This collection covers the range of Thomas Hardy's works and their social and intellectual contexts, providing a comprehensive introduction to Hardy's life and times. Featuring short, lively contributions from forty-four international scholars, the volume explores the processes by which Hardy the man became Hardy the published writer; the changing critical responses to his work; his response to the social and political challenges of his time; his engagement with contemporary intellectual debate; and his legacy in the twentieth century and after. Emphasizing the subtle and ongoing interaction between Hardy's life, his creative achievement, and the unique historical moment, the collection also examines Hardy's relationship to such issues as class, education, folklore, archaeology and anthropology, evolution, marriage and masculinity, empire, and the arts. A valuable contextual reference for scholars of Victorian and modernist literature, the collection will also prove accessible for the general reader of Hardy.

Phillip Mallett is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of St Andrews. He has edited a number of collections of essays, including *Satire*, *Kipling Considered*, *Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts*, and *The Achievement of Thomas Hardy*, as well as critical editions of both *The Return of the Native* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. His book, *Rudyard Kipling: A Literary Life*, was published in 2003.
THOMAS HARDY IN CONTEXT

Edited by

Phillip Mallett
University of St Andrews, Scotland
CONTENTS

List of Illustrations viii
Notes on Contributors ix
Preface xvii
A Note on the Editions xxi
List of Abbreviations xxvii
Chronology xxix

Part I Life and Works

1 Life and Life     DAVID AMIGONI     3
2 Memoirs and Recollections TRISH FERGUSON 13
3 Thomas Hardy and Friendship WILLIAM GREENSLADE 22
4 The Public Hardy SIMON GATRELL 32
5 From Serial to Volume ANDREW NASH 42
6 Illustration PAMELA DALZIEL 54

Part II Critical Fortunes

7 Critical Responses I: The Novels to 1970 SARAH E. MAIER 73
8 Critical Responses II: The Novels from 1970 TIM DOLIN 84
9 Hardy’s Poets as His Critics PETER ROBINSON 99

Part III The Literary Scene

10 Thomas Hardy and Realism FRANCIS O’GORMAN 113
Contents

11 Tragedy and the Novel  K. M. NEWTON  122
12 Hardy and the Short Story  SOPHIE GILMARTIN  132
13 Poet, Poetry, Poem  FRANCESCO MARRONI  143
14 The Dynasts in Epic Context  HERBERT F. TUCKER  153

Part IV The Historical and Cultural Context

15 Hardy and Social Class  CHRISTINE DEVINE  167
16 ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’  FRED REID  177
17 Education and Social Class  JANE MATTISON  188
18 Hardy and the Sociological Imagination  ROGER EBBATSON  198
19 Folklore and Anthropology  ANDREW RADFORD  210
20 Archaeology  REBECCA WELSHMAN  221
21 The Victorian Philological Contexts of Hardy’s Poetry  DENNIS TAYLOR  231
22 Physics, Geology, Astronomy  ADELENE BUCKLAND  242
23 Culture  MARY RIMMER  253
24 Hardy and Hellenism  SHANYN FISKE  264
25 Faith and Doubt  NORMAN VANCE  274
26 Hardy’s Philosophy  MARK ASQUITH  285
27 Positivism: Comte and Mill  T. R. WRIGHT  296
28 Hardy and the Law  MELANIE WILLIAMS  306
29 Hardy, Darwin, and The Origin of Species  PHILLIP MALLET  316
30 Heredity  ANGELIQUE RICHARDSON  328
31 Psychology  JENNY BOURNE TAYLOR  339
32 Marriage  ANN HEILMANN  351
33 The New Woman  CAROLYN BURDETT  363
34 Hardy and Masculinity  ELIZABETH LANGLAND  374
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Hardy’s London</td>
<td>Keith Wilson</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Hardy and Englishness</td>
<td>Patrick Parrinder</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Empire</td>
<td>Jane Bownas and Rena Jackson</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Hardy, Militarism, and War</td>
<td>Glen Wickens</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Hardy and Music</td>
<td>John Hughes</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Thomas Hardy and the Visual Arts</td>
<td>Jane Thomas</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part V Legacies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Lawrence’s Hardy</td>
<td>Michael Herbert</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Larkin’s Hardy</td>
<td>John Osborne</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Hardy on Film</td>
<td>Roger Webster</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further Reading 483
Index 507
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

2. Helen Paterson, *Far from the Madding Crowd* illustration, *Cornhill Magazine*, February 1874. 60
5. Hubert Herkomer, detail of *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* illustration, *Graphic*, 4 July 1891. 65
8. Thomas Hardy, ‘She, to Him’ illustration, *Wessex Poems*, 1898. 69
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID AMIGONI is Professor of Victorian Literature at the University of Keele. He is the author of Colonies, Cults and Evolution: Literature, Science and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Writing, and coeditor of Life-Writing and Victorian Culture.

