THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE NOVELS AND STORIES OF
THOMAS HARDY

VOLUMES IN THIS SERIES:

1. Desperate Remedies
2. Under the Greenwood Tree
3. A Pair of Blue Eyes
4. Far from the Madding Crowd
5. The Hand of Ethelberta
6. The Return of the Native
7. The Trumpet-Major
8. A Laodicean
9. Two on a Tower
10. The Mayor of Casterbridge
11. The Woodlanders
12. Tess of the d’Urbervilles
13. Jude the Obscure
14. The Well-Beloved
15. Wessex Tales
16. A Group of Noble Dames
17. Life’s Little Ironies
18. A Changed Man and Other Stories
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map of Wessex</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Editor’s Preface</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xxvii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## The Woodlanders

**Volume 1**

1

**Volume 2**

3

**Volume 3**

181

359

### Apparatus

- List of Variants – Accidentals 533
- End-of-Line Word Division 604
- Editorial Emendations 608
- Textual Notes 610

### Appendices

- Appendix A – The title-page verse 621
- Appendix B – Hardy’s Prefaces 622
- Appendix C – Illustrations 625
- Appendix D – Description of Substantive Editions 631
- Appendix E – Compositorial Stints for Macmillan’s Magazine 642
- Appendix F – ‘Pinholes’ in the Manuscript of The Woodlanders 648
- Appendix G – Compositorial Stints for the 1912 Wessex Edition 649

### Explanatory Notes

655

### Glossary of Dialect Terms and Spellings

672
ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE Title page of Volume 1 of the first edition of The Woodlanders.

1 Frontispiece to Osgood, McIlvaine’s edition: THE COUNTRY OF ‘THE WOODLANDERS’ Drawn on the spot. 625

2 Frontispiece to the Wessex Edition: The Country of The Woodlanders. 626


4 Autograph Edition and Anniversary Edition: Sherton Abbas. 628

5 Autograph Edition and Anniversary Edition: Middleton Abbey. 629

6 Autograph Edition and Anniversary Edition: Revellers Inn, Little Hintock. 630

The Autograph Edition and Anniversary Edition illustrations were taken from Hermann Lea’s Thomas Hardy’s Wessex, 1913, issued as a companion to the volumes in Hardy’s 1912 Wessex Edition. Lea was the photographer. The illustrations are reproduced here courtesy of Gregory Stevens Cox, MBE.
“Map of the Wessex of the Novels and Poems (revised 1914 – prepared by Emery Walker originally provided by Thomas Hardy)."
GENERAL EDITOR’S PREFACE

Thomas Hardy’s career as an author bridged the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and during that time he could count among his accomplishments fourteen novels, more than nine hundred poems, a little over four dozen pieces of short fiction, and a verse drama in three volumes that took as its topic the Peninsular War and the fall of Napoleon. Yet on the brink of his first great success, the publication of *Far from the Madding Crowd* in the prestigious *Cornhill Magazine*, he wrote to its editor Leslie Stephen that, although he might ‘have higher aims some day’, at that moment he wished ‘merely to be considered a good hand at a serial’.\(^1\) It is safe to say that those higher aims were achieved, for after Hardy’s Westminster Abbey funeral, and after large crowds had silently filed past his open grave in Poet’s Corner, *The Times* in its obituary for him mourned the loss of English literature’s ‘most eminent figure’\(^2\). Hardy’s stature as a writer was, and remains, unassailable, and the continuing popularity of his fiction, in both print and other media, attests to his powerful and enduring representation of human experience.

Yet the professionalism that Hardy declared to be his goal in his publishing relationship with Stephen was as characteristic of his authorship as the exploration of large cultural issues, since Hardy fully understood that the production of a novel, or short story, took place both in the realm of artistic creation and in the literary marketplace. He became proficient at using (one is tempted to say manipulating) the requirements of Victorian publishing’s modes of production for his own purposes. In particular the most common pattern, in which a novel was first serialized in a magazine, then published as a multiple-volume edition for the circulating libraries, and then published again as less expensive, single-volume versions, generated the opportunity for changes at each stage—and Hardy usually took advantage of those opportunities. Indeed, an author as successful as Hardy was given additional chances to modify his texts through the collected editions that demand for his work made attractive to him and his

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\(^1\) *CL*, p. 28. \(^2\) *BR*, p. 535.
publishers. Hardy’s willingness to revise texts decades after they first appeared in print would crucially shape his later audience’s responses to his fiction.

