

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE  
NOVELS AND STORIES OF  
THOMAS HARDY

*Under the Greenwood Tree*

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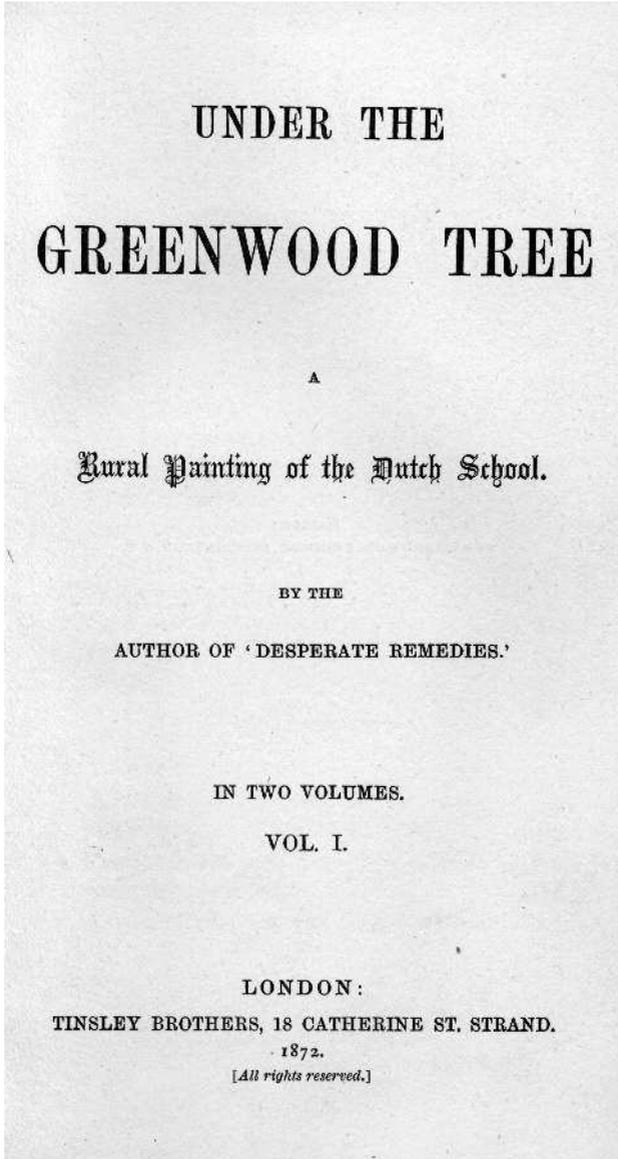
VOLUME IN THIS SERIES

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

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NOVELS AND STORIES OF  
THOMAS HARDY

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Title page of Volume 1 of the first edition of  
*Under the Greenwood Tree*.

THOMAS HARDY  
*Under the Greenwood Tree*  
A Rural Painting of the Dutch School

EDITED BY  
SIMON GATRELL



Cambridge University Press  
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Thomas Hardy, Edited by Simon Gatrell  
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To the memory of Ted Gatrell  
Master bookbinder and manuscript restorer

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'Map of the Wessex of the Novels and Poems (revised 1914 – prepared by Emery original 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'.<sup>1</sup> 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'.<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *CL* 1, p. 28.    <sup>2</sup> *BR*, p. 535.

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through the collected editions that demand for his work made attractive to him and his 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.

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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',<sup>3</sup> 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 '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'.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>3</sup> *PW*, p. 9.    <sup>4</sup> Purdy, p. 286.    <sup>5</sup> *PW*, p. 44.

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through long, undramatic processes of erosion and accretion'.<sup>6</sup> 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 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

<sup>6</sup> M. Millgate, 'The Making and Unmaking of Hardy's Wessex Edition', *Editing Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. J. Millgate (New York: Garland, 1978), pp. 66, 68.

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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 Novels' edition and the Macmillan Wessex Edition are likewise reproduced in an appendix.

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

To Random House I am grateful for permission to include the handful of extracts from the records of the publisher Chatto and Windus that appear in the Introduction.

This edition has been growing for forty-five years, and thus this note is perhaps longer than is usual, for many friends and acquaintances both alive and now dead, and many institutions have helped to make it what it is, and I take delight here to remember and to thank them all.

First amongst them all are those who will only be able to read this if spirits can read: David Fleeman took me on as a doctoral student though his heart was in the eighteenth century rather than the nineteenth, and gave me all the rough and smooth encouragement that I needed to keep going and keep going straight; but my most abiding memory of him is of ten years later, of his saying to me with that most expressive twinkle in his eye, just after Jerry McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* came out in 1983, 'This book will shake things up; you'd better read it.' I have tried to live up to his scrupulous and imaginative scholarship, and I hope he would not be ashamed to acknowledge his essential role in the genesis and creation of this edition. He only took me on because he had already agreed to work with Juliet Grindle, who was editing Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (and indeed as I write this I remember also that he agreed to accept me only on condition that I edited a shorter and less complicated work than *Tess*; I was glad to comply). Juliet and I worked on our editions together for six years as doctoral students, arguing of course, but sharing without restraint, and then afterwards as she was reconsidering her work for publication; eventually she decided she could not carry on with it and asked me if I would take over. A year later she was dead, and I have missed her voice ever since.

David Foxon is another Oxford ghost who when in the flesh helped to shape my early work on the edition – again a scholar whose centre of gravity lay in the eighteenth century; but the breadth of his knowledge ranged widely, and he got me to understand the value and the potential

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beauty of analytical bibliography. I recognized even then his generosity of spirit and now I value it at a much higher rate than I was able to as a postgraduate student. This edition's first life as a doctoral thesis was also enhanced by contributions from others now dead: Jim Gibson, the teacher and Hardy scholar who opened his stunning Hardy collection to me (and sold me a first edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*); and Hardy's matchless bibliographer Richard Little Purdy, who responded courteously and fully from New Haven to importunate requests for information relating to his even more important gathering of Hardian material.

I honour with gratitude their memory.

Of the living, my first debt of gratitude is to Roger Peers, who was curator of the Dorset County Museum when I first visited it as a post-graduate student to study the manuscript of *Under the Greenwood Tree*. He made me feel welcome, that my work was important, that I was a scholar; in the years that followed I stayed with him once or twice by the river in Dorchester, and I never forget that it is to him I owe my first acquaintance with Bach's wonderful cello sonatas. The Dorset County Museum is a delightful place, a treasure-house, and not just because it is the home of so much of importance to anyone interested in Thomas Hardy. I am glad here to have the opportunity to acknowledge the always unstinting assistance I have received from every person, very many of them volunteers, I have encountered there over forty-five years, and if I do not name them it is only because I am afraid of missing someone out. In 2013, though, I spent a week of very intensive work at the museum revisiting in detail every aspect of what I had done as a student, and more, and I must express my gratitude both to the current director Jon Murden and to Helen Gibson who curates the Hardy collections, and who made sure my time was spent as effectively and pleasantly as possible.