MARK ASQUITH teaches at Trinity School, Croydon. In addition to articles and chapters on Hardy and on Wagner, he is the author of Thomas Hardy, Metaphysics and Music, and most recently of Annie Proulx’s ‘Brokeback Mountain’ and ‘Postcards’.

JANE BOWNAS is Head of Science at a College of Further Education. Her work on Hardy includes articles on ‘“The Very End of the World”: The Colonisations of Casterbridge’ and ‘Exploration and Post-Darwinian Anxiety in Thomas Hardy’s Two on a Tower’; her current research is on the colonisers and the colonised in Hardy’s work.

ADELENE BUCKLAND is Lecturer in Literature at the University of East Anglia. Her work includes Pictures in the Fire: The Dickensian Hearth and the Concepts of History, and Novel Science: Fiction and the Geological Imagination (forthcoming).

CAROLYN BURDETT is Senior Lecturer in English at Birkbeck, University of London. Her publications include Olive Schreiner and the Progress of Feminism: Evolution, Gender, Empire, and two coedited collections: ‘Eugenics Old and New’ for the journal New Formations (with Angelique Richardson) and The Victorian Supernatural (with Nicola Brown and Pamela Thurischwel). Her current research focuses on the emergence of the term ‘empathy’ at the beginning of the twentieth century.
Notes on Contributors

PAMELA DALZIEL is Distinguished University Scholar at the University of British Columbia. She is the editor of *Thomas Hardy: The Excluded and Collaborative Stories* and the Penguin edition of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, and (with Michael Millgate) of *Thomas Hardy's 'Studies, Specimens &c.' and Thomas Hardy's 'Poetical Matter' Notebook*. Her current work is a study of *Visual Hardy: Representing Gender and Genre in the Illustrated Novel*.

CHRISTINE DEVINE is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. In addition to articles and chapters on Gissing, Henry James, and George Eliot, she is the author of *Class in Turn-of-the-Century Novels of Gissing, James, Hardy and Wells*. She is currently writing on Victorian travellers to the United States.

TIM DOLIN is Associate Professor in the School of Media, Culture and Creative Arts at Curtin University of Technology in Perth, Western Australia. He is the author of *Thomas Hardy and George Eliot*, and the editor of three of Hardy's novels for Penguin, including *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, and with Peter Widdowson is coeditor of *Thomas Hardy and Contemporary Literary Studies*.

ROGER EBBATSON is Emeritus Professor at the University of Worcester. His many publications include *The Evolutionary Self: Hardy, Forster, Lawrence*, *Hardy: The Margin of the Unexpressed; An Imaginary England: Nation, Landscape and Literature, 1840–1920*; and *Heidegger's Bicycle: Interfering with Victorian Texts*.

TRISH FERGUSON is Lecturer in English at Liverpool Hope University. She has written a number of articles on Hardy, the law, and popular culture and a monograph, *Thomas Hardy's Legal Fictions* (forthcoming).

SHANYN FISKE is Assistant Professor of English at Rutgers University Camden. As well as writing articles on Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, and Jane Harrison, she is the author of *Heretical Hellenism: Women Writers, Ancient Greece, and the Victorian Popular Imagination*. Her current project is a study of literary relations
Notes on Contributors

between England and China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

SIMON GATRELL is Professor of English at the University of Georgia. His work on Hardy includes *Hardy the Creator: A Textual Biography*, *Thomas Hardy and the Proper Study of Mankind*, and *Thomas Hardy’s Vision of Wessex*. He coedited the Clarendon Press edition of *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* (with Juliet Grindle) and is General Editor of the Oxford World’s Classics edition of Hardy’s novels.

SOPHIE GILMARTIN is Reader in Nineteenth-Century Literature at Royal Holloway College, University of London. She is the author of *Ancestry and Narrative in Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Blood Relations from Edgeworth to Hardy*, and with Rod Mengham of *Thomas Hardy’s Shorter Fiction: A Critical Study*. Her most recent work is *Letters from the Sea: Literature, Navigation and Identity in the Writings of Nineteenth Century Maritime Women*.