As well, Hardy’s tendency to stretch, not to say break, Victorian proprieties in his selection of subject matter, and in his unconventional sympathies with ‘improper’ characters, meant that he more than once found himself in conflict with his editors and their commitment to nineteenth-century status-quo attitudes. This situation came to a climax with the publication of *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* (1891) and *Jude the Obscure* (1895), two works which generated such extremities of negative reviewer responses that Hardy declared they destroyed in him any desire to continue producing novels. The fact that many reviewers were equally vociferous in defending Hardy rather undercuts his persona of besieged artist, and it is even possible to argue that he courted such conflict, since by that advanced point in his experience as a writer he could hardly be unaware of the contentious nature of his plots. Nonetheless, the bowdlerization often insisted upon for magazine publication meant that Hardy viewed the alterations made for subsequent, first edition volume publication as necessary to the truer realization of his art.

But even as Hardy was preparing to end his focus on the novel in the 1890s, and to instead concentrate on getting into print the poetry he had been writing since the 1860s, the next major stage of his fiction was being prepared. In 1894 Osgood, McIlvaine and Company, which had become Hardy’s publisher in 1891, finalized the arrangements necessary to print those works whose rights previously had been held by other publishing houses, and immediately began preparing the first uniform edition of Hardy’s novels and stories. The ‘Wessex Novels’ edition was published in sixteen volumes from 1895 to 1896, and consisted of thirteen novels plus three volumes of stories. It represents an important point in Hardy’s oeuvre, not least because he wrote a set of short but revealing prefaces to accompany each text. He also proofread the volumes, made thorough and careful corrections and revisions, and, most significantly, brought more into congruence the topography of those narratives written before his full achievement of the setting of Wessex from which the collection took its name.

Osgood, McIlvaine had good reason to put the word ‘Wessex’ in its edition’s title, since the description of this landscape, and its buildings, customs, and characters, was increasingly seen as Hardy’s distinctive contribution to literature. His retroactive efforts to bring all of his fiction into line with this perception elided the fact that the development of Wessex was piecemeal at best, at
least until the publication of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), *The Woodlanders* (1887), and *Wessex Tales* (1888) which, with their powerful evocation of a ‘partly real, partly dream-country’,¹ signalled Hardy’s commitment to developing a setting uniquely his own. Unsurprisingly, then, when Hardy changed publishers yet again and decided to transfer his rights to the London firm of Macmillan and Company, the name chosen for its proposed collection of his works (this time including the poetry), was simple and direct: the Wessex Edition.

The first two volumes of Macmillan’s collected edition appeared in April of 1912, with the originally proposed total of twenty volumes being completed in 1914, and with four volumes ‘published at irregular intervals thereafter (the last, posthumously), to complete the series. Later impressions incorporate the slight revisions made for the Mellstock Edition in 1919 and some 4 pages of trifling corrections submitted in April 1920.’⁴ Thus the Wessex Edition could claim to provide something very close to a comprehensive representation of Hardy’s literary accomplishment, and Macmillan had no hesitation in describing it as ‘definitive’, a claim that Hardy endorsed in the ‘General Preface to the Novels and Poems’ that he prepared for the edition. Once again he revised and proofread the volumes, and he also updated the Osgood, McIlvaine prefaces. For much of the twentieth century, therefore, the Wessex Edition was viewed as the final word on Hardy’s fiction, and it was, and in many cases remains into the twenty-first century, the *de facto* choice for those reprints of his work that appeared after Macmillan’s copyright lapsed in 1978. Yet scholars such as Michael Millgate have noted that this putative authority is at least somewhat problematic, since ‘[f]or all Hardy’s devotion to the task of revision and correction there remains the irreducible fact that he was not starting from first principles but working with a text that had itself long lost the bloom and innocence of youth,’ and that ‘by 1912 each of Hardy’s texts had gone through long, undramatic processes of erosion and accretion’.⁶ The crucial decision facing a scholarly edition of Hardy’s novels and stories, therefore, is whether to use the Wessex Edition to provide its copy-texts, and thus assent to the author’s

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apparent wish that it be accepted as definitive, or to employ early text versions that both more nearly reflect Hardy’s original artistic intention, and represent the works as they were initially received by Hardy’s Victorian readers.

