaptations), all associations between childhood and moor become fused into the childhood of Heathcliff and Catherine in the cultural memory.

Catherine's diary fragment, the lapwing feather, the distant, illuminated view of Penistone Crag miniaturized from afar do not just align the moor with childhood but synecdochically, they are substitutions of part of the moor for its whole. Brontë employs synecdoche abundantly to signify the moor's larger whole: for instance, the 'golden crocuses' which are '"the earliest flowers at the Heights!"' and remind Catherine '"of soft thaw winds, and warm sunshine, and nearly melted snow"' (118) during her fever; and the magnified image of the 'heath and bilberry plants' climbing over the low 'kirkyard' wall (149). In such examples, Brontë's synecdoche works much like the quotation does for Susan Stewart, a connection brought to mind more explicitly via the synecdochical fragments of Catherine's diary, which are literally an array of quotations. Like Stewart's quotation, Brontë's synecdoche intensifies 'the two primary functions of language' found in the quotation: it makes 'present what can only be experienced abstractly' and textualizes 'our experience', thereby making 'it available for interpretation and closure.'[54]

The novel employs synecdoche to miniaturize the moors, which is important to the adaptability of this landscape. Synecdoche allows readers to contain and comprehend this potentially uncontainable and incomprehensible landscape, which gives it more potential

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[54] *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke UP, 1993), 19.

for cultural resonance and portability. But importantly, as in the narrative framing via Lockwood, the moors' synecdochical signification does not necessarily equate to their reduction to listless, static, or idealized representation. Rather, because the synecdoche always points to a larger referent, the moor's synecdochical representation hints at the transcendent potential of the larger whole. Nevertheless, both the novel's synecdoche and Brontë's careful framing through Lockwood's narrative exemplify the knowing landscaping of place in *Wuthering Heights*. It is for this reason that MGM's Hollywood film adaptation of the text in 1939 appears such a fitting screen interpretation.

MGM'S AND *WUTHERING HEIGHTS* IN THE THIRTIES

Wyler's 1939 film adaptation has had the most significant post-Victorian impact on shaping and sustaining the cultural memory of *Wuthering Heights*, ensuring the text's mass popularity on a large scale. It has impacted many subsequent screen adaptations, which are often in dialogue with Wyler as much as they are Brontë, a consensus that many scholars share: for instance, Stoneman argues that its 'production […] formed a watershed in popular perception, not only establishing Emily's novel belatedly as equivalent in value to Charlotte's [*Jane Eyre*], but fixing the way in which the novel has predominantly been read until the present day'.[55]

In fact, the film adaptation appears to have embedded into the cultural memory the enduring, enchanting tableau of Catherine and Heathcliff roaming on the moor as adults, with suggestions of their transcendent romance: this bold claim is exemplified through examining it alongside Bramble's 1920 *Wuthering Heights*. The iconic images features neither in the novel nor Bramble's film, which, although considered lost, is available in textual form via its screenplay – an item recently acquired by the Brontë Parsonage Museum, and yet to be discussed in an academic publication, as far as I know. Analysing it exemplifies how extensively the 1939 film re-moulded the cultural memory of *Wuthering Heights*, placing the moors and their interrelation with Catherine and Heathcliff's romance right at the centre of it.

Produced in Hollywood, Wyler's adaptation is the ultimate framed and constructed representation of the moors. They are constructed artificially in the San Fernando Valley, about fifty miles northwest of Los Angeles in America. Both their construction and projection are miles away – literally and figuratively – from Arnold's on-location shooting in 2011, yet actually, and surprisingly, much closer to Brontë's treatment of landscape, which is highly and self-consciously framed, as I have suggested. Despite filming in

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[55] 6. See also Shachar (39).

America, Wyler's film still places the Yorkshire moors at the centre of its project, the authenticity and legitimacy with which the film appears to pride itself seemingly invested in their representation. Producer Samuel Goldwyn sent a film crew to the UK to photograph this northern English landscape to inspire the production and set designers' recreation of them. The film evidently paid great attention to the prominence, authenticity, and effectiveness of its artificial representation of the moors, which translates to the screen at certain key moments. They are rendered distinctively as one of the most resonant and memorable elements to the extent that their representation has had a significant, enduring influence on subsequent screen adaptations into the twenty-first century.

The moors are a foremost element in the adaptation almost from the very beginning. After about a minute, an introductory inter-title reads: 'On the barren Yorkshire moors in England, a hundred years ago, stood a house as bleak and desolate as the wastes around it', as if seeking to draw attention to the recreation of this landscape and fix it. The film also announces immediately how the particular narrative to follow is rooted in this particular place, framing the forthcoming action as unfolding amidst this apparently vast and unwelcoming landscape to suggest the events to come are unique products of where they occur. It is interesting that this inter-title is needed at all given the association of Yorkshire with the Brontës, even in the 1920s. It points to the unevenness of the popularity of *Wuthering Heights* and Emily Brontë (as suggested above): neither was as culturally familiar before the film as after it. It also it reveals underlying anxieties about the authenticity of this adaptation of Brontë's landscape compared to the 1920s film adaptation's which featured scenes filmed on location – apparently the first time cinema machinery had made it to Top Withens.[56] As Wyler reveals in a 1973 interview: '"Somebody said to me […] that my version […] looked more real than one recently made in Yorkshire itself. Our art director […], James Basevi, did an amazing job of creating a 'look' of Yorkshire, with long stone walls and heather"'.[57] Indeed, even over thirty years after the film's release, Wyler was comparing his studio recreation of the Yorkshire landscape with those filmed on location.

Regardless of whether Wyler's Yorkshire moors are more 'real' or less 'real', they did strike a chord with the cultural memory, in part because they feature at some of the film's most emotionally charged moments related to Catherine and Heathcliff's relationship, which are tempered while still giving an impression of transcendent affect. Much media discourse surrounding the film in the thirties reinforced the strong projected

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[56] The production script draws attention to no fewer than 16 scenes set on the moors [*Wuthering Heights / Ideal Film Company/ A. V. Bramble's Production Script* (adapted by Eliot Stannard) [no further information available] [Brontë Parsonage archive].
[57] Charles Higham, 'William Wyler', *Action*, 8.5 (September-October, 1973), republished in Gabriel Miller (ed.), *William Wyler: Interviews* (Jackson: Mississippi UP, 2010), 61-66.

interrelation between romantic and transcendent affect and the moors, as if one reinforced the other. For instance, the *Press Book* states that the film's 'Love' elements are as 'stormy as the wind-swept moors'. For commercial exploitation it advised sound bites such as: 'Unchanged! Unchallenged! […] and unabated/ its Seething Emotional Storms!', and 'Samuel Goldwyn's enduring drama of a devastating love that eats its young heart out on the rugged cliffs of remorse'.[58]

However, on screen these passionate feelings are somewhat compressed, smoothed, and simplified, especially compared to the 1920s film adaptation, whose screenplay suggests far more extreme, untempered affect in its bleaker adaptation of the text.[59] In Wyler's adaptation there is, as Shachar argues:

> a flattening out of meaning in which conflicting lines of representation are streamlined toward the overriding need to make a particular adaptation palatable to a wide audience, aesthetically pleasing, non-confronting and cross-referential with other well-known literary works that can be easily identified and marketed alongside it.[60]

Given the penchant of Hollywood cinema audiences in the late 1930s for romance (as in, for example, the classic film *Gone With the Wind* (dir. Victor Fleming), which was also released in 1939), Wyler's *Wuthering Heights* submerses 'more critical or interrogative possibilities within the aesthetics and narrative of a decontextualized, simplified and appealing love story', as Shachar suggests further.[61]

This flattening, streamlining, and submersing of human relationships and emotions to codify the text for mass consumption, also characterizes the film's depiction of the moors. They are closely interrelated with Catherine and Heathcliff's conventionalized romance and also depicted to appear intelligible, safely contained, and also mythic, all of which generates cultural resonance and establishes even further potential for the adaptability of place.

Catherine and Heathcliff's conventionalised romance is arguably the most appealing and enduring aspect of the film, especially because the film's condensing of the text foregrounds it,[62] and because Merle Oberon and Laurence Olivier were cast in these lead roles. At this time, Oberon was already a film star in both Britain and America; and Olivier was an eminent Shakespearean actor, only just venturing onto the big screen, but

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[58] *Wuthering Heights (US, 1939, William Wyler)* [*Press Book Small*], PBS – 52105 [BFI Special Collections].
[59] Bramble's screenplay suggests a darker interpretation of the text than Wyler: it foregrounds Cathy and Heathcliff's excessively passionate, almost masochistic relationship; the alcohol- and gambling-induced destruction of Hindley; and Heathcliff's extreme violence and madness after Catherine's death.
[60] Shachar, 172.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Unlike Bramble's film in 1920, Wyler's adaptation leaves out most of the second half of the novel, including the young Catherine and Linton's childhood, and Heathcliff's vengeance, a condensing of the text that almost all subsequent screen adaptations adopt.

soon became one of the most famous male actors of all time. The film pushes these star leads to the foreground of the moorland landscape, which unlike Bramble's suggestion of dehumanizing vastness and extremeness in his screenplay,[63] tames the power that it has over them and viewers.

Oberon and Olivier thus added prestige and glamour to the film as a whole but also to the photographing of the moors, especially when they feature amidst, and so interrelated with, them, as well as projected onto their canvas. From a more contemporary standpoint, their casting – and so association with the moors – has accrued added iconic significance given the glittering and iconic careers these stars of the silver screen went on to have. Indeed, certain moorland set-pieces where Oberon and Olivier's love story is dramatized have come to signify something almost larger than *Wuthering Heights* in a cultural sense. Such frames are vistas on a cultural memory that is really doubly constructed: a fusion of an Americanized nineteenth century, framed with the trappings and associations of Hollywood's Golden Age, its glitz and glamour, fame and fortune – a more innocent moment just before the cataclysm of World War II.

For instance, the famous heather-picking scene is arguably the film's most iconic moment, influencing numerous subsequent adaptations and parodies including the examples above, though it is neither in the novel nor Bramble's screenplay, which suggests Wyler created it. The set-piece begins with Catherine's return to Wuthering Heights from Thrushcross Grange. She removes her new outfit from the Grange, and with it her more elegant adornments from cultured high society and materiality, as if returning to her natural environment, a transformation further suggested as she runs out freely onto the moors and up to Penistone Crag for reunion with Heathcliff.

The scene exemplifies Wyler's reduction of the scale, complexity, and perilousness of the moors, especially compared to Bramble's bleak and dangerous adaptation in the screenplay,[64] which draws in viewers rather than alienating them. To achieve this, the film uses synechdoche, as in the novel. The moor's presence is felt strongly, but it is signified in simple and straightforward terms, reduced to the following signifiers: Penistone Crag's rocky outcrop, glimpsed in medium and close-up shots focusing on Catherine and Heathcliff; the gentle breeze that ruffles both Oberon and Oliver's hair in romantic, affecting fashion; the heather they smell and then pick. Furthermore, the moor is signified through what the frame leaves out: that is, the prospect over which Catherine and Heathcliff apparently gaze, but that is never actually projected. Viewers are left to imagine the

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[63] At one point when Hindley and an unnamed horseman ride on the moor, the screenplay states: 'All that is seen are their silhouettes and rather ghostly figures in their great waste of space' (25).
[64] One of the central set-pieces in Bramble's film is an invented scene in which 'Cathy utterly weary twists her ankle and falling rolls down slope at the bottom of which she convulsively clasps her ankle' (24).

transcendent landscape before Oberon and Olivier; its absent presence is more effective than realization through the studio's limited resources.

In addition, the cinematography and editing (or lack of it) both operate to imprint these moorland encounters on cultural memory. In this scene and others on Penistone Crag, Shachar contends, perceptively, 'images of the landscape' and 'hilltop lovers' are 'strikingly still for prolonged moments of time', unlike 'scenes in other spaces where the camera is continually roving, moving and searching as an active participant in the action of the film'.[65] Continuing, Shachar draws attention to the 'self-conscious staginess to their interactions on the landscape, as if they are posting for a photograph', because of the 'camerawork' evincing 'strong awareness of the power of the stylized image, frozen in time'.[66]

The effect is to capture this landscape in a particular moment, as if in a photograph, which parallels Brontë's analogous framing of the moor through windows, for instance, or in different narrative frames. In fact, Wyler's film, which, as a product of Samuel Goldwyn Productions, frequently demonstrates awareness of what will resonate with a mass audience, also utilizes its own frame narrative to suspend in time Catherine and Heathcliff's romantic jaunts to Penistone Crag. The duo and their interrelation with the moors are already the topic of Nelly's fireside legend, as the film foregrounds: the material of oral history and collective memory for the generation of the film's intra-diegetic world, which frames Catherine and Heathcliff's tale.

The deliberately staged and carefully photographed locality is the theatre for some of the film's most romantic moments – which nod more towards otherworldly romance than sexual passion. In the projected scene described above, Catherine and Heathcliff embrace passionately once they are reunited after Catherine's stay at the Grange. An evocative soundtrack provides a sentimental, affective accompaniment throughout, affecting the pair's feelings, while also influencing projected affective relations to place. This scene is one of a number of similar romantic scenes set on Penistone Crag. They span from Catherine and Heathcliff as children, playing as knight and princess on the rocky outcrop, their make-believe castle, to the concluding frame where their ghosts return to this location that defines the moor for both them and in the adaptation as a whole. Penistone Crag is thus easily recognizable, not just because the action returns there on multiple, meaningful occasions so that it acquires numerous temporal layers, achieving a sense of permanence in the world of the film; but also because through it the film recognizes the significance that can accrue in places because of associations with certain events or memories. Penistone Crag has particular resonance because it triggers memories: the screen memories of

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[65] Shachar, 44.
[66] *Ibid.*

Catherine and Heathcliff's romance for viewers and also Nelly's intra-diegetic fireside memory.

The heather-picking scene also features Catherine's classic words to Heathcliff about timelessness and permanency, which have relevance for the film's broader agenda related to posterity and cultural remembrance through depicting the Brontëan moors. After a prolonged embrace with Heathcliff and a request for forgiveness for temptation at Thrushcross Grange, Catherine exclaims:

> make the world stop right here. Make everything stop and stand still and never move again. Make the moors never change and you and I never change.

Of course, Catherine is promising to resist Edgar Linton and the Grange here; however, her assurances to Heathcliff transpire to be as superficial as Thrushcross's glassware. But surely this is the adaptation's point: whereas Catherine will and does change, Penistone Crag and the moors do not. From the first scene located there when Catherine and Heathcliff are children to the final one in which their ghosts haunt it beyond the frame of Nelly's intra-diegetic narrative, the moor remains steadfast and enduring, transcending Nelly's framed narrative of recollection.[67]

Indeed, the film's final juxtaposition of the ghostly pair and the perennial Crag exemplifies this idea of the ephemerality of people, societies, and cultures in contrast to the moor's almost meta-historical permanence. And this idea of the enduring permanence of British landscape was crucial to British culture at the end of the 1930s and into the 1940s with the outbreak of World War II. Surrounded by cultural and societal obliteration beyond the screen and outside the cinema auditorium, the framed, foregrounded, and enduring moorland landscape signified through Penistone Crag, provided a cinematic space for escaping this global crisis.[68] As Wyler projected it, *Wuthering Heights*' moorland landscape was a timely, perhaps propagandist reminder of the permanence of Anglo cultural and societal heritage; and, in a sense, an exemplification of what Allies were fighting for.

Along these lines, although the projected film implies that Penistone Crag stood firmly before Oberon and Olivier's romance and will remain long after it, Wyler is careful to suggest that viewers are perceiving it in its *Victorian* moment rather than the novel's Regency one. Producer Goldwyn insisted on bringing the text's periodization forward, considering Victorian costume more effective at displaying his lead star Oberon than Regency period dress.

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[67] A detail that Elliott reads as signifying the 'eternal cinematic residence' of the film (*Rethinking*, 146).
[68] Elliott perceptively reads Penistone Crag as a 'metaphor for cinematic consumption', for the 'dream palace'; she implies that Catherine and Heathcliff's escape here is analogous to thirties cinemagoers' escape from the socio-political climate through cinema (*Rethinking*, 146).

However, such self-conscious invocation of the Victorian epoch through visible period detail also suggests that *Wuthering Heights* (1939) sought to evoke what Jeffrey Richards calls, 'a more settled age, an age of moral and political uncertainty, when Britain successfully policed the world'. [69] Moreover, for Richards, this signification was central to the broader appeal of the Victorian epoch on screen in the thirties, a decade that was, antithetically, anything but settled and certain.

Indeed, having provided just the cultural tonic in the late thirties and early forties, *Wuthering Heights* (1939) has since been absorbed into the broader, more nebulous mythology of this golden age of cinema and cinema-going, [70] at a moment just before the Second World War changed the world forever. It is for these reasons that the film has endured, like Penistone Crag; and also been disseminated widely, thus shaping and sustaining the cultural memory of Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* to the extent that certain parts of this film have developed into 'visual emblem[s] of what the novel "means"', [71] with '[a]lmost every screen adaptation of *Wuthering Heights* since' owing 'some sort of debt to the film's imagery and continu[ing] to repeat it'. [72] In Anglo-American culture today the culture-text of *Wuthering Heights* is enduring like the rocks beneath – but landscaped by text and screen in order to be so. Such continued popularity has its roots in Emily Brontë's novel where the writing of place is intrinsically adaptable but also extrinsically so because of Charlotte Brontë's mythologizing and packaging via her 1850 'Preface', as I have contended. However, this depiction of the moors finds unlikely consonance in Wyler's film which disseminated a mythologized version of *Wuthering Heights* deeply and broadly into twentieth-century culture, influencing many subsequent screen adaptations, but not Arnold's. In contrast, hers seeks to unembroider the culturally remembered version of text and moors, though, as a consequence, fails to capture a mass audience and influence the cultural memory to the same extent.

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[69] *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in 1930s Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 266.
[70] Richards calls it the 'heyday' of cinema, 'the era of supercinema' (19).
[71] Stoneman, 127.
[72] Shachar, 49.

ESCAPE TO THE COUNTRY: *FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD*

AND INTENSIFIED PASTORAL

On 21 October 2014, an episode of BBC One's property programme *Escape to the Country* featured a couple relocating to so-called 'Thomas Hardy's "Wessex"' to 'escape' city life.[1] The episode (mis)appropriates Hardy's classic description of Wessex from the 1912 Preface to *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), the 'partly-real, partly dream-country': presenter Jonnie Irwin reveals he is 'somewhere between fact and fiction, in an ancient kingdom far from the madding crowd'. Presented through a long shot to showcase the picturesque thatched cottage and bountiful garden of Hardy's birthplace (Higher Bockhampton, Dorset), Irwin discloses that he is 'in the historic realm of Wessex'; that the 'beautiful thatched cottage' is the birthplace of 'one of our nation's most celebrated authors and poets, penning classics such as *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *Jude the Obscure* and *Far from the Madding Crowd*'. Irwin states that Hardy's 'most famous works were based down here in the southwest of England in a semi-fictional land he called Wessex'. After defining Wessex's geography more specifically, Irwin elaborates on the region's principal county and associated most closely with Hardy:

> Dorset is the archetypal green and pleasant land. There are far-reaching views over a fluid of fields to the sea with livestock grazing, rolling hills and wild flowers providing flashes of colour amongst the meadows. Towns and villages like Shaftesbury and Cerne Abbas are desirable addresses with their stone cottages and brick chimneys standing tall, providing spectacular vantage points across the countryside.

Consequently, Irwin adds, Dorset property prices are '20% above the national average'.

This seemingly ephemeral moment of daytime television both exemplifies and reaffirms Hardy's close association with rural place, and, more specifically, rural Wessex, in cultural memory. So inseparable is this association that Hardy's Wessex has become the language of both heritage tourism and the luxury property market, which is ironic given the author's sympathy with the rural labouring classes. As the television programme remembers it, Hardy's Wessex is loosely situated in south-west England, but the topography, culture, and aesthetics of place appear generically rural via a description that without place names could signify a *cultural ideal* of the English countryside. It is also

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[1] 'Dorset', Season15; Episode 15.

ostensibly remote enough to be somewhere to escape to, remaining unspoilt by the urban and modernity. Furthermore, it is closely aligned with a historically unspecified sense of the past, as signified by the highly desirable thatched cottage; and also suggested as a cultural space conceived from a blurring of Hardy's biography and fiction (specifically the three novels suggested as his 'classic' works).

The episode further implies *Far from the Madding Crowd* as a key influence on this cultural memory of Hardy and the countryside. It demonstrates how the novel's title is so familiar that it has become interchangeable with the phrase 'escape to the country' – and not only in this specific television instance, but more widely in contemporary culture: it has become contemporary vernacular for country getaways and rural retreats in the holiday and property industries, and beyond. Moreover, throughout 2015, this Hardy text was especially prevalent in contemporary culture because of a new film adaptation, which sparked considerable press and media coverage about Hardy, his novel, and various adaptations of it.[2]

These countless television and radio arts and/or cultural features and broadsheet colour supplements communicated two central messages about the cultural memory of the text. Firstly, that the Victorian rural was the aspect of it most remembered and celebrated, a memory of place aligned with the version transmitted in *Escape to the Country*; secondly, that it was almost impossible to remember the text without considering John Schlesinger's 1967 film adaptation.[3] For instance, Georgia Dehn's *Saturday Telegraph Magazine* piece on the 'new adaptation of Hardy's pastoral romance' revealed David Nicholls's initial reluctance to write the screenplay because of admiration for 'the celebrated 1967 […] version'.[4] On the *Guardian Film Show Online*, Henry Barnes mentioned the text's 'bucolic splendour' and Peter Bradshaw felt the new film suffered 'inevitably from comparison with John Schlesinger'.[5] Furthermore, in *The Sunday Times*, Camilla Long advised readers to watch 'the original 1967 version […] before […] the new […] version' of 'Hardy's only truly happy novel'.[6] Indeed, as this selection of examples evinces, Schlesinger's film has been key to shaping and sustaining the cultural memory of text and author because of its great cultural impact in the late 1960s and between 1973 and 2015 when it was transmitted no fewer than seventeen times on British terrestrial television, including at peak points of the broadcasting calendar, like Christmas.[7]

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[2] *Far from the Madding Crowd*, dir. Thomas Vinterberg (BBC & DNA; Fox, 2015).
[3] *Far from the Madding Crowd*, (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer).
[4] 'Standing Out From the Crowd', 18 April 2015, 28-35 (28).
[5] Clip embedded in Alison Sayers, 'A Jungian take on Thomas Vinterberg's *Far from the Madding Crowd*', *The Guardian: Film Blog*, 11 May 2015. <http://www.guardian.com/film/2015/may/11/a-jungian-take-on-thomas-vinterbergs-far-from-the-madding-crowd> [accessed 27 August 2015].
[6] '*Far from the Madding Crowd* is pure Poldark replacement therapy', 3 May 2015. <http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/culture/film_and_tv/article1549983.ece> [accessed 27 August 2015].
[7] See the 'Television and Radio Index for Learning and Teaching' <http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/trilt/>.