WILLIAM GREENSLADE is Professor of English at the University of the West of England. He is the author of *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel 1880–1940* and editor of *Thomas Hardy’s ‘Facts’ Notebook: A Critical Edition*, as well as coeditor (with Terence Rogers) of *Grant Allen: Literature and Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*.

ANN HEILMANN is Professor of English at the School of English, Communication and Philosophy at the University of Cardiff. Her many publications include monographs on *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism*, *New Woman Strategies: Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird*; and with Mark Llewellyn *Neo-Victorianism: The Victorians in the Twenty-First Century, 1999–2009*. Her current work focuses on the poetry and prose of George Moore.

MICHAEL HERBERT is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of St Andrews. His various publications include studies of P. N. Furbank and T. S. Eliot, as well as scholarly editions of Lawrence’s *The Virgin and the Gipsy and Other Stories* and Woolf’s
Notes on Contributors

The Waves (with Susan Sellers), and of D. H. Lawrence: Selected Critical Writings for Oxford World’s Classics.

JOHN HUGHES is Reader in Nineteenth-Century English Literature at the University of Gloucestershire. His publications include Lines of Flight and ‘Ecstatic Sound’: Music and Individuality in the Work of Thomas Hardy, as well as articles and chapters on nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers and philosophers.

RENA JACKSON is a freelance copy editor and proofreader, whose research and publications have concentrated on hybridity and migrancy in Hardy and Naipaul.

ELIZABETH LANGLAND is University Vice-President and Dean at Arizona State University. Her many publications include a coedited collection of essays, Out of Bounds: Male Writers and Gender(ed) Criticism (with Laura Claridge), Nobody’s Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture, and Telling Tales: Gender and Narrative Form in Victorian Literature and Culture.

SARAH E. MAIER is Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature in the Department of Humanities and Languages at the University of New Brunswick Saint John. Her published work includes an edition of Tess of the d’Urbervilles for Broadview Press, and most recently Bram Stoker’s The Lady of the Shroud.

PHILLIP MALLETT is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of St Andrews and editor of the Thomas Hardy Journal. His publications include Rudyard Kipling: A Literary Life, a number of edited collections of essays, including Palgrave Advances in Thomas Hardy Studies; and critical editions of The Return of the Native and The Mayor of Casterbridge. He is currently working on a study of Anglo-Indian women novelists in the period 1880–1935.

FRANCESCO MARRONI is Professor of English at the Gabriele d’Annunzio University of Pescara-Chieti and Director of the Centre
Notes on Contributors

for Victorian and Edwardian Studies. He has published widely on Hardy and on other Victorian writers, including a monograph, *La Poesia di Thomas Hardy*, and an edited collection of essays (with Norman Page), *Thomas Hardy*. His most recent book is *Victorian Disharmonies: A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century English Fiction*.

JANE MATTISSON teaches in Sweden. She is the author of *Knowledge and Survival in the Novels of Thomas Hardy*, published by Lund Studies in English in 2000.

ANDREW NASH is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Reading, where his main interests are in book and publishing history, and in Scottish literature. He is the author of *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, coeditor with Simon Eliot and Ian Willison of *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*, and editor of *The Culture of Collected Editions*.

K. M. NEWTON is Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Dundee. His major publications include *George Eliot: Romantic Humanist; Interpreting the Text: A Critical Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Literary Interpretation; George Eliot, Judaism and the Novels: Jewish Myth and Mysticism* (with Saleel Nurbhai); and *Modern Literature and the Tragic*.

FRANCIS O’GORMAN is Professor of English Literature at the University of Leeds. Among his many books are *John Ruskin, Late Ruskin: New Contexts, Ruskin and Gender* (edited with Dinah Birch), *Blackwell’s Critical Guide to the Victorian Novel, The Victorians and the Eighteenth Century: Reassessing the Tradition* (edited with Katherine Turner), and an edited collection on *Victorian Literature and Finance*.

JOHN OSBORNE is Director of American Studies in the University of Hull. He is the editor of *Hull Poets*, was for ten years the editor of *Bête Noire* magazine, and has written extensively on twentieth-century poetry, including a monograph on *Larkin, Ideology and Critical Violence: A Case of Wrongful Conviction*.

xiii
Notes on Contributors

PATRICK PARRINDER is Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Reading and General Editor of the Oxford History of the Novel in English. His books include Authors and Authority: English and American Criticism 1750–1990, Shadows of the Future: H. G. Wells, Science Fiction and Prophecy, and Nation and Novel: The English Novel from Its Origins to the Present Day.