The Cambridge Edition of Hardy, in line with contemporary editorial theory, follows an early text model that allows its readers to trace, through each volume, the work’s textual evolution. In most cases this entails the selection of the British first edition in volume form as copy-text, and the emendation policy is to edit the copy-text’s ‘moment’ in order to achieve the best balance between authorial desire and authorial acquiescence to the realities of publication. Obvious mechanical errors are corrected and, in cases where sufficient evidence exists to suggest that the production process has changed legitimate authorial (textual) intention, additional emendations may be made. Emendations to the copy-text are recorded, but certain kinds of typographical elements (e.g. chapter heads, running titles) have been standardized. The record of substantive variants appears as footnotes on the page in which the changes occur, and they are keyed to the line numbers on that page. The quotation from the text is followed by the variant and the siglum or sigla of the text(s) in which it appears, and the variants are presented in chronological order. Variants in accidentals are listed in the apparatus section, and are likewise keyed to page and line number.

A chronology of Hardy’s life appears in each volume. The Introduction describes the genesis of the work, its publishing history and cultural context, the process and significance of authorial revision, and the work’s reception during Hardy’s lifetime, in order to enable the reader to comprehend as fully as possible the text’s composition and history. Each volume also provides a rationale for the choice of copy-text, along with a facsimile of the copy-text’s title page and a bibliographical description of the principal textual witnesses. A full set of explanatory endnotes, keyed to superscript numbers, is included to offer clear and relevant information to the reader by identifying literary and cultural allusions, geographic locations, and references to religion, philosophy, art, and music. Appearances of dialect in Hardy’s work are also translated in those instances where uncertainty of meaning may occur. If a work was illustrated for periodical publication those illustrations are reproduced in the volume, usually as an appendix, unless the illustrations were present in the copy-text. The frontispiece illustrations for the Osgood, McIlvaine ‘Wessex
general editor’s preface


I would like to thank the members of the Cambridge Hardy Editorial Board for their continuing advice and guidance. I am also grateful to Linda Bree at Cambridge University Press for her commitment to the edition and for her help at each stage of its development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My indebtedness to others whilst working on this edition of The Woodlanders spans many years, and a few of those concerned are sadly no longer with us. To some the debt owed is immense, for others it is lighter, but in all cases I am extremely grateful.

Firstly I must thank Peter Davison and Tom Davis. The former is not the actor who was one of the incarnations of Dr Who, but the lovely gentleman responsible for editing the Complete Works of George Orwell and a number of Shakespeare's plays. He also kindled my lifetime interest in editorial matters when I studied on his Bibliography and Palaeography course at the University of Birmingham. Tom Davis, who followed Peter Davison at Birmingham, guided me through my postgraduate work, where I was first tackling Hardy's The Woodlanders (and later A Pair of Blue Eyes). Though neither was particularly interested in Thomas Hardy, both encouraged my passion for editorial work and taught me much whilst I was their student.

Dale Kramer has been very generous with help and advice over many years. We became acquainted first in the mid 1970s when we were both working on The Woodlanders, and corresponded extensively as well as meeting up when Dale spent a year in England. Since then we have met a number of times and always kept in contact. He, of course, has already produced a marvellous scholarly edition of The Woodlanders and is a model that I have attempted to emulate, the giant upon whose shoulders one might aspire to climb; an inspiration and a good friend.

I am extremely grateful to Dr Gregory Stevens Cox, MBE, for granting permission to reproduce the photographs from Hermann Lea's Thomas Hardy's Wessex, for which he holds the copyright.