I count every member of the editorial board of the Cambridge Hardy Edition as a friend, and I have learned from them all. Dale Kramer is the longest standing; we first corresponded in the 1970s about the appropriate copy-text for editions of *The Woodlanders*, *Tess* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*; in the eighties and nineties we twice planned collected editions of Hardy's fiction together, wrote massive grant proposals, and saw our attempts ultimately fail. His hospitality however never failed, and I think fondly of walking through Urbana with him, pausing for coffee on the way to

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his university. Pamela Dalziel is the scholarly editor of her generation, a model to us all, tireless chaser of error wherever she finds it, and a wonderful friend whose good company is always a stimulation. To Peter Shillingsburg I perhaps owe most of all; ever since he introduced me in the 1980s to the CASE text comparison software that he and his assistants had developed at Mississippi State University, I have relied on him for advice and for the kind of friendly intellectual aggression that produces results by flashes and small explosions; very much of what I have learned about editing since I left Oxford I have learned in these discussions with Peter. Of recent years, since he has taken to perching on the side of a mountain in North Carolina, I have also learned that I don't know how to drive up very steep dirt roads. Out of the theoretical differences between us Tim Dolin and I have developed over the last few years a satisfying private and public debate on the nature of texts and of editing which has driven me at least to reconsider every position I had maintained; it has been wonderful to discover again that intellectual difference is no barrier to friendship, and can indeed foster it. The greatest debt I and every other student of Hardy owes to Richard Nemesvari is that he accepted the general editorship of the Cambridge Edition, and thus enabled us to believe that at last, after many attempts, Hardy's fiction would become available in scholarly editions to those who care; personally I am glad to have the opportunity here to express my gratitude for his patience and scrupulous attention to detail as the member of the editorial board who oversaw my work as volume editor; he has saved me from many errors, and if any remain the responsibility is all mine.

Over the last thirty years at the University of Georgia I have worked with a number of fine graduate students on studies towards editions of Hardy's fiction, and it is my pleasure here to record that two of them will be contributors to the Cambridge Hardy Edition: Sarah Dangelantonio and Alyssa Leavell. It is a cliché to suggest that teachers learn from their students, but it is not the less true, and I know that many details in this edition have been shaped in debate with them and with the other students in bibliography and textual criticism classes. To all of them I owe in particular the fact that my passion for scholarly editing has been refreshed every time I have engaged with a new group in the changing issues that permeate the enterprise. I am glad to be able now to thank them all for their engaged and stimulating contributions to very many valuable discussions.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The University of Georgia is a delightful and rewarding place to work, and I have in particular to thank the Willson Center for the Humanities and the Arts and its inspiring director Nicholas Allen for providing me with a semester's leave in 2013 to complete work on this edition. At the same time I should like to take this opportunity to thank all my colleagues, past and present, in the English Department for making my rather long stay in a foreign country so enjoyable.

Bill and Vera Jesty have, from the day long ago when they first invited me to Max Gate, been wonderful hosts, guides, wells of information and story about Hardy and Dorset, and latterly they have become irreplaceable friends. I have dedicated this edition to the memory of my father, master bookbinder and restorer of manuscripts. He died before I could really get to know him, but his passion for the fabric of books and his inexhaustible curiosity concerning their contents affected me far more deeply than I realized while he was alive, and was of fundamental importance in laying out the path of my life. The last and most important acknowledgement though is to my wife Tita and my son Clym, without whom the path would indeed have been a stony thoroughfare.

## 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).  
 Hardy is articled to Dorchester architect John Hicks.
- 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.
- 1865** Hardy's first publication, 'How I Built Myself a House', appears in *Chambers's Journal*.

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- 1866 Hardy begins to submit poetry to magazines.
- 1867 Returns to Dorset. Works for Hicks on church restoration. Begins writing his first, unpublished, novel *The Poor Man and the Lady*.
- 1868 Submits completed MS of *The Poor Man and the Lady* to Alexander Macmillan. Novel is rejected by Macmillan, who suggests that Hardy submit it to Chapman and Hall.
- 1869 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 *The Poor Man and the Lady* 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, *Desperate Remedies*.
- 1870  
 7 March Meets his future wife, Emma Lavinia Gifford, at St Juliot, Cornwall, when he travels there to work on restoration of local church. Macmillan rejects *Desperate Remedies*. Tinsley agrees to publish *Desperate Remedies* if Hardy is willing to provide £75 in advance of printing. Hardy accepts the offer.
- 1871 *Desperate Remedies* published anonymously in three volumes.

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 CHRONOLOGY
 

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- 1872 *Under the Greenwood Tree* 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 *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Tinsley offers Hardy £200 for a serial to appear in the September issue of *Tinsleys' Magazine*.
- Leslie Stephen requests a serial for the *Cornhill Magazine*. Hardy's first proposal to marry Emma Gifford is rejected by her father.
- 1872–1873 *A Pair of Blue Eyes* serialized anonymously in *Tinsleys' Magazine*. Published in three volumes by Tinsley Brothers (1873). The volume edition is the first of Hardy's novels to bear his name as author.
- 1873
- 21 September Horace Moule commits suicide in his rooms at Cambridge.
- 1874 *Far from the Madding Crowd* serialized anonymously in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Published in two volumes, over Hardy's name, by Smith, Elder that same year.
- 17 September Hardy marries Emma Gifford.
- 1875 The Hardys move to Swanage, Dorset.
- 1875–1876 *The Hand of Ethelberta* serialized in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Published in two volumes by Smith, Elder (1876).
- The Hardys move to Yeovil, Somerset, and then to Sturminster Newton, Dorset. Hardy begins writing *The Return of the Native*.
- 1878 The Hardys move to the London suburb of Tooting. *The Return of the Native* serialized in *Belgravia*. Published in three volumes by Smith, Elder.
- 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*.

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 CHRONOLOGY
 

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- 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** *A Laodicean* serialized in the European Edition of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Published in three volumes by Sampson Low (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 Dorsetshire Labourer' published in *Longman's Magazine*.  
 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.
- 1886–1887** *The Woodlanders* serialized in *Macmillan's Magazine*. Published in three volumes by Macmillan and Company (1887).
- 1888** *Wessex Tales*, Hardy's first collection of stories, is published in two volumes by Macmillan.  
 'The Profitable Reading of Fiction' published in *The Forum* (New York).

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 CHRONOLOGY
 

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- 1890 Hardy's set of six stories under the title *A Group of Noble Dames* published in the *Graphic*.  
 'Candour in English Fiction' published in *The New Review*.
- 1891 *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* serialized in *The Graphic*. Published in three volumes by Osgood, McIlvaine.  
*A Group of Noble Dames* published in a single volume by Osgood, McIlvaine. The volume includes some earlier stories as well as those originally published in *The Graphic*.  
 'The Science of Fiction' published in *The New Review*.
- 1892  
 20 July Hardy's father dies.  
*The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved* serialized in *The Illustrated London News*.
- 1892–1893 *Our Exploits at West Poley*, Hardy's only children's story (written 1883), serialized in the Boston periodical *The Household*.
- 1894 Hardy's third collection of stories, *Life's Little Ironies*, published by Osgood, McIlvaine.
- 1894–1895 *Jude the Obscure* serialized in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Published in a single volume by Osgood, McIlvaine (1895).
- 1895 Osgood, McIlvaine begins publishing the first collected edition of Hardy's works, the 'Wessex Novels' edition, which includes the first edition of *Jude the Obscure*.
- 1897 *The Well-Beloved* published by Osgood, McIlvaine as a single volume in the 'Wessex Novels' edition.
- 1898 Hardy's first collection of verse, *Wessex Poems*, containing his own illustrations, published by Harper and Brothers.
- 1901 *Poems of the Past and the Present* published by Harper and Brothers.
- 1902 Hardy comes to an agreement with Macmillan, who will act as his publishers for the rest of his life.