ANDREW RADFORD lectures in English Literature at the University of Glasgow. His publications include Thomas Hardy and the Survivals of Time and Mapping the Wessex Novel: Landscape, History and the Parochial in British Literature, 1870–1940.

FRED REID was formerly Reader in History at the University of Warwick. His books include Keir Hardie: The Making of a Socialist and In Search of Willie Patterson: A Scottish Soldier in the Age of Imperialism. He is currently writing a study of the unknown Hardy.

ANGELIQUE RICHARDSON is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Exeter. Her books include Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman and, as coeditor, Victorian Literature: A Sourcebook and After Darwin: Animals, Emotions, and the Mind. She is now writing a book on Hardy and biology.

MARY RIMMER is Professor of English at the University of New Brunswick. She is the editor of a critical edition of Hardy’s Desperate Remedies and has collaborated on editions of four early Trinidad novels. She is currently working on a book on Hardy’s allusions.

PETER ROBINSON is the author of more than twenty volumes of verse and verse translations, including This Other Life, winner of the Cheltenham Prize, and The Great Friend and Other Translated Poems. His critical work includes In the Circumstances: About Poetry and Poets, Poetry, Poets, Readers: Making Things Happen, and Poetry & Translation: The Art of the Impossible. His English Nettles and Other Poems was published in 2010.
DENNIS TAYLOR is Professor of English at Boston College. In addition to numerous articles and chapters, his work on Hardy includes *Hardy’s Poetry, 1860–1928*, *Hardy’s Metres and Victorian Prosody*, and *Hardy’s Literary Language and Victorian Philology*.

JENNY BOURNE TAYLOR is Professor of English at the University of Sussex. She is the author of *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative and Nineteenth-Century Psychology*, co-editor with Sally Shuttleworth of *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts*, and author of *The Cambridge Companion to Wilkie Collins*. She is currently working on a study of motivation and fiction in the nineteenth century.

JANE THOMAS is Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Hull. In additions to numerous articles and chapters, her publications include *Thomas Hardy: Femininity and Dissent*, *Reassessing the Minor Novels*, and editions of *The Well-Beloved* and *Life’s Little Ironies*. She is currently completing a study of *Thomas Hardy and Desire*.

HERBERT F. TUCKER is John C. Coleman Professor of Nineteenth Century Literature at the University of Virginia. His many books include *Epic: Britain’s Heroic Muse, 1790–1910*, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism*, and *Browning’s Beginnings: The Art of Disclosure*, and a number of edited collections, including *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture* and *Victorian Literature 1830–1900*.

NORMAN VANCE is Professor of English at the University of Sussex and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He is the author of *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*, *The Victorians and Ancient Rome*, *Irish Literature since 1800*, and numerous articles on religion and society, Victorian and Irish literature, and classical influences on English literature.

ROGER WEBSTER is Dean of the Faculty of Media, Arts and Social Sciences at Liverpool John Moores University. He is the
Notes on Contributors

author of *Studying Literary Theory: An Introduction* and *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives* and is currently working on film depictions of Conrad’s London.

**REBECCA WELSHMAN** is coeditor with Hugoe Matthews of *Richard Jefferies: An Anthology*, and coauthor with Patrick Tolfree of *Thomas Hardy and the Jurassic Coast*. She is currently completing her doctoral thesis on ‘Imagining Archaeology’.

**GLEN WICKENS** is Professor of English at Bishop’s University, where he teaches film studies as well as Victorian and modern British literature. He is the author of *Thomas Hardy, Monism and the Carnival Tradition: The One and the Many in ‘The Dynasts’*, as well as articles on Hardy, Tennyson, and various aspects of Victorian thought.

**MELANIE WILLIAMS** is Professor of Law at the University of Exeter School of Law in Cornwall. She has written numerous articles on law and the humanities, as well as the monographs *Empty Justice: One Hundred Years of Law, Literature and Philosophy: Existential, Feminist and Normative Perspectives in Literary Jurisprudence*, and *Secrets and Laws: Essays in Law, Life and Literature*.

**KEITH WILSON** is Professor of English at the University of Ottawa. His Hardy-related publications include *Thomas Hardy and the Stage*, editions of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *The Fiddler of the Reels and Other Stories* (with Kristin Brady), the edited collection *Thomas Hardy Reappraised: Essays in Honour of Michael Millgate*, and the Blackwell *Companion to Thomas Hardy*.