My thanks to others may not be for such sustained support, but all help is nonetheless genuinely valued. Other individuals who have offered help include: Christopher Adams (Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London – for generously allowing me the use of the Institute’s ‘Hailey’s Comet’ collating machine); John Feather (John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library – particularly for facilitating the use
of the Lindstrand Comparator); Mark P. Forrest (Collections Manager, Dorset History Centre, where the manuscript of The Woodlanders was kept in 2017 – for allowing me access to the manuscript); Simon Gatrell (whose knowledge and wisdom in all aspects of Thomas Hardy’s work and the editing thereof is beyond compare); Stanley Gutzman (Humanities Librarian, Illinois State University, who supplied details of the 1926 Pocket Edition of The Woodlanders); Helen Gibson (Hon. Curator of the Thomas Hardy Archive and Collection at the Dorset County Museum, whose help and hospitality whilst I recently worked in the Museum were outstanding); David Lodge (my university tutor, and another editor of The Woodlanders); Frank Manford (who has provided invaluable help with all matters relating to Latin and Greek and done admirable service checking proofs); Richard Nemesvari (who has been an exemplary General Editor, good-humoured, prompt and helpful in response to my many queries); R. N. R. Peers (formerly Curator and Secretary of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, who was a very accommodating host when I worked on the Hardy materials in the Dorset County Museum in the 1970s); the late R. L. Purdy (who generously answered my many queries, in the days of typewriters and letters that were posted); and Peter Shillingsburg (another wonderful resource in editorial matters).

I am indebted to Kamal of Silent Computing, Hamstead, Birmingham, for generous help with photocopying. There are also more general thanks owed to the staff of the library of the University of Birmingham, particularly the inter-library loans department; to the staff of the Language and Literature section of Birmingham Reference Library; and to the staff of Dorset County Museum.

As ever, I am immeasurably grateful to Penny, my wife, who has been an endless and indispensable source of support, both moral and practical. It is not an overstatement to say that my editorial work would not have been possible without her.
CHRONOLOGY

1839
22 December  Marriage of Thomas Hardy and Jemima Hand; household established in a cottage at Higher Bockhampton, Dorset.

1840
June 2  Thomas Hardy born.

1841  Birth of Hardy’s sister, Mary.

1848  Hardy attends the newly opened Stinsford National School.

1850  Hardy sent to Dorchester British School kept by Isaac Glandfield Last.

1851  Birth of Hardy’s brother, Henry.

1853–1856  Isaac Last establishes an independent ‘commercial academy’ and Hardy enrolls; begins to study Latin.

1856  Birth of Hardy’s sister, Katherine (Kate).

1857  Hardy establishes a close friendship with Horatio (Horace) Moule. Moule becomes Hardy’s intellectual mentor and encourages his study of Latin and Greek.

1860  Hardy completes his articles as an architect and is employed by Hicks as an assistant.

1862  Hardy moves to London. Through a letter of introduction provided by Hicks he finds employment with the architect Arthur Blomfield. Hardy is elected to the Architectural Association.