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- 1904 Part First of *The Dynasts* published.
- 3 April Hardy's mother dies.
- 1905 Hardy meets Florence Emily Dugdale, his future second wife.  
 Hardy receives an honorary degree from the University of Aberdeen.
- 1906 Part Second of *The Dynasts* published.
- 1908 Part Third of *The Dynasts* published.
- 1909 *Time's Laughingstocks and Other Verses* published.
- 1910 Hardy is awarded the Order of Merit, having refused a knighthood.  
 Hardy receives the Freedom of the Borough of Dorchester.
- 1912 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.
- 27 November Emma Hardy dies.
- 1913 *A Changed Man and Other Tales*, Hardy's last collection of stories, published.  
 Hardy receives an honorary degree from Cambridge University, and is made an Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College.
- 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.

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- 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.  
*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

### Hardy's Fiction

<i>PML</i>	<i>The Poor Man and the Lady</i>
<i>UGT</i>	<i>Under the Greenwood Tree</i>
MS	Holograph manuscript in the Dorset County Museum
MS <sub>1</sub> , MS <sub>2</sub> , MS <sub>3</sub> etc.	The sequence of revision at any given location within the manuscript
MSrw	The last leaf of the manuscript, rewritten at the time of its binding
<i>ed</i>	editorial emendation to the copy-text
<i>pu</i>	writing in the manuscript in pencil visible under the ink
T <sub>1</sub>	First edition, Tinsley, 1872
T <sub>2</sub>	Second edition (partially reset), Tinsley, 1873
OM	First collected edition revised, Osgood, McIlvaine, 1896
W	Second collected edition revised, Wessex Edition, Macmillan, 1912
W <sub>20</sub>	Second impression of W slightly revised, 1920
ME	Third collected edition slightly revised, Mellstock edition, Macmillan, 1920

### Locations

BL	British Library
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 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
 

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DCM      Dorset County Museum

**Secondary Works**

- BR      Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited*.  
 Oxford University Press, 2004.
- CL      *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard L. Purdy,  
 Michael Millgate, and Keith Wilson. 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon  
 Press, 1978–2012.
- Dalziel   Pamela Dalziel, ed., *Thomas Hardy: The Excluded and  
 Collaborative Stories*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Dolin      Tim Dolin, ed., *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Harmondsworth:  
 Penguin, 1998.
- LW      Michael Millgate, ed., *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*.  
 Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1984.
- Morgan   Charles Morgan, *The House of Macmillan (1843–1943)*. London:  
 Macmillan and Company, 1943.
- Purdy      Richard L. Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study*.  
 Revised edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

## INTRODUCTION

### The Genesis and Writing of the Novel

The genesis of *Under the Greenwood Tree* is closely bound up with the history of Hardy's first unpublished novel *The Poor Man and the Lady*. In the summer of 1868 he sent the manuscript of the latter to the publisher Macmillan, who passed it on to his reader John Morley for a report in which it was said that 'the opening pictures of the Christmas Eve in the tranter's house are really of good quality'.<sup>1</sup> It is almost certain, therefore, that elements of early chapters of *Under the Greenwood Tree* were already present in this first novel (Hardy wrote in his ghosted autobiography *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy* that he 'reintroduced' in the novel 'the "tranter" of *The Poor Man and the Lady*'.<sup>2</sup>) Alexander Macmillan himself confirmed the quality of this aspect of *The Poor Man and the Lady* on 10 August in a long and rather remarkable letter, most of it sympathetically criticizing and questioning Hardy's treatment of the upper classes; but he began by writing: 'Your description of country life among working men is admirable, and, though I can only judge of it from the corresponding life in Scotland, which I knew well when young, palpably truthful.'<sup>3</sup> After hearing nothing more for a month, Hardy became impatient and wrote again on 10 September to ask if any decision had been made about *The Poor Man and the Lady*; he added, evidently in response to these assessments of the novel: 'Since my letter, I have been hunting up matter for another tale, which would consist entirely of rural scenes & humble life; but I have not courage enough to go on with it till something comes of the first.'<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this 'matter' found its

<sup>1</sup> As indicated in Macmillan's 'Record of Manuscripts', recorded in Pamela Dalziel, *The Uncollected and Collaborative Stories* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by M. Millgate (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> C. Morgan, *The House of Macmillan 1843–1943* (London: Macmillan, 1943) (hereafter Morgan), p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy* vols. I–VIII, edited by Richard L. Purdy, Michael Millgate, and Keith Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978–2012) (hereafter CL), I, p. 8.

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way into *Desperate Remedies*, his first published novel, which does include a number of such scenes, but a conception formed ‘entirely of . . . humble life’ is better seen as an embryonic *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

Such ‘hunting up’ as Hardy actually did at this stage obviously did not include ‘Christmas Eve in the transters house’, but there is no hint as to what he might have considered in terms of plot; it is tempting, if the rural parts of *The Poor Man and the Lady* did not include a concentration on the church music and musicians, and there is no evidence that it did, to imagine that he had begun as early as 1868 to think of putting this aspect of his family history at the centre of a narrative.<sup>5</sup> Whether this was the case or not, it is certainly true that the roots of *Under the Greenwood Tree* lie in the environment and personalities of Hardy’s early youth.

As very many commentators have pointed out, by Hardy’s last revision of the novel in 1912 the description of the Dewys’ cottage had become identifiably one of the thatched cottage in the hamlet of Higher Bockhampton (Higher or Upper Mellstock in the novel) in which Hardy was born, and indeed, by the time of the publication of the Wessex Edition, after two substantial sets of changes, the whole environment of the novel conforms very closely to that of the district in which he grew up. His father, grandfather, and uncle were members of a band of string players very similar to that represented in the novel, and though their church performances had ceased just after Hardy was born, they continued to play at other occasions; and when he was old enough to play the violin and strong enough to stand up to the strenuous activity, Hardy himself sometimes joined his father to provide the music at dances.<sup>6</sup> In *Life and Work*, Hardy identified the original of Robert Penny the shoemaker as Robert Reason: ‘Hardy once said he would much have preferred to use the real name, as being better suited to the character, but thought at the time of writing that there were possible relatives who might be hurt by the use of it, though he

<sup>5</sup> A discussion of what in *UGT* might derive from *PML* is in Appendix C.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Millgate in his *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2004) writes that the choir’s church music was probably discontinued in 1843, as a consequence of a decision to stop payment to the musicians from church revenues – itself the result of the indifference to their music of the new vicar of Stinsford (p. 19). The relevance to *UGT* is apparent. For Hardy’s own account of the choir, see Michael Millgate, *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1984) (hereafter *LW*), pp. 14–17; for his early love of and practice of music, see pp. 19–21, 28.

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afterwards found there were none.<sup>7</sup> Later he records the inscription on Reason's gravestone, commenting 'Although [he] had died twenty-one years before the birth of the author of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, he was faithfully described in that novel . . . Hardy having heard so much of him from old inhabitants of Bockhampton.'<sup>8</sup> (He wrote in red ink Reason's name above Penny's in the manuscript of the novel.) Hardy also tells a story of the death of the man on whom he had based tranter Dewy, identified in the index as the Hardys' neighbour William Keats;<sup>9</sup> though from other details Hardy offers in his autobiography and an analysis of the conclusions of a range of biographers it seems pretty certain that aspects of the relationship between Mr and Mrs Dewy in the novel are modelled on that between Hardy's parents. Keats died in 1870, and it may be that Hardy felt therefore able to embody some of his physical and verbal characteristics in *Under the Greenwood Tree*. In the same passage Hardy also identified the only real name of a Bockhampton inhabitant that he used in the novel, Voss, who had died in 1838. Fancy Day's achievements at teacher-training college are an echo of those of Hardy's younger cousin Tryphena Sparks, with whom he had once been in love, and it is likely that he also drew on some of her reported liveliness and wit; his quiet sister Mary, however, also went through the same training. Of autobiography, though, in the true sense there is apparently very little in the novel; it is hard to make Dick Dewy conform to any known personality traits of Hardy himself, nor do any of his acts find a source in the record of Hardy's life.