This chapter sheds light, then, on why *Far From the Madding Crowd* has been popularly remembered as a text offering an 'escape to the country' through its Victorian rural setting. It analyses the interrelation between page and screen – between Hardy's aesthetic execution and Schlesinger's – in colouring the idea of rural place most often associated with text and author in cultural memory, so that neither author nor text are remembered separately from rural Wessex.

The chapter argues that, whilst various vistas on the cultural memory of *Far from the Madding Crowd* suggest a conventional, escapist pastoral – namely, the episode of *Escape to the Country* and Vinterberg's 2015 film –, the pastoral of Hardy's novel and Schlesinger's 1967 film – the two key influences on this cultural memory – is actually an intensified one. It emerges from a clash between a need to conform to conservative cultural conventions and market expectations related to mass audiences, and progressive artistic ambitions; this dialectical opposition gives rise to aesthetically and affectively striking and dynamic renderings of rural place suitable for a broad audience and range of contexts. Putting the complexities of such ideological and aesthetic ambitions into the apparently simply form of the nineteenth-century rural allows both novel and 1967 film to operate on a number of levels: in particular, they can be subsequently adapted and also received straightforwardly, but without appearing to dilute any of the text's 'authenticity'.

Section one argues that Hardy's novel deconstructs the pastoral before reconstructing it as a deeper, broader, and intensified mode by establishing, among other things, a more amplified place identity through interrelation with a wider geographical network. Section two suggests that Schlesinger's film has surprising consonance with Hardy, because in contrast to Paul Niemeyer's reading of the film as codifying a 'simple pastoral',[8] its representation of the rural fuses New Wave formal/aesthetic execution and MGM's packaging and stylization for a mass audience. Despite MGM's tempering of Schlesinger's artistic and ideological complexities for a more straightforward, whimsical veneer, this dialectic was essential to the film's significant impact on cultural memory and its mass appeal, a fusion of agendas encapsulated in Julie Christie and Terence Stamp's inhabiting of cinematographer Nicholas Roeg's progressively photographed landscapes as Bathsheba and Troy. The final section concludes with the idea that Vinterberg's 2015 film engages only with the simple veneer of Schlesinger's intensified pastoral because aimed at conservative international markets. It therefore disseminates into contemporary culture a straightforward pastoral lacking the ideological and aesthetic progressiveness of Hardy and Schlesinger, but one for which there seems to be a continued market.

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[8] *Seeing Hardy*, 75.

The version of Wessex mediated in *Escape to the Country* reflects a common critical (mis)reading of Hardy's work, which has influenced popular discourse. Jonathan Bate exemplifies this in *The Song of the Earth*, arguing that Hardy's conveys 'nostalgia for a simple, honest way of life among hedgerows, haystacks and sturdy English oak trees'.[9] Bate suggests that Hardy depicts a 'vanishing' countryside where 'people live in rhythm with nature'; and offers 'the imagined better life' without room 'for the motor car'. For Bate, this representation of the rural is *the* crucial factor in Hardy's enduring appeal. According to Bate, Hardy is one of 'the two most popular English writers of the nineteenth century […] [a]t the end of the twentieth century', because he provides an antidote to contemporary dissatisfaction with 'modernity', 'speed', and 'noise'. The supposed 'sickness of the present' induces 'longing for the imagined health of the past' offered in Hardy.[10]

Bate's reading typifies how rural place in *Far from the Madding Crowd* – and often Hardy more broadly – is frequently remembered in cultural memory. It is often aligned with simplistic pastoral conventions in its supposed retreat from Victorian 'realities' (social, cultural, political, economic) to an idealized countryside beyond both industrialization and modernity, with Hardy considered nostalgic for a simpler, bygone age, and anxious about change.

However, this cultural remembering does not do justice to Hardy's writing of Wessex; nor to how this rural representation propelled him into nineteenth-century cultural memory – and has continued to capture a mass audience at various moments since. Indeed, I agree with Raymond Williams that readers actually 'miss almost all of what Hardy has to show us if we impose on the actual relationships he describes a neo-pastoral convention': 'the *real* Hardy country […] is that border country […] between' – among a number of things – 'love of place and an experience of change' (my emphasis).[11]

Hardy's writing of rural Wessex in *Far from the Madding Crowd* – and in many other novels – is an *intensified* pastoral suitable for the Victorian moment; it emerges from a dialectical relationship between his engagement with pastoral artistic traditions to satisfy conservative market expectations and his formal ambitions that seek to deconstruct, reconstruct, and then intensify the rural for an industrial and mechanized age. The novel self-consciously invokes pastoral conventions to tap into an already popular artistic tradition, which Hardy appears to intuit will capture the cultural imagination in an

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[9] (London: Picador, 2001), 1. See also Michael Squires's essay entitled, somewhat misleadingly, '*Far From the Madding Crowd* as Modified Pastoral', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 25.3 (1970), 299-326.
[10] *Ibid.* 1-3.
[11] Williams (1973), 197.

industrial and urbanized age. But then Hardy's fiction challenges and stretches this pastoral tradition, intensifying and complicating it via visual, mythologized poetics of rural place to deepen, broaden, and complicate it. Readers are drawn in with an apparently simple pastoral veneer, which Hardy sets about intensifying.

The pastoral, like many such terms, is multiple and specific, evasive and contested. A full engagement in a literature review of it is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, there are a number of works that have influenced my thinking, particularly because they shed light on how Hardy's intensified pastoral is distinctive from the, to quote Widdowson, 'wholesome, homely pastoralist, offering a retreat from a brutal and over-civilized world to a "real" rural England', as he is frequently conceived.[12] Rooted in Theocritus' *Idylls* (316-260 BCE), which portrayed the rural pleasures of shepherds' sunlit, idealized existence of romance and song, and Virgil's *Eclogues* (42-37 BCE) (where the pastoral terms 'idyllic' and 'Arcadia' originated), the pastoral has three different usages, according to Terry Gifford. These include the 'historical form with a long tradition which began in poetry' (as above); the second is 'any literature' describing the countryside in contrast to the urban; and, finally, 'a vision of the countryside that is too simplified', an idealization of rural reality and so a pejorative usage in a critical sense.[13]

Whilst on the surface Hardy's writing of the rural in *Far From the Madding Crowd* knowingly shapes up to invoke all three of Gifford's ideas of pastoral, the novel actually appears aware of the argument Williams posits in his classic work on the pastoral, *The Country and The City* (1973): that the idea of an idyllic countryside functioning in binary opposition to city's 'ignoble strife' is simply 'a myth functioning as a memory'.[14] Here Williams interrogates the pastoral tradition, uncovering its selective relationship with its Classical roots, especially via their rediscovery in Renaissance literature.[15] Similarly, Hardy's novel attempts to cut through and deconstruct such pastoral mythology, before reconstructing its own intensified (that is, complex and relevant) version. One way in which the novel's representation of rural place does this is illuminated via another classic work on the pastoral, William Empson's *Some Versions of the Pastoral* (1935). Here, Empson perceives the pastoral as 'the process of putting the complex into the simple'.[16] He suggests that, as Paul Alpers distils it, 'literary styles and conventions […] are inherently "simple" in relation to the complexities [as well as 'conflicts' and 'contradictions'] of life, but are

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[12] (1989), 58.

[13] *Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 1999), 1-2.

[14] 43.

[15] Williams writes: 'even in these developments, of classical pastoral and other rural literature, which inaugurate tones and images of an ideal kind, there is almost invariably a tension with other kinds of experience: […]. The achievement, if it can be called that, of the Renaissance adaptation of just these classical modes is that […] these living tensions are excised, until there is nothing countervailing, and selected images stand as themselves: not in a living but in an enamelled world' (18).

[16] (London: Chatto & Windus, 1935), 23.

valuable precisely to the extent that they stay in touch with those complexities and reconcile their contradictions'.[17]

The idea of putting the complex into the simple is at the heart of Hardy's pastoral, which can be received straightforwardly, yet actually intensifies the rural artistic mode for a Victorian audience and beyond. The novel opens with the apparatus of an apparently simple, pastoralized rural: its title self-consciously evokes Thomas Gray's eighteenth-century pastoral, 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (1740-41); and the first four chapters are knowing in bringing to mind the pastoral tradition in all three of Gifford's 'uses'. In them, Hardy portrays the potentially blossoming romance of Gabriel Oak, a contented, flute-playing shepherd, whom he situates within a seemingly timeless and fictional location that appears generically rural, an escapist 'other' to nineteenth-century industrial modernity. However, it quickly emerges that this rural region is actually a 'modern Wessex'[18] in touch with the broader Victorian nation and influenced by its 'complexities', 'conflicts', and 'contradictions' (to quote Empson), even if they are not immediately obvious. It is this dialectically opposed constitution of Hardy's depiction of the countryside, consisting of partial reality and partial dreamscape, of tradition and innovation, which is central to this intensification of the pastoral and a key factor in Wessex's transcending of the page and dissemination in both Victorian and post-Victorian culture.

Hardy's initial invocation of the pastoral suggests an intuition about the taste of Victorian readers living in an industrialized and urbanized world for rural escape: for the 'enamelled' (to use Williams's adjective) pastoral-rural of his early 'Wessex' novel, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872), as well as the 'idyllic realism' of Mary Russell Mitford, Eliot, even Edward Bulwer-Lytton. It also implies Hardy's intentions to write himself into this tradition of rural literature. Indeed, much of the novel's Victorian reception suggests that these Arcadian-pastoral qualities initially captured the cultural imaginary, contributing to ingraining writer and text in the collective consciousness. For example, an 1875 *Saturday Review* essay praises how *Far From the Madding Crowd* 'lingers in the pleasant byways of pastoral and agricultural life', as well as the 'idyllic incidents of rustic life, […] so plentifully narrated'.[19]

But after initially implying this pastoral 'retreat' to satiate readers' thirst for rural escape and draw them into the first instalment, Hardy's representation of the countryside quickly evolves. Hardy soon indicates, as Ralph Pite asserts, intentions to actually 'resist the unwitting predations of an urbanized middle class, who were building cottages in the

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[17] 'Empson on Pastoral', *New Literary History*, 10.1 (Autumn, 1978), 101-123 (101).
[18] 'Preface From 1912 Wessex Edition' (392).
[19] 'Far From the Madding Crowd', *Saturday Review*, 39.1001, 57-58 (57).

countryside and both writing and reading books about the delights of rustic life' by 'disturbing […] assumptions' and writing about the 'genuinely rural'.[20] As the opening part progresses, Hardy deepens, distances, and intensifies the pastoral, hinting at how such progressive platial poetics may be at odds with the kind of staid pastoral that chimed with many Victorian readers and would have been expected from a novel set 'far from the madding crowd'. The novel thus evinces a tension at the heart of its portrayal of the rural: between marketplace expectations, and Hardy's artistic ambitions to stretch and challenge them.

Hardy invokes these ambitions analogically through the juxtaposition of geology and cosmology (the depths and heights of place) before rudely interrupting them with a mundane, clichéd signifier of the pastoral. Chapter 2 moves from emphasizing the 'indestructible' longevity of Norcombe Hill's geology and topography, 'which may remain undisturbed on some great day of confusion when far grander heights and dizzy granite precipices topple down', to compelling cosmic and philosophical contemplation of astrological formation and the world's 'palpable movement […] eastward'; 'the panoramic glide of the stars past earthly objects'; and '[t]he poetry in motion […,] enlarging the consciousness'.[21] Establishing this location firmly amidst both definite time and space through geology and topography provides an enduring, resilient base, from which its representation can be heightened and widened (directed upwards and outwards) so that the countryside is signified with greater depths and heights than the generic, 'enamelled' version of much previous rural writing.

However, Hardy interrupts these engrossed contemplations, which transport readers – and the pastoral mode – 'aloft from the customary haunts of thought and vision', 'to a capability for eternity at once' (9). With an abrupt end to the paragraph and another beginning 'Suddenly', the narrative is broken, its focus brought back down to earth, to the limited, unambitious pastoral world. Hardy describes 'an unexpected series of sounds', whose 'clearness […] was to be found nowhere in the wind, and […] sequence […] nowhere in nature': 'the notes of Farmer Oak's flute' (9). Self-consciously, a conventional, even clichéd signifier of an archaic pastoral, which seems more alien to the natural world than organic, has interrupted the first signs of a deeper, enlarged, more intensified pastoral: the former has brought the latter back down to earth both literally and figuratively. This dialectical patterning between an intensified pastoral and a restraining, conventional one is continued throughout: it is a key factor in the distinctiveness of Hardy's writing of the Victorian rural.

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[20] '"His Country": Hardy in the Rural', in *A Companion to Thomas Hardy*, ed. Keith Wilson (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 133-145 (134).
[21] *Far From the Madding Crowd*, ed. Rosemarie Morgan (London: Penguin, 2003), 9. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number.

The novel makes its intentions towards the pastoral explicit a few pages later, where it breaks from the conventions established in the opening number through a jarring moment of trauma. As the self-conscious, oxymoronic allusion in chapter five's title, 'Pastoral Tragedy', signifies, the novel seeks to deconstruct the conventionalities of this mode via an episode depicting Oak's excitable young sheepdog driving his flock of sheep over the precipice of a chalk pit to their deaths. Disturbingly, the reader is confronted with Oak's view of 'a heap of two hundred mangles carcasses, representing in their condition [of pregnancy] at least 200 more [sheep]' (32), a startling, cinematic image signifying the shepherd's complete financial ruin, while also hinting at the visual poetics to come. Oak's situation is consequently reduced to 'the clothes he stood up in, and nothing more' (34). Considered alongside his romantic interest, Bathsheba, also leaving Norcombe, the episode represents Hardy's eradication of traditional pastoral conventions and sensibilities to make room for an intensified rural depiction: a break of tradition to establish a new one. As Oak is forced to move on geographically, Hardy's rural vision moves on too. The novel's next instalment shifts twenty miles, following Oak to the village of Weatherbury via Casterbridge for the annual 'Hiring Fair' (30). Oak's forced migration not only suggests the agricultural instability of Hardy's Wessex, nodding to later works like *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*, where rural mobility and diaspora are commonplace,[22] but it also signals the start of Hardy's intensification of the rural towards a more complex and ambitious representation relevant for Victorian modernity.

Unlike the pastoral's generic rural and Eliot's provincial rural (whose 'realism' has not captured the post-Victorian cultural imagination to the same extent as Hardy), which are typically defined by their *difference* from the metropolis, Hardy's Weatherbury has a strong place identity and culture *in itself*. Rooted definitely in a specific time and space, it is 'the source of its own terms and meaning and identity', as Ian Duncan writes of the fictional region (as opposed to the indistinct province).[23] Indeed, Hardy characterizes Weatherbury's rural culture of place distinctively through its agricultural practices and traditions related to sheep and corn farming; through its folkloric traditions and oral communication of hearsay, myths, and anecdotes across generations and the close community; and also through acute, intricate knowledge of the surrounding countryside. He also writes the physical and material culture of place vividly and distinctively. Much attention is given to the village's unique topography, namely Weatherbury church, Warren's archaic Malthouse, Bathsheba's Jacobean farmhouse and 'Great Barn', and Boldwood's 'Lower Farm'. Even the surrounding fields, tracts of land, footpaths, byways,

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[22] See also Hardy, 'Dorsetshire Labourer' (1883), 48-56.
[23] 'The Provincial or Regional Novel', in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, eds. Patrick Brantlinger and William Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 318-335 (323).

and roads become theatres for the action at certain points, as well as meaningful, memorable parts of the fictional place's rich history.

Hardy's writing of place also often reads like a 'thesaurus of topoi of an ancient […] glorious past',[24] because of the close attention given to these ancient buildings as well as Wessex's geology. These characterize that which Sophie Gilmartin calls 'the very substance of place and time', which 'mark out the land, designate region' and 'symbolize different time-scales'.[25] A prime example is the great barn, which Hardy describes in rich and intricate detail as a central feature of his intensified Victorian pastoral:

> Standing before this abraded pile the eye regarded its present usage, the mind dwelt upon its past history, with a satisfied sense of functional continuity throughout, a feeling almost of gratitude, and quite of pride, at the permanence of the idea which had heaped it up. The fact that four centuries had neither proved it to be founded on a mistake, inspired any hatred of its purpose, nor given rise to any reaction that had battered it down, invested this simple grey effort of old minds with a repose if not grandeur which a too curious reflection was apt to disturb in its ecclesiastical and military compeers. For once mediaevalism and modernism had a common stand-point. […] To-day the large side doors were thrown open towards the sun to admit a bountiful light to the immediate spot of the shearers' operation, which was the wood threshing-floor in the centre […] Here the shearers knelt, the sun slanting in upon their bleached shirts, tanned arms, and the polished shears they flourished, causing these to bristle with a thousand rays, strong enough to blind a weak-eyed man […] This picture of to-day in its frame of four hundred years ago did not produce that marked contrast between Ancient and Modern which is implied by the contrast of date. (126-127)

This moment taps into the Victorian cultural and societal penchant for idyllic Arcadia removed from industrial modernity, but the Great Barn is far from weak and wistfully nostalgic, as the reference to a 'picture of to-day in its frame of four hundred years ago' implies. Rather, Hardy literally frames the dynamics of nostalgia. Characterized by visual, mythologized poetics and an affectively charged architectural eye, the image is fully aware of itself as constructed, and of the resonance that such self-reflexive nostalgic framing can invoke. Crucially, the medieval barn *has* changed and will continue changing. However, the very fact that it both continues to stand and is still used for the same agricultural practice four hundred years later means that it develops a certain 'spirit' (126) as Hardy calls it, or, in other words, a powerful aura that reminds readers of its continued emotional and cultural value in the nineteenth century.

Hardy thus fuses tradition and modernity so that the barn becomes microcosmic for his broader depiction of rural Wessex: it is an indelible, but besieged pause amidst the motion of time and over space in the Victorian world, which he highlights. It exemplifies

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[24] Dainotto, *Place in Literature*, 47.
[25] *Ancestry and Narrative in Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Blood Relations from Edgeworth to Hardy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 198.

that which Virginia Woolf famously called Hardy's 'moments of vision' (which contributes, in part, to the aura that frames it):

> those passages of astonishing beauty and force which are to be found in every book that he wrote. With a sudden quickening of power which we cannot foretell, nor he, it seems, control, a single scene breaks off from the rest. […] Vivid to the eye, but not to the eye alone, for every sense participates, such scenes dawn upon us and their splendour remains. […] [A] little blur of unconsciousness, that halo of freshness and margin of the unexpressed which often produce the most profound sense of satisfaction.[26]

Woolf's essay complains at one point that too much of Hardy is 'lumpish and dull and inexpressive',[27] yet these elements of his writing make such moments of vision even more powerful. Such aesthetic restraint makes the pockets of excess 'stand up like lightning conductors to attract the force of the elements' (as Woolf describes some of Hardy's characters, but which is actually more applicable to certain place images),[28] which gives them a detachable, almost adaptable quality. In the passage above, Hardy positions readers before the barn, distancing but then drawing them in imaginatively and affectively. He literally illuminates the location with dazzling sunlight, which intensifies as it reflects off the barn's different parts, making the scene actually luminous. Comparable 'moments of vision' related to place appear throughout the novel and Hardy's broader oeuvre: during the rick fire and storm; Jude's first glimpse of Christminster, 'a vane here and there on their many spires and domes giving sparkle to a picture of sober secondary and tertiary lines'; and via the bonfires alit across Egdon Heath's piercing darkness in *The Return of the Native*.[29]

Like the barn, Weatherbury and Wessex resist seeming preserved in amber, as if timeless rural spaces hermetically sealed from the forces of the wider Victorian nation. Not only is this the result of Hardy's aesthetic execution, but also because the novel's spatial networks locate them under the pressures of broader nineteenth-century nation, modernization, and change. Consequently, these narrative nodes of place become moments of pause amidst the widespread and rapid movement of the Victorian world as it speeds up and spreads out, both within and without the text: they are where space can become a suitably meaningful and complex place for Victorian readers. Indeed, Hardy's indelible intensification of the pastoral is founded on this dialectic of stability and change, tradition

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[26] 'Thomas Hardy's Novels [January 1928]', in *The Common Reader: Second Series* (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide [University of], 2015), <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/w/woolf/virginia/w91c2/chapter21.html> [accessed 14 August, 2017] [Chapter 21].

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Jude the Obscure*, ed. Dennis Taylor (London: Penguin, 1998), 78; *The Return of the Native*, ed. Tony Slade (London: Penguin, 1999), 18-21.

and modernity, pause and movement, which ensures the novel's relevance for post-Victorian modernity.

