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Social Rank and Individuality
Personal Virtues in the Context of Class in Jane Austen’s *Emma*
Social Rang och Individualitet: Personliga egenskaper och klass i Jane Austens *Emma*

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Sammanfattning
Behandlar den rådande klasstrukturen i Jane Austens *Emma* och hur de personliga egenskaperna hos ett urval av karaktärerna i romanen ställs mot varandra i en sådan kontext. Argumentet är att trots det faktum att Jane Austen respekterar och bevarar ramarna för klass i detta verk så finns det möjlighet att frångå dessa om det finns tillräckligt med goda personliga egenskaper som väger upp avsaknad av en viss klassbakgrund.

Nyckelord
Jane Austen, class, personal virtues, Emma, social, hierarchy, superiority, structure, mobility, status
Social Rank and Individuality: Personal Virtues in the Context of Class in Jane Austen’s *Emma*

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Table of Contents:

Introduction .................................................................................................................................5
Chapter 1: Social Structure and Potential Suitors ................................................................. 8
Chapter 2: Social Mobility and Secret Engagements .......................................................... 17
Chapter 3: Social Superiority and Successful Marriage ....................................................... 23
Chapter 4: Social Status and Classroom Education ............................................................. 29
Conclusion ............................................................................................................................... 35
Works Cited .............................................................................................................................. 37
Introduction:

Jane Austen is one of the most influential writers of the nineteenth century, and she is certainly one of the most read English novelists of all time. Her popularity never ceases, and she is more discussed today than ever before. Thanks to cinematic and television productions, her work reaches new and young audiences, who are able to experience Jane Austen through different, contemporary interpretations. The difference between the readers of her work today and those of her time is that we today no longer live in as explicit and obvious a class-structured society. As John Halperin describes it: “In genteel households small matters of etiquette were of greater importance than they are today, largely because the eighteenth-century gentry belonged to a society more formal than anything we know. There was more outward courtesy and ceremony of manner” (12). In contrast to people’s personal virtues, class was given much more consideration and influence before than now. This creates a fascinating contrast between these two matters, social origin versus character, which is worth investigating.

Jane Austen’s society was undoubtedly very different from today’s modern society. There was a clear, class-structured hierarchy with characteristics typical of their time, such as the superiority of inherited wealth over new wealth. However, as emphasized by Stephen Greenblatt among others, the class barriers started to change as a result of rebellion and new ideas from the Continent, such as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, which also affected Britain (514). Jane Austen came to differ slightly from other writers of her time in that she noticed these changes in society, but, as pointed out by Ronald Carter and John McRae, chose to write about her own class, the country gentry and their behavior, and what was close to her heart: morality, values, class, stability and order (121). Class implications are more prevalent in Emma than in any other of her novels.
This essay discusses the relationship of class and personal virtues in Jane Austen’s *Emma*, and the argument is that although Jane Austen maintains and respects the frames of class structure, she insists on the superiority of personal virtues in her judgment of the characters in the novel. By using Emma, the novel’s heroine, and her development as she goes from being a naïve, short-sighted matchmaker to a better understanding of herself and others, thanks to the guidance of Mr. Knightley, the hero of the novel, personal virtues will be shown to be superior to class, not only in Emma’s eyes, but also in the author’s. This is demonstrated in three chapters that will deal with specific relationships in which class and personal virtues come into conflict. The first chapter deals specifically with a cross-section of classes, the second one with the class movers, and the third one with the highest class, where we find Emma and Mr. Knightley. The common driving force in all of these chapters is marriage.

The essay also has a didactic agenda; in its fourth chapter it discusses how to implement the themes of *Emma* in order to face educational challenges. There are many advantages in using *Emma* in the classroom. The novel is highly amusing and contains elements of irony, which students in all probability will appreciate. They can relate to the characters despite obvious outward differences; they all have good and bad sides alike. Moreover, by reading Austen’s work, one sees how society has changed over time and how the view of morality and social values has developed. What really sets *Emma* apart from other novels, however, is that it teaches us about proper behavior and respecting those around us. For many students their school years can be a very challenging time, and therefore it is essential to point out the democratic values on which our society stands, emphasize each and every student’s uniqueness, and the moral necessity of judging each other by our behavior, not our origins.

The matter of class in Jane Austen’s work has been dealt with repeatedly before, for instance by critics such as Arnold Kettle and J.A. Downie, whose respective texts, *An Introduction to the English Novel* and “Who Says She's a Bourgeois Writer? Reconsidering
the Social and Political Contexts of Jane Austen's Novels”, were written almost half a century apart. Both of them, nonetheless, have come to serve me greatly in different ways when writing this essay, and have opened my eyes as regards class influence in *Emma*. On the other hand, how class is connected to personal virtues – and how they are shown to be superior to class – has not been discussed nearly as much, and therefore the results of this essay might add more fuel to future discussions on the novel, especially to those in a classroom setting.
Chapter 1: Social Structure and Potential Suitors

In this chapter, the relationship of class and personal virtues of some of the major characters, namely Emma Woodhouse, Mr. Knightley, Harriet Smith, Mr. Martin and Mr. Elton, will be discussed. Evidence will show that personal virtues are of more importance than class and that class structure and individual virtues are brought out thanks to the drama between these people, thus demonstrating different values in Highbury society. To further illuminate this relationship, the essay will begin by giving a concise overview of the different characters and the classes they represent, before moving on to the matters that confirm the essay’s argument.

Highbury society has a clear hierarchy as regards class structure. At the top of the hierarchy we find Emma, her father Mr. Woodhouse, and Mr. Knightley. The Woodhouses come from an ancient family of country gentry and Mr. Knightley is the owner of Donwell Abbey, an estate which most of Highbury belongs to. Then there is Mr. Elton, who is the vicar of Highbury. He has a commendable profession, but lacks both the money and family to go with it. Below Mr. Elton are the Bateses, the Westons and the Coles. Mrs. and Miss Bates are gentlewomen whose social rank was once higher, but ever since Mrs. Bates became a widow, they have become very poor and have moved down the class ladder.