**T. R. WRIGHT** recently retired as Professor of English at Newcastle University. He has written extensively on Hardy, including *Hardy and the Erotic* and *Hardy and His Readers*, and edited the collection *Thomas Hardy on Screen*. He is also the author of *The Religion of Humanity, Theology and Literature* and *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible*. 

xvi
In a Preface written for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Thomas Hardy recalled that it was in the pages of this novel, in 1874, that he had first ‘disinterred’ the ancient name of Wessex, in order to give ‘territorial definition’ to the region of southwest England that was to preoccupy him throughout his long writing career, and thanked the press and public that had willingly joined him in ‘the anachronism of imagining a Wessex population living under Queen Victoria; – a modern Wessex of railways, the penny post, mowing and reaping machines, union workhouses, lucifer matches, labourers who could read and write, and National school children’.

In 1912, in the General Preface to the Macmillan Wessex Edition of his work, he went further, insisting that his novels provided ‘a fairly true record of a vanishing life’. When writing them, he had ‘instituted inquiries to correct tricks of memory’ and ‘striven against temptations to exaggerate’: ‘At the dates represented in the various narrations things were like that in Wessex: the inhabitants lived in certain ways, engaged in certain occupations, kept alive certain customs, just as they are shown doing in these pages.’

But by 1912, Hardy’s Wessex was no longer ‘modern’. The railway had first arrived in Dorchester in 1847, though as one of the two main routes from London to the southwest passed to the north of the city, and the other to the south, the effect initially had been to make Dorchester a backwater. The union workhouses, set up under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, were still in existence in 1912 – some 600 of them, with more than 200,000 inmates – but in 1929, the year after Hardy’s death, they were abolished by the Local Government Act. Friction matches had been invented by John Walker in 1826–7; his discovery was copied and patented by Samuel Jones, and the first ‘lucifer matches’ were sold under that name around 1829. Rowland Hill’s Penny Post, introduced in 1840,
the year of Hardy’s birth, provided for letters to be carried at uniform rates based on weight, with the cost paid by the sender rather than the recipient. It was an almost immediate success – in 1840 the average adult received about four letters a year; by the 1890s, when Hardy closed his career as a novelist, the average had risen to around sixty – and letters lost, hidden, misdelivered, stolen, read by the wrong person or at the wrong time feature throughout his fiction. The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales began work in 1811, and by the 1840s offered education to around one million children, including the young Thomas Hardy. It continues in existence, but by the time Hardy’s sister Kate entered the Salisbury Diocesan Training College for Schoolmistresses, in the years following Forster’s Elementary Education Act of 1870, there had evolved a dual system of Church and State, with the latter now accepting responsibility for the compulsory schooling of all children.

Thomas Hardy in Context is largely concerned with how ‘things were like that’ in Wessex, and how they changed over the span of Hardy’s long life, and there are essays here on class, education, and the conditions of the rural labourer. But in the mid-1860s Hardy began a habit of reading and notetaking that was never to leave him. He considered himself one of the ‘earliest acclaimers’ of Darwin’s The Origin of Species, listed Mill’s essay On Liberty among his ‘Cures for despair’, read and was unpersuaded by Newman’s Apologia pro vita sua, read and gave at least partial assent to Auguste Comte’s A General View of Positivism, and discussed the impact of science upon theology with Leslie Stephen. At his London clubs, the Savile and the Athenaeum, he met and talked with scientists, philosophers, artists, medical men, folklorists, and anthropologists, as well as with soldiers, politicians, and imperialists. The time has long gone when Hardy could be patronised as ‘self-educated’ (as if there were any other kind of education), and the range and depth of his engagement in the wider intellectual life of late Victorian, Edwardian, and Georgian England is also reflected on in these essays.

The volume is divided into five sections, with the first three closely linked. Life and Works explores issues of biography, and the processes by which Thomas Hardy the man became Thomas
Preface

Hardy the published writer. Critical Fortunes examines changing responses to his work as both novelist and poet. The third section, The Literary Scene, considers the kinds of expectations, about genre, and about the nature of both prose fiction and poetry, that Hardy encountered, and that continue to shape our understanding of his work. The larger part of the volume then addresses The Historical and Cultural Context. If this is a portmanteau designation, Hardy’s development as a writer and a public figure itself suggests the inter-penetration of many nominally discrete ‘contexts’. The fifth and final section, Legacies, looks at what D. H. Lawrence, Philip Larkin, and the twentieth-century film industry have made of Hardy, and how in turn he may be said to have helped make them.