It is not one of the least interesting questions regarding the initial inscription of the novel why Hardy chose to disguise these intimate connections with his early life. Unfortunately, however, for the curious genetic critic, when Hardy wrote his similarly disguised autobiography he burned a considerable amount of the manuscript material on which he based his life narrative. Naturally enough, very few letters from the period survive and none that offers the slightest insight into the question of the origins of any of his early fiction, though it seems clear enough that if we understood more about the genesis of *The Poor Man and the Lady* the knowledge would also provide an entry into the beginnings of *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

<sup>7</sup> p. 95.    <sup>8</sup> LW, p. 426.    <sup>9</sup> LW, pp. 94–5 and 573.

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The language of the dialogue of *Under the Greenwood Tree* similarly derives for the most part from Hardy's thirty years of experience listening to his friends and family; but the language of the narrative voice comes primarily from his reading, and sometimes from his deliberate work in enlarging his range of expression. Striking evidence of this is to be found in the notebook, made in the mid 1860s, that he titled 'Studies, Specimens &c.'. For instance, the description of Fancy at Budmouth at the beginning of the first chapter of 'Summer' uses several phrases taken from this notebook, and is discussed in Appendix C, but there are eight or ten other examples (depending on how you count them) of distinctive expressions that found their way from the notebook to the novel, such as to make much of someone (from Psalm 15) on folio 36v (cf. 98.3), or 'the sharp ado of sweet and bitter' on fo. 31v (cf. 122.8). They may too have appeared in *The Poor Man and the Lady*.

In the end Macmillan rejected *The Poor Man and the Lady*, and when Chapman and Hall's reader George Meredith advised Hardy to try a novel with more plot and less social hostility, the immediate consequence (the composition of *Desperate Remedies*) suggests that for him exclusively rural working-class life had for the moment taken a back seat. It might have been expected that Hardy would have sent *Desperate Remedies* initially to Chapman and Hall, but in fact he again tried Macmillan first. They rejected it, primarily in horror at the possibility of an upper-class woman's sexual violation at an evening party; but in doing so they also wrote that the story 'has very decided qualities, very considerable power'<sup>10</sup> and in April 1870 they regretted having to turn it down. Eventually it was accepted on 19 December 1870 (with Hardy's guarantee of £75 against loss) by William Tinsley, the sole proprietor of Tinsley Brothers, and published by him on 25 March 1871.<sup>11</sup>

It seems very unlikely that Hardy was at work on what would become *Under the Greenwood Tree* in the space between the acceptance and the publication of *Desperate Remedies*, but the notices of the novel will have turned his mind again to the possibility of a novel whose material was

<sup>10</sup> BL, Add. MS 55390 (2), fo. 846.

<sup>11</sup> R. L. Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study*, revised edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) (hereafter Purdy), p. 330.

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drawn entirely from the life he knew best, and which did not depend upon an involved and sensational plot for its effect. John Hutton, the reviewer in the *Spectator* (22 April 1871) disliked *Desperate Remedies* very much, but was nevertheless clear-sighted and open-minded enough to admire two aspects of it. It was relatively easy to recognize, though not so straightforward to appreciate in exactly these terms, the author's

unusual and very happy facility in catching and fixing phases of peasant life, in producing for us not the manners and language only, but the tone of thought – if it can be dignified by the name of thought – and the simple humour of consequential village worthies and gaping village rustics. So that we are irresistibly reminded of the paintings of Wilkie, and still more perhaps, of those of Teniers with their lower moral tone and more unmistakable, though coarser humour. The scenes allotted to these humble actors are few and slight, but they indicate powers that might and ought to be extended largely in this direction, instead of being prostituted to the purposes of idle prying into the ways of wickedness. (p. 482)

There is in this (as in all the reviews of his early work) an element of class patronage that Hardy must have found distasteful but instructive; and the advice is clear. The second element in *Desperate Remedies* that the reviewer drew attention to is more subtle, and demonstrates an intelligent responsiveness that must have led Hardy to take the overall hostility of the review more seriously: 'This nameless author has, too, one other talent of a remarkable kind, – sensitiveness to scenic and atmospheric effects, and to their influence on the mind, and the power of raising similar sensitiveness in his readers.' After Hardy had got over the initial shock of being told that his novel appeared to be a desperate remedy for boredom or an emaciated purse (a nasty piece of gratuitous wit), he will have understood that this review was offering him considerable encouragement to go in the direction he had initially been proposing to himself for the sequel to *The Poor Man and the Lady*.

The reviewer in the *Athenæum*, after calling the novel 'unpleasant and powerful', also enjoyed the rural aspects of the story, and in this context he invoked the name of George Eliot in comparison, as did Hardy's friend Horace Moule in the *Saturday Review* – a comparison that was to haunt Hardy for the next twenty years, but which similarly will have encouraged him to return to rural scenes from the abandoned novel, and, if he had really generated any, the other material he said he had hunted up three years earlier.

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There are about four months between the review in the *Athenæum*, published, not altogether auspiciously, on 1 April 1871, and the first intimation we have of a completed *Under the Greenwood Tree*; was most of the writing done then? In *Life and Work*, Hardy wrote ambiguously ‘Later in the summer he finished the short and quite rustic tale entitled *Under the Greenwood Tree*’,<sup>12</sup> leaving open, perhaps deliberately, the question of when the bulk of the work was done. In an interview published in *Cassell’s Saturday Journal* in 1892 he is quoted as saying: ‘in my leisure – which was considerable – I began to write “Under the Greenwood Tree” but after writing it about half, laid it aside to write “Desperate Remedies”’.<sup>13</sup> Some of the surrounding detail in the interview is fanciful, but only twenty rather than forty-five years separate the memory from the actions it recalls. It is possible that he had written or outlined the material that deals with the choir’s meetings, carol singing, and perhaps even the visit to the new vicar in 1868 – though if so Hardy will have revised his work in 1871, and made a fair copy of it, so almost certainly none of the surviving manuscript is from three years earlier.

During the spring and early summer of 1871 Hardy was in Dorset and Cornwall working for the Weymouth architect George Crickmay. In Dorset, Hardy divided his time between Weymouth and Higher Bockhampton, and there is, as Millgate notes in *Biography Revisited*,<sup>14</sup> a fragmentary leaf in the Dorset County Museum torn from one of Hardy’s notebooks that comes from April and contains an idea about a girl who becomes a schoolmistress, suggesting that Fancy Day was still forming in his imagination, and thus perhaps the whole of the romance plot of *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Most of May was taken up by a visit to St Juliot in Cornwall, where he was overseeing the restoration of the parish church and pursuing his courtship of the rector’s sister-in-law Emma Gifford. There is no direct evidence to show where the manuscript was written, but it seems most likely that he carried it with him from home to Weymouth and back, even perhaps to Cornwall, since Emma Gifford had

<sup>12</sup> p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> 25 June 1892, pp. 944–6, quoted in Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2004) (hereafter *BR*), p. 125 and at greater length in Martin Ray, *Thomas Hardy Remembered* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 17–20.

<sup>14</sup> p. 124.