The Westons and the Coles are families of tradesmen, and moving up in society. The Westons are of slightly higher rank than the Coles, as Mr. Weston has a background in the militia, whereas the Coles are rising into gentility due to new money. They show the possibility of rising beyond one’s own class in the direction of another, which J. A. Downie points out (5). Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill can also be found in this category. Their fathers were in the militia, but they themselves have come to climb the social hierarchy, Frank more so than Jane, thanks to being adopted at an early age.
At the lower end of the hierarchy are the Martins, who are tenant-farmers; they rent land from a landowner, in this case Mr. Knightley, and live off that. Then we have Harriet, who late in the novel proves to be a tradesman’s daughter, but prior to this revelation, stands at the bottom of the hierarchy. What contributes to her low status is her lack of family and money. The many different classes imply that there is a complex but ordered relationship between them and the different people whom they are represented by.

Emma has had quite a privileged upbringing, belonging to the higher end of the country gentry and coming from an ancient family. She lives with her father and is independent since they are very rich, and for this reason, Emma does not have to marry if she does not want to – which is only a privilege for women of rich families as otherwise a husband is necessary in order to achieve social status and economic security. The country house where she lives, Hartfield, is one of the social cornerstones of Highbury society, which, in turn, is the community where she lets all her interference in other people’s lives take place. The question is whether this interference is good or bad. Is it merely a question of superficiality or are there other factors in Emma’s mind and spirit that have to be taken into consideration?

Emma is not the typical heroine. She is not at all perfect, although she thinks she is on many occasions, especially at the beginning of the novel when she has not yet learned from the consequences of her actions. After Miss Taylor, Emma’s governess, leaves the Woodhouses to marry Mr. Weston, Emma feels the need to have something to occupy her mind, as her father is not intellectual challenge enough. Norman Page has a theory about why Emma chooses to take on the subject of match-making and to have a protégée to educate: “It is as if, after being all her life under the tutelage of a governess, she wants to have a taste of that role for herself” (35). There is certainly evidence for this because she acts on the idea of being able to affect the people around her so as to see her own plans for them come true.
This self-indulgence is a strong contrast to her relationship with her father, where her good aspects shine through. When Miss Taylor marries Mr. Weston and leaves Hartfield, Emma is glad to have Mr. Woodhouse’s friends there for dinner, although she herself does not enjoy their company quite as much: “She was delighted to see her father look comfortable” (23). She is always considerate of him, willing, if put to the test, to stay by his side forever. This is probably the noblest action anyone can perform and demonstrates Emma’s genuine kindness and commendable personal virtues. She very much represents the moral values and sense of duty of her class, for instance by visiting the poor; it is only through her boredom and lack of occupation that she turns her imagination and fantasy to match-making – something that is beyond her control and actually morally wrong.

The different aspects of Emma’s character show her vanity. Critics have discussed why Emma feels the urge to intervene in other people’s lives and if her motives are pure or not. As John Odmark puts it, “The author has made her task all the more difficult by choosing a heroine who in some respects is not at all sympathetic” (25). Another critic, Arnold Kettle, argues that Emma “sees human relationships in terms of class snobbery and property qualifications”, representing a view that was established during Austen’s time (104). Both Odmark and Kettle are correct: Emma does not seem to care, at the beginning of the novel, about the feelings of the people involved, nor the consequences of her actions. She is rather blinded by her own image of herself: “The real evils indeed of Emma’s situation were the power of having rather too much her own way, and a disposition to think a little too well of herself” (7). She likes to be admired and wants to prove herself worthy and able, and to enjoy the opportunities her class has given her to make plans for others. However, the truth about Emma is not as harsh as is portrayed here. As we will see later on, snobbery is not something that is at the core of Emma’s heart.
Emma meets her new occupation, Harriet Smith, for the first time after having invited Mrs. Goddard, mistress of the local school for young girls, to dinner. Mrs. Goddard brings this seventeen-year-old naïve but charming girl with her. Emma immediately sees potential in Harriet to become something beyond her current situation and decides to take her on as her protégée. Not very much is known about Harriet at the beginning of the story, except that she was sent away to Mrs. Goddard’s at an early age. The problem lies in whether or not she can actually marry someone of higher rank when she herself stands at the bottom of the class hierarchy because of the lack of family and money, and, as Mr. Knightly points out, is ignorant of her true origins: “She is the natural daughter of nobody knows whom, with probably no settled provision at all, and certainly no respectable relations” (60). What she does have, however, is beauty and a good temper, but this is not really enough for anyone but Emma herself, who decides to find a husband for her new protégée.

The initial love interest for Harriet is Robert Martin, who seems a respectable young man. Being a tenant-farmer, Mr. Martin belongs to the lower end of the hierarchy of Highbury society, but is nonetheless a man with agreeable manners. He has strong and certainly very proper virtues, something that Emma does not want to admit to herself, but is told so by other sources of information, such as Mr. Knightley: “He always speaks to the purpose; open, straight forward, and very well judging” (58). In other words, his personal virtues greatly override his class. Without Emma’s help or involvement, Harriet is very fond of Mr. Martin from the very beginning, and is remarkably excited when he asks her to marry him. Emma, on the other hand, has other prospects in mind at this point and paints a negative picture of him to herself and also to Harriet, such as when Harriet shows Emma Mr. Martin’s letter of proposal: “So good a letter, Harriet, that every thing considered, I think one of his sisters must have helped him” (50). Mr. Martin is not what Emma has in mind for Harriet either in
appearance or situation; she feels that Harriet can do much better, for instance with someone like Mr. Elton, and is very glad when Harriet follows her advice and declines the proposal.

As Mr. Elton is a new addition to Highbury society, Emma feels strongly that there is a need for a Mrs. Elton as well, and that she has the ability to make this happen. Mr. Elton is the vicar of Highbury, and, which Mr. Knightley emphasizes, a rather popular man among the people of Highbury, who respect him very much: “He knows that he is a very handsome young man, and a great favourite wherever he goes” (64). After becoming acquainted with Harriet, Emma insists on her friend and Mr. Elton being a good match, although they come from two very different backgrounds, Mr. Elton being a vicar, and Harriet being without family or status. A class-structured society is obviously not in favor of this, and Mr. Knightley, who has a correct attitude towards class, indicates to Emma that her plans are quite unacceptable: “What are Harriet Smith’s claims, either of birth, nature or education, to any connection higher than Robert Martin?” (59-60).

Throughout her whole life, Emma has been guided by landowner Mr. Knightley, who has imposed his values on her and corrected her whenever needed: “Mr. Knightley, in fact, was one of the few people who could see faults in Emma Woodhouse, and the only one who ever told her of them” (12). As Odmark tells us, being a father-figure and a friend, Mr. Knightley has had a very good relationship with Emma and can be frank with her at all times, especially when it comes to her match-making schemes: “The character of Mr. Knightley provides the reader with a more reliable guide than he has in Emma to an accurate assessment of the situation” (27). Their disputes raise the question of who is right and who is wrong, and if, indeed, Emma is blinded by her own view of herself as unable to make mistakes.