Weatherbury always has a constant awareness of 'the macrocosm beyond the microcosm',[30] because its construction evinces a subtle sense of Richard Kerridge's idea of the 'material interdependencies between places: the flow of goods, information, and travellers'[31] (both inwards and outwards). Because Weatherbury is at the heart of this material interdependency, as the novel's central spatial concern, it is brought into sharper focus. For example, Weatherbury is encountered for the first time only after the narrative moves to the Casterbridge hiring fair, which instantly establishes the village's connection to this key regional economic hub of corn exchange and agricultural employment. It is a similar story with the gloomy, utilitarian city of Melchester, associated with Troy's military profession and bleak, ill-fated relationship with Fanny Robin, as well as the spa town of Bath, whose road network is given particular attention to situate Weatherbury spatially 'in relation to the actual geography of England', as Michael Millgate argues.[32]

More broadly and importantly still, Weatherbury is suggested as connected to London. The Great Barn does not only emphasize Weatherbury's longevity and connection to the past, but it also points beyond the region and into the future. The wool of Bathsheba's sheep which are shorn there provides 'unadulterated warmth for the winter enjoyment of persons unknown and far away' (129), an allusion to Londoners, readers can assume, especially considering a similar moment in chapter 30 of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Here Hardy invokes a network of agricultural commerce when Tess and Angel deliver Talbothays' milk to the railway station for transportation to London. Tess points out that the capital's milk consumers have probably '"never seen a cow"'.[33] Exporting Bathsheba's wool constructs a similar commercial network around Weatherbury that stretches beyond Wessex's bounds, knitting the village into the Victorian nation.

However, this connection to London begins with Weatherbury rather than the metropolis: the city is the peripheral 'other' to this rural centre, which the novel isolates and foregrounds. Such connectivity is a frequent reminder of the 'partly real' elements of this 'partly dream-country'. It makes explicit that Weatherbury is, to quote W. J. Keith, 'buffeted on all sides by the forces of change'.[34] Indeed, as the old Malster asserts during one of the Malthouse discussions disguised as light-hearted rusticity but actually frank social-political insight: '"stirring times we live in – stirring times. [….] [H]ow the face of

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[30] W. J. Keith, *Regions of the Imagination: The Development of British Rural Fiction* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1988), 89.

[31] 'Ecological Hardy', in *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism*, ed. Karla Armbruster and Kathleen Wallace (Charlottesville: Virginia UP, 2001), 126-142 (130).

[32] *Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist* (London: Random House, 1971), 95.

[33] Ed. Tim Dolin (London: Penguin, 1998), 187.

[34] *Regions of the Imagination*, 101.

nations alter, and what great changes we live to see now-a-days!"' (96). Such 'stirring' surroundings intensify Weatherbury and its surrounding countryside through dialectical opposition: they are represented in sharper, more affecting focus as a result.

So keen is the novel to suggest that surrounding motion and movement, as well as broader outlooks and horizons, are significant for an intensified pastoral suitable for the Victorian epoch that it suggests their absence is not just limiting, but dangerous, even deadly. Hardy actually implies that too parochial and static a rural place without a sense of it in relation to, or from the perspective of, 'elsewheres' (as in the kind of 'myth functioning as a memory' for metropolitan readers of previous literary versions of the countryside) is entrapping, stunting, even poisonous both sociologically and aesthetically. Throughout the novel, certain rural folk including Mark Clark and even Oak dream of escaping their rural lives, 'to burst all links of habit – there to wander far away,/ On from island unto island at the gateways of the day' (93). [35] However, they are trapped in or shackled to Weatherbury, unable to move beyond its bounds, or even contemplate movement. In this respect, it is telling that Oak, who is often celebrated (incorrectly) as the novel's idealized epitome of the pastoral dweller, reveals that he '"should be as glad as a bird to leave the place"' (169). Furthermore, when he loses everything in the 'Pastoral Tragedy', he is described tellingly as 'a free man with the clothes he stood up in, and nothing more' (34). It is as if his very being is freed from the shackles of this stereotypical pastoral life in much the same way as Hardy's aesthetic mode is free from not having to represent it.

It is even worse for those who have experienced elsewheres but choose to reduce their 'daily life' to 'a curious microscopic sort […] limited to a circuit of a few feet', as Hardy writes of Clym Yeobright in *The Return of the Native* (247), whose 'contraction of his geographical horizons [...] is confirmed by his developing myopia'.[36] In this respect, Hardy surprisingly conveys most sympathy for Troy in *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Relinquishing his military profession to marry Bathsheba and trying his hand as a gentleman farmer mean he surrenders much mobility and freedom. His ties to the wider nation are severed and reduced to just the local; he become entrapped and suppressed in Weatherbury. Dissatisfied and disillusioned, he is compelled to leave, experiencing a 'composite feeling, made up of disgust with the, to him, humdrum taedium of a farmer's life': he is impelled 'to seek a home in any place on earth save Weatherbury' (281). Almost as soon as Troy leaves Weatherbury, traversing 'hills […] forming a monotonous barrier between the basin of cultivated country inland and the wilder scenery of the coast', 'a new

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[35] Hardy's allusion to Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall' (1842) (II.157-8; 168).
[36] John Barrell, 'Geography of Hardy's Wessex', in *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990*, ed. K.D.M. Snell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 99-118 (106).

and novel prospect' bursts 'upon him with an effect almost like that of the Pacific upon Balboa's gaze' (281). On eventually entering the sea – encapsulating the wider space beyond the parochial and local – Troy enters 'a current unknown'; he is taken 'unawares in a swoop out to sea' (282). Like Vadco Nunez de Balboa, the first European to glimpse the Pacific, Troy's mobility outwards demonstrates the positive possibilities of moving beyond the local for immersion in outside influences: on both selfhood and affective relations to place.

It also suggests that such spatial limitations of living in rural place without sense of its relation to 'elsewheres' translates to limitations in its poetic realization: to just live in place is not only limiting and perhaps even dangerous, but it means that the spatial poetics do not quite have the same imaginative life because objective distance and pause within motion are denied. In this sense, the autumn fog that descends on Joseph Poorgrass when transporting Fanny Robin's coffin is symbolic. It means that '[t]he air was an eye suddenly struck blind. The waggon and its load rolled no longer on the horizontal division between clearness and opacity. They were imbedded in an elastic body of monotonous pallor throughout. There was no perceptible motion in the air' (245-6). Such myopia results in the disappearance of rural place, which Hardy suggests is deadly, because it catalyses the chain of events leading to the novel's tragic climax. It is a similar – and more serious – story in relation to Farmer Boldwood, whose monomania emerges through his eternally limited field of vision aimed solely at the floor, as Hardy draws repeated attention. He attends just to the space and time of the immediate, rather than relating to his platial surroundings in a visual, affective, even existential sense – and the result is murder and incarceration for madness. Indeed, as the novel seems to suggest, to be these rustics, or would-be rustics, rather than a pastoral poet like Hardy is limiting and even dangerous: an intensified pastoral sufficient for Victorian readers in an industrial age of moving images needs to be situated in relation to other places and also considered from the objective distance and alternative perceptions that they provide.

SCHLESINGER'S PERIOD NEW WAVE

Arguably the most significant impact on the cultural memory of Hardy's novel since the Victorian epoch is Schlesinger's 1967 film adaptation. A key vista on its adaptation of rural place (including its broader rural aesthetic) is the music-box that Troy gives Bathsheba as a wedding gift. Added to the text by Schlesinger, the music-box is a miniaturized, mythical rural village scene from an unspecified past: it comes complete with castle turret, clock tower, stone bridge over a river, among various other whimsical details all covered with a glass display case. It features three times: Troy gives it to Bathsheba on the morning after

their wedding; it is later presented via in an intense, urgent shot from Troy's point-of-view when demanding money from Bathsheba for his gambling habit as their relationship breaks down; and, most significantly, it is the focus of the ambiguous ending. In this concluding scene, newly married Oak and Bathsheba are confined to the interior space of the drawing room because of inclement weather, which is ominous given the virile sexuality associated previously with the film's sweeping landscapes, especially when Julie Christie (Bathsheba) and Terrence Stamp (Troy) inhabited them. The concluding shot zooms in slowly on the music-box, affording a close-up of the rural place it represents. The shot eventually finishes on an extreme close-up of the continuously rotating soldier, accompanied with the overpowering clockwork tune.

Some critics have interpreted this foregrounding of the music-box as ominously suggesting the precariousness of Oak and Bathsheba's final union due to Troy's lingering, destructive presence signified through the rotating soldier; others have argued that it signifies the sinister cyclicality of parochial life.[37] However, I read it as a last – and so *lasting* – exemplification of the film's self-reflexiveness in relation to the nature of the rural representation that production company and distributor MGM strove for in attempting to satisfy the supposed expectations – and potential attractions – of a cinematic Hardy's Wessex for mainstream sixties cinema-goers; for it is a miniaturized, timeless, and mythic version of pastoral, which, like kitsch more broadly, 'repackages and stylizes […] in a way that reinforces established conventions and appeals to the masses' through '"support[ing] basic sentiments and beliefs"' rather than '"disturb[ing] them"'.[38]

This very self-reflexiveness through the music-box's *mise-en-abyme* function, which destabilizes the kitsch rural it portrays by encouraging viewers to consider it in relation to the film's broader adaptation of Hardy's Wessex – encapsulates the film's challenging and stretching of period and rural place through an intensified pastoral that has strong consonance with Hardy's. Indeed, it is the tension highlighted in the film's conclusion between the characteristically New Wave aesthetic execution of director Schlesinger, cinematographer Nicholas Roeg, and screenwriter Frederic Raphael, on the one hand, and MGM's repackaging and stylizing of the text for a mass audience on the other, through which this 1967 film emerges. And this is an essential source of the film's imprinting of certain Hardyean place images on the cultural memory of text and author, as this chapter section contends.

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[37] See Nicole Cloarec, 'John Schlesinger's *Far from the Madding Crowd*: "A Modern Pastoral"?', *Cercles*, 22 (2012), 70-86 (81), and Toru Sasaki, 'John Schlesinger's *Far from the Madding Crowd*: A Reassessment', *Literature/ Film Quarterly*, 37.3 (January 2009), 194-200.
[38] David MacGregor Johnston, 'Kitsch and Camp and Things That Go Bump in the Night', in *The Philosophy of Horror*, ed. Thomas Fahy (Lexington: Kentucky UP, 2010), 229-244 (233).

The film's initial reception contrasted with the critical acclaim and almost cult status attributed to it in recent media attention on the release of Vinterberg's 2015 film. Many late-sixties press cuttings held at the BFI support arguments by William Mann and Andrew Pulver that 'British newspaper critics were […] disapproving'; that the film was criticized in America, and ignored by the British Film Academy.[39] Much criticism centred on the film's supposedly conventional and conservative pastoral poetics, which many felt contributed to a staleness and shallowness in the film. These comments had particular pertinence given the avant-garde, New Wave cinematic trends of the 1960s, to which much press discourse considered the film antithetical. For example, James Price's oft-quoted *Sight and Sound* article calls the adaptation 'painterly', which:

> together with the images of sowing, sheep-dipping and harvesting, emphasizing as they do the Arcadian character of the story, create feelings both of timelessness and of a time from which an urban audience is totally cut off. […] The actors may not all be convincing […] and the story may be pretty thin, but pastoral myth for the smokebound consumer is as potent as it was in the time of Beaumont and Fletcher.[40]

Such interpretations traditionally cite Schlesinger's justification for using Hardy as means of turning away from an urban and contemporary subject to justify their own readings. In an interview presumably given as part of a widespread press release, or to many journalists, because of how often it is quoted, Schlesinger revealed that he '"wanted to get away from a contemporary subject. People are tiring of the flip side. 'Contemporary' is dated. Besides, I think Hardy's novel has some relevance to our own time in which people are seen pursuing some ideal, failing to reach it, and falling back on a compromise"'.[41] Scholars and journalists usually refer just to the first part of Schlesinger's comment, omitting the second half after 'Besides'. The selective contraction allows it to support the (mis)reading of the film alluded to above (as escapist and conservative). It implies that Schlesinger turned to Hardy as an alternative to the 'material prosperity, cultural innovation […] youthful rebellion',[42] and gritty realism associated with sixties cinema culture. Against these aesthetic and thematic concerns, the escapist, pastoral, conservative characteristics of the film's rural Victorian elements were heightened because of their scarcity on the big screen.

However, I want to suggest that the elements of the projected film that do seem to fit with James Price's reading are the influence of an MGM 'gloss' applied to give the film

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[39] Mann, *Edge of Midnight: The Life of John Schlesinger* (London: Hutchinson, 2004), 282-5; Pulver, '*Far from the Madding Crowd* director Thomas Vinterberg: "It's always been me-me-me-me- until now"', *The Guardian*, Tuesday 28 April 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/apr/28/far-from-the-madding-crowd-thomas-vinterberg-interview> [accessed 29 April 2015].
[40] 37.1 (Winter 1967/68), 39-40 (39).
[41] Quoted in Ernest Betts, 'Filming *Far from the Madding Crowd*', *The Times* ('The Arts'), Saturday August 19 1967, 7.
[42] Bart Moore-Gilbert and John Seed (eds.), 'Introduction', in *Cultural Revolution? The Challenge of the Arts in the 1960s* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-14 (2).

mass appeal. Much of the film's working production material suggests that Schlesinger and Raphael had original intentions for a more progressive adaptation than that which is actually projected on screen. In many respects, Schlesinger appears to have had ambitions to make his own period New Wave film following the success of Tony Richardson's film adaptation of *Tom Jones* (United Artists), which had been released only four years earlier in 1963, winning four Academy Awards in 1964, including for 'Best Picture' and 'Best Director'.

Like Richardson's film, Schlesinger's often seems defiantly modern, especially according to the relevant BFI archive material. It similarly appears to want to deliberately deviate from the existing cinematic canon of more naturalistic costume drama, as in, for instance, *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Doctor Zhivago*, directed by David Lean in 1962 and 1965, respectively. A cinematic Hardy's Wessex must have seemed an attractive theatre for a progressive New Wave period drama in the sixties. It was relatively unchartered territory on the big screen at the time: a film adaptation of a Hardy novel had not been produced since the late 1920s.[43] Moreover, the cinematic and televisual images of Victorian culture at this moment were predominantly urban ones: those dominated by Dickensian London in black-and-white, and 'fag-end' glimpses of grubby and gloomy Victorian architecture in the inner city settings of British New Wave film.[44]

Yet it was not virgin cinematic territory to quite the same extent as the eighteenth century. This more distant, less popular epoch did not have so much of a pre-existing cinematic idiom compared to the Victorian period, which had been widespread on screen since its inception – and as a result was subject to more restraints of convention on the excesses of New Wave progressiveness. For this reason, it was the eighteenth rather than nineteenth century that seemed to chime more with the decade, as the follow-ups to Richardson's film imply. *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders* (dir. Terence Young, Paramount, 1965), *Lock Up Your Daughters* (dir. Peter Coe, Columbia, 1969), *Sinful Davey* (dir. John Huston, Mirisch/ United Artists, 1969), and others all indicated that this earlier 'permissive age of gusto, gourmandizing and zestful free living', as Richards writes, captured the spirit of the sixties more than the Victorian period, which embodied for many the old order of 'personal and institutional […] [r]estraint and restriction'.[45]

Far From the Madding Crowd (1967)'s rural setting is a key part of this attempt at defiant modernism (with a small 'm') rather than antithetical to it. Schlesinger's cinematic Wessex is an attempt to tap into the sixties cultural sensibility for the whimsical neo-

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[43] Wright (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Hardy on Screen* (2005), 1-7 (4).
[44] Richards, 'New waves and old myths: British cinema in the 1960s', in *Cultural Revolution?*, eds. Moore-Gilbert and Seed (1992), 172.
[45] *Ibid*. 179.

pastoral and 'retro-chic' of Victoriana.[46] These trends encompassed numerous aspects of sixties popular culture: they stretched from the 'Trumptonshire Trilogy' of children's television (*Camberwick Green*, *Trumpton*, and *Chigley*) to which Bathsheba's music-box seems analogous; to the popular music of the Kinks and the Beatles in albums like *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* and *The Kinks Are The Village Green Preservation Society*, which were released at practically the same moment as Schlesinger's film (1967 and 1968 respectively). This whimsical and neo-pastoral aesthetic advocated 'the preservation of the ways of the old (when everyone had access to the simple pleasures of a village green), while also guarding the newer ways': it 'squeezed […] the best practices of the present […] between nostalgia for an idyllic past and visions of a utopian future'.[47] Indeed, in an almost Empsonian way, this avenue of popular culture had many different layers of complexity. Its apparently simple and nostalgic veneer drew people in to engage them with more complex layers below the surface, which is an aesthetic execution related to the rural that chimes with both Hardy's novel and Schlesinger's film.

One way that Schlesinger's film seeks to announce itself as modern is its foregrounding of many troubling realities of nineteenth-century rural England. More specifically, according to BFI archival material, Schlesinger's initial intentions appear to have been to address how the fantasy of escaping the real and the everyday, and making it elsewhere ('the greenness of distant fields'),[48] which was prominent mythology in the decade's popular culture, was a fallacy. The film followed 'dramatic' British cultural changes in the mid-sixties that coincided with a Labour government victory and had at their core 'youth, progress and innovation'.[49] By 1967 it was considered that 'the unspoken agenda behind the discontent powering the New Wave – the desire for a life of total and unrestrained freedom – had been met'.[50] Many films consequently reflected a 'fantasy-ridden society:[51] their dominant characteristics included 'fantasy, extravaganza, escapism; […] colour; […] hedonistic self-indulgence; […] flamboyant unrealistic decorativeness', 'the bright side, […] self-assertion, personal fulfilment and the good life'.[52] Yet Schlesinger's films had traditionally contrasted with these fantastical trends. His work tended to focus instead, as Walker points out, on 'lost illusions where heroes and heroines awaken to a reality which is always more painful than their self-induced fantasy that

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[46] See Samuel (1994), 83.

[47] M. M. Lupro, 'Preserving the Old Ways, Protecting the New: Post-War British Urban Planning in *The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society*', *Popular Music and Society*, 29.2 (May 2006), 189-200 (190). See also Stephen Daniels, 'Suburban Pastoral: *Strawberry Fields Forever* and Sixties Memory', *Cultural Geographies*, 13 (2006), 28-54.

[48] Alexander Walker, *Hollywood, England: The British Film Industry in the Sixties* (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), 164

[49] Richards, 'New waves' (1992), 179.

[50] Robert Murphy, *Sixties British Cinema* (London: BFI Publishing, 1992), 1.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Richards (1992), 228.

something better is just around the corner, that the distant field is always greener'.[53] Indeed, such thematic and aesthetic trends were not to be broken in *Far From the Madding Crowd*.

Much of the film's working production material indicates self-consciousness about scenes depicting the harsher, more troubling realities of rural Victorian life. In the 'Shooting Script', the destruction of Oak's flock is accompanied with a sheet of typed notes that direct the scene's cinematography and staging in deliberate detail.[54] They emphasize intentions to be as jarring and hard-hitting as possible. The notes also outline plans to forebode this scene immediately after the title shot through glimpses of Oak's sheep dog misbehaving, as if these opening frames are to build to the early climax of the 'Pastoral Tragedy'. They also imply a heightened awareness of the incident's economic significance, alluding to shots before the disaster that emphasize Oak's ownership of the sheep, and then shots after it that spotlight his ruin. The notes also show self-consciousness about heightening the scene's brutality to unsettle viewers: through increasingly 'jagged' cutting to generate narrative speed; dialectical montage of specific shots; deliberate repeated cuts of especially powerful shots; and foregrounding the 'incredibly nasty' sounds of the sheep in their panicked frenzy (as a typed insert to the 'Shooting Script' entitled 'sheep sequence' details).

This script also indicates self-conscious intentions to foreground this economic fragility as something endemic across the film's rural world. It is explicit about the damaging effects of the 'Hiring Fair' on those attending it – and arguably tougher and more explicit than Hardy himself. Hardy only touches on the alienating and de-individualizing effects, with Oak forced to assume different agricultural guises for employment with little success, which signifies the destabilizing of his identity because of economic ruin and migration (34-6). However, the working production material emphasizes the uprooting and dispersal of families. The 'Location Call Sheet' reveals intentions to depict rural individuals travelling to the fair as 'refugees' forced into a 'cattlemarket of human beings' because of the rural economy's precariousness.[55]

The working production material also refers to numerous cinematic techniques and aesthetic concerns associated with New Wave cinema; these are some of the film's central cinematographic means of stretching and challenging audience expectations about the Victorian rural and costume drama. Both cinematographer Roeg and Schlesinger had close connections to New Wave cinema. Roeg had photographed *Farenheit 451* (Universal, 1960), the first English-speaking film of French director, Francois Truffaut, one founder of

[53] Walker (1974), 114.
[54] *Far From the Madding Crowd: Final Screenplay by Frederic Raphael; August 1966*, (Shooting Script) [BFI Special Collections (JRS-1-5-1)], 2. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number.
[55] 'Location call sheet, issued 12 December 1966. JRS-1-5-2 (previously JRS/5/2)', 8, in FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD (1967) – documentation/ SCHLESINGER, JOHN, [BFI Special Collections (JRS-1-5)]. Hereafter cited in the text by the page number.

the French New Wave. Schlesinger's early work, especially *Billy Liar* (Anglo-Amalgamated/ Warner-Pathe, 1963), had also caused some to proclaim him a British Jean-Luc Godard, who was again closely associated with the French New Wave.[56] New Wave cinema, as Richards outlines, 'preferred location-shooting to studio work, natural lighting to formal lighting and a fragmented impressionist approach to traditional linear narrative',[57] as it strove for subjective realism and the self-reflexive highlighting of film's artifice. Along similar lines, *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1967) implements slow motion shots, distorted point of view lenses, unstable hand-held shots, jump cuts, surprise cuts, numerous and varying zooms, narrative gaps at micro level, and extreme long shots that stretch 'the visual capacity of the viewer to its limit' and defamiliarize visually.[58]

Troy's sword-wielding seduction of Bathsheba, which captured the cultural imaginary in 1967, is an obvious example. In relation to it, the 'Shooting Script' states forcefully: '[p]hotographically we use every technique possible to create dramatic visual images, both of the sword and of TROY's face and body as he concentrates on his arrogant demonstration' (66-7). Indeed 'every technique possible' *was* utilized in the projected scene: it is a prominent example of the New Wave formal, technical, and aesthetic influences on screen.