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helped to make a fair copy of *Desperate Remedies*, and was generally enthusiastic about his being a writer as well as an architect. At all events, it was completed by 7 August, for on that date he sent it to Macmillan.

It is perhaps surprising that after two rejections, of *The Poor Man and the Lady* and *Desperate Remedies*, he should have turned to Macmillan yet again; but they had been very gentle, and, remembering the praise given by their reader to the opening of *The Poor Man and the Lady*, he will have felt he was on securer ground this time. He wrote:

It is entirely a story of rural life, & the attempt has been to draw the characters humorously, without caricature. Several reasons have induced me to try my hand on a story wholly of this tone – one reason being some reviews of a late novel of mine . . . The accessories of one scene . . . may possibly be recognised by you as appearing originally in a tale submitted a long time ago (which never saw the light): they were introduced advisedly, as forming a good background to the love portion.<sup>15</sup>

On 11 August Malcolm Macmillan wrote acknowledging receipt of the manuscript, and asked for the title of his 'late novel' and for the reviews, adding with perhaps a touch of surprise, that his father, Alexander Macmillan, didn't know he had published anything since they had seen the manuscript of *Desperate Remedies*.<sup>16</sup> Hardy sent the notices a week later, commenting that as a consequence of their criticisms he 'thought it just as well not to dabble in plot again at present'.<sup>17</sup> Alexander Macmillan responded with a friendly note suggesting that one might have expected each of the several journals to have expressed the particular point of view they did.<sup>18</sup> Then on 11 September Malcolm Macmillan wrote:

We send you herewith a criticism of your MS story by an accomplished critic, to whom we have submitted it. We think, from what you said, that you will be glad of this; but hope that you will not object to waiting a little longer, before we decide finally about taking the story.

Let us assure you again that we shall give careful attention to the question, and that so favourable a judgement from a critic, whom we have found most trustworthy, makes us strongly inclined to avail ourselves of your offer.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *CL* I, pp. 11–12.    <sup>16</sup> BL, Add. MS 55391 (1), fo. 428.    <sup>17</sup> *CL* I, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> BL, Add. MS 55391 (1), fo. 443.    <sup>19</sup> BL, Add. MS 55391 (2), fo. 526.

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The ‘accomplished critic’ was again John Morley; he was more direct than Macmillan had been, telling Hardy that he should not listen to the fooleries of critics – though there is perhaps something ironic in such a comment in a reader’s report. It read in full:

The work in this story is extremely careful, natural & delicate, and the writer deserves more than common credit for the pains wh he has taken with his style & with the harmony of his construction & treatment. It is a simple and uneventful sketch of a rural courtship, with a moderate and reserved climax of real delicacy of idea. The writer is wanting in the fine poetic breath wh gives such charm to George Sand’s work in the same kind, but he has evidently a true artistic feeling, if it is somewhat in excess the feeling of a realist

The opening scenes at the cottage on the Xmas Eve are quite twice as long as they ought to be, because the writer has not sufficient sparkle & humour to pass off such /minute &/ prolonged description of a trifle. – This part should decidedly be shortened.

It would only, I suppose, make a one-volume story. I don’t prophesy a large market for it, because the work is so delicate as not to hit every taste by any means. But it is good work, and would please people whose taste is not ruined by novels of exaggerated action or forced ingenuity. The writer wd do well—

- 1 To study George Sand’s best work
- 2 To shut his ears to the fooleries of critics, as his letter to you proves he does not do
- 3 To beware of letting realism grow out of proportion to his fancy<sup>20</sup>

Since Morley had praised the opening scene in the tranter’s house in *The Poor Man and the Lady*, he must be convicted of considerable inconsistency, or else the first pages of *The Poor Man and the Lady* were very different from those of *Under the Greenwood Tree*. It seems most likely that Hardy had begun *The Poor Man and the Lady* with a dance on Christmas Eve at the tranter’s, and that he rewrote the chapters to fit the later novel, changing the occasion of the party to Christmas Day.

On 14 October Hardy wrote again from St Juliot enquiring after *Under the Greenwood Tree*, saying that he was glad Macmillan might be interested in the novel, and adding that the opening scene ‘might of course be

<sup>20</sup> BL, Add. MS 55931, fos. 175–6.

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shortened as suggested'.<sup>21</sup> Alexander Macmillan's reply on 18 October begins with the unusually cordial and surely encouraging 'My dear Mr. Hardy'. He continued by emphasizing the care with which he had read the manuscript, and admitted that he had found 'charming writing' in it, though he concurred with Morley in thinking the opening needed cutting; at the same time he was clearly worried by the brevity and the lack of incident when the story was viewed as a publishing venture – it was too short for the regular three-volume circulating library novel, and if produced in a cheaper format, then large sales would be needed to make it pay. So he temporized, saying they were full of Christmas books, that the winter was hardly the season for *Under the Greenwood Tree*, and ending: 'if you should not arrange otherwise before the spring, I should like to have the opportunity of deciding whether we could do it for an early summer or Spring book'. And he returned the manuscript.<sup>22</sup>

Reading this carefully, as he must have done, Hardy can hardly be blamed for considering the letter the next worst thing to a rejection; and, probably on the day after he got Macmillan's letter, 20 October, he wrote to Tinsley mentioning (by implication, though not by titles) *Under the Greenwood Tree* as unfinished, and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as just begun.<sup>23</sup> This is a very rapid response, indicating some urgency on Hardy's part – perhaps prompted by Emma Gifford? He must have recollected that Tinsley had been prepared to risk some of his own money on *Desperate Remedies* (though not much), and might not be so choosy as Macmillan. Getting into print again might have been his most important consideration.

However, Tinsley did not rise directly to the bait of either novel, though he was more interested in the possibility of the longer story (of which Hardy had written nothing or very little indeed); and from this time *Under the Greenwood Tree* disappears from view for a while. In *Life and Work*, Hardy wrote that he 'threw the MS. into a box with his old poems, being quite sick of all such, and began to think about other ways and means. He consulted Miss Gifford by letter, declaring that he had banished novel-writing for ever, and was going on with architecture henceforward', followed by more in the same resolute vein, reinforced in a paragraph describing a meeting with Horace Moule in London (where Hardy had

<sup>21</sup> CL I, p. 13.    <sup>22</sup> BL, Add. MS 55391 (2), fo. 674.    <sup>23</sup> CL I, pp. 13–14.

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taken up work in the office of the architect Roger Smith) in the spring of 1872: ‘Moule . . . said he hoped he still kept a hand on the pen: but Hardy seems to have declared that he had thrown up authorship at last and for all’. On the same page we read how Tinsley accosted Hardy in the Strand and demanded another novel:

Hardy remarked that he had written a short story some time before, but didn’t know what had become of the MS., and did not care . . . Hardy could not at first recollect what he had done with the MS., but recalling at last he wrote to his parents at home, telling them where to search for it, and to forward it to him. When in the first week in April *Under the Greenwood Tree* arrived, Hardy sent it on to Tinsley without looking at it, saying he would have nothing to do with any publishing accounts.<sup>24</sup>

This circumstantial account of the abandonment of literature for architecture is quite untrustworthy; it contains several contradictions of letters of the period, which demonstrate an enduring concern with his fiction. On 3 January 1872, Hardy wrote to Tinsley from Weymouth concerning the accounts of *Desperate Remedies*, saying ‘I have rather delayed the completion of my new MS till the result of the other is clear’, and there ensued reasonably regular correspondence about the accounts.<sup>25</sup> Evidence drawn from the surviving manuscript suggests that Hardy revised the text of *Under the Greenwood Tree* in direct response to the criticisms of Morley and Macmillan, though it is impossible to say precisely when he did so. There is no doubt that Hardy was driven to write, and if he did even for a month or two turn in his mind to architecture alone, it would have been with deep regret. We do know that it was in a letter of 19 March 1872<sup>26</sup> that Tinsley asked after another book of Hardy’s, so the description above of Hardy’s meeting with Tinsley was probably a pleasant piece of fictionalized biography.<sup>27</sup> Writing by return on 20 March, Hardy promised to call on Tinsley in a few days<sup>28</sup> but there was evidently some reason for delay since it was nearly three weeks later that Hardy sent the manuscript to the publisher;<sup>29</sup> it is suggested below that Hardy took this last opportunity to

<sup>24</sup> *LW*, pp. 89–91.   <sup>25</sup> *CL* 1, pp. 15–16; Purdy, p. 331.   <sup>26</sup> Purdy, p. 332.