Mr. Knightley, obviously, has a different view from Emma. From the very beginning of Emma’s match-making schemes he indicates that it is better to concentrate on oneself instead; what one does to others can rebound whether one likes it or not: “You are more likely to have
done harm to yourself, than good to them, by interference” (14). He has, as Gilbert Ryle also argues, a genuine concern for the people around him: “He does what needs to be done for people, but he does not do it behind their backs, nor does he shout about it to the world” (112). He is a steadfast character and lets little upset him. In this sense, he proves to be a touchstone of moral concern – vanity never gets the better of him. His class is therefore equaled by his personal virtues.

He continues to prove his stability and consistency throughout the novel. When Emma first tells him that she is planning to bring Harriet and Mr. Elton together, he immediately tells her how dangerous this is, that different classes should not be mixed, and that she should stay out of this affair, truly showing his common sense as regards the connection between class and personal virtues. He is also furious at Emma’s having discouraged Harriet from marrying Mr. Martin whom we know Harriet marries later on – and rightly so, as Mr. Martin is excellent for Harriet; he is a good person, has appropriate manners, a sufficient income, and is near Harriet as regards class: “Let her marry Robert Martin, and she is safe, respectable, and happy for ever” (63).

Mr. Elton, in comparison, is not a rich man despite his situation, and wants to marry for money, which is a less flattering quality. As indicated by Mr. Knightley, he is very well aware of the class structure and would never marry Harriet: “Elton may talk sentimentally, but he will act rationally” (64). When Mr. Knightley is pointing out the moral aspects and that he has not perceived what Emma has seen concerning the matter of Mr. Elton’s warm feelings for Harriet, he makes a valid point in that he has more knowledge of Mr. Elton than Emma has, and for this reason, she should not speculate further on the issue. Nonetheless, Emma continues pursuing Mr. Elton for Harriet’s sake, not prepared for the fact that Mr. Elton is not interested in Harriet at all; in fact, he wants to marry Emma herself. He unsuccessfully proposes to her in a carriage on their way home from a dinner party, and Emma, as a result,
finds him vulgar and much beneath her. This reveals Emma’s delusion regarding the issue of class: she does not see it as wrong on Harriet’s part to be with Mr. Elton – but she can see it when it concerns her own life, when Mr. Elton asks her for her hand in marriage.

In addition, the people around Emma are more perceptive of reality and see things that she herself is blind to; she did not realize that Mr. Elton was even remotely interested in her to begin with, and she only gets the first idea of it from John Knightley: “‘He seems to have a great deal of good-will towards you.’ ‘Me!’ she replied with a smile of astonishment, ‘are you imagining me to be Mr. Elton’s object?’” (106). The same kind of blindness is shown in a discussion she has with Mr. Knightley, concerning the right to judge someone without knowing them: “It is very unfair to judge of any body’s conduct, without an intimate knowledge of their situation” – revealing that she cannot see herself and her own actions in her very own statement (138).

New light is cast on the matter of class by Mr. Elton after he realizes, to his horror, that Emma has thought him suitable for Harriet: “Every body has their level” – which means that he is not the man for Harriet, since he does not want to degrade himself by marrying someone of inferior rank (125). Everyone knows their position within the frame of the class structure and can thereby determine who would be their equal in a potential marriage. Being a clergyman with a secured situation, he considers himself a man of high caliber who is able to marry the best woman he can find. His class-directed attitude and unattractive personal qualities are further shown in his actions after his embarrassing proposal; by going to Bath to find a woman from a rich family he shows a determination to marry even at the cost of love.

What can now be stated is that the people of Highbury clearly have different values. Consequently, Emma’s bad qualities are directly contrasted and compared to Mr. Knightley’s good qualities. There is a difference between their handling of things, but Emma will be guided by Mr. Knightley and come to a view similar to his, realizing the importance of
personal virtues, as the story progresses. What is indeed known about the two of them is that both try to affect and influence another person. Emma tries to influence Harriet in her choices, manners and ways of thinking, and Mr. Knightley always tells Emma his honest opinion regarding everything that Emma does, which means that he tries to transfer his own values onto her. In this respect they are very much alike. However, Mr. Knightley tries to convey his opinions openly, while Emma does it in hiding, using other words, clues and further manipulative means in order for her protégée to subconsciously arrive at the same conclusion as herself. While Mr. Knightley is morally right, Emma is obviously morally wrong (Ryle 110). Emma is not very interested in seeing two people genuinely fall in love, even though, of course, it is a bonus. However, the main reason behind her schemes has to do with personal amusement: she wants to prove herself ready and able to predict two people falling in love and, therefore, does what she can to make it happen, for the game itself, not for the people involved: “It is the greatest amusement in the world!” (13).

The realization of the importance of personal virtues starts to come to her at the end of the first volume of the novel. After finding out that Mr. Elton was never interested in Harriet, but only in herself, Emma faces the unfortunate task of having to tell this to Harriet. As Kettle points out, it is in relation to Harriet’s future pain that Emma starts to realize that she has committed a grave mistake and she is extremely upset with herself (103). When all is said and done, it is through these mistakes she gains a more accurate image of herself and can understand what she really feels, which is shown in her response to Harriet’s dignified reaction to losing Mr. Elton: “She listened to her and tried to console her with all her heart and understanding – really for the time convinced that Harriet was the superior creature of the two – and that to resemble her would be more for her own welfare and happiness than all that genius or intelligence could do” (134).
All in all, Emma refuses to acknowledge that Mr. Knightley might be correct at this point, and lets her feelings on the subject and her class-directed attitude take over once more: “Her self-confidence grows as she allows her thoughts to take their course” (Odmark 30). After her first failure as regards Harriet’s love-life, she quickly moves on to a new aspiring candidate for her in Frank Churchill, hoping to make amends for her previous mistake, although she first promised herself to never give into match-making ever again: “She was quite concerned and ashamed, and resolved to do such things no more” (129). This means that although she has learnt a little, she has still not learnt enough about the possibility of personal virtues overriding class, about helping others and about interfering in the lives of other people. She has still not discovered that feelings such as love must always take their natural course; she has not changed her opinion of Mr. Martin. In other words, Emma’s progress thus far shows us that she still has much to learn, but at least that a learning progress has begun and that she is not wholly a character driven by vanity. She is compassionate about her friends and family and wants them to do well, but she has not yet learnt how to go about these matters in a proper and correct way. Her future mistakes and blunders make her gradually realize her true character and the superiority of personal virtues compared to class.