1863  Submits two prize-winning entries for architectural competitions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Hardy’s first publication, ‘How I Built Myself a House’, appears in <em>Chambers’s Journal</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Hardy begins to submit poetry to magazines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Returns to Dorset. Works for Hicks on church restoration. Begins writing his first, unpublished novel <em>The Poor Man and the Lady</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Submits completed MS of <em>The Poor Man and the Lady</em> to Alexander Macmillan. Novel is rejected by Macmillan, who suggests that Hardy submit it to Chapman and Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Chapman agrees to publish the novel if Hardy will provide £20 as a guarantee against losses. Hardy agrees. Hardy meets with Chapman’s reader, George Meredith, who had recommended against acceptance. Meredith convinces Hardy to withdraw the MS and advises him to write a story with ‘more plot’. Hardy submits MS to Smith, Elder; novel is rejected. Hardy employed by Weymouth architect G. R. Crickmay to complete church restoration work left unfinished with the death of Hicks. Hardy submits MS of <em>The Poor Man and the Lady</em> to Tinsley Brothers. Tinsley offers to publish in return for a guarantee against losses; Hardy refuses the offer. Begins writing his first novel to be published, <em>Desperate Remedies</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>7 March Meets his future wife, Emma Lavinia Gifford, at St Juliot, Cornwall, when he travels there to work on the restoration of a local church. Macmillan rejects <em>Desperate Remedies</em>. Tinsley agrees to publish <em>Desperate Remedies</em> if Hardy is willing to provide £75 in advance of printing. Hardy accepts the offer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td><em>Desperate Remedies</em> published anonymously in three volumes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td><em>Under the Greenwood Tree</em> published anonymously in two volumes by Tinsley Brothers. Hardy sells Tinsley the copyright of the novel for £30. Hardy moves from Weymouth to London to work in the architectural office of T. Roger Smith. After positive reviews of <em>Under the Greenwood Tree</em>, Tinsley offers Hardy £200 for a serial to appear in the September issue of <em>Tinsleys’ Magazine</em>. Leslie Stephen requests a serial for the <em>Cornhill Magazine</em>. Hardy’s first proposal to marry Emma Gifford is rejected by her father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872–73</td>
<td><em>A Pair of Blue Eyes</em> serialized anonymously in <em>Tinsleys’ Magazine</em>. Published in three volumes by Tinsley Brothers (1873). The volume edition is the first of Hardy’s novels to bear his name as author.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>21 September <em>Far from the Madding Crowd</em> serialized anonymously in the <em>Cornhill Magazine</em>. Published in two volumes, over Hardy’s name, by Smith, Elder that same year.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 September Hardy marries Emma Gifford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>The Hardys move to Swanage, Dorset.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875–76</td>
<td><em>The Hand of Ethelberta</em> serialized in <em>Cornhill Magazine</em>. Published in two volumes by Smith, Elder (1876). The Hardys move to Yeovil, Somerset, and then to Sturminster Newton, Dorset. Hardy begins writing <em>The Return of the Native</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>The Hardys move to the London suburb of Tooting. <em>The Return of the Native</em> serialized in <em>Belgravia</em>. Published in three volumes by Smith, Elder.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xix
Chronology

An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress, a revised and abbreviated version of The Poor Man and the Lady, published in the New Quarterly Magazine.

Hardy begins historical research in the British Museum for The Trumpet-Major.

1880

The Trumpet-Major serialized in Good Words. Published in three volumes by Smith, Elder, with cloth binding designed by Hardy.

Hardy becomes seriously ill and is forced into several months of total inactivity. He dictates the major portion of the serial version of A Laodicean to Emma Hardy from his bed.

1880–1881


1881

The Hardys return to Dorset and set up their household at Wimborne Minster.

1882

Two on a Tower serialized in the Atlantic Monthly. Published in three volumes by Sampson Low.

1883


The Hardys move from Wimborne to Dorchester. They take up temporary accommodation while their new house is being built on the outskirts of the town. Hardy begins writing The Mayor of Casterbridge.

1884

Hardy is made a Justice of the Peace.

1885

The Hardys move into Max Gate, the house designed by Hardy and built by his brother Henry. Hardy will live there for the rest of his life.

1886

The Mayor of Casterbridge serialized in The Graphic. Published in three volumes by Smith, Elder.

xx
### Chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Hardy’s set of six stories under the title <em>A Group of Noble Dames</em> published in <em>The Graphic</em>. ‘Candour in English Fiction’ published in <em>The New Review</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892–1893</td>
<td><em>Our Exploits at West Poley</em>, Hardy’s only children’s story, serialized in the Boston periodical <em>The Household</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894–1895</td>
<td><em>Jude the Obscure</em> serialized in <em>Harper’s New Monthly Magazine</em>. Published in a single volume by Osgood, McIlvaine (1895).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Osgood, McIlvaine begins publishing the first collected edition of Hardy’s works, the ‘Wessex Novels’ edition, which includes the first edition of <em>Jude the Obscure</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td><em>The Well-Beloved</em> published by Osgood, McIlvaine as a single volume in the ‘Wessex Novels’ edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td><em>Poems of the Past and the Present</em> published by Harper and Brothers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Hardy comes to an agreement with Macmillan, who will act as his publishers for the rest of his life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Part First of <em>The Dynasts</em> published.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 April</td>
<td>Hardy’s mother dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Hardy meets Florence Emily Dugdale, his future second wife. Hardy receives an honorary degree from the University of Aberdeen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Part Second of <em>The Dynasts</em> published.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Part Third of <em>The Dynasts</em> published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td><em>Time’s Laughingstocks and Other Verses</em> published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Hardy is awarded the Order of Merit, having refused a knighthood. Hardy receives the Freedom of the Borough of Dorchester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Macmillan begins publishing the second collection of Hardy’s works, both novels and poetry, the Wessex Edition. Hardy receives the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 November</td>
<td>Emma Hardy dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td><em>A Changed Man and Other Tales</em>, Hardy’s last collection of stories, published. Hardy receives an honorary degree from Cambridge University and is made an Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1914
10 February  Hardy marries Florence Dugdale.
  *Satires of Circumstances: Lyrics and Reveries with Miscellaneous Pieces* published.