These avant-garde qualities work to self-consciously subvert, or deconstruct, any aesthetic simplicity, straightforwardness, and conservatism that a Hardy film adaptation set in the Victorian countryside with a title alluding to escapism and tranquillity may have suggested in 1967. They draw attention to the artifice of the Victorian countryside as an escapist pastoral space. Like the self-reflexive music-box and the other signifiers of artifice and theatre, namely 'the grotesque clowns, the sense of illusion, the greasy painted backdrops' of the travelling circus,[59] which had considerable coverage given how extensively the film was eventually cut, the New Wave-influenced formal, technical and aesthetic elements destabilize the representational norms of space and time. They self-reflexively invoke the artifice and theatricality of film generally, of this film in particular, and significantly, of the Victorian rural: as nothing more than the artificial, miniaturized place of the music-box: tantalizingly visible through a glass case, but unreachable; nothing more than whimsical fantasy.

However, MGM's populist gloss can be felt perhaps more strongly in the projected film than the New-Wave poetics of Schlesinger, Roeg, and Raphael. It is the combination of these two polarities of cinematic representation, though, that makes the film, particularly in its representation of the rural, so compelling, and is surely a key factor in its continued

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[56] See Andrew Sarris, BFI Special Collections (Ann Skinner collection, Box 3) [no further details].
[57] (1992), 291.
[58] See Cloarec, '"Modern Pastoral"?', 78.
[59] Eric Rhode, 'More about the countryside', *The Listener*, 26 October 1967, 551.

appeal. At the end of the film's 'Location Call Sheet', a particularly telling – and ironic – handwritten note in block capitals reads: "MADE ON LOCATION IN DORSET, WITH BLOOD SWEAT AND A GREAT MANY TEARS" (65). The note hints at strains and difficulties in making the film, many of which stemmed from competing agendas: in particular, between artistic and commercial. Ultimately, MGM's commercial weight overpowered the production team's avant-garde artistic vision. The practical necessities of financial backing, substantial time, and effective marketing infrastructure meant MGM's involvement was paramount for adequate production and sufficient distribution. Its involvement in the film itself inevitably brought about 'the care, polish, and impeccable detail that large amounts of [MGM] money and time' demanded;[60] it caused the film to develop the glossy MGM 'look' and suggestion of high production values. Indeed, the irony of the note above in a discussion of pastoral representations of rural place is difficult to overlook. It implies the trials and tribulations of the physical labour that went into making the film. Like the aestheticized landscaping of rural place in many artistic representations, this remains unseen much like Raphael and Schlesinger's original intentions for the film, including their 'New Wave' styles of labour, because of MGM's 'landscaping'.

Many elements of the film, including much cinematic artistry, were suppressed and/or eradicated because of box office demands and MGM's significant financial investment.[61] The final scene's juxtaposition between the rainy, unembroidered rural beyond the drawing room window, and the quaint, aestheticized rural of the music box, points to the two poles of rural representation. Despite their best efforts, it seems Schlesinger, Roeg, and Raphael were pushed towards the latter rather than the former. The projected film's ending was deemed problematic in America and replaced with something more straightforward and upbeat; whilst it did make it onto UK screen, the full version exhibited on both sides of the Atlantic was altered compared to the raw version that can be pieced together in the BFI archive. Furthermore, as Carolyn Bevan identifies, the film's original length was over three hours because of Schlesinger's intentions to be faithful to Hardy and capture the sedate, unfolding of everyday rural life. But MGM deemed it 'too long', fearing 'the pace' unsuitable for mainstream, commercial cinema.[62] One particular memorandum from producer Joseph Janni to Schlesinger focuses on the important 'elimination of the Malthouse', providing a fascinating insight into the difficult decisions made to contract the

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[60] Hollis Alpert, 'SR Goes to the Movies: A Considerable Measure of Distance', BFI Special Collections (Ann Skinner collection, Box 3) [no further details].
[61] See Ian Cameron, 'Films', *Queen*, 11 October 1967 [BFI Special Collections, File: JRS/5/2; no pagination].
[62] 'The only way is Wessex: the making of *Far from the Madding Crowd*', 9 March 2015 <http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/features/only-way-wessex-making-far-madding-crowd> [accessed 10 March 2015].

film to 165 minutes.[63] The shooting script also suggests cutting added parts of the film that alluded to Boldwood's obsessive pursuit of modern agriculture, which provided potential sources for his isolation and despair, while also adding extra dimensions to the film's social commentary by making explicit the tensions between tradition and modernizing forces that lurk in Hardy's novel. The script refers to 'trays of seedlings, […] carefully ticketed and dated' and 'treated with various […] fertilisers'; it also details a scene where Boldwood receives 'a catalogue of new farm machinery' (35). Bevan also highlights scenes in a 'seamstress's work room', where Fanny 'had worked'; these examined 'why Fanny and Troy never met immediately after their abandoned wedding ceremony and why Troy considers himself free to marry Bathsheba'.[64] They were cut to maintain an unproblematic, marketable 'look' on screen.

The 'MGM effect' was also particularly evident in the film's visual merchandizing. The film poster does not only conventionalize the text, amplifying its elements of romance, melodrama, and action, even seeming to invent an adventure narrative of charging horse-drawn cavalry and shotgun-brandishing men.[65] But, crucially, it also foregrounds an enlarged and glamourized image of the blue-eyed Bathsheba, whose flowing golden hair merges with the golden landscape of the poster's backdrop. The top of the poster boasts: '*Doctor Zhivago* and *Darling* made Julie Christie a star. This one makes her unforgettable'.

Indeed, the poster is like other publicity material, previews, reception, and the projected film itself: it illuminates Christie as Bathsheba and Stamp as Troy. Both figures were the film's major selling points and key to its widespread popular appeal, hence their foregrounding on the poster. By 1967 both were popular, eminent film stars at the height of their careers, having starred in a number of successful 'classically sixties' films.[66] Not only were they regarded as wider cultural 'sex symbols', but they also epitomized the 'Swinging Sixties' zeitgeist. And this was to such an extent that they are namedropped in the Kinks' 1967 hit, 'Waterloo Sunset': as Ray Davies writes (and sings), 'Terry meets Julie, Waterloo Station/ Every Friday night'. Yet, here they were in nineteenth-century costume, roaming the Wessex landscapes. Many critics seemed unable – or unwilling – to look beyond them to the Victorian characters they portrayed.

However, their casting actually intensifies the representation of rural place: the rural is sexualized through their association with it. Such images and associations have become amplified over time, particularly from a contemporary vantage point, where the film's sixties aesthetic appears more pronounced, with Christie and Stamp quintessences of it, as

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[63] (May 1964), in Folder labelled 'Darling - memos & notes', in DARLING (1965) – Documentation/ SCHLESINGER, JOHN – DARLING (GB, 1965), [BFI Special Collections (JRS/4/6)].
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] See Widdowson, 105.
[66] Christie: *Billy Liar* (1963), *Doctor Zhivago* (1965) and *Darling* (dir. Schlesinger, 1965). Stamp: *Billy Budd* (dir. Peter Ustinov, 1962), *The Collector* (dir. Wyler, 1965) and *Modesty Blaise* (dir. Joseph Losey, 1966).

they are of a certain broader swinging mythology of the decade. Indeed, the location call sheet and screenplay reveal the film's intention to exploit the duo's 'sex appeal' to sexualize the text, especially its rural setting. Following the sword-wielding scene, which is one of the most sexualized, as in Hardy's novel (and whose 'symbolism […] need hardly be stated here' (24), the 'Location Call Sheet' states), the screenplay refers to Bathsheba's approach of the sheep washing scene as follows:

> BATHSHEBA comes on an almost drunken course through the stubble towards the pool. She seems to inhale the whole joy of the countryside. She reaches the pool, hot-faced and fiery with excitement. She looks round and then lowers her face to the pool, closer and closer, till she seems to kiss her own lips, lapping the water. Ripples. She takes off her shoes and stockings and puts her feet into the water. Delicious! (67)

The ecstatic, post-coital implications 'need hardly be stated here'. The location call sheet similarly states that 'to strengthen Terry's performance we use his looks as often as they are effective' (2).

The duo are frequently photographed while inhabiting the Wessex landscape, which, although photographed artistically and often sensually by Roeg, is made to seem even more sexualized as a result, which intensifies its already resonant reception. The roots of this appealing sexualization of rural place are in Hardy. Chapter 27 of the novel has the sexually suggestive title, 'The Hollow amid the Ferns', and portrays Bathsheba's first encounter with Troy. It describes how 'the military man's spur had become entangled in […] the short of her dress', which 'brought the blood beating into her face, set her stinging as if a flame to the very hollows of her feet and enlarged emotion to a compass which quite swamped thought' (163). Hardy frequently externalizes such sexual affect, projecting it onto the natural world so that it signifies vividly and intensely. For instance, in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, Tess and Angel's romance is signified as literally blossoming and blooming to the point of excess when '[r]ays from the sunrise' are said to have 'drew forth the buds and stretched them into long stalks, lifted up sap in noiseless streams, opened petals, and sucked out scents in invisible jets and breathings' (128).

Relying on exaggerated symbolism that stretches the limits of realist representation, these aesthetics of place do not translate to the screen straightforwardly. However, Roeg's cinematography of Wessex is more than equal to this challenge. Both he and production designer Richard Macdonald were praised in much of the film's reception at the time – but also on the release of the 2015 adaptation – for their depiction of the rural. Because of Roeg's work, especially, the film's most indelible feature is its poetic showcasing of the Dorset landscape and agricultural life. The film's opening sequence, for instance, immediately establishes the rural landscape as its central feature, suggesting its

overwhelming, almost infinite presence, as it seems to engulf those appearing within it, as well as its desolate beauty. Demonstrating the influences of documentary filmmaking and flaunting the shooting locations, the sequence starts with a slow pan inland from the sea over dramatic Dorset coastline, moving gently onto the cliff tops and into steeply undulating plains and hills. Viewers are presented with a series of breath-taking long lens and extreme long shots of the landscape that show Oak shepherding as a tiny speck amidst open down-lands. Because these frames are shot with the early colour photography of Panavision and Metrocolour, they have an unusual intensity, a heightened realism: a super-real, verging on the surreal.

These poetic sequences of place are striking in themselves; but it is when they are populated with the photogenic Christie and Stamp that they become distinctively striking – and so much so that they continue to capture the attention of the popular press even in 2015. This sexualization of Wessex through interrelation with 'Terry and Julie' runs deeply in the film, and not just at the level of photography, through Roeg's cinematic eye. At certain moments in the screenplay, Raphael's writing of the cinematic rural suggests that he, too, has the sexualization of the landscape in mind. At the end of the opening landscape sequence in the shooting script, Raphael writes of Bathsheba:

> She rides for the joy of it […], now thrusting forward, now dawdling, going close under low branches and lying right back along the horse's back to avoid being swept off. We PICK her up more closely and follow her progress largely through her P.O.V. As the branches sweep above her head, so do they above ours. As she gallops, the trees rush past us; as she slows, the leaves blink green and rust in the fat golden sunlight (2)

Not all of this detail makes it into the projected film, including her sexually charged movement and gesture. However, the sexual implications are clear on screen: from the vast landscape that stretches out endlessly before Christie, who, shot in soft-focus, rides across it vigorously; and also from Oak's wonderment as he watches her, which manoeuvres the audience to gaze at Bathsheba in a similar way.

Indeed, in Schlesinger's sixties pastoral, there is a new relationship to the land, with intensely sexual connotations: the rural is unbounded and signifies a new openness of sexuality, which was prevalent in the sixties: passions that are unadulterated, unabandoned, and virile, rather than buttoned up in lace and crinoline. The potential escapism of the film is a sexual escapism, whose interrelation with the rural landscape captured so poetically by Roeg makes it especially powerful and distinctive. These cinematic aesthetics may well have been even more striking without MGM's input, but, significantly, it is the production company's restraining influence, its tempering to mostly reinforce established conventions and support basic sentiments, that enables the final projected film to combine radical, vivid poetics of rural place with mass appeal, thereby evoking an intensified cinematic pastoral

that chimes with Hardy's literary one. It is this combination that has been crucial in the film's distinctive cultural legacy, shaping the place-centric cultural memory of Hardy's text to an unrivalled extent.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ANXIETIES; SCHLESINGER'S INFLUENCE

Vinterberg's 2015 film adaptation provides a more comprehensive vista on the cultural memory of both *Far From the Madding Crowd* and Hardy's Wessex than the episode of *Escape to the Country* discussed in the introduction. This most recent film adaptation is encumbered with the cultural legacy of Schlesinger's film; unable to escape from it. The 1967 adaptation permeates the press and media discourse surrounding Vinterberg's film, and its influence is also evident in the projected version, particularly in its representation of rural place and adoption of an analogous structure to foreground the text's romantic – and also feminist – threads. Vinterberg's film thus suffers from an anxiety over the influence of Schlesinger's, which it seems unable to escape. Moreover, it is subject to similar forces of the international film market (and arguably more so than Schlesinger): with its American distributor, Fox, its Danish director famous for Scandinavian filmmaking, and Belgian lead, Matthias Schoenaerts as Oak. Consequently, Vinterberg's rural is an international mythology, which mediates the kind of pastoral mode that both Hardy and Schlesinger were attempting to stretch and challenge through their art.

Vinterberg's projected adaptation clearly suggests the representation of rural place as a central concern, as does much of the film's press and media coverage. Vinterberg admitted to treating it '"as a character"', and as '"more"' than '"just a beautiful view"'; he also keenly asserted that his depiction of Wessex was authentically Dorset, shot on location in the region associated with Hardy.[67] However, it becomes quickly obvious in the projected film that Wessex is photographed for a primarily American audience, as well as, more broadly, international viewers and those unfamiliar with Hardy. The first rural shots are of an archetypal landscape, filtered through the golden glow of sunrise. This is a vista that the production team sought to associate closely with the film and disseminate widely: it resembles the backdrops that featured in many of the actors' media interviews. In the projected film, these landscape shots are accompanied with an inter-title stating: 'Dorset, England 1870: 200 miles outside London'. These first glimpses of rural Victorian Dorset thus reduce it to a mythically pastoral location. It appears generically provincial, rather than specifically regional, because defined only by its difference to London (200 miles *outside*

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[67] Vinterberg, quoted in Dehn, 'Standing Out From the Crowd', 28-35.

London), rather than producing its own identify, meaning, and culture, which both destabilizes and weaken it.

The version of Hardyean countryside that the adaptation mediates is safely contained and aesthetically enhanced, as if doctored through a social media photograph filter to the point of seeming mythic, though without stretching aesthetic and/or affective boundaries. As Francine Stock argues, '[u]nlike Schlesinger's film, Vinterberg's plays out in domestic interiors with glimpses of Wessex'.[68] The introduction of rural place in the 2015 film is a prime example; and it contrasts markedly with the extensive, unbounded virility of Schlesinger's. Vinterberg's film opens in complete darkness, before the space is illuminated as Bathsheba opens the door to reveal the camera positioned in her stables. The focus of viewers is directed towards the source of the light and so the exterior space framed by the stable door. After Bathsheba prepares her horse and reveals her back-story through non-diegetic voiceover, the projected adaptation displays the aforementioned inter-title and archetypal shot of rural landscape bathed in sunlight, which is beyond the stable door. The rural is thus first experienced via interior space: the interior frames the exterior, working as an analogy for the restrained, conventional nature of the rural in the film, which, at all times, seems contained and tempered.

Rural Dorset *is* shot attractively in the film, reinforced by Craig Armstrong's affecting score; but it does not have quite the same aesthetic or affective impact as in Hardy or Schlesinger, because it has no counterpoint. There is no sense of broader Victorian life or any anti-pastoral realities of nineteenth-century Dorset; nor is there evidence of attempts to stretch and challenge aesthetic boundaries, or cinematographic poetics in depicting place. As Mike McCahill argues, the film's rural life seems to unfold in a kind of 'eternal springtime':[69] figuratively speaking, the adaptation lacks the aesthetic and affective extremes of summer and winter, and so more than reinforces MGM's 1967 gloss.

A key factor in this respect is David Nicholls's script. Because of his admiration for Raphael's screenplay, Nicholls uses it as the template for his own, but shaves and contracts it further to give the film its mainstream running time (1 hour and 59 minutes) and to heighten the significance of particular textual threads. Nicholls's script foregrounds Oak and Bathsheba's oscillating romantic relationship, and Bathsheba's modern, independent nature, rather than emphasizing Troy's relationship with Fanny and Bathsheba, as Raphael does, which is apparently to fulfil certain 'romantic' expectations of contemporary cinema, even though these elements were arguably less prominent in Hardy's novel. But this shift in the text's balance comes at a price for representing the rural: most

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[68] Francine Stock, quoted on *The Film Programme*, 3 May 2015 <www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b)5s3gzg>.
[69] 'Far from the Madding Crowd: a less than Hardy adaptation', *The Guardian*, 28 April 2015 <http://www.moviemail.com/blog/cinema-reviews/2483-Far-from-the-Madding-Crowd-a-less-than-Hardy-adaptation/> [accessed 1 May 2015].

elements indirectly related to these mainly romantic plot strands are removed, including those that Hardy and Schlesinger use to complicate and unsettle the rural. As in Raphael's script, Nicholls's omits any trace of the military city of Melchester and the Malthouse, which makes the text solely rural, removing opportunities for a harsher urban counterpart, and for foregrounding subtle social commentary. Nicholls goes further than Raphael. He also reduces much of Boldwood's psychological breakdown, removes the potentially self-reflexive Greenhill Fair circus, and much of the Fanny Robin plot (her agonizing walk to the workhouse and the gargoyle's vengeful destruction of her burial plot). The film adaptation thus seems to engage with Schlesinger's projected film but without any awareness of the tensions that lurked below its surface, before applying an even more pronounced 'gloss' than MGM's.

When it was announced that Vinterberg had been tasked with updating Hardy's text, many felt the film adaptation had genuine potential to be a fresh, uninhibited take on Hardy, perhaps interpreting the author in dark, more unsettling ways. Vinterberg's Danish nationality and claims that he had '"never read any of the [Hardy] novels, had never seen the Schlesinger film or seen *Madding Crowd* adapted for television"'[70] suggested the adaptation might not be '"burdened"' by the novel's '"great heritage"'.[71] Indeed, according to Karen Laird, '[t]he sheer amount of press attention paid to his [Vinterberg's] foreign background' seemingly revealed 'what a concern it remains for British critics that a cultural outsider is granted directorship of national literary property',[72] even if more liberal commentators welcomed these potentially refreshing circumstances. Given Vinterberg's directorial reputation, many hoped his version of Hardy would follow his previous attempts at the beginning of his career to 'upend the sonorous pieties of art-house cinema',[73] and 'rattle bourgeois audiences'.[74]

However, the 2015 film adaptation was not a 'true' Vinterberg film in the same vein as films that catalysed his success and spring-boarded him to prominence. Whilst rattling and upending the establishment might have forged Vinterberg's path to success, providing the chance to work with international film studios to produce mainstream cinema, this cinema sphere came with different expectations and conventions compared to the independent films made by independent distributors he had directed previously. He was now operating 'on a brisk, no-nonsense commercial logic'; 'courting' audiences he previously disturbed.[75] His pioneering auteurist influence was also reduced. Whereas he

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[70] David Nicholls, quoted in Dehn, 'Standing Out', 31.
[71] Vinterberg, quoted on *The Film Programme*.
[72] 'Film Review: Far From the Madding Crowd', *Journal of Victorian Culture Online*, 20 July 2015 <http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2015/07/20/karen-laird-film-review-far-from-the-madding-crowd/>.
[73] Pulver, 'Madding Crowd'.
[74] McCahill, 'Madding Crowd'.
[75] *Ibid*.

had both written and directed many previous films, he revealed that '"in a studio movie"' like this one, he was '"not the king […] as the director"' but '"a member of the board"': the adaptation was made more '"as a commune, as a collective"' rather than an individual pursuit.[76]

Indeed, screenwriter Nicholls had at least as significant an influence on the projected adaptation as Vinterberg. The English Nicholls did know Hardy, growing up well versed in his work. He had also already adapted *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* for BBC1 in 2008, which is unable to quite escape the conservative conventions of so-called heritage cinema, as the next chapter discusses. He also did possess full awareness of Schlesinger's 1967 film, including great admiration for Raphael's script.[77] He was thus almost the 'custodian of this classic Victorian text',[78] so that, ultimately, Vinterberg's lack of identification with the literary legacy of Hardy and the cinematic legacy of *Far from the Madding Crowd* via Schlesinger was less influential.

This most recent screen adaptation, which is hyper-aware of mass-market tastes and the text's cultural legacy therefore depicts rural place in the mode that Hardy and Schlesinger strove to stretch and challenge: as providing an escape to the country '200 miles from London', rather than attempting to put any complexities into the apparently simple pastoral form. Whereas Hardy's and Schlesinger's consonant pastoral modes offer intensified versions emerging from the fusing of conservative cultural conventions and expectations, and progressive artistic ambitions, as I have argued, Vinterberg's film engages only with the conventional veneer that can be received straightforwardly, disseminating it further into contemporary culture. Whilst doing so proves that there remains a market for the kind of 'nostalgia for a simple, honest way of life among hedgerows, haystacks and sturdy English oak trees' that Bate (wrongly) reads in Hardy, these simple elements of the pastoral do not do justice to Hardy's and Schlesinger's more complex renderings of rural place.

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[76] Vinterberg, quoted in Pulver 'Madding Crowd'.

[77] See Dehn, 'Standing Out'; and Carol Lewis, 'For rural bliss, the only way is Wessex', *The Times*, 24 April 2015 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/life/property/areaguides/article4420139.ece > [accessed 25 April 2015].

[78] Laird, '*Madding Crowd*'.

TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES AND 'HERITAGIZED' WESSEX

Tess of the D'Urbervilles is another Victorian novel that is both prevalent and associated closely with place in contemporary cultural memory. Originally serialized in *The Graphic* in 1891 with significant cultural and critical impact, it remains a cultural reference point over a century later. In 2016, for example, it inspired a controversial domestic abuse plot in the BBC Radio 4 soap, *The Archers*; the reference to it in E. L. James's bestselling novel *Fifty Shades of Grey* (2011) prompted a spike in sales of Hardy's novel.[1] Since 1979 it has also been adapted for the screen three times: *Tess* (dir. Polanski, Columbia Pictures, 1979), ITV's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (dir. Ian Sharp, 1998), and BBC One's mini-series, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (dir. David Blair, 2008).