<sup>27</sup> I have been unable to find a record of the manuscript’s having been offered to another publisher between Macmillan and Tinsley, though the records of many firms have disappeared, including those of the most likely alternative publishers, Chapman and Hall.

<sup>28</sup> *CL* 1, p. 16.   <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

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make some further changes to the story before letting it go again. A week after that Tinsley had read it, and invited Hardy to hear what he thought of it; his thoughts must have been favourable, for on 22 April he offered Hardy £30 for the copyright of the novel, to be paid a month after it was published, and Hardy accepted<sup>30</sup> – a decision he afterwards regretted, since it was the only one of his works over which he did not retain control.

### The Manuscript of the Novel

The manuscript as it survives today was given to the printer, and is complete, with the exception of the last leaf, which was rewritten by Hardy at a later date, the original evidently having peeled off the back of the stabbed binding before it was rebound. It shows signs of several successive revisions, revealed chiefly through the two numerations that appear on most sheets, one on the top left-hand side of the leaf, the other (and later) at the top right. It is written on the recto of 194 leaves, 23 of which are fragmentary to a greater or lesser degree, and 22 of which have additional material written on the verso; the average number of lines to the complete page is 31, though pages with 30 and 32 lines also occur. With the exception of the last leaf, it is written on two varieties of paper, all of which were trimmed by the binder to approximately 20.5 by 16.5 cms (8 by 6½ inches): 29 leaves, for the most part consecutive, are creamy-white wove paper, with no watermark and a thickness of 0.11 cm; the remainder are pale grey-blue wove paper, a similar thickness, and each bearing some portion of the watermark TURNER'S PATENT and a crowned medallion depicting Britannia.<sup>31</sup> It was bound by Jeremiah Larkins' shop in three-quarter green morocco and green-marbled paper, presumably in 1908 when Clement Shorter had most of Hardy's surviving fictional manuscripts bound in return for possession of that of *The Return of the Native*.<sup>32</sup> It was

<sup>30</sup> Purdy, p. 332.

<sup>31</sup> Cream fos. 2–28, 87, 91; grey-blue fos. [1], 29–86, 88, 90, 92–202 (according to the second MS numeration). There is a discussion of the watermark in Appendix F. The final leaf, written probably in 1906, is cream wove paper, slightly thinner, with the watermark CHARLES MARTIN | EXTRA STRONG.

<sup>32</sup> *CL* III, pp. 309, 319. In fact Larkins had died the previous year, but the firm carried on the business under his name.

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deposited in the Dorset County Museum at the death of Hardy's second wife, under the terms of her will.

There is a page-by-page analysis of the manuscript in Appendix D and here are simply outlined the conclusions reached in that analysis. As has been seen, Hardy claimed many years later that he wrote as much as half of the novel in 1868–9, before he began *Desperate Remedies*, and that he merely completed the narrative in 1871. If he did, there is no physical evidence to show what parts of the final manuscript were drafted then, though as already suggested, it is certainly possible that the material in the first half of the novel that tells of the choir, its activities and its removal from the church music might already have been in existence in some form when he started to work on the novel in 1871; almost certainly a version of the Christmas dance at the Dewys' had already appeared at the beginning of the abortive *The Poor Man and the Lady*.

Purdy speculates that the cream paper in the printer's MS of *Under the Greenwood Tree* 'may be some indication of passages the novel incorporates from the rejected MS of *The Poor Man and the Lady*',<sup>33</sup> but these leaves occur at the beginning of the novel (save two scattered later), and include Dick Dewy the tranter's son's encountering the rest of the choir, the ensuing dialogue amongst them all in his father's house, and the beginning of their carol singing; the transition between cream and grey-blue paper occurs seamlessly in the middle of their conversation about the proper instruments for church music. It seems likely that if the choir's carol singing had been an important feature of *The Poor Man and the Lady* then some hint of it might have survived. It is much more probable that this is part of the material that Hardy was 'hunting up' in the late summer of 1868 and that he made a fair copy of it during the weeks of the summer of 1871 when he was continually travelling between Bockhampton and Weymouth (he was also at St Juliot in May), and that the variety of paper represents variety of place rather than variety of time.

Thus it seems most likely that in 1868–9 Hardy wrote, or sketched out, part of a narrative of village life centred around the demise of a church choir, and that when he returned to that material in 1871 it was with confidence stimulated by the praise in the reviews of *Desperate Remedies*

<sup>33</sup> Purdy, p. 7.

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of his treatment of rural working-class life. To make a commercially viable product he needed some romance, so he adapted the Christmas party from *The Poor Man and the Lady* and made the romantic leads meet there for the first time; other details from the abandoned novel also crept into the love story, though it was rather a slight affair.

In this case the first numeration of the manuscript would have been made as Hardy wrote out the earliest fair copy version, perhaps in June or July 1871, consisting originally of probably 169 or 170 leaves, the first layer of the surviving document.

There are some leaves, perhaps thirty-eight,<sup>34</sup> that bear first numbers which indicate that they are later additions to this first layer (for example the leaf containing the description of Fancy at the tranter's dance has the first number 53a): such leaves constitute the second stage of work, and include the addition of three chapters towards the end of the manuscript, for which the numeration system was altered.<sup>35</sup>

Associated with this stage is a change to the system of numbering and titling chapters. When first copying out the manuscript, Hardy decided to have relatively few chapters with between two and six subsections each. This scheme extended at least to 2N160<sup>36</sup> of the manuscript, the present Part IV, Chapter III, and almost certainly to the end of the novel. Also, perhaps five of the early chapters and sections used quotations as titles, ending with that on 2N30, the present Part I, Chapter v. The new system, besides making most of the original subsections chapters in themselves, also introduced the division of the novel into parts, as each of the part title headings is evidently a later addition which it seems reasonable to link with the wholesale reallocation of chapter headings. This took place at the same time as, or just before, the addition of the three chapters mentioned in the previous paragraph.<sup>37</sup> Hardy might have made this wholesale change as a consequence of something he read in the review of *Desperate Remedies* in the *Athenæum* of 1 April 1871:

<sup>34</sup> The uncertainty here and elsewhere in this account is caused by the fact that some of the numerals at the top left hand of leaves have been, or may have been, obscured or cut away in the binding process.

<sup>35</sup> See p. lxxviii below.

<sup>36</sup> The abbreviation 2N indicates that the associated numeral is part of Hardy's second numeration of the manuscript.

<sup>37</sup> The system of chapter division is examined in Appendix E.