The suggestions for Further Reading consist mainly of book-length studies, selected both for their own merits and in order to represent the widest possible range of views and approaches. For the most part, chapters and periodical articles have been included where they themselves serve as take-off points for further study.

The photographs of the illustrations to Hardy’s work, which accompany the essay on ‘Illustration’ by Pamela Dalziel, have been prepared by Bayne Stanley, to whom, as to the patient and generous-spirited contributors to this volume, I offer my thanks. I owe lasting debts of gratitude and friendship to Pamela Dalziel, Angelique Richardson, Mary Rimmer, Jane Thomas, and Keith Wilson. The deepest and warmest thanks of all go to Mollie Craven-Mallett.
A NOTE ON THE EDITIONS

Except where otherwise indicated, references in this volume to Hardy’s novels and short stories are to the twenty-four-volume Macmillan Wessex Edition of 1912–31. His poems are cited either from The Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy, edited by James Gibson for Macmillan (London: 1976), or from The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hardy, edited by Samuel Hynes, 5 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982–95). References to The Dynasts are to volumes 4 and 5 of Hynes’s edition.

Gibson took as his copy text Hardy’s Collected Poems of 1928 and 1930, the former overseen by Hardy himself, the latter differing from it in the correction of some obvious errors, and the inclusion of a few revisions found in Hardy’s Chosen Poems, prepared just before his death but not published until 1929.1 Hynes used as his copy text the first editions of Hardy’s first seven volumes of verse and the holograph of the posthumously published Winter Words, incorporating corrections made to reprints of the separate editions, and where there exists more than one revision taking that which appears to be the latest (and where the evidence as to date is uncertain, relying on his own critical judgement).2 Hynes excludes revisions found in the printed edition of Winter Words and from the third edition of Collected Poems, both published after Hardy’s death and so not overseen by him, and those in Chosen Poems, where the printer’s copy suggests that Florence Hardy and an unknown editor made decisions contrary to Hardy’s own. The textual differences between the two editions are real and interesting, but they are also relatively small: Hardy was a lifelong reviser of his texts, but the changes made to the poems rarely extend beyond the rewriting of a line or a word. Both editions are regularly cited, and the choice of which to use has been left to individual authors.

The textual differences between various editions of the fiction, however, are another matter. In the General Preface to the Wessex
A Note on the Editions

Edition, Hardy described this as the ‘definite edition’. Most readers, following Richard Little Purdy’s foundational *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), have taken this to mean definitive, and definitive has been taken to mean authoritative – authoritative enough to provide the copy text for most of the editions currently available. But as Andrew Nash explains in his essay in this volume, all of Hardy’s novels had a complicated publishing history, allowing for significant changes to be made at a number of stages and over a number of years. These stages typically include a serial version (the exceptions are *Desperate Remedies* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*), often substantially revised from the manuscript to comply with the demands of editors, or Hardy’s attempts to anticipate what those demands might be; a first volume edition, in which the text was revised back towards its pre-serial form, or more precisely – since Hardy’s manuscripts show frequent evidence of false starts, or at least of a wish to keep open several possible lines of development – back towards some parts of the pre-serial form; and then the two collected editions, the ‘Wessex Novels’ edition from Osgood, McIlvaine in 1895–6, and the ‘Wessex Edition’ from Macmillan in 1912, each marked by extensive revisions, some local and some substantial.

This is complex enough, even if one sets aside the numerous alterations made at the manuscript stage, but in broad terms, one can distinguish three orders of change in the complicated textual history of the novels, overlapping but analytically distinct. There are, first, those made by Hardy’s own decision, most of them for the 1895–6 and 1912 editions, in an effort to impose, retrospectively, a unified idea of ‘Wessex’, which had in fact developed in piecemeal fashion, or in response to criticism of his prose style, occasional solécisms, or handling of dialect. Second, there are those that reflect the need to avoid offending the more prudish readers of the serial versions, represented by their guardians, the magazine editors (Leslie Stephen’s anxiety over the treatment of Fanny’s maternity in *Far from the Madding Crowd* provides a familiar example). This was a pressure Hardy came increasingly to resent, and one that contributed to his decision to abandon novel writing after the hostile reception given in some quarters to *Jude the Obscure*: the chapter of the *Life* that deals with *Jude* is titled ‘Another Novel Finished, Mutilated, and Restored’. Third, and most fascinating, are those
changes that reflect a refuelling of Hardy’s creative energies as he worked on the texts, and felt compelled to reimagine and rewrite characters and situations.