Indeed, Jeremy Strong has argued that *Tess* (1979) and *Jude* (dir. Michael Winterbottom, PolyGram, 1996) are 'book-ends to the heritage [cinema] cycle and its relationship to the literature that it moulded and transformed: *Jude* denouncing that which *Tess* announced'.[2] Strong's point is perceptive, even if his binary opposition between the beginning and end of 'the heritage cycle' needs softening. Similarly, but more specifically, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* has had an analogous relationship with this so-called 'heritage' period drama cycle of the 1980s and 1990s, given its adaptation for the screen in 1979, 1998, and 2008. This chapter thus investigates how Hardy's adaptable writing of place has enabled the text's continued adaptation for the screen at the end of the twentieth century, despite the evolving formal, thematic, and ideological concerns of heritage period drama; this has resulted in the shaping of the cultural memory of the text, particularly the idea of Wessex associated with it, and has been a major aspect in ensuring the text's recurring, even enduring popularity.

Many critics have discussed so-called 'heritage' period drama, but Higson and Monk have done so most influentially.[3] The label refers precisely to period drama produced and projected between the early 1980s and late 1990s. These productions were set mostly in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, and focused, predominantly, on bourgeois and aristocratic relationships, manners, and decorum playing out in the generally pastoralized countryside of southern England. The genre distinguishes itself from earlier twentieth-

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[1] 'Archers domestic abuse plot "inspired by Thomas Hardy novel"', *BBC News*, 18 April 2016 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-36070965> [accessed 3 September, 2017].
Conal Urquhart, '*Fifty Shades of Grey* spice up sales of Thomas Hardy's *Tess*', *The Guardian*, 22 July, 2015 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jul/22/fifty-shades-grey-boosts-sales> [accessed 19 April, 2015].
[2] '*Tess*, *Jude* and the problem of adapting Hardy', *Literature/ Film Quarterly*, 34.3 (2006), 195-203 (202).
[3] See Higson (2003); Monk, Heritage Film Audiences: Period Films and Contemporary Audiences in the UK (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2012); and Vidal, *Heritage Film* (2012).

century period drama, which was similarly interested in national heritage, through its distinctive, almost art-house auteurism aimed at middlebrow audiences, who are typically older, educated, and appreciate its ultra-reverent treatment of literary sources. Mostly, it exudes high production values, exhibiting and commodifying its expensive, pictorialized *mise-en-scéne*, and shooting locations, which are typically country houses and picturesque southern English landscapes. Its casting and acting also favour that which Higson calls the 'qualities and connotations of the British theatre tradition', including the understatement, restraint, reserve, repression, and self-confidence associated with the performativity of middle- and/or upper-class identity.[4]

According to Monk, in the middle and late nineties, an alternative, reactionary wave of period drama began distancing itself from 'heritage film's negative/conservative associations'.[5] She suggests that these works introduced 'an overt, foregrounded "concern with sexuality and gender, particularly non-dominant gender and sexual identities"; aesthetic self-differentiation from the authenticity and "restraint" of […] heritage film; adjustments to narrative, character or costume to stress resonances with the present; knowing anachronisms […]; and a generally self-reflexive approach to style, adaptation and/or the treatment of history'.[6]

Monk's heritage/post-heritage binary is too stark, as I see it,[7] and her disparaging attitude towards heritage costume drama has become clichéd. However, her underlying observation is cogent: period drama did evolve at this time, continuing to evolve after the Millennium (even if not to the point of transcending heritage drama, as 'post-heritage' suggests). This evolution has been an important influence on the place-centric cultural memory of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* – and also Hardy –, because the text was adapted three times for the screen within it (1979, 1998, 2008), which exemplifies the adaptability of Hardy's writing, particularly of place. However, as the 2008 television adaptation exemplifies, particularly in its penultimate sequence, there still remains a screen idiom for representing the nineteenth century, which is rooted in 'heritage' period drama. Attempts at more progressive adaptations of the text are tempered, or, to pick up on the prison trope in the sequence that I will discuss next, *imprisoned* by the enduring poetics of so-called heritage cinema, as well as a continued taste for them. A resulting dialectic is established between the poetics of 'classic' and 'evolved' heritage period drama, as I will call them, in the cultural memory of Hardy's text. This brings about both mutual intensification, and an exhibiting and commodifying of evolved heritage features as well as classic ones, which results in a heightened, intensified, and so distinctively resonant rendering of Wessex.

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[4] (2003), 29.
[5] *Heritage Film Audiences*, 23. See also 'Sexuality and heritage', *Sight and Sound*, 5.10 (October 1995), 32-34.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Especially because the mid-1980s also saw television adaptations that violated classic heritage film aesthetics.

The penultimate sequence in the 2008 mini-series departs from Hardy and previous screen adaptations in depicting Tess's deliberately prolonged walk to the gallows after fatally stabbing Alec D'Urberville. This sequence is intercut with Tess's idealized memories of 'Club Walking' at Marlott, a combination that exemplifies the adaptation's broader attempts to stretch and challenge the boundaries of classic heritage period drama in certain respects, but its failure or unwillingness to do so in others. Most noticeably, the prison's space and *mise-en-scéne* are at odds with classic heritage period drama and the pastoralized screen mythology of Hardy's Wessex. As Tess is led towards the gallows, the narrowness of the prison corridor and the stiflingly dark *mise-en-scéne* make the space feel claustrophobic. Weak, flickering candlelight also provides only fragmented glimpses of the stonewalls to suggest Tess's traumatized, fractured subjectivity.

Slow motion also elongates and heightens a brief walk down a short corridor, while also imprinting sound as much as *mise-en-scéne*. This technique pronounces the echoes of Tess's footsteps and locks turning to emphasize the hopeless inevitability, pain, and poignancy of her situation. Slow motion also amplifies the impact of the scene's haunting music, the chilling folk song, 'The Snow They Melt the Soonest', which Anne Briggs popularized in the sixties and seventies. Sung previously by Tess and fellow female labourers at Flintcomb-Ash in a desperate attempt to forge unity and hope, it features here self-consciously to evoke similar desperation and alienation. However, the sedate melody and lonesome singing voice at this bleaker moment draw attention to the absence of any glimmers of community that just managed to sustain the Flintcomb-Ash labourers. Foregrounding this lamenting, populist folk song also foregrounds the struggles and perils of the rural proletariat, especially given the song's earlier association with menial labour and economic hardship, which marks a shift in the social focus of period drama.

These moments are intercut with repeated shots of the Marlott club-walking from episode one. Tess's memories of it are coloured for the better, though, in response to her painful present. As juxtaposed with the prison, they provide a more pleasurable, welcoming platial experience because of the scenery's visual beauty, including its vibrant colours; the visual clarity and spaciousness from expanses of sky and sea; and the sense of optimism and new beginnings, stirred by this fertility ritual carried out by adolescent females, and through invoking the narrative's more innocent beginnings. Subsequent cuts to Tess's memories also feature close-up, isolating shots of her and Angel noticing each other and then dancing together. Framed by hyper-realized natural surroundings, these final shots suggest how remembering is distorted in the present.[8] Tess and Angel did not dance together at the beginning of the narrative. The fact they do now forces viewers to consider

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[8] See Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), 125-133 (130).

what might have been as well as question the 'authenticity' of televisual remembering of Hardy more broadly.

The sequence is a key springboard for this chapter's argument: it encapsulates how the cultural memory of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* is shaped by the text's interrelation via screen adaptation with the evolution of heritage period drama, a textual malleability enabled by Hardy's adaptable writing of Wessex. In many respects, the intercuts to Marlott demonstrate classic heritage cinema's lingering presence, particularly in depicting place: the shooting location at Dancing Ledge, an attractive National Trust beauty spot near Swanage, which is photographed classically, emanates high production values, and idealizes the countryside as escapist. The costume also hints at the late-Victorian middle classes: Angel wears a three-piece linen suit and pale blue waistcoat, for example. This televisual representation also seems fetishized to reflect Tess's own fetishizing before death. At the same time, however, the sequence strives to stretch and challenge many conventions of 'heritage' period drama, particularly through the dank, dark, and claustrophobic prison settings before Tess's execution; the shift in social interest foregrounded through working-class culture; the slow-motion cinematography; and the suggestions of Tess's subjectivity. Ultimately, though, these features are restrained by the enduring poetics of classic heritage period drama, a mutual intensification through juxtaposition, which actually renders the depiction of Wessex in a distinctively resonant way, appealing to both conservative viewers and more liberal ones.

The chapter argues, then, that the cultural memory of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* has been shaped significantly by the classic heritage cinema poetics of Polanski's *Tess* (1979), which also stimulated renewed public interest in Hardy. It is the ambivalent Hardy's adaptable writing of rural place, I suggest, including his miniaturization and gigantification (to use Susan Stewart's terms) of Wessex, and place's close interrelation with the eponymous protagonist, which has enabled the novel's adaptation throughout the evolution of heritage period drama. This includes adaptations both late in and after the 'classic' heritage period drama cycle when a broader late-nineties wave of Hardy screen adaptations propelled the author to the cultural foreground because of his writing's consonance with late-twentieth-century culture and society, and potential for transcending classic heritage period drama's aesthetic, formal, thematic, and ideological concerns. My argument is that Hardy screen adaptations' miniaturization or gigantification of Wessex operates as an important yardstick for determining their relationship with this 'classic' heritage period drama idiom, with the preference of Polanski's film generally for the miniature and more recent screen adaptations for the gigantic.

Ultimately, however, post-Polanski adaptations are shackled to the 'classic' heritage period drama idiom, even if they appear to stretch and challenge it, because of

anxieties about straying too far from a popular and successful formula for screening the nineteenth century. For this reason, director Winterbottom transports Hardy's text beyond Victorian time and place in an attempt to capture the novel's radicalness, which is at odds with the 'classic' heritage film idiom engrained in cultural memory because of *Tess*. While Winterbottom captures Hardy's clash of places and cultures, and comments on the fragile cultural construction of 'Wessex', his updating to contemporary India fails to provide the pleasures of screen adaptation's 'period' repetitions. Consequently, it fails to 'travel' as well culturally, which reduces its impact on the cultural memory of text and author.

HERITAGIZED *TESS*: POLANSKI'S CINEMATIC IDIOM

Although Hardy is often popularly associated with rural Wessex's pastoral environment and rustic characters from the labouring classes because of novels like *Far From the Madding Crowd* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* informs a different, but equally important, element to this cultural memory. Beginning with Polanski's *Tess* (1979), screen adaptations have adapted the text using many aesthetics, concerns, and conventions associated with classic heritage period drama, shaping it to fit a particular international myth of bourgeois/aristocratic nineteenth-century Englishness.

An important image in this respect is the classic still from Polanski's *Tess* of Alec feeding strawberries to Nastassja Kinski as Tess. Bestriding both academic and popular discourse, the still features on the front cover of *Thomas Hardy on Screen* (2005), and, as more suggestively sexual than in Hardy's novel, it has seemingly influenced the reference in *50 Shades of Grey*. Hardy's novel is referenced here to add sophistication and high culture to Christian Grey's elite world – and the popular novel as a whole –, which similarly attaches glamour and sophistication to Hardy's text through association with Grey's high life. Indeed, the still seems to have become so well known that it operates analogously to Stewart's reading of the quotation: 'as a severed head' which 'enters the arena of social conflict: it is manipulatable, examinable within its now-fixed borders; it now plays within the ambivalent shades of varying contexts'; because no longer in 'the possession of its author' but 'has only the authority of use'.[9] The tableau of Kinski has been removed from the narrative, detached from original contexts and meanings, so that it signifies conservatively, without any sense of the broader narrative picture of which it is a part.

Associated with the exotic, aristocratic sounding 'D'Urberville' of the novel's title, the still is highly suggestive of classic heritage period drama and evinces many of its

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[9] *On Longing*, 19.

trappings. For example, Tess's costume suggests a more elevated social position than Hardy's protagonist.[10] Kinski's look is understated and restrained, yet telling. It hints at the film's fetishizing of her physical beauty and at more sexualized depth to this reserved exterior, though the tableau's bounds restrains both. The strawberry also connotes luxury and sensuousness, an objective correlative for the projected affective relations between Alec – and also many viewers – towards Kinski. Moreover, the greenhouse in the background, where the strawberry has been reared artificially, signifies the D'Urberville estate's cultivation of culture and heritage, which is central to the Stoke-d'Urberville aristocratic façade, and, more broadly, Polanski's adaptation of Wessex.

The Polanski-influenced, heritagized Hardy encapsulated in this image is re-inscribed in the 2008 mini-series, particularly through the choice and framing of shooting locations. Blair's adaptation evinces two of the defining features and main attractions of classic heritage costume drama relating to place: firstly, the recognizable *mise-en-scéne*: the southern English rural scenery, and National Trust style properties;[11] secondly, the exhibited representation of the past, which Higson calls the '[a]esthetics of display' or 'pictorialist museum aesthetic', offering 'a more aesthetic angle on the period setting' and trappings,[12] a framing the adaptation seeks to naturalize, rather than foregrounding as in Hardy.

The television mini-series alters Wessex's geography through its selection of shooting locations, apparently to satisfy the kind of popular, marketable screen heritage 'look' and 'type'. It shifts almost all shooting locations from Hardy's Dorset to the area surrounding Bath and the southwest edge of the Cotswolds. This allows the projected adaptation to evoke the region's royal, aristocratic, even celebrity associations, including its regular appearance in classic heritage period drama: not only because of the buildings' grandeur, but also from the distinctive Cotswold Bath stone, which is un-missable in village scenes filmed in Corsham, Wiltshire. One significant location is Dyrham Park in Gloucestershire, which is used for Wintoncester, where Tess is executed. Consisting of a Baroque mansion, deer park, and small village, the estate bears little resemblance to Hardy's ancient medieval, 'aforetime capital of Wessex'.[13] Yet strategic elevated shots of it evoke Wintoncester without the obstructing trappings of modern Winchester. They also evince classic heritage iconography given the splendour and opulence of this National Trust property. And also because Dyrham Park's Baroque mansion was used as Darlington Hall in Merchant Ivory's film adaptation of Kazuo Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day* (1993), which was produced and projected amidst arguably the most prominent cycle of heritage

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[10] Elliott also discusses the social significance of Kinski's costume in *Rethinking*, 237-8.
[11] Higson (2003), 40.
[12] *Ibid*. 38.
[13] *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 396. Hereafter cited in the text with the page number.

period drama.[14] Such shooting locations further amalgamate text and author into discourses of heritagized period Englishness, mediated via certain televisual and cinematic renderings of particular, prestigious kinds of classic heritage, and popular with mass and middlebrow audiences since the early eighties.

The photographing and framing of these shooting locations also accentuate the adaptation's classic heritage period drama look, while also mediating a version of Wessex appropriate for mass dissemination. The mini-series was shot on high quality 35mm film more commonly used for feature film, which director Blair and producer David Snodin keenly emphasized in the popular press. They claimed it enabled them to project Wessex with a 'richer, deeper appearance, which does justice to the location-heavy shoot'.[15] With a running time of approximately four hours divided over four episodes, which was longer than the ninety minutes to three hours of many contemporaries, the adaptation could also devote more screen time to depicting a richer sense of Wessex.

Such extended screen time allowed the mini-series to indulge frequently in shots that simply showcased Wessex and created strong impressions of locations, rather than advancing the narrative. Repeated shots to establish, re-establish, and even de-establish places feature throughout. Landscapes and buildings, particularly those pleasurable to consume, are frequently presented wholly, with points of central focus and clear perimeters, which, as Paul Connerton argues in his study of the art of memory and systems of places: orient space 'towards one single building [which] create an effect of social cohesion', as well as making place 'easily recognizable and therefore cognitively memorable'.[16]

In the opening episode, Alec's mansion, the Slopes (which is where Polanski's classic strawberry-eating scene takes place) is given most prominence. The D'Urberville pile is transported to Orchard Leigh House in Frome, Somerset, another National Trust building situated within discourses of classic heritage period drama.[17] Blair's depiction of the Slopes is attractive and pleasurable to behold, as well as memorable, not just because Orchard Leigh House is so impressive and elegant, or because the action there is afforded significant screen time, but because of the way its exterior is shot and how frequently. The first episode features four separate long shots displaying the Slopes as Tess first approaches, an extreme long shot when Tess first leaves, a second establishing shot when Tess returns for poultry work, numerous re-establishing shots during the action there, and a final de-establishing shot when Tess leaves indefinitely. Many shots are constructed so that the exterior of the house is bathed in sunshine and/or surrounded with bright blue skies,

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[14] Higson (2003), 16
[15] 'Adapting Hardy's *Tess'*, 24 October, 2008
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/dorset/content/articles/2008/09/23/tess_adapting_feature.shtml> [accessed 10 March, 2016].
[16] *How Modernity Forgets*, 101; 140.
[17] It featured in *Agatha Christie's Miss Marple: 4.50 from Paddington*, dir. Martyn Friend, BBC One, 1987.

verdant fields, and trees. Repeating the same objects in the foreground also creates definite bounds and perimeters to give these place images a wholeness that makes them memorable for viewers.

Certain places are also framed to manipulate viewers to gaze at and remember them, thereby facilitating particular affective relations to place. Location shots are frequently preceding or interrupted with close-ups of characters' faces that imply particular feelings and emotions, juxtapositional montage whose product saturates place with affective significance. The opening shot of the Slopes, for instance, is preceded by Tess looking up at the house meekly but full of desire. Not only does this suspend the revelation of the Slopes, heightening anticipation of it, but it also means that the projected experience of place is focalized through Tess and interrelated with her emotions. Similar projected affective relations to place are encouraged in the many journeying sequences, which provide added opportunities to display the rural landscape, period buildings, and production team's cinematic capabilities. During this journeying, characters often enter the frame facing away from the camera and looking with it. Viewers consume place over their shoulder and so alongside them, which constructs a mutual affective relationship with the location.

Although Polanski's *Tess* introduces much of this exhibiting, commodification, and aestheticizing of place, Hardy's aesthetic execution lays the foundations. His adaptable writing of place seemed to intuit what would chime with both readers at the *fin de siècle* and a mass audience in the age of moving images. A significant and knowing example is the opening description of Tess's childhood home, Marlott, whose miniaturized poetics of scale invoke 'closure, the domestic, and the overly cultural', as well as 'proportion, control, and balance'[18] of Stewart's idea of the miniature. Hardy frames place here through the perception of an imagined traveller, who has penetrated to the essence of Wessex, providing an encounter that many metropolitan reader-tourists may desire. Hardy describes:

> The traveller from the coast, who, after plodding northward for a score of miles over calcerous downs and corn-lands, suddenly reaches the verge of one of these escarpments, is surprised and delighted to behold, extended like a map beneath him, a country differing from that which he has passed through. Behind him the hills are open, the sun blazes down upon fields so large as to give an unenclosed character to the landscape, the lanes are white, the hedges low and plashed, the atmosphere colourless. Here, in the valley, the world seems to be constructed upon a smaller and more delicate scale; the fields are mere paddocks, so reduced from this height their hedgerows appear a network of dark green threads overspreading the paler green of the grass. The atmosphere beneath is languorous, and is so tinged with azure that what artists call the middle distance partakes also of that hue, while the horizon beyond is of the deepest ultramarine. (12)

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[18] Stewart, 19.

The vast Wessex landscape is miniaturised explicitly here through emphasis on contrasting scales and perspectives between the summit and valley floor, references to cartography, embroidery, and painting, and the perceived contrast against the 'open', 'large', and 'unenclosed' surrounding space.

Miniaturizing the rural evokes greater poetic resonance in this instance, which Hardy apparently recognizes: it allows for a distinctive aestheticization and intensification of place, while also increasing its adaptability. The imagined tourist's pause on 'the verge of one of these escarpments' makes the location below more meaningful: it develops into a place as a pause within movement over the boundless, abstract (in this instance) space 'from the coast'. Once highlighted and isolated, place's reduction in scale intensifies rather than diminishes its detail and signification. Whereas the space beyond is 'so large' that it has 'an unenclosed character', is simply 'white', and 'colourless', everything within the valley is more 'delicate', intricate, almost perfect.[19] Hardy's miniaturized place also offers an attractive moment of transcendent, other-worldliness to the tourist, who feels 'surprised and delighted'. It provides a halt in linear time and mobility, which, as Stewart describes, are 'transformed into the infinite time of reveries'; they become 'an "other" time, a type of transcendent time which negates change and the flux of lived reality'.[20]

Place is not only more poetic through miniaturization but also more cognitively and culturally portable. Indeed, as Stewart says of the miniature more broadly, it can be 'enveloped by the body, or into two dimensional representation', and 'appropriated within the privatized view of the individual subject' (traveller and reader in this instance).[21] It offers, furthermore, somewhere 'frozen and thereby particularized and generalized in time – particularized in that the miniature concentrates upon a single instance and not upon the abstract rule, but generalized in that instance comes to transcend, to stand for a spectrum of other instances'.[22] This generalization of the miniature combines with its diminutiveness to make the 'experience' of Marlott 'manipulatable', as Stewart says of the miniature,[23] and so more easily adaptable, whether through reader memory or the screen.

However, at the same time, mapping the domains of tourism, cartography, embroidery, and painting onto an idea of rural place also destabilizes it because constituted through references to other forms of constructedness and craft – and Hardy does not hide this. Such insecurities and uncertainties often underlie his writing of rural place to reflect a *fin de siècle* consciousness, which, arguably, do not translate easily into classic heritage period drama conventions. Furthermore, Hardy does not always simply frame the dynamics

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[19] *Ibid.* 59; 38.
[20] *Ibid.* 65.
[21] *Ibid.* 137-8.
[22] *Ibid.* 48.
[23] *Ibid.* 61.

of nostalgia, as above, but also critiques them, as in Tess's parents' futile nostalgia for D'Urberville lineage. He suggests that such a relationship with the past demonstrates, as Merryn Williams argues, 'the destructive role played by this kind of false consciousness in the lives of ordinary people'.[24] The wrong kinds of attitudes to the past and the resulting desires for too limiting a stasis can be destructive in Hardy's fiction, as they are through Angel's rigidity of '"custom and convention"'.[25]

With this proto-modernism in mind, it seems safe to say that Polanski's *Tess* (1979) is the key influence on the cinematic idiom of a heritagized Hardy in which the remembering of the past is fetishized. His film selectively realizes many foundations that Hardy lays for exhibiting and commodifying Wessex, while omitting or veneering potentially destabilizing elements. Polanski's creation of this screen idiom, as encapsulated in the strawberry-eating still, is particularly pronounced when considering *Tess* (1979) in relation to unrealized plans for a late-1940s film adaptation of Hardy's novel, which Allan Scott had written and Carol Reed was to direct.