1915
Hardy’s chosen heir, Frank William George, is killed at Gallipoli.
Hardy’s sister Mary dies.

1916
*Selected Poems of Thomas Hardy* published.

1917
*Moments of Vision and Miscellaneous Verses* published.
Hardy begins sorting his papers, destroying many of them in bonfires in the backyard of Max Gate.

1919
Macmillan begins publication of a *de luxe* edition of Hardy’s works, the Mellstock Edition.

1920
On his eightieth birthday Hardy receives messages of congratulations from George V and the prime minister, David Lloyd George. He is visited at Max Gate by a deputation from the Incorporated Society of Authors.

1922
*Late Lyrics and Earlier with Many Other Verses* published.
Hardy receives honorary degrees from the University of St Andrews and Oxford University.

1923
*The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall* published.
The Prince of Wales visits Max Gate.

1924
Hardy’s adaptation of *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* performed in Dorchester.

1925
*Human Shows, Far Phantasies, Songs, and Trifles* published.
Dramatized version of *Tess of the d’Urbervilles* performed in London.

1928
January 11  Thomas Hardy dies. His heart is removed and buried in Stinsford churchyard. His body is cremated and the ashes buried in Poet’s Corner, Westminster Abbey.

xxiii
Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres published posthumously.

The first volume of Hardy’s autobiography, The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840–1891, is published (on his instruction) by Macmillan over Florence Hardy’s name.

Hardy’s brother Henry dies.

1930  The second volume of the autobiography, The Later Years of Thomas Hardy, 1892–1928, published over Florence Hardy’s name.

1937  Florence Hardy dies.

1940  Kate Hardy, Hardy’s last surviving sibling, dies.
ABBREVIATIONS

Sigla for Principal Texts of *The Woodlanders*

- **MS** Holograph manuscript in the Dorset County Museum
- **MS1, MS2, MS3** etc. The sequence of revision at any given location within the manuscript
- **HB** *Harper’s Bazar*, serialization in America, May 1886 to April 1887
- **A1** American first edition, Harper & Brothers, 1887
- **MM** *Macmillan’s Magazine*, serialization, May 1886 to April 1887
- **E1** English 3-volume first edition, Macmillan and Company, March 1887
- **Col** Colonial Edition, Macmillan’s Colonial Library, 1887
- **E2** English second edition (partial resetting of Colonial Edition), Macmillan, September 1887
- **OM** First collected edition, Osgood, McIlvaine, 1896
- **U** Uniform Edition (reprint of OM), Macmillan, 1903
- **PC** printer’s copy for Wessex Edition (when different from W)
- **PCi** printer’s copy for Wessex Edition (black ink revisions)
- **PCp** printer’s copy for Wessex Edition (pencil revisions)
- **W20** Wessex Edition reprint, Macmillan, 1920 (when different from W)
- **SC** Hardy’s study copy of 1912 Wessex Edition (in DCM)
- **ME** Mellstock Edition
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols Used in Recording Variants

¶  paragraph
|  line division
+  hyphenation across a line-end
< >  angled brackets enclose deleted material
^ ^  carets enclose interlined material
pu  writing in the manuscript in pencil visible under the ink

Locations

BL  British Library
DCM  Dorset County Museum

Secondary Works


Other

ELH  Emma Lavinia Hardy [to indicate MS readings in Mrs Hardy’s hand]