*The Return of the Native*, first published in 1878, provides examples of all three kinds of change. When Hardy began work on the novel, he had no reason to think that for the next twenty years he would restrict his focus to the southwestern counties of England. But ‘Wessex’ soon became an expected as well as a marketable feature of his fiction, and in the process of revising the *Return* for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition of 1895, he incorporated a number of place names that had over the years become familiar to his readers – Anglebury (Wareham), Casterbridge (Dorchester), and Weatherbury (Puddletown) – which played no part in the novel in 1878. These serve to locate Egdon Heath, the arena of the novel’s action, more precisely in relation to other parts of Wessex; they also qualify the sense of its size, age, and remoteness, and not all readers have welcomed the change.

Other and larger changes affected plot and characterisation, most notably in the relation between Wildeve and Eustacia towards the close of the novel. Wildeve’s conduct during their final interview, in Book Fifth, Chapter V, is more scrupulous in 1878 than in the 1895–6 edition, and Eustacia is correspondingly more alive to his continued sexual interest in her in the later text. In 1878 she tells him that she needs time to consider:

‘I will think of this,’ she said hurriedly. ‘Whether I can honestly make use of you as a friend – that is what I must ask myself.’

In 1895 this becomes:

‘I will think of this,’ she said hurriedly. ‘Whether I can honestly make use of you as a friend, or must close with you as a lover – that is what I must ask myself.’

In effect, in the 1878 edition Eustacia is beaten down by the thought of leaving Egdon and England alone, and without money, for an uncertain future; in 1895, what defeats her is the recognition that if she leaves she will do so as Wildeve’s mistress.

Whether the later version presents what Hardy had always intended but in 1878 had not dared offer to the public, or whether it reflects a change in his view of Eustacia, or of the dynamics of the
A Note on the Editions

novel, must remain an open question. The mere fact of such a question, however, makes it difficult to consider any text as ‘definite’, or fixed. The Wessex Edition, rather than being definitive, can be seen as the last-produced layer in a record or palimpsest of Hardy’s creative moods and decisions at different phases of his working life: in the 1870s and 1880s as a relative newcomer to novel writing, still, as he acknowledged, unsure of his way and constrained by the need to write nothing that might alarm the publishers and reviewers; later, as an experienced hand at the form, grown impatient with the demands of his audience, and emboldened by the sexual radicalism of the 1890s; and finally as the Grand Old Man of Letters, recipient of the Order of Merit and the author of three volumes of poetry as well as a verse-epic, *The Dynasts*, who had long since turned his back on prose fiction.

This might suggest an argument for citing the first volume edition: free from the constraints of serial publication, but free too from later accretions. This is the principle behind the recent Penguin editions of the novels (several of them edited by contributors to this volume), and clearly it can be argued that the Hardy who revised *The Return of the Native* in 1912 was not the same man who wrote it in 1878, and that we should turn to the earlier version for the ‘real’ novel, just as we might go by choice to the 1805 rather than the 1850 text of Wordsworth’s *The Prelude*. There are, however, countervailing arguments, not least that Hardy did not always return to his original conception so soon as the first volume edition. In the serial version of the *Mayor*, for example, Henchard and Lucetta marry on the mistaken assumption that Henchard is a widower; in the first book version, they have a nonsexual relationship; and it was not until the *Osgood, McIlvaine* edition of 1895 that they have the irregular sexual liaison Hardy seems initially to have intended.

Fortunately, unlike the architectural restorations that Hardy had a hand in but later came to regret, revisions to the text of a novel do not entail the destruction of its previous forms, and those who wish to consult earlier or later versions of Hardy’s novels are able to do so. The forthcoming Cambridge edition of the novels will go a long way to resolve these problems, but in the meantime the decision has been taken here to use the Wessex Edition: not on the assumption that it is ‘definitive’, but because it is the text usually cited in contemporary critical discussion, and the form in which the novels
A Note on the Editions

and stories have most often been encountered, read, adapted, loved, and hated for the past century. For ease of reference, citations are to the chapter in which a quoted passage occurs, or, following the layout of the Wessex Edition, to the chapter and section (Desperate Remedies), to the Book and chapter (The Return of the Native), or Part and chapter (Under the Greenwood Tree, Jude the Obscure, The Well-Beloved). Page references to the Wessex Edition are used for quotations from the short stories.