To conclude this chapter, there are those who because of their personal virtues can override class. In this category we find Robert Martin, a fine young man with everything to recommend him. Mr. Elton and Harriet, however, do not belong here, which is shown in how they are judged: Emma rejects Mr. Elton and Mr. Elton rejects Harriet. Furthermore, Emma’s growth towards a better understanding of herself and others, in the context of class versus personal virtues, is the aftermath of her own mistakes and Mr. Knightley’s guiding her in the right direction. We will come to see these as being major aspects in her interference with other important characters in the novel as well. Let us move on to her relationships with Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill and see to what extent she will grow from this point on.
Chapter 2: Social Mobility and Secret Engagements

This chapter will discuss the relationship between class and personal virtues in Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax, characters Emma meets after her first match-making failure with Harriet and Mr. Elton. Unlike the characters described in the first chapter, these two show mobility upwards in the social structure. A link between class and personal virtues will be made, and evidence will show, as before, that as Emma gets a better understanding of herself and the characters around her, personal virtues are of more importance than class. One of these characters, Jane Fairfax, very much exceeds the expectations of her class in her personal virtues.

The second volume of the novel starts with the arrival of Frank Churchill in Highbury. His background is complex: when his mother died, his father, Mr. Weston, agreed to send him to his late mother’s family, the Churchills, as they did not have children themselves. Frank Weston thus became Frank Churchill and moved up the class ladder being a Weston by birth, but a Churchill in fortune. The Churchills are a very rich family, at the upper end of the class hierarchy, giving Frank privileges he otherwise would not have had. This implies a rather complex class background where the young man has to live up to the expectations of his new family, as well as respect his father and his own origins.

As regards his personal virtues, he is very agreeable, charming and eager to appear in a good light, which is shown, for instance, in his compliments to Mrs. Weston, helpfulness to the Bateses, letters of explanation about his absence from Highbury, and his open countenance, as when Emma meets him for the first time:

The Frank Churchill so long talked of, so high in interest, was actually before her – he was presented to her, and she did not think too much had been said in his praise; he was a very good looking young man; height, air, address, all were
unexceptionable, and his countenance had a great deal of the spirit and liveliness of his father’s; he looked quick and sensible. (179)

However, Mr. Knightley has been suspicious of Frank Churchill ever since the latter’s first letter to the Westons where he tells them he has to postpone his visit home. Emma is among the first to hear his negative view: “There is one thing, Emma, which a man can always do, if he chuses, and that is, his duty; not by manoeuvring and finessing, but by vigour and resolution. It is Frank Churchill’s duty to pay this attention to his father. He knows it to be so, by his promises and messages; but if he wished to do it, it might be done” (138). Mr. Knightley, as always, makes a valid point in his statements concerning morality. If one’s father gets married, it is certainly of the utmost importance to visit him, and being an adult, the responsibility lies with Frank Churchill to make it happen. There are no excuses, as Mr. Knightley suspects, for Frank to think that there are other obligations that are more important, and he shows a great deal of inconsideration and vanity.

As the plot develops, Frank Churchill’s behavior confirms Mr. Knightley’s opinion of him, rather than Emma’s. There is a puzzling restlessness about Frank in connection to his visits to his aunt and uncle, and excessive vanity when he goes off to London on a whim just to get his hair cut: “He was often hoping, intending to come – but was always prevented. His aunt could not bear to have him leave her. Such was his own account at Randalls” (296). He proves to be anything but a gentleman, however, when he joins Emma in cruelly teasing Jane Fairfax about a suspected lover and in making uncomplimentary remarks about her at every opportunity. As Frank Bradbrook puts it, “Frank Churchill is both pleasant and attractive in his manners and trivial and reprehensible in his morals” (29). Once the truth about his engagement to Jane becomes known, his behavior to her is even more reprehensible as is his flirtation with Emma herself.
In contrast, Jane Fairfax has a similar background to Frank Churchill, but her behavior is as different as can be. Like Frank Churchill, she was taken into a family of higher rank, the Campbells, whose daughter had been a close friend of Jane’s since an early age. Both of Jane’s parents had died, and the Campbells considered it better for Jane to live with them rather than stay with her aunt and her grandmother, the Bateses, as this would give her the opportunity of refining her skills in the arts and polite society. In this respect, Jane, just like Frank, has been lucky to enjoy many privileges that would not have been possible otherwise.

Jane Fairfax is described as having a very agreeable appearance. She has elegant manners and is accomplished in many different fields, such as music. She is rather reclusive and reserved, and does not give her subjective opinion on things – and although this is not an issue for most of the people of Highbury, it certainly is to Emma, who finds Jane boring and lacking in spontaneity. As she says to Mr. Knightley, explaining why they are not friends: “she [Emma] could never get acquainted with her: she did not know how it was, but there was such coldness and reserve – such apparent indifference whether she pleased or not” (156).

What plays a vital part in Frank Churchill’s erratic and Jane Fairfax’s reserved behavior is the fact that they are secretly engaged. This bond is not revealed until the end of the novel, but, nonetheless, its impact is very strong and shows their personal qualities in the different ways they act under the pressure they themselves have created. To divert suspicion, Frank carries on a flirtation with Emma and his attentions make her undoubtedly feel that he is in love with her. More interestingly, she herself thinks she is in love with him for a while, but comes to terms with her indifference after his being absent for some time from Highbury: “Her own attachment had really subsided into a mere nothing; it was not worth thinking of” (295). She is soon happy to pass him on to Harriet in her mind, after Frank rescues the latter from gypsies: “Such an adventure as this, - a fine young man and a lovely young woman
thrown together in such a way, could hardly fail of suggesting certain ideas to the coldest heart and the steadiest brain. So Emma thought, at least” (313).