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The construction of the story is very curious. The various periods are accurately marked out in the headings of the chapters, and the sections into which they are divided . . . If carefully carried out . . . this gives an air of reality which is far more satisfactory than the popular mottoes from some book of quotations which form the headings of chapters in nine-tenths of novels, though at the same time it may easily become an affectation.

The deletion of the verse epigrams and the new seasonal division of the parts of the manuscript might be a response to the enthusiasm of the first part of the reviewer's comment (though he reverted to this practice for his next novel *A Pair of Blue Eyes*), while the limitation of the new temporal scheme to the seasons would certainly respond to the final caveat.

Thirdly there are six or seven leaves that have no first number, while falling within the regular sequence of the second numeration; the implication is that these leaves were added just before the second numeration took place, since Hardy had not thought it necessary to include them in his earlier one. It seems unlikely that any of the text was deleted at this time, except to make room for the additions.

Finally there are four leaves which have a composite second number (as, for instance, that which ends the third chapter of Part the First, which has 1N23 and 2N19–24) indicating that the revision at such points was made relatively late, after the second numeration. There were no leaves added that are revealed as such by the second numeration. The nature and scope of Hardy's revisions in the manuscript are examined in the section of this introduction on revision to the novel, pp. lxxii–cxvi below.

## The Publishing History of the Novel

### *The First and Second Editions*

William Tinsley sent the manuscript of *Under the Greenwood Tree or A Rural Painting of the Dutch School* to Robson and Sons of Pancras Road, London, to print, and the manuscript as it survives is marked up for their compositors.<sup>38</sup> Hardy wrote in *Life and Work*: 'In the early part

<sup>38</sup> There is a full account of this feature of the manuscript in Appendix G.

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of May [1872] he was correcting proofs of the rural story. It was mostly done late at night, at Westbourne Park, where he was again living.<sup>39</sup>

The novel was first advertised in the *Athenæum* and the *Saturday Review* on 18 May, though not described in Tinsley's advertisements as being ready until 15 June, on which day it was reviewed by the *Athenæum*.<sup>40</sup> Though no evidence survives as to the size of this first edition, it is reasonable to expect that it was of 500 copies, the same figure as *Desperate Remedies*;<sup>41</sup> it was published in two volumes and the price was 21s.<sup>42</sup>

Tinsley in his *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* wrote that *Under the Greenwood Tree* was 'one of the best press-noticed books I ever published',<sup>43</sup> though in fact the reviews were for the most part only slightly more friendly than those for *Desperate Remedies*, and were considerably less interesting. The *Athenæum* congratulated itself on having by its own review of *Desperate Remedies* persuaded the author to work 'principally that vein of his genius which yields the best produce', adding: 'Our readers may possibly remember, that while praising "Desperate Remedies" for many marks of ability, we especially commended it for its graphic pictures of rustic life somewhere in the West country.' *Pall Mall* (5 July) praised the novel's freshness and originality. *The Spectator*, in which Hutton had partly savaged *Desperate Remedies*, told Hardy that in parts it was 'very good work indeed'; but also repeated, in even more emphatic terms, the perception of Hardy's indebtedness to George Eliot:

In judging of [the success of Hardy's rural dialogue] one has of course before one's eye the wonderful village talk which the author of 'Adam Bede' has evolved out of her consciousness, and which sounds as good as if she had waited in taprooms all her life. No writer need be affronted at being judged by this standard, or need think it a wrong to be set down as a disciple of this school. If it had not been for George

<sup>39</sup> p. 91.    <sup>40</sup> p. 748.    <sup>41</sup> Letter from Tinsley to Hardy, 9 December 1870; Purdy, p. 330.

<sup>42</sup> A glance at one of the volumes will show that in order to make the relatively brief novel extend over two volumes the printers were instructed to use not just substantial leading between the lines, but an unusual amount of spacing between the words on each line. Such practice was commonplace in the age of the subscription lending library in order to pad out shorter novels to the three-volume norm, but *UGT* is extreme in this respect.

<sup>43</sup> *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900), vol. 1, p. 127.

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Eliot's works, we should not, we are inclined to think, have had *Under the Greenwood Tree*.<sup>44</sup>

It was Hutton's *Spectator* notice of the first episode of *Far from the Madding Crowd* in *Cornhill* just over a year later (3 January 1874) that proposed that the anonymous novel might actually be by George Eliot, a comment which must have been a final straw for Hardy, leading both to *The Hand of Ethelberta* and to a dismissal in *Life and Work* of Eliot as an interpreter of the life of the fields.<sup>45</sup>

More interestingly, but probably equally gallingly for Hardy, four of the notices, including that by Moule in the *Saturday Review*, made a more or less identical criticism of the novel, though with varying sensitivity. In *Pall Mall*, Hardy read: 'The humble heroes and heroines of the tale are much too shrewd, and say too many good things, to be truthful representatives of their prototypes in real life.'<sup>46</sup> The reviewer in the *Spectator* informed him that in

the courting part of the story the writer is less happy, falling into the ordinary literary English, just as a provincial forgets his elegant speech when he is moved by some strong feeling. Surely, for instance, it is out of all character for the hero, Dick, the carrier's son, to say to his sweetheart, when he thinks that she has thought more than was right of the admiration of some passers-by, "You showed upon your face a flattered consciousness of being attractive to them."

In the *Athenæum* the reviewer quoted the dialogue between the farmer Shinar and the heroine Fancy that begins 'You don't accept attentions very freely', and commented 'This would have drawn down the house in a comedy by the late Mr Robertson, but it is not the talk of rustics.'<sup>47</sup> Hardy could perhaps dismiss these comments as fragments of the ignorance of the metropolitan intellectual, but Moule wrote with more insight and less class patronage, in making essentially the same point. He criticized the occasional tendency of the country folk, not so much to think with something of subtle distinction (for cottagers can do that much more completely than the

<sup>44</sup> 2 November 1872, p. 1403.    <sup>45</sup> 3 January 1874, p. 22; *LW*, p. 100.    <sup>46</sup> 5 July 1872, p. 75.

<sup>47</sup> 15 June 1872, p. 749; the tentative and mostly illegible pencil alterations to the dialogue in the manuscript appear to be a response to this comment, though he didn't complete the process (see pp. 161–2 below), and his revisions in 1896 to the passage do not attempt to meet the reviewer's objection.

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well-dressed world are apt to suppose), but to express themselves in the language of the author's manner of thought rather than in their own. The tranter, for example, should not be allowed to call the widow Leaf . . . an 'imaginative woman on the subject of children'.

Hardy might well have fallen back on his experience in Bockhampton and Dorchester to justify to himself the examples the reviewers gave, but at the same time, when in 1896 he had a chance to revise the novel thoroughly, he altered both Dick's and his father's speeches.<sup>48</sup>

Though the notices were largely favourable, the novel did not sell, as Tinsley regretfully remarked, and unbound sheets of the first edition were remaindered in one volume, probably at some time in 1874 or 1875 as a result of the success of the serialized *Far from the Madding Crowd*, since the spine of the binding reads 'BY THE AUTHOR OF | FAR FROM THE | MADDING CROWD'. The only copy I have been able to examine has Chapman and Hall advertisements as endpapers, while having Tinsley's imprint on the casing; it also has W. H. Smith & Sons' blind-stamp on the blank endpapers.<sup>49</sup> It seems likely that Tinsley sold his remaining stock of the recased two-volume edition to Chapman and Hall, along with surplus copies of the one-volume edition (see below p. 1), probably just before he published the illustrated edition of the novel in 1875/6, and Chapman and Hall shifted them on to the railway bookstalls pretty quickly thereafter. This remainder issue collates exactly as 1872, with the single omission of the half-title leaf of the second volume.