There is no mention of this proposed film in any Hardy scholarship as far as I know. However, working production material in the BFI's 'Carol Reed Collection', which is the only existing cinematic vista on earlier cultural memories of the text to compare to Polanski's film given that the 1913 and 1924 film adaptations are 'lost', sheds important light on it.[26] In contrast to suggestions of high society, high culture, and high artistic quality, as in the classic still of Kinski, Scott's late-forties screenplay, according to Reed's written responses, remembers the text with a pronounced focus on rustic life and a strangely light-hearted approach quite different to Hardy and Polanski's seriousness. Reed's scathingly critical responses to the script mention 'bogus-Shakespearean-clown dialogue […] written for the supposedly funny minor characters', an 'atmosphere of […] country-bumpkinism', and 'a burlesque on old England, but […] a bigger laugh than any comedy'.[27] While the material indicates that even in the late forties, Scott's approach jarred with the perceived cultural memory of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, it also exemplifies that a cinematic idiom for the text was yet to be established, for Scott's vision for the novel is significantly wide of the mark compared to Reed's.

It is thus Polanski's *Tess* (1979) that shapes the cultural memory of the text to fit the high cultural trends and high quality tastes of the art-house style of period films in the late seventies and eighties. Indeed, although critics commonly attribute the beginning of the vogue for classic heritage period drama to *Chariots of Fire* (dir. Hugh Hudson, Warner

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[24] *Thomas Hardy and Rural England* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 172.
[25] *Ibid.* 179.
[26] See TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES; item – ITM-7816, in the Carol Reed Collection; N-36910 [BFI Special Collection].
[27] *Ibid.* See, specifically, 'NOTES AT RANDOM FROM THE BEGINNING' [no pagination].

Bros/ 20th Century Fox, 1981) and *Brideshead Revisited* (dir. Charles Sturridge and Michael Lindsay-Hogg, ITV, 1981), Higson has identified Polanski's *Tess* as one of a number of period films that 'established […] a market for quality English costume dramas that were […] different from standard Hollywood fare'.[28] Analogously to Moretti's argument that in the nineteenth century the 'common denominator' in novels that survived battles for cultural hegemony with Paris ('the Hollywood of the nineteenth century', he says) was pronounced 'Britishness',[29] a central attraction of heritage period drama was the exhibited version of southern, high society English heritage, though realistically more as an alternative to Hollywood than a genuine competitor for cultural hegemony.

Like much classic heritage period drama, high production values emanate from *Tess*, particularly, in the depiction of place, but especially the Slopes. Polanski privileges this high society location – and far more than Hardy, who critiques Alec's brand-new imitation of English heritage (38). Polanski's cinematic depiction chimes with many stylistic and aesthetic traits that would come to characterize classic heritage period drama in the succeeding two decades. The Slopes are, for instance, injected with significance and grandeur from their introduction. Tess's first approach features a stunning long shot of the driveway canopied with trees and accentuated with Philippe Sarde's grandiose score. The mansion itself is a distinctive French chateau bathed in constant sunshine. It feels glamorous, exotic, Edenic, almost otherworldly, particularly because strawberries, roses, peacocks, and champagne are its fruits. Scenes there also *display* period costume and detail, but such trappings signify the middle and upper classes rather than the rural labouring folk Hardy championed. Alec's and Tess's costumes seem more suggestive of Edwardian than Victorian fashion, which signifies the leisure and pleasure traditionally associated with the high society of this later age. Polanski's addition of a butler furthers the period detail already flooding the ornate *mise-en-scéne* inside the mansion. He also introduces a sequence in which Tess returns to the Slopes after Alec's ambiguous rape/seduction. With even more emphasis on exhibiting period *mise-en-scéne*, an invented montage shows Tess receiving a gift from Alec, boating on a lake with him, and in her bedroom, which is decorated with kitsch, Laura Ashley-style wallpaper. Returning to the Slopes after the rape/seduction complicates the text's central thread, problematizing the novel's tainting of this space by making both it – and Alec – less threatening.[30]

Polanski's sanitizing and foregrounding of the Slopes is central to the film's 'international mythology', as Higson terms it: that is, its particular representation of England and Englishness with 'meaning, significance, and poignancy' for international

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[28] Higson (2003), 15.
[29] (1998), 180.
[30] See also Elliott, *Rethinking*, 237-8.

audiences[31] – a defining feature of classic heritage period drama and crucial to *Tess*'s global dissemination. The film adaptation's hybridity is an important factor in this conveyed myth of Victorian English rural heritage. As John Paul Riquelme writes, *Tess* is '[a] French film by a Polish film-maker, first released in France, but made jointly through French and British collaboration, that represents English locales using locations and studio in France and that stars a German actress portraying an English country girl'.[32] The film's imagining of Wessex has precisely the kind of mythicness suitable for international audiences: it 'suppresses or tones down the idiosyncrasies of taste and locality' to homogenize 'form and content',[33] appearing particular yet actually generalized. Filmed in rural Cherbourg because France was one of the few countries refusing to extradite Polanski to the United States to answer sexual assault charges, the generalized Wessex's hybridity is evident in the film's opening sequence, a 'long take' of four minutes and fifteen seconds, presenting the gradual progress of club-walkers through the countryside, as signified by a rough, rutted lane amid untamed hedgerows demarcating small fields.

To the trained eye, the countryside here is noticeably that of Normandy rather than Dorset, which the production team seemed eager to defend, suggesting anxiety about filming in France, rather than Hardy Country. One particular defence was that Normandy provided rural topography closer to Victorian rural space than late-seventies England. For Polanski, England no longer had 'small fields bordered by hedges, for most of the fields have been widened, the hedges cut down, the roads tarmacked'.[34] The Columbia Pictures press release also claimed that Normandy provided 'small-scale farms related to human beings rather than the machine age'.[35] Indeed, Normandy is further miniaturized in the opening through the extreme long shot, which replicates the novel's initial miniaturizing. As the camera moves slowly backwards, the differentiated, containable parts of the rural scene – its fields and winding lane, which are bathed in golden sunlight – unfold before viewers; they bring to mind the detail, precision, and balance of Hardy's miniaturized Wessex. There is apparently an endeavour here to avoid any excess or uncontainability in representation, so that it is, as Stewart writes, 'domesticated and protected from contamination',[36] to allow the gentle unfolding of nineteenth-century rural life.

The opening scene is also photographed through a four-minute long take, a cinematic technique that itself has a preserving effect on this place image, imprinting it on the consciousness of viewers. This 'unbroken shot of extended duration', as Paul Grainge

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[31] Higson, 6.
[32] 'Dissonance, Simulacra, and the Grain of the Voice in Roman Polanski's *Tess'*, in *Hardy on Screen*, ed. Wright (2005), 153-169 (158).
[33] Vidal, 54.
[34] Paul Cronin (ed.), *Roman Polanski: Interviews* (Jackson: Mississippi UP, 2005), 71.
[35] 'Press Release from Columbia Pictures', *in Polanski's Tess: PDF Press Cuttings (File 1: P171131)* [BFI Special Collections].
[36] Stewart, 69.

puts it, is particularly distinctive compared to the average shot length in Hollywood films of the late seventies, which was a much shorter five to eight seconds (and has reduced since).[37] André Bazin famously praised the long take as 'closer to our perception of reality' than montage at the other extreme of film editing (a 'perception of reality',[38] I would add, that is other to industry, machines, and the urban).

Indeed, the long take in *Tess*'s opening contributes to conveying the mythic image of the gentle, untainted unfolding of pre-industrial rural life, as well as the naturalism and pictorialism characteristic of classic heritage film. Moreover, as Grainge says of this editing style, it accentuates 'the meaning and value of temporality on screen', saturating 'space with meaning', and relating the 'temporality [...] to the spectator's own embodied perception of lived time and transformation'.[39] Using a long take and wide-lens displays place and injects it with meaning, making it memorable and recognizable. Polanski's Wessex is spatially miniaturized, but temporally enlarged for greater aesthetic impact.

The opening long take also soothes and softens the Wessex experience, almost pre-empting the gloss of look and subject in later classic heritage film. Along these lines, the script removes many jarring and painful moments: the death of Prince, the Durbeyfield horse, Tess's hurried baptism of Sorrow, her dying, illegitimate baby, the black flag rising after Tess's hanging; it also shortens and thins the Flintcomb-Ash section.[40] These elements have an important aesthetic function in Hardy; they operate in dialectical opposition with moments of pastoralized or pre-industrial beauty, resulting in the mutual intensification of place, which is absent in Polanski's adaptation. The unsettling moments that remain in *Tess*, furthermore, are alleviated because of naturalized shooting through long takes and infrequent editing. This is particularly apparent in Tess's rapid carriage journey to the Slopes and Tess's steam threshing. Polanski's film makes no attempt to capture the carriage's 'humming like a top' (54) or the machine's 'twanging and humming and rustling' (332), whose connotations of industrial and mechanized modernity in Hardy invoke a yearning for the kind of pause conveyed in the Marlott opening. Many such signifiers of the changing, mechanized nature of the countryside, which the ambivalent Hardy suggests as simultaneously threatening an agricultural way of life, yet key to the agricultural economy, are romanticized in Polanski to invoke certain spaces of the past. Most of the film's locations, including Flintcomb-Ash at times, where steam threshing takes place, seem permanently bathed in sunshine, or a more artificially warm glow, which makes the photography generally 'gold-lit', as much reception pointed out.

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[37] *Memory* (2003), 227; Bordwell, *The Way Hollywood Tells It* (Berkeley: California UP, 2006), 121-2.

[38] Oliver Speck, 'The Moral of the Long Take', in *Funny Frames: The Filmic Concepts of Michael Haneke* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 178-189 (183).

[39] Grainge, 227.

[40] In BFI Special Collections, see: *Script – Original Story: Based on the novel by Thomas Hardy* – SCR-17193.

Polanski's aestheticizing, domesticating, naturalizing, and making conservative (with a small c) of Hardy's text come together in the film's poster. It presents Tess looking in through the window of Marianne's noticeably – and surprisingly – cosy lodgings at Flintcomb-Ash at the end of her arduous walk after Angel has abandoned her. The camera is positioned inside and directed outside to pronounce Tess's look of desire at the interior, especially because her hand seemingly tries to reach through this cruel, transparent barrier. The image brings to mind, though reverses, the 'recurring trope' in heritage costume film that Julianne Pidduck discusses: 'the woman at the window', where the woman is situated inside, but gazing outside.[41] According to Pidduck, this signifies the 'spatial compression of feminine interiors bottled up against the green natural offerings of the wider world'.[42] However, in the publicity still from *Tess*, this trope is inverted. Tess's evident desire for the interior in the image is suggestive of the film's broader preferences for stillness and slowness over mobility, constraint over openness, and restraint over fulfilment or excess.

Polanski's hybrid mythologization and aestheticization of Wessex achieved significant cultural impact internationally given the great extent to which it 'travelled' globally and has endured since. The film was one of only five 1980s costume dramas grossing over $20 million in America and £3,000,000 in the UK.[43] By the end of January 1980, there were over 413,000 admissions in Paris alone in eleven weeks, with only three showings daily.[44] At the end of the film's first week in America it was top of the New York box office and third in Los Angeles. It went on general release in 75 US cities and featured over a full-page spread in the American national newspapers with a 'Columbia Pictures is proud to present …' advert.[45] Beforehand, it had a rush release in New York and Los Angeles (in December 1980) to qualify for the Oscars before general release. It won Oscars for Best Cinematography, Best Art Direction, and Best Costume Design, with nominations for Best Picture, Director, and Original Score. Significantly, *Tess*'s global release was staggered, which generated a heightened international interest based on its success in one country and anticipation in another, which was the case on eventually reaching Britain late in 1981 after a delay caused by constraints in British film distribution. *Tess*, then, managed to combine mass appeal with critical success,[46] which has been a crucial factor in its

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[41] *Contemporary Costume Film: Space, Place, and the Past* (London: BFI 2004), 25.

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] Higson, 93.

[44] [Anon.], 'Polanski May Cut "Tess" For U.S. Mart', *Variety*, 20 January, 1980, BFI Special Collections [*Polanski's Tess: PDF Press Cuttings (File 1: P171131)*] [no pagination].

[45] See W.J. Weatherbury and Leslie Geddes-Brown, 'Why Britain can't see the new Polanski', *Sunday Times*, 11 January, 1981, BFI Special Collections [*Polanski's Tess: PDF Press Cuttings (File 1: P171131)*] [no pagination].

[45] Stewart, 69.

[46] See also Elliott, *Rethinking*, 240.

continued cultural prevalence, and, moreover, its influence on the ideas of place associated with *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* – and Hardy – in cultural memory.

HARDY BEFORE THE MILLENNIUM: EVOLVING HERITAGE ADAPTATION

Hardy was generally neglected during the cycle of 'classic' heritage period drama that followed Polanski's *Tess*. Screen adaptors in the eighties and early nineties were more attracted to writers like Henry James, E. M. Forster, and Austen who focused on middle- and upper-class English life. Such adaptations allowed for representations of the national past that appeared stable, secure, even conservative; and this had widespread appeal during the so-called national 'declinism' of the late 1970s and 1980s.[47]

But 1996 to 2000 saw a Hardy screen whirlwind: no fewer than seven of his works were adapted or appropriated for the screen, seemingly because his late-nineteenth-century poetics chimed with the late-twentieth-century moment. The late nineties thus marks a significant moment in the shaping and sustaining of the cultural memory of Hardy, which kick-started on New Year's Eve in 1995 when BBC Two broadcast *The Return of the Native* (dir. Jack Gold, 1994). Scheduling Gold's film at the turn of the year meant Hardy was in the cultural foreground as 1996 began, particularly because of popular press attention to his rediscovery on screen and the significant number of further Hardy screen adaptations forthcoming. It drew particular attention to *The Return of the Native* marking '1995, the Year of Austen, giving way to 1996, the year of Thomas Hardy', as the *Evening Standard* proclaimed. [48] 1995 had seen Andrew Davies's classic BBC television serialization of *Pride and Prejudice* (dir. Simon Langton), where Colin Firth as Darcy emerged from Pemberley Lake with his wet linen shirt clinging to his torso, which, in many respects, marked the peak of both heritage period drama's popularity and self-confidence.[49]

But from 1996 until the Millennium, Hardy became the novelist of choice for screen adaptors: his writing offered different and progressive possibilities for remembering the nineteenth-century on screen. *The Return of the Native* (1994) was followed by *Jude* (dir. Winterbottom, Gramercy Pictures, 1996) and *The Woodlanders* (dir. Phil Agland, Buena Vista, 1997), as well as films based loosely on Hardy's short story 'The Melancholy Huzzar' and novel *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *The Scarlet Tunic* (dir. Stuart St. Paul, C'est La Vie, 1998) and *The Claim* (dir. Winterbottom, Pathe and United Artists, 2008),

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[47] See David Edgerton, 'Declinism', *London Review of Books*, 18.5 (7 March, 1996), 14-15.
[48] Edward Marriott, 'It's goodbye to Jane', 29 December, 1995, 39. In 1995 alone there were adaptations of *Sense and Sensibility* (dir. Ang Lee, Columbia/ Mirage), *Persuasion* (dir. Roger Michell, BBC Two), and *Pride and Prejudice* (BBC One), and an appropriation of *Emma* via *Clueless* (dir. Amy Heckerling, Paramount). Between 1996 and 2000, Austen was adapted three times and Hardy seven.
[49] Sarah Cardwell reaches a similar conclusion in *Adaptation Revisited: Television and the Classic Novel* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), 136.

respectively. Hardy novels were also adapted for television at this time: *Far From the Madding Crowd* (dir. Nicholas Renton) and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* were both broadcast on ITV in 1998.

Much popular press coverage at this time emphasized – and perhaps overstated – period drama's evolution with the shift from Austen to Hardy, whilst mediating, significantly, a particular remembered version of both writers. Not only did it suggest Hardy's version of the nineteenth century as more suitably modern and relevant for British culture on the cusp of the Millennium than the 'Austenized' version; but it also foregrounded the contrasting places associated with these writers' works and lives in its narrative about the aesthetic, stylistic, and thematic shift in period drama. As the headline of a *Sunday Independent* article emphasized, there was a move '[f]rom drawing-rooms to Wessex wilds'.[50]

Although mellifluous journalese, the headline's spatial synecdoche does hint at the fundamentality of place in the evolution of heritage period drama; at how Hardy's places both chimed with this evolution, but also contributed to forging it; and at how this spatial shift was interrelated with social and affective alterations. The shift from drawing rooms to the open, uncultivated countryside, as Pepinster's *Independent* article mediates, connotes an analogous shift from upper-middle and upper-class spaces to those associated with the rural proletariat: from spaces that are refined, cultivated, familiar, hospitable, rooted, bounded, interior, and small-scale; to those that are unrefined, organic, unfamiliar, inhospitable, mobile, open, exterior, and large-scale.

The mediated version of authors also implies an interrelated evolution in the individuals inhabiting these places and contributing to producing them, as well as the projected affective relations to their environments. For example, a *London Evening Standard* headline read, 'It's goodbye to Jane', while the article advised viewers on distinguishing 'an Austen lady from a Hardy wench'.[51] Using full-length images of Jennifer Ehle as Elizabeth Bennet from the BBC's *Pride and Prejudice* and Catherine Zeta Jones as Eustacia Vye from *The Return of the Native* (1994), it claimed an 'Austen lady' had: 'Blonde ringlets', a 'Heaving Breast', 'Dimpled Smile', 'Haughty boyfriends', 'Reflective Temperament', 'Augustan Philosophy', and would typically exclaim, 'Heaven forbid!', whereas a 'Hardy wench' had a 'Raven mane', 'Beaten Breast', 'Psychotic Smile', 'Glowering Boyfriends', 'Impulsive Temperament', 'Romantic Philosophy', and would often exclaim, 'For God's sake!'.[52]

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[50] Catherine Pepinster, 31 December, 1995, 5.
[51] Marriott, 39.
[52] *Ibid.*

These are of course straightforward – and arguably unscholarly – readings of both writers, simplified into neat binary oppositions; nevertheless, they capture a sense of the shifts in social class, place, and affective interrelations with place as heritage period drama evolved, including their circulation via a key mediator of cultural memory. It also provides insight into how Hardy screen adaptations were considered to offer a less buttoned-up approach to affect, presenting, instead, a greater externalization of feeling, which was, in turn, projected onto place to make it more meaningful as an objective correlative for character. The binary oppositions further indicate that the very nature of Hardy's fiction was considered to provide bleaker, angst-ridden, less certain representations of the nineteenth century, hence the references to 'beaten breasts', 'psychosis', 'impulsiveness', Romanticism, and blasphemy. These oppositions point to, as Lee T. Lemon says about Hardy's work, 'man's [sic] conflict […] against every possible force an indifferent or hostile universe can summon up', to 'a universe in which all the forces that shape human destiny are antagonistic'. [53] These issues do not plague the world of Austen's novels quite so explicitly, or in the same way.

Indeed, this mediated version of Hardy's fiction had particular consonance with the *fin de millenaire* moment of the late nineties. It is interesting – and surely not a coincidence – that a writer who captured the *fin de siècle* zeitgeist was re-discovered at this later moment of great temporal shift as the end of the second millennium approached. Hardy's Victorian world is plagued with uncertainties, instabilities, and insecurities. His later novels – namely *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure* – reflect 'the ache of modernism' (124); the poetry he turned to after coming to consider the novel form aesthetically futile is often similar. 'The Darkling Thrush', for instance, laments the 'Century's' death, and with it 'many of the ideas from which human beings had traditionally derived comfort'. [54]

Such Hardy poetics chimed with the late twentieth century on the cusp of a new millennium, when many were reflecting on their own places in the world and considering where they had come from and were heading. British culture and society did not just begin thinking of itself as increasingly youthful, energetic, populist, cosmopolitan, and liberal as it tired of staid conservative politics, and the economy and employment rate improved. [55] But it also found itself 'teetering on the edge of […] a new Millennium, an intimidatingly big sheet of blank paper'. [56] As Sarah Dunant and Roy Porter wrote in 1996, '[m]ix the insecurity of global economics with the threat of family breakdown and increased fear of crime, violence and racial tension and you have a population which feels it difficult to

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[53] '"The Hostile Universe": A Developing Pattern in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', in *The English Novel in the Nineteenth-Century*, ed. George Goodin (Urbana: Illinois UP, 1974), 1-13 (12-13; 4).
[54] Nicholas Shrimpton, 'Later Victorian voices I', in *The Cambridge History of English Poetry*, ed. Michael O'Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 686-705 (692).
[55] See David Kemp, 'London Swings! Again!', *Vanity Fair*, March 1997.
[56] 'Introducing Anxiety', in *The Age of Anxiety* (London: Virago, 1996), xvi; xiii.

handle today, let alone contemplate tomorrow'.[57] These anxieties were arguably more 'intensely experienced, more emotional fraught, more weighted with symbolic and historical meaning', as Elaine Showalter states, because their interrelation with the *fin de siècle* meant they were invested 'with the metaphors of death and rebirth that we project onto the final decades and years of a century'.[58]

As arguably the foundational decade of the moment, the nineteenth century remained highly relevant to national identity, so its literature stayed prevalent on screen. However, much of this period drama strove, as Higson writes, for an appropriately 'rougher, less refined, more hard-edged image of the English past, an image that was therefore less rose-tinted':[59] not as a complete break from period drama's conservative, nostalgic sanitization, and aestheticization of certain versions of the past, as Monk's 'post-heritage' implies,[60] but as an *evolution*. Indeed, signs of this shift were apparent as early as BBC Two's television film of *Persuasion* (dir. Roger Mitchell, 1995); and evolved heritage period drama often continued to exemplify many traces of 'heritage' period drama, even heritagizing 'rougher, less refined, more hard-edged' elements of texts, as in some of the Hardy adaptations.