The way Frank acts and behaves as a consequence of the secret engagement is understandable, but by no means commendable. It is wrong of him to involve Jane in a secret engagement in the first place, and the idea is completely his since he does not want to upset his aunt and uncle by not marrying someone of superior connection. Furthermore, to play with Emma’s feelings is indeed risky, and might cause great suffering. In addition, he is very inconsiderate to Jane, his fiancée, and, although she appears to be very upset by his behavior and the affair as a whole, he continues to treat her badly. As Christopher Gillie tells us, Frank’s spoilt background results in his egoistical behavior: “Frank sees life as a game involving no personal responsibility, and even when he falls in love with Jane Fairfax he is unable to perceive how his behaviour may have consequence for her deepest feelings” (142).

When at a party at the Coles’, Frank persuades Jane to sing when she is playing the piano, despite the fact that her voice is starting to tremble, and that she is distracted by the memories evoked of them singing together at an earlier event. This is a very important scene, as Mr. Knightley takes a stand for Jane, telling Miss Bates to remove Jane from the piano so as not to hurt her voice any longer. Here, Mr. Knightley’s strong disapproval of Frank is also shown: “‘That fellow,’ said he, indignantly, ‘thinks of nothing but shewing off his own voice. This must not be’” (213). Later the same evening during a conversation with Emma, Frank expresses his gratitude for the party ending sooner than expected: “I must have asked Miss Fairfax, and her languid dancing would not have agreed with me, after your’s” (214). This statement is cruel, and considering that Jane is his fiancée, downright unacceptable.

It is somewhat of a mystery that Jane agrees to marry him, in spite of Frank’s behavior towards her. If her personal virtues were so splendid, would she really agree to this commitment? The answer is “yes”, one may argue, because although she is aware of Frank’s
faults, she knows that he loves her, and that she will have a good life as his wife. As Page says, “we feel that Jane deserves her success, beautiful and talented as she is; and it must be quickly added that there is in her no taint of ambition or calculating worldliness: she genuinely loves Frank, and is indeed better than he deserves” (41).

In contrast to Frank, Jane shows a very mature and respectable attitude, considering the very difficult circumstances she is under. To hide the fact that she is engaged to Frank Churchill, she does not convey much information about matters concerning her life, such as her acquaintances, but at the same time, the information she gives to other people is not at the expense of others. Other factors, such as her reclusiveness, her reserve and withdrawal from the rest of Highbury, contribute to her handling the engagement better than Frank, even to a point where she suffers from it. She knows that it is the wrong thing to do and does not want attention.

Moreover, her preparation for being a governess, her readiness to live a life away from the luxuries she has been used to, is a very humble act and a completely different way of approaching the secret engagement. This is shown, for instance, in her response to Mrs. Elton’s trying to find her a comfortable post in a rich family: “You are very obliging; but as to all that, I am very indifferent; it would be no object to me to be with the rich; my mortifications, I think, would only be the greater; I should suffer more from comparison. A gentleman’s family is all that I should condition for” (280). As Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar point out, her fine character is incredibly rare, and, at times, sacrificial: “Indeed, although Jane Fairfax is eventually driven to a gesture of revolt – the pathetic decision to endure the ‘slave-trade’ of becoming a governess rather than wait for Frank Churchill to become her husband – she is a paragon of submissive politeness and patience throughout her ordeal” (206).
However, Jane is not pathetic – she is courageous and has a correct approach to the matter. What makes the secret public knowledge is that Jane breaks off the engagement with Frank, emphasizing it was wrong and showing disapproval of his manners, which leads him to confess in a letter to Mrs. Weston: “She [Jane] felt the engagement to be a source of repentance and misery to each: she dissolved it” (413). This is the morally appropriate thing to do at this point, although she will finally accept him out of love when he explains himself.

Our impressions of Jane and Frank do not stay the same throughout the novel. When the secret engagement is revealed, it leaves all of Highbury in shock, but also, and more importantly, the personal virtues of the two people in question are thoroughly questioned. Emma is struck by how she ever could have thought herself in love with Frank, and reaches a wholly tolerant attitude towards Jane, whom she now understands as having been under severe pressure. Frank is the scoundrel of the novel – not at all evil, but nonetheless vain and thoughtless. In Jane, we see quite the opposite. She never acts badly and would rather suffer pain herself than cause it to others. For this reason, she becomes ill after the day at Box Hill when the pressure becomes too much for her.

To conclude this chapter, several things have now been perceived. There are characters who have superior personal virtues compared to their class, and there are those whose personal virtues do not match their class. In the first category we find Jane Fairfax, the destitute governess, who is never, by anyone but Emma, portrayed in a negative manner. In the other, we find Frank Churchill, of landed gentry, who appears to be a refined man, elegant and with the right words and manners, but also committed to vanity or thoughtlessness. Jane manages to override class and win Frank’s affection due to her personal virtues, and can improve him – make him a better man. Mr. Knightley was correct in his attitude towards these two people, and, in the next chapter, we will see that he has been correct all along, but it will take the events at Box Hill to make Emma start to see life in a different manner.
Chapter 3: Social Superiority and Successful Marriage

In this chapter, we will see how some of the final events of the book come to shape Emma’s true character, and how, in the end, personal virtues win over class. The relationship between Emma and the Bateses, along with the appropriate background regarding the class and personal virtues of the latter, will be established. The chapter will end with a discussion on the different marriages that take place, and how they relate to the theme of class and personal virtues. The main focus, however, will be on the picnic at Box Hill, which is the climax of the book because of the way Emma treats Miss Bates: it steers Emma in the direction of her eventual understanding, with Mr. Knightley at her side all the way.

The Bateses are two gentlewomen; Mrs. Bates is the widow of the former vicar of Highbury, and Miss Bates is her daughter. Because of their good-will, especially that of Miss Bates, they have a very good reputation, although the aforementioned woman neither has money, beauty, wit nor a husband: “The simplicity and cheerfulness of her nature, her contented and grateful spirit, were a recommendation to everybody and a mine of felicity to herself” (22). Despite being of lower rank, their personal virtues are excessively commendable and they are given the opportunity to attend parties and dinners, just like the rest of Highbury. Their likeability has its core in their positive attitude and appreciation of other people. They constantly compliment their friends and are genuinely interested in their wellbeing.

Emma’s relationship to the Bateses is a rather stable one: they have always been in her life and are therefore old acquaintances. Mrs. Bates is an old friend of Emma’s, whom she regards as a respectable lady. Miss Bates, however, is another story. Emma finds her easy and good-natured, but much too gossipy and not very intelligent. Her irritation with Miss Bates becomes indiscreet and even rude at times, as when she avoids her when seeing her in the
street and makes fun of her way of speaking. When Mrs. Weston suggests that Mr. Knightley has taken an interest in Jane Fairfax, Emma then replies that a union between them would mean Miss Bates moving into Donwell Abbey as well, “thanking him all day long for his great kindness in marrying Jane? – ‘So very kind and obliging? – But he always had been such a very kind neighbour!’” (210).