David Amigoni’s essay in this volume discusses the two volumes that appeared over the name of Florence Emily Hardy in 1928 and 1930 as The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840–1891 and The Later Years of Thomas Hardy, 1892–1928 and that were merged into a one-volume edition in 1962. The subterfuge of Florence’s authorship was successfully maintained until 1940, three years after her death (and it would be an unkind reader who grudged her this small satisfaction), but in fact the work was very largely Hardy’s own. Since then Michael Millgate has sought to get behind the various post mortem omissions and additions made by Florence (generally on the advice of Sir James Barrie), and to restore the text as closely as possible to what seem to have been Hardy’s intentions. Millgate’s edition was published under the title The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy, with Hardy identified as the author (London: Macmillan, 1984). While some scholars have expressed reservations about this edition, it is the form in which the Life is now generally read, and unless otherwise indicated it is the one cited here, abbreviated as LW.

NOTES

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title and Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>A Laodicean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPW</td>
<td>The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hardy, ed. Samuel Hynes. 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982–95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The Dynasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR</td>
<td>Desperate Remedies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFMC</td>
<td>Far from the Madding Crowd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HE</td>
<td>The Hand of Ethelberta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>Human Shows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jude</td>
<td>Jude the Obscure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLE</td>
<td>Late Lyrics and Earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLI</td>
<td>Life’s Little Ironies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LN</td>
<td>The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy, ed. Lennart A. Björk, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LW</td>
<td>The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy, by Thomas Hardy, ed. Michael Millgate (London: Macmillan, 1984)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>The Mayor of Casterbridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MV</td>
<td>Moments of Vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBE</td>
<td>A Pair of Blue Eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations

PPP  Poems of the Past and the Present
PWB  The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved
RN   The Return of the Native
SC   Satires of Circumstance
Tess  Tess of the d’Urbervilles
THPW Thomas Hardy’s Personal Writings, ed. Harold Orel (London: Macmillan, 1967)
TL   Time’s Laughingstocks
TM   The Trumpet-Major
TT   Two on a Tower
UGT  Under the Greenwood Tree
W    The Woodlanders
WB   The Well-Beloved
WP   Wessex Poems
WT   Wessex Tales
WW   Winter Words
1840
2 June

Thomas Hardy is born at Higher Bockhampton, near Dorchester, the first of four children of Thomas Hardy, mason, and his wife Jemima, née Hand. Three other children follow: Mary (1841–1915), Henry (1851–1928), and Katharine, usually called Kate (1856–1940). None of the three marry.

Rowland Hill’s Penny Post (January) revolutionises communication within Britain. Queen Victoria marries Prince Albert.

1842

The Chartists’ ‘People’s Petition’ is submitted to and rejected by Parliament; widespread strikes and numerous arrests follow.

The Illustrated London News begins publication. Charles Mudie opens his circulating library; it expands rapidly and dominates the market for fiction until the late 1880s.

1846
May

The repeal of the Corn Laws helps reduce the cost of bread on the mainland. Potato blight in Ireland exacerbates an ongoing famine; between 1845 and 1849 around 800,000 die of starvation, and 1.5 million emigrate.

1847

The railway reaches Dorchester; however, the two main routes from London to the southwest run to the north and south of the city, leaving it a backwater.

[Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre; Emily Brontë, Wuthering Heights; Thackeray, Vanity Fair]
Chronology

1848

Hardy (TH) enters the newly established National (Church of England) School in Lower Bockhampton; one of the founders of the school, and lady of the manor, Mrs Julia Augusta Martin, takes a special interest in him.

Queen's College, London, offers higher education to women.

Following an outbreak of cholera, the first Public Health Act sets up a Central Board of Health, charged with improving sanitation.

Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and John Everett Millais form the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

W. H. Smith opens the first railway station bookstall at Euston.

Nationalist and democratic uprisings take place in a number of European countries, including France, Italy, Denmark, the German states, and much of the Habsburg empire, in the short term with little success.

[Dickens, *Dombey & Son*; Mrs Gaskell, *Mary Barton*]

1849

TH passes through London, while travelling with his mother to stay with her sister at Hatfield in Hertfordshire.

1850

September

TH enters the British School in Dorchester, run on Nonconformist lines by Isaac Last. He excels in arithmetic and geography; begins to learn Latin.

The restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales prompts anti-Catholic demonstrations in Dorchester as elsewhere.

[Dickens, *David Copperfield*; Tennyson, *In Memoriam*]

1851

May

The Great Exhibition opens in Hyde Park (1 May–15 October), attracting six million visitors.

William Thomson (later Lord Kelvin) publishes the first and second laws of thermodynamics.