For a fairly transgressive period of heritage screen adaptation, then, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* was a suitable choice for television in 1998. Hardy's writing of the novel was influenced by his feeling 'that the doll of English fiction must be demolished, if England is to have a school of fiction at all', as he wrote to H. W. Massingham on 31 December 1891.[61] Hardy refers here to what he considered nineteenth-century fiction's Grundyism, modesty, and lack of bravery, especially in the sexlessness of fictional women. But the idea of demolishing 'the doll of English fiction' has consonance with certain issues related to representing the nineteenth century on screen just before the Millennium. '[T]he doll [of English fiction]' is one appropriate description of classic heritage period drama's remembering of the nineteenth century, which it often miniaturizes, aestheticizes, contains, and controls.

With parallels to the end of the nineteenth century, then, Hardy was widely adapted on screen in the 1990s to partly 'demolish' this screen representation of the nineteenth century. Because dealing with 'dangerous subjects', as Pite puts it[62] – rape, illegitimacy, child mortality, religious denouncement, murder, capital punishment, rural labour's transience and fragility, and rural poverty – many Victorians considered *Tess of the*

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[57] *Ibid*. xiii.
[58] *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at The Fin de Siècle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), 2.
[59] 'Nostalgia is not what it used to be: heritage films, nostalgia websites and contemporary consumers', *Consumption Markets and Culture*, 17.2 (2014), 120-142 (122).
[60] Monk, *Audiences*, 23.
[61] In *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, I: 1840-1892*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Millgate (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978), 250.
[62] *Thomas Hardy: The Guarded Life* (Oxford: Picador, 2007), 304.

D'Urbervilles too transgressive for publication. It was rejected no fewer than three times before a censored version was eventually published two years after Hardy's first attempt.[63] The 1998 television adaptation foregrounds much of this bleakness and cruelty in depicting Wessex – and more so than Polanski – to set itself apart from 'classic' heritage period drama, while appearing more relevant for the late-twentieth-century moment. Sharp makes much of the death of the Durbeyfields' horse, which is the family's sole means of participating in the mobile late-Victorian rural economy, whereas Polanski omits it. The horse's death is depicted through a dramatic, jarring montage sequence, which amplifies the rapidity of the approaching mail cart, before the severity of the collision. Close-ups exhibit the mail cart's fatal penetration of Prince and Tess's distress, which forebodes Alec's later, equally destructive sexual penetration of Tess. The sequence also foregrounds the importance of having mobile means in the late-Victorian countryside. Their resulting lack catalyses Tess's need to claim kin from the D'Urbervilles, which, in turn, leads to her downfall. Unlike Polanski's reverent display of the Slopes, moreover, Sharp's is initially framed with a grotesque rustic sharpening a scythe, which is accompanied by jarring metallic sounds to forebode forthcoming danger. Alec's rape of Tess is also less ambiguous in Sharp's adaptation than in Polanski's. Furthermore, Sharp presents Tess's fatal stabbing of Alec explicitly, which is a particularly loaded moment signifying a pronounced eradication of a character who here embodies lingering traces of 'classic' heritage period drama.

In addition, Sharp's adaptation makes Tess's transgressiveness, and so her out-of-placeness, more obvious than Polanski's. To 'transgress', according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is '[t]o go beyond the bounds or limits prescribed' – and, more pejoratively, to break, violate, infringe, contravene, or trespass against.[64] Transgression is thus inherently spatial in nature. As Cresswell argues, place combines the 'spatial' and the 'social': when someone or something transgresses them, they are an 'anachorism', that is 'out-of-place'.[65] Hardy's novel transgressed the spaces of Victorian literary circulation and reception mainly because Tess is herself a case study in anachorism due to the late-Victorian world's rigid morality, and fluid, transient spatiality. As Hardy writes, it is the 'cloud of moral hobgoblins by which she was terrified without reason' that 'were out of harmony with the actual world, not she' (85). Still, this lack of harmony because of transgression means Tess is 'out-of-place', as her frequent journeying highlights: it literalizes her transgressing bounds and limits, and figures the placelessness and rootlessness stemming from her

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[63] *Ibid*.

[64] [online] <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/204775?rskey=4HgQrn&result=2#eid > [accessed 18 September 2017].

[65] *Mobility* (2006), 55. See also *In Place/Out of Place: Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1996).

beliefs and actions. At one point Sharp's adaptation features the extreme, moralistic religious slogan painted on a gate almost panoptically in 'staring vermillion words' (80), as Hardy writes. The image externalizes and spatializes the restrictive codes of Victorian morality, inscribing them on a material element of this parochial, rural backwater, where they are arguably most extreme. Doing so visualizes their halting of physical and intellectual mobility, their blocking of routes of progress through the rigid fixing of acceptable meanings and practices.

Sharp's adaptation also foregrounds Flintcomb-Ash as where Tess's 'out-of-placeness' peaks and with most potential for communicating the adaptation's evolution in remembering the Victorian rural. In 1998, this 'starve-acre place' that Tess 'makes use of as a last shift only, its rumoured stringencies being the reverse of tempting' when she is ostracized, functions analogously to the bleak, untamed, and turbulent heath in the opening of *The Return of the Native* (1994); and the opening landscape in *Jude* (1996), whose featureless, monochrome aesthetic through black-and-white photography alienates and forms the bleak backdrop for the beating Jude receives as a child. As Vidal writes generally of 'post-heritage' period drama, Sharp's depiction of Flintcomb-Ash flaunts 'harsh anti-heritage aesthetics of poverty and class struggle', as well as a 'shifting tone and sense of instability' so that it appears 'less reverential towards conventional notions of authenticity and bolder in its approach to the past as inextricably modern'.[66]

These evolved period aesthetics are most striking in the *mise-en-scéne* at Flintcomb-Ash, which is photographed to capture the 'wide acreage of blank agricultural brownness where the swedes had been pulled' and that 'was beginning to be striped in wales of darker brown, gradually broadening to ribands' (314). '[B]lank agricultural brownness' dominates Sharp's *mise-en-scéne* at Flintcomb-Ash, particularly during turnip-hacking scenes where the frame is flooded with mud, turnip piles, the labourers' filthy, ragged clothes, wooden agricultural implements, and the grey, hazy sky. The adaptation suggests no aesthetic pleasure in photographing this place: but only somewhere linked inextricably to both menial labour, whose fruits are turnips (rather than strawberries), and late-Victorian alienation, which accorded with a certain strata of late-nineties society on the uncertain brink of the new millennium. These projected barren aesthetics of place and alienated affective relations to it evoke gritty, social realism, which feels almost cinematically urban. They chime with a parallel cycle of nineties British films, which, as Monk writes, portrayed 'the problems of unemployment and social exclusion faced by a social stratum identified […] as an "underclass"'.[67] For Monk, this non-working class was

[66] (2003), 101.
[67] 'Underbelly UK: The 1990s underclass film, masculinity, and ideologies of "new" Britain', in *British Cinema, Past and Present*, eds. Justine Ashby and Higson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 274-287 (274).

produced by 'economic and social damage wrought by globalization, local industrial decline, the restructuring of the labour market and other legacies of the Thatcher era'.[68] Analogously, Sharp's Flintcomb-Ash is not only a 'starve-acre place' aesthetically, but also in terms of labour, economics, even sexuality. It has been left behind by socio-economic change, as Hardy makes clear. Whereas the fruitful Talbothays Dairy participates 'in the liquid milk trade to London' because comfortably situated 'within the new urban supply lines',[69] as Jessica Martell argues, Flintcomb-Ash is 'in the middle of the cretaceous tableland over which no railway had climbed as yet' (295). As Martell continues, it 'cannot expand its reach beyond a local economy'.[70]

Although the representation of English heritage in Sharp's adaptation has evidently evolved, it does not break from classic heritage period drama completely: various trappings of this earlier style still remain, even at Fintcomb-Ash. In fact, their dialectical opposition draws explicit attention to the adaptation's evolution, while also heightening its evolved heritage through juxtapositional montage. This is the case when, during the Flintcomb-Ash sequence, the action cuts from turnip-hacking to a landscape shot of the Slopes in which Alec sits leisurely in the foreground, reading; and the background presents his lake, manicured lawns, hedges, and period architecture. While revealing Alec's renouncement of his 'religious mania' (335), this mini-sequence also self-consciously exhibits its difference and distance from bleak Flintcomb-Ash. It also operates to induce in viewers empathy towards Tess's dilemma as Alec attempts to lure her back to his mock-aristocratic estate given how attractive the Slopes appears compared to Flintcomb-Ash.

The mini-sequence also, I think, operates to undermine and destabilize the collective memory of the nineteenth century as constructed through classic heritage period drama. It appears to suggest that this representation of the past is as much a veneer as Alec's Methodism and aristocratic social position, especially when it cuts abruptly and jarringly from the pastoralized, heritagized Slopes to the industrialized Flintcomb-Ash, plunging viewers into the disorientating smoke and deafening sounds of steam threshing.

In fact, there is actually a showcasing and/or commodification of this grittier and bleaker representation of the late nineteenth century – in both the 1998 and 2008 screen adaptations, as well as Hardy's novel. Viewers – or readers – are offered 'a more aesthetic angle', not on 'period settings' and trappings, as Higson says of classic period drama, but on squalor, deprivation, and *fin de siècle* alienation. There are similar '[a]esthetics of display' and 'pictorial museum aesthetic[s]',[71] but to aestheticize and pictorialize rural hardship and labour rather than National Trust properties and soft landscapes. For instance,

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[68] *Ibid.*
[69] 'The Dorset Dairy', 67.
[70] *Ibid*.
[71] Higson (2003), 39.

in the turnip-hacking scene in *Tess* (1979), the barren landscape glistens because of hazy sunshine, which suggests something almost transcendent about this snapshot of late-Victorian alienation. Polanski also apparently encourages viewers to relish the pathos, particularly when the extreme long shot of backbreaking labour is overlaid with Sarde's poignant score. In 1998, Flintcomb-Ash's *mise-en-scéne* is crammed with trappings of turnip-hacking labour, whose overwhelming brownness invokes plenitude and excess. The continuation of the labour is later overlaid with the narrator's lilting, West Country tones (supposedly Hardy's), which frames the action as a set-piece, both objectifying it and distancing viewers to draw them in imaginatively and affectively. The same scene in 2008 begins with similar long shots of labour, which it later repeats. Here the camera is tilted upwards to elevate the expanses of field and sky, and also the labourers, which venerates them and their labour to seem almost majestic, especially because the bluey-greys of the impressively vast sky both frame them and reflect from the muddy field, tinting it almost with a visible aura. The sounds of hacking, wind, and female exertion are also exaggerated to further heighten the projected version of reality.

John has drawn attention to a similarly satisfying showcasing aesthetic in Dickens's writing, even of 'urban deprivation', which he 'exhibits'.[72] She states that his writing is rooted in melodramatic poetics: it is 'exaggerated, externalized, stylized, highly emotive', even if it should be 'empty of feeling'.[73] In many respects, Hardy's writing of late-Victorian rural modernity feels similar, as in the following description of turnip-hacking:

> The swede-field in which she and her companion were set hacking was a stretch of a hundred-odd acres, in one patch, on the highest ground of the farm. […] Every leaf of the vegetable having already been consumed, the whole field was in colour a desolate drab; it was a complexion without features, as if a face, from chin to brow, should be only an expanse of skin. The sky wore, in another colour, the same likeness; a white vacuity of countenance with the lineaments gone. So these two upper and nether visages confronted each other all day long, the white face looking down on the brown face, and the brown face looking up at the white face, without anything standing between them but the two girls crawling over the surface of the former like flies.
>   […] In the afternoon the rain came on again […] It was so high a situation, this field, that the rain had no occasion to fall, but raced along horizontally upon the yelling wind, sticking into them like glass splinters till they were wet through (285)

The rural landscape here is far from 'a desolate drab' in aesthetic and affective terms, even if Hardy says so. Rather, it is striking, full of feeling, and resonant for various reasons: the knowing exaggeration, which Hardy alludes to in the first line of the chapter, writing how 'There was no exaggeration in Marian's definition of Flintcomb-Ash' (284); the loaded,

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[72] (2010), 264.
[73] (2001), 112.

heightened prose; the emphasis on the land's sheer size and scale; the anti-real figurative descriptions, which often feel oddly 'dream'-like; the stinging rain's viscerality; and, as David Lodge says of Hardy generally, his making 'concrete [of] the relationship between character and environment in a way that is both sensuously particular and symbolically suggestive'.[74]

However, that which Stewart calls the 'gigantic' is the key element in this highly stylized place: in the almost osmotic relations between person and place; and in the important position of this particular place image in the 'anti-heritage' agenda of the 1998 and 2008 screen adaptations. Pointing to examples such as the sky, landscape, and earth art, Stewart argues that the 'gigantic represents infinity, exteriority, the public, and the overly natural', signifying 'a physical world of disorder and disproportion'.[75] The gigantic's affective power comes from, as Stewart writes, its relation to 'the aesthetic experience of the sublime', which, through 'the grandeur of scenery, results in a sudden expansion of the soul and the emotions', including 'astonishment and surprise', as well as 'obscurity, power, privations, vastness, infinity, difficulty (requiring vast expenditures of labour and effort), and magnificence'.[76]

Hardy's writing of Flintcomb-Ash clearly evokes the 'gigantic', actualizing a previous allusion to earth art via 'the Giant's Hill by Abbot's Cernel' (334). Illustrating the landscape using oversized, distorted body parts – two 'visages' confronting 'each other' – directly relates to Stewart's idea; for, as she argues, 'our words for the landscape are often projections of an enormous body upon it'.[77] In Hardy's heightened representation of the Victorian world, the landscape surrounding Flintcomb-Ash is an enlarged, exaggerated externalization of Tess's own appearance, which, at this point is deliberately de-sexualized to insure 'against aggressive admiration' (280), and signify the failure to consummate her union with Alec. In the description above, then, Hardy transgresses conventional pathetic fallacy, externalizing Tess and projecting her onto the landscape to exemplify the osmotic interrelatedness between people and place.

The 'gigantic' is further invoked through the knowing extremities of scale and perception evoked via the insect simile, which implies the tiny female workers in relation to their vast, consuming, though almost indeterminate surroundings. Both female labourers and readers are 'enveloped cognitively' by the landscape, 'surrounded by it, enclosed within its shadows', so that it is a 'container' rather than 'contained',[78] as in the opening description of Marlott, where Hardy toys similarly with scale. Not only does the invocation

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74 'Cinematic Novelist', 81.
75 Stewart, 70.
76 *Ibid*. 74.
77 *Ibid*. 71.
78 *Ibid*.

of the 'gigantic' make place striking and affecting, but given the *fin de siècle* moment Hardy writes in and about, such place images seem the products of Wessex's 'speeding up and spreading out' in the industrialized, late-Victorian world: they embody the diffusion of community; the alienation from surroundings, as well as the diminished control of them; and the void of blank uncertainty lying ahead. Hardy's evocation of the gigantic in writing rural place thus offers a representation of the nineteenth century with potential to literally exceed the spatial and aesthetic bounds of classic heritage period drama, as in the spaces of the drawing room, country house, or manicured lawn.

Screen adaptations' projected poetics of scale in depicting Hardyean place often exemplify their positioning in relation to classic heritage period drama conventions. Along these lines, the contrast in Polanski's 1979 and Sharp's 1998 representations of the steam thresher and Stonehenge is particularly telling: it points to the former's generally miniaturized Wessex, and the latter's generally 'gigantic' depiction. Whereas Sharp first presents the steam thresher through rapid and jagged cuts between close-ups of its various parts – including fierce pistons and raging furnace –, before presenting its whole, Polanski photographs the machine through a long shot and long take, framing it with green bushes, the edge of a period stone building, and piles of golden straw, as if from Alec's perspective. Polanski's representation evokes the 'proportion, control, and balance' of a miniaturized, heritagized signifier of the past. In contrast, Richard Greatrex's close-up cinematography and montage editing depict a 'partial' realization over a 'spatial whole' to convey the disproportion, chaos, and imbalance of the 'gigantic', while also suggesting the impossibility of realizing Flintcomb-Ash without hard, mechanized labour, which, like the turnip fields, consumes the labourers much like it dominates the frame here. Furthermore, Sharp shoots Stonehenge from close proximity, even from within the stone circle, because his adaptation was filmed on location; it utilizes darkness, artificial moonlight, and shadows to stretch the representation of location beyond complete, objective comprehension. In contrast, Polanski photographs Stonehenge using a miniaturized polystyrene model (partly because of the filming logistics mentioned above). He introduces it through an extreme long shot, which utilizes an artificial spotlight to frame and foreground this actual miniature. The space is exhibited but contained. Any potential excess – of space and/or affect – is minimized to maintain the film's restrained, understated aesthetic.

The 2008 adaptation implements this 'gigantic' Wessex even more extensively, re-locating Marlott to the top of the Dorset cliff tops rather than nestling it within Blackmore Vale. Many scenes there consist of shots directed out and over the cliff edge, which make Tess's home vast and unbounded, rather than neatly and safely contained and constrained. Unlike Polanski and Sharp's adaptations, Blair's also features all of the novel's journeying

sequences – and many in extensive detail, even Tess's ill-fated trudge from Flintcomb-Ash to Angel's parents at Emminster – which Sharp omits –, and Tess's painful return home to Marlott after marrying Clare and before departing again for Flintcomb-Ash, which Polanski cuts. Such fidelity to Hardy's novel is logistical because Blair's 2008 adaptation had greater resources than the others (namely, screen time and budget). However, it also replicates the novel's sense of an enlarged Wessex in which people are more diffusely connected as society speeds up and spreads out. It suggests a modern, linear geography, rather than an archaic, circular one; a centrifugal spatiality rather than a centripetal one.[79] Such spatial poetics were more in tune with the early-twenty-first-century moment of production and projection, when the sense of things 'speeding up and spreading out' had only increased since the nineteenth century.[80]

Spatial and/or aesthetic gigantification often coincides with affective gigantification in Hardy, which Blair's adaptation foregrounds. These 'gigantic' or excessive feelings and emotions are more pronounced than in Polanski's film and Sharp's television adaptation, which gives Blair's mini-series a more contemporary, populist feel. The heightened affect often coincides with journeying, which frequently stems from emotional upheaval and Tess's anachorism. Such emotional journeying sequences feature shots of 'gigantic', almost subliminal landscapes, onto which the emotions of individuals are projected to heighten the affective resonance of place. Because Tess is the direct focus of almost all of the text, the depiction of place is mostly in relation to her and so framed with her emotions, or at least associated with them.

Gemma Arteton's performance as Tess thus often transgresses the 'qualities and connotations of the British theatre tradition' style of acting, including understatement, restraint, reserve, repression, and self-confidence, which are characteristics of heritage period drama.[81] The effect is to both enlarge and externalize the conveyed affective relations between both characters and viewers to rural place. One particularly prominent example occurs when Tess returns to Marlott after Alec's (very definite) rape. Tess's feelings move towards an affective crescendo on the morning after the rape. A camera tilted upwards in front of D'Urberville's mansion captures Tess running out, stopping, and bending over in emotional agony, before lingering on her desperate expression. In the next scene, Tess's painful walk home is accompanied with extreme long shots presenting wide expanses of cliff-top, ocean, and sky, 'gigantic' landscape features that are further enlarged through the cinematography. These shots coincide with a passionate exchange with Alec,

[79] On the relationship between linear geography and modernity, and circular geography and tradition, see Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), 38; 44. On centrifugal and centripetal spaces in Hardy, see Gatrell, 'Wessex', 26-7.
[80] Massey (2007 [1994]), 146.
[81] Higson (2003), 29-32.

played by Hans Matheson, whose Byronic appearance resembles Heathcliff more than a late-Victorian cad. As he disregards his sexual abuse and encourages Tess to return, Arteton raises her voice in reproach. She screams, '"My god! I could knock you down!"', capturing the impetuosity and sprit Hardy evokes at this moment. The 'gigantic' surroundings of sky and sea signify the infiniteness of Tess's pain and misery; they also point to her free-floating, 'out-of-placeness', stemming from her transgressive status, a distilling of themes, emotions, and space, furthermore, that transgress the buttoned-up behavioural codes of the classic heritage period drama drawing room.

TESS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

> '"[It] seemed difficult to reconcile a period film that was also quite radical, because it was so hard to create a version of Victorian England which wasn't romantic or picturesque"'.[82]

> '"The challenge when you do a period film is that Hardy is talking about a world that's changing rapidly, he's talking about characters whose tragedy in a way is that they have one foot in the old rural stable community and one foot in the new modern, urban restless world. The trouble is that you can't get a sense of modernity and change in a period film. It just looks like a picturesque version of ours"'.[83]

Both epigraphs are taken from interviews with Michael Winterbottom about *Trishna* (Artificial Eye, 2011), his loose appropriation of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* to contemporary India. They strike me as especially relevant to the point I raised in the introduction and have touched upon throughout: that so-called 'post-heritage' screen adaptations, including of Hardy novels, are not *subsequent to* 'classic' heritage period drama and so somehow separate from it, but rather exemplify lingering traces from this earlier cinematic idiom, which they are unable or unwilling to shed. Of course, Winterbottom is incorrect in saying that 'you can't get a sense of modernity and change in a period film': it is more that such an approach to adapting Hardy and other Victorians for the screen does not 'travel' as effectively.

There is a cinematic period idiom for filming Hardy and the Victorians, which has proven mass appeal and become deeply rooted in cultural memory, as Winterbottom seems to have discovered. The director has been a key figure in shaping and sustaining the recent cultural memory of Hardy. With a Hardy adaptation oeuvre including *Jude* (1996), *The Claim* (2000), and also *Trishna* (2011), he has been central to the nineties resurgence of Hardy on screen. *Jude* was a conventional screen adaptation in the sense that it is set in the

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[82] Michael Winterbottom, quoted in Trevor Johnson, 'Michael Winterbottom interview', *TimeOut* <http://www.timeout.com/london/film/michael-winterbottom-interview-1 > [Accessed 5 June 2016].