Emma’s ill treatment and tendency to laugh at Miss Bates reaches new heights during the picnic at Box Hill when Emma cannot control her tongue. She flirts with Frank, who sits next to her and who suggests that they play a game. The participants need to choose between saying one very clever thing, two moderately clever things or three very dull things, and so Miss Bates says that the choice for her would be alternative number three, as she is quite the talker. Emma, unable to resist the temptation, remarks that Miss Bates is only limited to saying three very dull things. Miss Bates eventually recognizes she has been made fun of and is deeply hurt but considers that she must have behaved in an inappropriate manner for Emma to say such a thing: “I must make myself very disagreeable, or she would not have said such a thing to an old friend” (347).

Emma does not think more about her actions until she is about to enter the carriage to take her home, when Mr. Knightley stops her to upbraid her about her behavior. He gives her a strict, but necessary lesson, emphasizing how wrong her actions were, both as regards class and personal virtues. “Her [Miss Bates’s] situation should secure your compassion. It was badly done indeed!” (351). First of all, it was wrong of Emma since she has a higher social position. Miss Bates has moved down the class ladder, and it is therefore Emma’s moral responsibility to respect and take care of people such as Miss Bates, who are less fortunate. Moreover, her personal values are exposed in an appalling way, as it is an even greater sin to be unkind to an old friend for no reason.
The content of Mr. Knightley’s message is immediately taken in by Emma, and she is clearly affected by his speech and realizes how inappropriately she has behaved, initiating a growth in her character: “Never had she felt so agitated, mortified, grieved, at any circumstance in her life. She was most forcibly struck. The truth of his representation there was no denying. She felt it at her heart” (352). It takes his telling her so for her to think and act as she should. As Sarah Emsley puts it: “There needs to be something that instigates Emma’s thinking about her conduct” – and who is to tell her off, if not Mr. Knightley, her constant guide and someone she thinks very highly of (142). However, as perceptively noted by Roger Gard, it is important to understand that goodness and tenderness of heart have been inside Emma all along, regardless of external influence: “It is not malice or ill nature that insults Miss Bates on Box Hill, but restlessness and boredom coupled with an habitual esprit – so that we can see the episode sympathetically as well as through Mr. Knightley’s justified dismay” (179). Similarly, Emsley adds to the discussion by emphasizing that Emma herself is her hardest critic, repenting and contemplating her deeds thoroughly: “In fact, Emma’s own conscious is more severe in judging her thought and action than Mr. Knightley is” (143).

She starts at once to show consideration of the Bateses when she pays them her respects, which she does the following morning in order to be reconciled to Miss Bates and make amends for her behavior. This is evidence of her growing understanding of the importance of proper manners and charity: “She spoke as she felt, with earnest regret and solicitude” (355). Her visit also shows her courage, as she knows that she perhaps is not wanted there after her rudeness during the picnic: “She had a moment’s fear of Miss Bates keeping away from her” (354). Miss Bates’s efforts to get Jane Fairfax into bed, away from visitors, upon Emma’s arrival does not help Emma to feel less uncomfortable, but she still stays until her duty is done.
Moreover, she demonstrates her helpfulness to a sick Jane, offering her a carriage in order for the latter to breathe fresh air and be away from Miss Bates’s constant talking, and sending arrowroot, aiming to make her better again. After the secret engagement is made known to the people of Highbury and Jane feels better, Emma is even more inclined to be better acquainted with her and help her, as she now knows the sufferings which she has had to struggle with. During a visit, she tells Jane of her admiration and willingness to be her friend.

In addition, she grows to like the idea of Mr. Martin marrying Harriet, and readily supports Harriet in her decision, being genuinely happy for her. She knows now that Mr. Martin is the perfect man for Harriet, both in situation and as a person: Emma “fully acknowledged in him all the appearance of sense and worth which could bid fairest for her little friend” (451).

Finally, she understands her feelings for Mr. Knightley. After Harriet tells Emma that it is not Frank Churchill whom she likes, but Mr. Knightley, Emma grows restless and anxious and realizes that she, too, has feelings for him. She thinks that no one but herself must marry Mr. Knightley, whose character has no equal, both class and personal virtues taken into consideration: “She saw that there never had been a time when she did not consider Mr. Knightley as infinitely the superior, or when his regard for her had not been infinitely the most dear” (386). After a few days of sadness, contemplating the possibility of Mr. Knightley’s love for Harriet, Emma realizes that he loves herself – and that his love for her, just like her love for him, more than anything, is based on personal virtues: “I have blamed you, and lectured you, and you have borne it as no other woman in England would have borne it” (403). He admires her for her patience, willingness to always recognize her faults, and, most importantly, her good sense and kind heart.

Emma’s tenderness of heart is further shown in her relationship with her father. Mr. Woodhouse has always opposed marriage as he is not fond of changes, and this is something Emma respects very much. For this reason, she deliberates how she can make her father
approve and be happy for her in a future marriage with Mr. Knightley, which is in line with what Bradbrook claims: “Despite the ridiculousness of her father’s prejudice, the heroine still feels responsible for him, and bound to the old relationship” (60). Mr. Knightley’s idea to live at Hartfield until Mr. Woodhouse’s death, instead of having Emma move to Donwell Abbey, is a noble idea and a good compromise, showing their love for someone who has been in their lives forever.

As in all Jane Austen’s novels, Emma ends with the happy prospects of marriage. First we are told of Harriet and Mr. Martin’s marriage, then of Emma and Mr. Knightley’s, but also of the marriage plans for Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill. It is therefore easily perceived that each and everyone marries someone close to or of the same rank, which depicts Jane Austen’s view of maintaining a society with clear class structures: “Jane Austen is thus alert to the significance of class and class-barriers, living as she did in a period in which the concept of class was receiving more attention than ever before” (Page 39). At the same time, there is room for a happy ending even for those who were not born as fortunate, as long as they have superior personal virtues which counterbalance their class. Both Mr. Martin and the illegitimate Harriet, for instance, belong to the lower end of the class hierarchy. However, as the daughter of a tradesman, Harriet stands perhaps slightly higher in rank than tenant-farmer Mr. Martin, but, due to his excellent personal virtues, he is able to marry the girl of his dreams.

The matter of Jane and Frank has a similar pattern when it comes to class and personal virtues. They are both sent away from Highbury at an early age and brought up by families who stand higher in rank than their biological ones, and are therefore class movers who rise in society. Jane makes herself worthy of the richer Frank, whose rank is higher, because of her accomplishments, grace and perfect manners.
Emma and Mr. Knightley, however, represent the perfect union of class and personal qualities, as both of them, at the core, have the best of the two worlds. Nobody exceeds them; they are highest in rank in the society of Highbury and their good qualities as people are unsurpassed. Mr. Knightley is the cornerstone of morality in his stability, manners and actions. Emma has the tenderness of heart, grace, and openness, which makes them, indeed, perfect for each other. All is well that ends well, and the characters of the novel get what they truly deserve – a fact which shows Jane Austen’s moral concern, about what is right and what is wrong, her regard for social stability, and her strong conviction of the superiority of personal virtues.
Chapter 4: Social Status and Classroom Education

The class-structured society of the nineteenth century has to a large extent disappeared, but, nonetheless, the matter of class and social status is still current today. In a classroom situation it is imperative to lessen the importance of class background and focus on each and every student’s individual abilities and characteristics. However, because of bullying and factors such as peer pressure, one cannot help but ask: Can we make sure that class and social status take an inferior position to the personal virtues of a person in the classroom? Can Emma help us to do that?

As a teacher, it is important to include all the students in the classroom on an everyday basis, because the National Curriculum of Swedish Schools relies on democracy as the one essential foundation of education, which means that all students are of equal worth and each one should be given as much time and appreciation as their peers: “Utbildningen ska förmedla och förankra respekt för de mänskliga rättigheterna och de grundläggande demokratiska värderingar som det svenska samhället vilar på” (Skolverket, SKOLFS 2011:144). Literature is a good means for including all the students in the classroom, in order to hear and share their unique interpretations of the story, as they all come from different backgrounds and have experienced different things in life. Literature helps us to understand other people. As Jeffrey D. Wilhelm argues, if schools only prepare students for working life in factory-like environments, then the question of reading literature is of little importance: “But if schools serve a greater function, to help create empowered and attentive citizens who can both pursue fulfilling and fruitful individual lives and who can contribute in transformative ways to the life of a democracy, then literature must take a central place in the curriculum” (38).

Murat Hismanoglu lists a number of reasons why and how to teach literature. First and foremost, it is valuable for our language development. Literature provides authentic texts not
necessarily meant for language learners, but they prepare the learner for real-world language usage. All kinds of language skills, such as reading, listening, speaking and writing, and language areas, for instance vocabulary and grammar, can be practiced and improved by the use of literature (54). However, it is important that teaching literature takes place in a context; language skills should not be taught separately, but in relation to something else (57).

In addition, literature is an excellent way of letting us understand others and ourselves. By reading we experience what other people have gone through and thus we are able to relate to individual characters and appreciate both their achievements but also their shortcomings. In a school with students from a great variety of socio-economic backgrounds the task of getting to know different types of characters becomes all the more important, as we then can understand people from different spheres of society in the classroom. Hence, respect for others is emphasized, and students are commended for what they do, not where they come from: “Enligt skollagen ska utbildningen utformas i överensstämmelse med grundläggande demokratiska värderingar och de mänskliga rättigheterna som människolivets okränkbarhet, individens frihet och integritet, alla människors lika värde, jämställdhet samt solidaritet mellan människor” (Skolverket, SKOLFS 2011:144).

This, in turn, will create a better atmosphere in the classroom, since an appreciation of the uniqueness of every student is created: “Literature is transcendent: it offers us possibilities; it takes us beyond space, time, and self; it questions the way the world is and offers possibilities for the way it could be. It offers a variety of views, visions, and voices that are so vital to a democracy” (Wilhelm 38). As the world is more globalized than ever before, the international perspective needs to receive more focus. An international approach implies different cultures and being able to understand people with other backgrounds, and setting oneself in relation to people who speak other languages, who have different faiths, and perhaps not as high a status because of this: “As the world becomes a more complex and smaller place, it seems that self-
understanding and the willingness and ability to understand others will become ever more important” (Wilhelm 39). Just as this creates harmony in the classroom, one can eventually hope for a better climate with less conflict and more tolerance in the world outside school as well.

To choose a work of Jane Austen is valuable for many different reasons. Through her stories we are able to travel back in time and see how people lived in the nineteenth century. We also get a further insight into British culture and can learn about old vocabulary and customs. The most valid reason, however, is probably the fact that we still find her work entertaining and relevant. How can one then justify *Emma* as being relevant to use in the classroom? By relating the novel to one’s own life, one may come up with solutions to the problems occurring in the novel, and vice versa (Wilhelm 46). In *Emma*, a class-structured society is to be found, giving the characters different privileges and responsibilities. Precisely as Emma dismisses Mr. Martin on the wrong grounds in the novel, a person from a low-status group may not be taken as seriously in the classroom because of less influence in society as a whole. To give this topic of “class versus personal virtues” two or three lessons is to work with authentic ideas and arguments.

What could a lesson plan covering these aspects look like? The class size is of little importance, but group work is preferable, where the students can form groups of five. The reason for this choice is that each and every student can more easily make their voice heard, allowing for the shyer ones to come forward. The class should preferably study English 6, which means that the students will be in their second or third year of the Swedish “Gymnasium”. To start off and to enthuse the students, and to quickly give them thoughts and ideas, they are given a couple of questions to discuss in groups, which deal with contemporary views on love and friendship, such as:
- What are the good characteristics we value in our friends? Do we look at other things than inner qualities?

- Are there any other people one must think about when choosing a girlfriend or a boyfriend? Is there external influence? What might our parents say if we meet someone from another social sphere? Should we follow their advice?

These questions are always subject to change as society constantly changes, and social values and conduct with it (PBS 15). *Emma* is a work of fiction that very much demonstrates completely different social values and ideas from today’s society. These questions would therefore have produced different answers during Jane Austen’s time. For this reason, it is of the utmost interest to them to get to know all the implications for marriage and friendship that existed in the 1800’s, and how a class-structured society favored different morality and had other values, to be able to truly understand the novel (PBS 14). Consequently, the teacher may have a brief lecture on the society of the nineteenth century after the pre-task.