[83] Winterbottom in Edward Douglas, 'Interview: Frieda Pinto and Michael Winterbottom on *Trishna'*, *ComingSoon.Net*, July 10, 2012, quoted in Ana Cristina Mendes, '"From carts to jet engines": The Afterlife of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in Michael Winterbottom's *Trishna'*, *Adaptation*, 9.2 (August 2016), 221-233 (225).

Victorian period, though it strove to distance itself from classic heritage period drama through certain aesthetic and thematic concerns, as in its opening depiction of the Wessex landscape shot in monochrome. But *The Claim* and *Trishna* transport Hardy's narratives out of Victorian time and place, in an apparent attempt to capture Hardy's radicalness, to transgress what Winterbottom calls the 'romantic or picturesque' elements of classic heritage period drama, which the connotations of the period *mise-en-scéne* tempered.

This tension between Hardy's radical poetics of late-Victorian modernity and the conventions of classic heritage period drama (and continued tastes for them) materializes in the penultimate scene of Blair's 2008 mini-series. The parallel cutting between Tess's imprisonment and her idealized memories of the club-walking at Marlott points to lurking ambitions for a more progressive adaptation of writer and period, with Tess's imprisonment before the gallows the culmination of a number of fairly radical features. Blair revealed in an interview that he wanted to capture the '"truth and reality"' of Hardy, rather than the '"interiors and empire lines and ballrooms"'.[84] However, at the adaptation's conclusion, such progressive ambitions are intercut with Tess's idealized memories, which appear influenced by wider popular tastes for classic period drama, and temper the apparent move towards the radical, even stifle or shackle it, as the prominent imagery in these concluding moments apparently suggests. The penultimate scene literalizes numerous motifs of imprisonment that run through the adaptation, mostly in relation to Tess, who is shot through prison bars, or framed by constraining walls and ceilings. Slow motion cinematography also means that the projected viewpoint often lingers on locks and keys and accentuates the sounds of keys turning locks to spotlight Tess's incarceration.

In many respects, this imagery visualizes the nineteenth-century social and cultural conventions that imprison Tess; but in others, the imprisonment of the text's namesake is much like the imprisonment of the text itself in the culture and society of production and circulation: both in the late nineteenth century and contemporary screen adaptation, which maintains close dialogue with classic heritage period drama. It is no coincidence that the adaptation's attempts to present a grittier, edgier version of the text do not feature for much of the opening instalment; nor that arguably its most progressive departure (Tess's imprisonment before execution) is withheld until the final episode's conclusion. The mini-series is strategic in distributing its progressiveness, hooking in viewers through apparent closeness to classic heritage conventions throughout most of the first episode and withholding its most radical interpretation until the closing moments of the final hour when retaining viewers is less of a concern. These progressive moments are, though, softened

[84] Sally Williams, 'Wessex appeal', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 August 2008
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/3559063/Tess-of-the-DUrbervilles-Wessex-appeal.html>
[accessed 12 September 2017].

because of intercuts to Tess's idealized recollections of Marlott. The alleviating effects of these cliff-top dance scenes heighten Tess's progression towards the gallows; but such inter-cuts also restrain the progressive excesses of Tess approaching execution. Their inclusion means that the opportunity for what has potential to completely transgress classic heritage adaptation norms and boundaries through the actual hanging of Tess, for example, is avoided. Instead, the mini-series concludes with the kinds of visual pleasures that viewers of BBC costume drama on Sunday evenings may seek: a spectacular English landscape, period costume, and suggestions of conventional heterosexual romance between Angel and Tess's sister, Liza-Lu.

Invoking Tess's recollections of Marlott also exemplifies important ideas about the dynamics of cultural memory generally and screen adaptations of Hardy, Wessex, and the Victorian period in particular. Significantly, the representation of the rural via utopian recollections of Marlott is framed as a memory – and a particularly extreme, reactive memory given its formation in the face of death. The scene and location have memory-like qualities: they are shot using wide-angled close-ups which create a strange distorted roundness; the dancers also fade gradually from the shot leaving Tess and Angel dancing alone, as photographed through long shots with the hyper-real framing of vast, blue sky, and lush green surrounding fields – an imagined scenario that did not happen, but one that would have radically altered events if it had.

The sequence communicates how cultural remembering is conditioned and doctored in relation to the contemporary moment much like Tess's imaginative return to Marlott before the gallows, which re-writes the past for the better so Angel does notice her, she does dance with him, and their domestic problems are airbrushed. Memory becomes particularly coloured at moments of change or strife, where reactionary recollection can become nostalgic, escapist, or preservationist. In the autumn of 2008, amidst economic crisis, recession, and soaring unemployment, viewers of BBC period drama on Sunday evening may well have been drawn to a version of Hardy and the Victorian age that was comforting and aesthetically pleasing, before they had to return to work and face the wider world in the morning, even if providing this meant perpetuating the classic heritage period drama idiom that Polanski's *Tess* established.

It is apparently for this reason that Winterbottom's *Trishna* takes the text out of Victorian period and place, instead setting it in contemporary India: the cinematic and/or televisual idiom of Hardy's Victorian Wessex is so well established and deeply ingrained in cultural memory that a radical period reworking of it would have proved futile. But despite the contemporary Indian setting, Winterbottom does recognize the significance of place to the cultural memory and to maintaining at least some resemblance to Hardy's novel in his direction. He reveals in a *Sight and Sound* article that he kept in mind the formal

significance of landscape rather than viewing it simply in aesthetic terms. He suggests that he '"wouldn't want landscape to be just a pretty backdrop to the story"', but instead intended to convey '"the relationship between the individual and the world around them"', namely how both the setting '"operates"' and '"people live in that world"'.[85] Even in an updating and displacing of Hardy's novel, the importance of place and character interrelation with it is clearly inescapable.

Appropriating the text to contemporary India allows Winterbottom to examine the general concept of place in two ways that are highly relevant for considering Hardy's penultimate novel and later fiction. Through *Trishna*, Winterbottom firstly explores the cultural clash between different places, which are brought together through rapid cultural, social, and spatial change, because of globalization and industrialization. He suggests these contemporary, global issues chime with the late-Victorian moment of Hardy's Wessex, which has consonance with emerging nations in the modern, globalized world. The film utilizes the sphere of tourism to bring into contact the intensely conservative, patriarchal world of rural Rajasthan and the modern, liberal, westernized world of urban Bombay (as locals still call it, tellingly). Trishna, a rural Rajasthani, works as a traditional Indian dancer at a local temple, where she meets Jay Singh, the British son of a wealthy hotelier, visiting with his British friends, who are on holiday. Before long, the relationship between Jay, who is an amalgamation of Hardy's Alec and Angel, and Trishna begins to develop. When her father is injured in a road traffic accident, leaving him unable to work and provide for his family, the lure of employment in Jay's father's hotel is too much to resist. But this lure soon becomes reliance, even entrapment. Jay rapes Trishna and the resulting pregnancy results in her ostracization from the community and family home. Trishna is consequently forced to endure months of Jay's sexual abuse as she is caught, anachoristically, between the two cultures. She exists within each, but is a part of neither. Escape is possible only through murdering Jay and then suicide. Both are shot starkly, in graphic and disturbing detail.

Jay's sexual and physical abuse of Trishna, including a prolonged, disturbing rape scene that makes for uncomfortable viewing, takes place in the hotel's private quarters, literally *behind the scenes* of the tourist façade. At the same time, Trishna attempts to keep up appearances: she continues working to continue producing the touristic exterior of the Rajasthan hotel for holidaymakers. In this way, the film critiques the cultural construction of place, as well as its apparent fragility through the differentiated representation of the touristic and non-touristic versions of rural Rajasthan.

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[85] Nick Roddick, 'Michael Winterbottom on fiction, observation and Trishna', 3 April 2014 <http://www.bfi.org.uk/news/controlling-story-michael-winterbottom-fiction-observation-trishna> [Accessed 5 June 2016].

Winterbottom's point here has significance beyond *Trishna*, particularly for considering the packaging of Victorian literary places for cultural marketability and indelibility. Significantly, the film's opening scenes focus on the leisure pastime of Jay and his friends, including evening entertainment at the historic temple where Trisha works. Consequently, the culturally constructed, touristic façade of Rajasthan is the first, and, for a short while, the only, representation of place that viewers experience. Initially, Rajasthan is known only as somewhere characterized by the rich exoticism and luxurious glamour of India's cultural heritage; and whose attractiveness provides visual pleasure for both viewers and British tourists. Subsequent representations of places in the film are framed with this version of Rajasthan; they are experienced and considered only in relation to it.

Indeed, Winterbottom utilizes this formal and spatial device to erode – and critique – the culturally and industrially constructed representation of place. He shows the 'reality' behind the veil, which, to me, has wider significance as a critique of the cultural representation/ remembering of period place. After the initial depiction of touristic Rajasthan, the action follows Trishna home, moving away from the sphere of tourism and heritage to exemplify how much tourism constructs a veiled exterior to place. Far from both the picturesque beauty connoted by the countryside in Western culture, and the luxury and exotic heritage of touristic Rajasthan, Trishna's village is closer to Flintcomb-Ash than Talbothays Dairy, and with added stifling, subtropical heat. It is depicted as arid, undeveloped, and poor; barren, dusty roads and infertile fields characterize it, as do swarms of young children, who rush to greet visitors to this detached location because they are such a rarity. It is unsurprising that Trishna is so keen to escape and lured into Jay's clutches.

Winterbottom's transgression of Victorian time and space in *Trishna* thus allows him to address the more troubling elements of Hardy's text in ways that have relevance for twenty-first-century global audiences and rekindle some of Hardy's radicalism. However, while the film contributed to sustaining the cultural memory of Hardy and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* through the inevitable references to source text and author in the surrounding press and media discourses on release, it did not have a significant impact on actually *shaping* this cultural memory, nor did it sustain the text as much as period screen adaptations.[86] Put simply, this updated, international version of the text did not 'travel' as well as period adaptations of it. As the Internet Movie Database indicates, *Trishna*'s gross box office takings in America were just $234,432, which barely touches the $20,093,330 of Polanski's *Tess*.[87]

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[86] Articles about *Trishna* appeared in *Time Out*, *New Statesman*, *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, and on the BBC News website, for instance.
[87] <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1836987/business> [accessed 5 June 2016].

Indeed, it is 'period' screen adaptations that most effectively capture the cultural imaginary rather than updatings and appropriations. Updated, displaced appropriations like *Trishna* may well enable more radical interpretations of source texts because freed from deeply engrained televisual and cinematic traditions, but they do not provide 'means of prolonging the pleasure of the original representation, and repeating the production of memory', as Ellis writes: they do not fulfil desires 'to repeat particular acts of consumption'. [88] This argument even relates to the images used in marketing and distribution, which disseminate certain impressions of the televisual/cinematic work to whet the appetite of prospective viewers. Although the poster for *Trishna* makes clear that it is 'Based on the novel […] by Thomas Hardy', the use of 'based' combined with the central image of the Indian actor Freida Pinto in traditional Indian dress as Trishna, with a shot of a sub-continental landscape in the background, signifies that particular acts of consuming *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* on screen will not be repeated.

Winterbottom's justification for interpreting *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* in the form of *Trishna* chimes, I think, with Mark Llewellyn's argument about the possibilities of returning to the Victorian period in contemporary culture via neo-Victorianism. Llewellyn suggests that rather than attempting 'to indulge in escapism as historical narrative', neo-Victorianism offers 'the potential space for working through ideas and concerns that still dominate social discourses today', for 'self-consciously' engaging with 'the act of (re)interpretation, (re)discover and (revision) concerning the Victorians'.[89] Llewellyn and Winterbottom have a shared recognition of the contemporary cultural usage of the Victorian as means of making some kind of direct impact on contemporary culture and society.

However, the demographic of those who are actually impacted by these cultural images requires further consideration. As *Trishna*'s US Box Office figures suggest, screen adaptations of Victorian texts that transcend the norms and limits of classic heritage period drama to too great an extent fail to capture a mass audience and are not disseminated as widely. Furthermore, as the television adaptations of Hardy's novel on both sides of the Millennium – at about the time the field of Neo-Victorianism was emerging –, screen adaptations are anxious about transgressing the conventions of classic heritage period drama too much because of the continued tastes for this screen idiom. Analogous to Llewellyn's idea of Neo-Victorianism, more recent screen adaptations, including the 1998 and 2008 versions of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, have self-conscious and radical elements, but it is unlikely that populist viewers remember them, or desire their repetition.

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[88] 'Literary Adaptation', 4.
[89] 'What is Neo-Victorian Studies?', 169.

In contrast, audiences are attracted to that which Winterbottom calls 'picturesque' and 'romantic', and Llewellyn, 'escapist' – and also remember them vividly. Figuratively speaking, *Trishna* is the ultimate 'gigantic' adaptation of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*: it transgresses both the time and place of Hardy's novel, and goes beyond the accepted boundaries and norms of classic heritage period drama in shifting Hardy's text to contemporary India. The appearance of *Trishna* in 2011 demonstrates Hardy's continued cultural legacy and Winterbottom's particular direction exemplifies Hardy's enduring association with place. However, the film's failure to garner mass appeal suggests that it is the heritagized Hardy's Wessex encapsulated in the iconic image of strawberry-eating Kinski in Polanski's *Tess* – and then re-inscribed in contemporary culture through the 1998 and 2008 television adaptations – that remains most attractive to a mass audience, because it provides the repetition of certain period pleasures. As this chapter has argued, regardless of how much evolved heritage screen adaptations of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* appear to transgress the Wessex of classic heritage adaptation poetics through the 'gigantic' mode, they are unable or unwilling to break completely from Polanski's 'miniaturized' cinematic idiom, which remains indelibly fixed in the cultural memory of Hardy's penultimate novel.

AFTERWORD

Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy have continued to be adapted for the screen throughout this PhD (*The Invisible Woman* (2013), *Far From the Madding Crowd* (2015), and *To Walk Invisible* (2016), and their recurring, often enduring cultural prevalence shows no sign of stopping, with new film adaptations of *Wuthering Heights*, *David Copperfield* and *A Tale of Two Cities* forthcoming.[1] As I have argued throughout this thesis, these writers continue to chime with the contemporary public, are still considered ripe for screen adaptation, and provide the predominant vistas on the Victorian period for many. Among other factors, this is the consequence of the reproducible qualities of their writing of place, which permeates many other significant textual facets, including character and ideology, and whose adaptability to various new contexts has had a major impact in ensuring the continued popularity of these writers.

A prime example of this longevity is the recently aired Dickens television drama series, *Dickensian*, whose production, projection, reception, even axing embody some of the key ideas in this thesis. Broadcast on BBC1 during the winter of 2015-2016 and created by former *EastEnders* writer Tony Jordan, *Dickensian* was an ambitious, soap opera 'mash-up' (as the popular press called it) of the Dickens Universe. It brought numerous characters from different Dickens texts together to live on the same street in Dickensian London, their lives dramatizing some of Dickens's backstories.

Although a Brontë or Hardy equivalent is not imaginable, indicating Dickens's superior enduring popularity, *Dickensian* nevertheless operates as a neat summary image for the place-centric cultural memory and continued popularity of all of these authors, as this thesis has argued. The drama series' title alludes to an amorphous, mythologized idea of the Dickens Universe – an impression or resembling of it much like cultural and collective memory, which is rooted in Dickens's adaptable prose poetics, yet fluid and malleable for adaptation to new, post-Victorian contexts. The very centrality of London to *Dickensian*'s production, projection, and publicity, furthermore, is microcosmic for how certain ideas of place are a prominent part of the cultural memory of Dickens, as well as the Brontës and Hardy. More specifically, it apparently recognizes that it is impossible to separate author from certain ideas of place in cultural memory; that rendering place is a chief artistic territory on which screen adaptors seek to make their aesthetic and ideological

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[1] See <www.wuthering-heights.com>; 'Armand Ianucci to make *David Copperfield* film', *BBC: Entertainment and Arts*, 25 March 2015 <www.bbc.co.uk/entertainment-arts-32057514>; Vanessa Thorpe, 'US TV mogul plans epic version of *Tale of Two Cities*', *The Observer*, 15 May, 2016 <www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/may/14/tale-of-two-cities-bbc-harvey-weinstein-cannes-festival> [all accessed 15 September, 2017].

mark; that period place is crucial to capturing an 'authentic' sense of the 'spirit' or 'essence' of author on screen, as well as an important source of cinematic/televisual pleasure for modern audiences; and that popular ideas of Victorian literary places (those discussed in this thesis) have been constructed through complex interplay between textual aesthetic execution and mythologization via other cultural forms, including the screen. Indeed, the *Press Pack* described *Dickensian* as '[w]here the Old Curiosity Shop sits next to the Three Cripples Inn, and Fagin's Den',[2] exemplifying the primacy of place in its vision of the Dickens Universe, while also hinting at the important interrelation with character in bringing place to life.

A sizeable proportion of the approximately £10,000,000 budget (which suggested continued broadcasting confidence in Dickens and the Victorian period) was also used to recreate an impressively vast yet intricate set. Centring on a 90-metre cobbled high street, wide enough for two chaise and fours to travel abreast, the set featured twenty-seven two-storey buildings, each fully furnished and decorated to allow for 360° degree filming inside. Yet it could be dismantled, packaged up, transported, and reassembled, which was the intention when, before the series was axed, there were plans to move it from the West London studio to larger premises in Wales for reassembly and enlargement for subsequent series. And this is an image that operates analogously for how Dickens's London, as well as the Brontës' Yorkshire, and Hardy's Wessex, circulate freely and widely in the cultural memory – and, more broadly, in collective consciousness – because their original adaptable poetics of place have allowed them to be packaged, added to, and reassembled for new contexts apparently without losing touch with their authors' art, and this has been a key factor in ensuring their continued popularity.

But *Dickensian*'s failings also shed important light on the public as audience, namely their desire for screen adaptations and period place to be repeated and familiar, remaining in-touch with existing traditions. At a time when the BBC was looking for opportunities to save £550 million ahead of charter renewal, the fall in viewers from the approximately 5 million who watched the first four Christmas episodes meant its axing was inevitable.[3] However, *Dickensian* was axed not because the public were not drawn to Dickens or the Victorian period, but because author and epoch were not represented in ways that chimed with public tastes. *Dickensian* certainly had potential to depict place with particular cultural resonance based on Jordan's artistic vision to capture Dickens's 'richness', stemming from the kind of aesthetic, affective, spatial, and ideological doubleness that I have discussed throughout. Jordan mentioned how, '"There's the

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[2] Red Planet Pictures, December 2015, 3 <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/dickensian-media-pack.pdf> [accessed 15 September, 2017].
[3] <http://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/weekly-top-30/> [accessed 19 August 2017].

chocolate-box Dickens […] And then there's the dark Dickens. […] And what you end up with is a world that feels authentic, that feels real, and that feels truthful"'.[4] 'Feels' is a key word here, capturing how the writing of place by Dickens and the other writers I have discussed is framed to seem a more vivid, intense version of reality, yet convinces readers that it is both more authentic and satisfying than life beyond the page. *Dickensian* also shaped up to emulate the kind of mechanized, modern, indeed, adaptable poetics that I have suggested characterize Dickens's, the Brontës', and Hardy's writing of place: it would be a key part of pacey, impactful thirty-minute episodes. It would also attempt to tap into viewers' existing memories of Dickens adaptations as much as Dickens's fiction; its set was highly constructed and stylized; and Jordan had appealed historically to popular audiences.

However, *Dickensian* did not capture the public's imagination because of, among other things, its unfamiliar aesthetics of disorientation. *Dickensian* disorientated not just because of its wildly inconsistent scheduling, but because it was caught between two audiences, its identity therefore murky. Jordan hoped to appeal to both Dickens experts and a wider, less specialized audience, but actually ended up appealing to neither. In striving for freshness, unfamiliarity, and contemporaneity, it focused on backstories and sub-texts; it avoided appearing 'aesthetically unimaginative, conservative, and nostalgic', as certain scholars celebrated.[5] But in doing so, it lost much capacity to invoke the kind of 'repetition with variation', the 'comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise', which is crucial to the pleasures of adaptation, as Hutcheon argues.[6] Repetition was instead reduced and variation increased, particularly in depicting place.

Indeed, *Dickensian*'s disorientated identity translated to the disorientating experience of London at the heart of its attempts to appear novel and modern. The photographing of London was edited heavily, with frequent, but fleeting shots of the city from numerous vantage points, which prevented viewers from situating themselves within the projected urban space. The drama series also frequently used long-lens close-ups, or shoulder-mounted shots, to convey immediacy and immersion within the urban environment, especially when the action followed and was focalized through the street urchin, messenger 'Boy', supposedly to evoke Dickens's childhood experiences of the city. Yet the potential resonance of using this technique was outweighed by the constant projection of deracination and disorientation, and lacked because any dialectical, mutually intensifying counterpoint was absent. Because viewers rarely saw place for long and it was

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[4] *Dickensian: Behind the scenes of the BBC drama series* [Dickens Museum video], Red Planet Pictures <https://dickensmuseum.com/blogs/exhibitions/82883974-dickensian-behind-the-scenes-of-the-bbc-drama-series> [accessed 15 September, 2017].
[5] Armelle Parcy, 'Confluence and the Neo-Victorian in *Dickensian'*, *Etudes*, 52 (2017) < https://ebc.revues.org/3607#quotation> [accessed 15 September, 2017].
[6] *Adaptation*, 4.

difficult to make spatial connections between its parts, they could not root themselves spatially, imaginatively, and affectively. They were denied the classic exhibiting and aestheticizing of place, where it can be consumed through objectified distancing, as well as the resonant stylized framing, and, crucially, the pauses amidst the motion of projected modernity, where space becomes meaningful, familiar, and so place. In failing to tread the spatial, aesthetic, and ideological middle ground of many screen adaptations that have made significant cultural impact, then, *Dickensian*'s London failed to draw in viewers in the same way and to the same extent as many of the screen adaptations that I have discussed, straying too far from the adaptable poetics of place that are a prominent part of the cultural memory of Dickens, the Brontës, and Hardy, and crucial in ensuring their continued popularity.

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