   Afterwards, it is time to move on to the work itself. What should be covered during the lessons are the understanding of the text, Jane Austen’s message, and relating the novel to our own lives and values, so an overall picture is created and the students find the lessons meaningful. To allow this, it might be a good idea to show them a few minutes of a movie adaptation of *Emma*, before the actual reading, to get into the setting and the scene. Then they read approximately 30 pages, the first four chapters, so they get a general impression of the characters, class structure and relationships in the novel. Reading the original text is preferable and also more challenging. The students should be able to do this, as one of the goals for the course is to be able to read “contemporary and older prose” (paraphrased from Skolverket, *Engelska 6*). The teacher may give the students homework to finish the first four chapters before the next lesson to save valuable teaching time.
When this is achieved, the students are given questions on *Emma* regarding the topic of class and personal virtues, of course limited to the content of the book which they are familiar with. In order to follow a natural progression of the understanding of the novel, and for the students to have a solid foundation to stand on, it is good to start with more basic questions regarding the characters, setting and plot, and then move on to matters that deal with the message of the novel, where the students can come up with different interpretations and draw parallels to their own lives (Hismanoglu 57). The questions could be:

- Who are the main characters of the novel? Describe their appearance and behavior.
- Where does the story seem to take place? Can you give a few examples of signs which tell us it is set in the nineteenth century?
- What does the social hierarchy of Highbury look like?
- Who is Miss Taylor? What has happened to her? What is Emma’s reaction to this? What about Mr. Woodhouse’s reaction?
- What does Mr. Knightley think of Emma’s match-making schemes?
- What is Jane Austen’s message? What do you think Emma will eventually learn?
- Discuss Emma’s choice of friend. What are her reasons to want to befriend Harriet? Are they well-thought or are they unfortunate? Would you make the same decision in her shoes?
- Is Emma right in dismissing Mr. Martin? On what grounds? Has there been a time in your life when you have discouraged somebody from seeing another person?

The groups then present the results of their discussion to another group, and the teacher can sum up the groups’ answers and main arguments on the white board in front of the whole class. Before concluding the lesson topic, as a bonus, the students may watch the whole movie adaptation if there is time – and make guesses beforehand as to what they think will happen. The didactic reward of this, which Tricia Hedge discusses, is that students use their schematic
knowledge, what they know from previous exercises, and make cognitive schedules for eventual outcomes (189). Knowing that they will see the whole film after the lesson hopefully also makes them more eager to perform well during the lesson itself. This could then be followed up by writing a film review, where they also can compare the beginning of the film with the novel’s first four chapters and list similarities and differences between them.

All in all, teachers face a difficult challenge in creating a good atmosphere in the classroom and lessening the importance of class among students. What we do know, however, is that it is possible to make students think about their own situation, behavior and values by relating works of fiction to real life and seeing how fictional characters have dealt with situations either similar or different from their own. The important thing here is to emphasize the importance of inner characteristics and of doing good, and lessen the importance of social markers and other things that do not exactly define who we are. This is really the core of the message *Emma* gives us: stability and moral concern are important aspects of a good society, but what truly matters, and what one is judged by, are personal virtues. A person who carries out good deeds will ultimately also lead a good life, regardless of social background.
Conclusion:

This essay’s aim was to show the conviction that although Jane Austen maintains and respects the frames of class structure, she insists on the superiority of personal virtues in her judgment of the characters in *Emma*. By looking at the heroine’s development through these chapters, it is safe to say that there is proof for this argument. In the first chapter, Emma’s relationships to Harriet and Mr. Knightley, characters that have recurring importance in the novel, were given a great deal of space, and we could see how blind she was to Mr. Knightley’s opinion when she wanted Harriet to marry Mr. Elton instead of Mr. Martin. In the second chapter, two characters that ignite another spark in Emma’s development, namely Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill, were discussed and, through the former’s commendable and the latter’s rude and inconsiderate behavior, we obtained further evidence that having good personal virtues is just as important as class, if not more important. Ultimately, in the third chapter, we learned of Mr. Knightley opening the door for Emma to see things clearly after her very bad behavior on Box Hill, and how she comes to value personal virtues even more than class.

The essay, in its fourth chapter, also offered suggestions on how to implement Jane Austen’s work in the classroom, and explained why *Emma* is a particularly good novel to choose in order to make students aware of the personal qualities of their peers and lessen the importance of class background. As the foundation which the National Curriculum for Swedish Schools stands on is democracy, the teacher must make sure to meet the needs of every student, and by using group work, all students are able to have a say. By exploring the social hierarchy of Austen’s world and relating it to their own lives in their discussions, they will eventually develop a better understanding for people from different spheres of society, leading not only to students appreciating literature in general, but also to a better atmosphere in the classroom.
As this essay developed, there was one thing in particular that came to the surface. Its contribution to the discussion of *Emma* is the revelation that Harriet works as the catalyst in all of Emma’s mistakes and realizations. Emma wanted a friend to improve, but she becomes more enlightened through the insights and revelations she gets in connection with Harriet than vice versa. First of all, she comes to value the gratitude and warm-hearted attitude of her friend higher than before, after understanding that Mr. Elton was in love with herself and not Harriet. Secondly, Emma becomes aware of the evils of matchmaking with the wrong intentions after a second time, unsuccessfully, trying to match Harriet with Frank Churchill. Thirdly, and most importantly, she realizes that no one but herself must marry Mr. Knightley, after Harriet reveals that she is fond of him. Emma understands that she has always found him superior to any other man, and that she will never find a better match than him.

To conclude, we have now seen that there are characters in the novel who, despite their origin, can claim a good life because of their superior personal virtues. Jane Austen maintains the frames of class structure in that everyone has their equal partner in marriage; there are no big class differences between the people in the couples that marry, and the situation is, hence, realistic – there are no major surprises or unlikely outcomes. However, there is room for overriding class, to a certain extent, if someone has personal virtues to substitute for the lack of class. Mr. Martin and Jane Fairfax are two fine examples of this, something which Emma does not realize until very late in the novel, when she has come to a better understanding of the world she lives in. Through Harriet, her constant protégée, Emma sees her true self and is able to reach her destiny as the wife and equal of Mr. Knightley, not only in class, but also in personal virtues. Therefore, despite the fact that it deals with country gentry in the Great Britain of the nineteenth century, *Emma* is still relevant today as it makes its readers think about themselves and their own situation. This is most probably the reason why Jane Austen’s popularity never ceases, and so many people have taken her novel to their hearts.
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