Walter Spencer the antiquarian bookseller has a different version of the disposal of the unsold copies of the first edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, as well as those of *Desperate Remedies* and Hardy's third novel *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, which Tinsley also published. His account is riddled with error, and yet he knew Tinsley well, and he claims personal knowledge of the fate of the books:

<sup>48</sup> See p. 133.15 and p. 83.12 below.

<sup>49</sup> Bodleian Library 256 e.17514. A copy owned by Mr L. Smith, to whom I am indebted for the following information, is defective; only the binding, the half-title of Volume 1 and all of the second volume, less the half-title, remain. This copy also has W. H. Smith's blind-stamp on the endpapers, but has no advertising endpapers. It may be that the bookseller purchased this volume soon after its publication, and the Bodleian copy rather later.

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Tinsley printed five hundred copies of each of these three novels, binding fifty to begin with; and he never sold twenty! Afterward the remaining four hundred and fifty of each were sold as bulk in their sheets to a barrow-man who hawked cheap books under a naphtha light on Saturday evenings at the corner of Jackson's Road, Holloway Road. To this part of the history of those now world-famed novels I myself was able to be an eye-witness. The barrow-man bound up the three-volume Hardy books in his own particular way – with thick brown paper, making a one-volume affair of them, and there they lay on his stall, jewels among the heaped-up dross. 'Now my intellectual friends,' his hoarse voice shouted out to the working folk passing by the stall, 'here's a three-volume novel published at one pound eleven and six – mark that, one pound eleven and six, and you can have it to-night for fifteen pence!'<sup>50</sup>

He was right about the number of *Desperate Remedies* printed, though quite wrong about the number bound and sold, and he may therefore have been right about the number of the others printed; as it was in two volumes, *Under the Greenwood Tree* only cost a guinea, but the other two were indeed originally sold at the price the barrow-man announced. Spencer's claim to have seen and heard the fifteen-penny offer made could be true, and some of the unsold copies of one or more of the novels may have been disposed of in this way. At any rate, it makes a good story.

Tinsley, having purchased the copyright of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, didn't give the novel up after the first edition, as he had *Desperate Remedies*, and in 1873, hopeful that a cheap edition might sell, he published what is a hybrid second edition. A page-by-page, letter-by-letter comparison of the setting of this edition (T2) with that of the first edition (T1) shows that a proportion of the individual types used in the earlier edition were also used, in the same sequence, in the later: all those used in the first volume of T1, with the exception of the inner formes of B and C, and leaves 2, 3, 6, 7 of the outer forme of F, were retained in T2, while all those in the second volume of T1 were reset, with the exception of the inner forme of C.

No certain explanation can be offered for this pattern; the line measure is identical in both editions and so is the size of the type page, but there are twenty-five lines to the page in T2 compared with twenty-one in T1; Joseph Gould wrote in his nearly contemporary *The Compositor's Guide* that 'after

<sup>50</sup> *Forty Years in my Bookshop* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), pp. 239–40.

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a leaded work has been finished, should the type not be required for any work in hand, the compositors are bound to unlead the matter, dis[tribute] the heads and whites, tie up the matter in convenient sized pages for papering and give it in charge of the storekeeper or overseer, without making any charge'.<sup>51</sup> Presumably this is what happened initially to the whole novel, especially since it was common practice to follow a multiple-volume first edition of a novel fairly swiftly with a cheaper one-volume edition; perhaps before Tinsley ordered the new edition type had been needed for work on hand, and some of these stored pages had therefore been distributed; it seems less likely that so large an amount of type was mishandled and pied.<sup>52</sup> The nature of the very few differences introduced into this version of the work makes it clear that Hardy had nothing to do with them, and indeed Hardy, writing to Tinsley on 24 October 1875 about a proposed Christmas illustrated reissue of the one-volume edition, said:

I have been looking into 'Under the Greenwood Tree' – the 2 vol. Edition, which is the only one I have – and I find no serious misprints there, or anything that could be set right by slight changes such as you mention. But I do see many sentences that I should rewrite or revise, supposing I had an opportunity, & could thoroughly examine the book, & were not bound at all by the stereotype plates.<sup>53</sup>

The implication of this comment is that he had not made, or even been asked if he wanted to make, any changes to the text before the printing of this edition in 1873. The edition has no textual authority, and the only alterations to the plates of T2 over time derive from the repair of damage.<sup>54</sup>

This setting was published by Tinsley in two forms in August 1873, at 2s. 6d. in cloth, and as No. 40 in his yellowback 'Tinsley's Cheap Novels' series, the green and yellow front cover including a picture of Fancy leaning over her windowsill to greet Dick; some copies of the latter (including those in the Dorset County Museum and my own collection) have a Chapman and Hall Select Library list bound in at the end, and, if the list was even remotely current when it was bound in, it seems likely from internal evidence that Chapman and Hall acquired the copies in 1875. This would make sense, for at the end of 1875 Tinsley reissued the setting for Christmas

<sup>51</sup> London: Farrington and Marlborough, 1878, p. 71.

<sup>52</sup> Other more particular differences between T1 and T2 are noted in Appendix I.

<sup>53</sup> *CL* I, p. 39. <sup>54</sup> See p. lvii below for some examples.

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(dated 1876) with a frontispiece and fifteen illustrations by R. Knight. The print run for this impression may have been 3,000 or more, since when Tinsley sold the copyright, stereotype plates, unbound sheets and copies on hand to Chatto and Windus at the beginning of 1878 they purchased 1,720 copies in sheets and 61 clothbound; and Tinsley must have sold a fair number of copies following the success of *Far from the Madding Crowd* in 1874.<sup>55</sup>

His persistence shows that Tinsley believed in the novel, but in a letter to Hardy dated 5 January 1875 he had written ‘I don’t think up to this time I have made a shilling out of the book’, while offering to sell him the copyright plates and stock of the novel for £300, a sum that Hardy could not afford.<sup>56</sup> Tinsley must always have lived on the edge of financial insecurity, but he got into more serious difficulties late in 1877, and on 3 January 1878 he sold *Under the Greenwood Tree* to Chatto and Windus for £100 (I speculate that Hardy would have paid at least this much if Tinsley had offered the copyright to him again),<sup>57</sup> and in August of that year he filed for bankruptcy.<sup>58</sup>

Chatto and Windus got Robson to print, in April 1878, another 3,000 copies on a different weight of paper and between 1878 and 1884 bound all 4,700, and sold them at two prices, two shillings and three shillings and sixpence. In 1891 the stereos were sent from Robson to Spottiswoode, who repaired them, and over the following year printed 1,500 copies on each of the two weights of paper.<sup>59</sup> Copies dated 1893 were still being issued in 1901 or later, as advertising endpapers in examined volumes show, while the stereos were used under licence after 1921 by Eveleigh, Nash and Grayson in their Great Novels series (they were licensed by Chatto to print 10,000 copies in that year). In 1902 Chatto and Windus published a fine paper edition, for which they had the text reset, though without any input from

<sup>55</sup> Chatto and Windus edition book I (University of Reading). <sup>56</sup> Purdy, p. 335.

<sup>57</sup> A copy of the agreement was in the records of Chatto and Windus in 1970; it cannot now (August 2013) be found either in their archive at the University of Reading or in the library of Random House, the company that has acquired the Chatto and Windus imprint.

<sup>58</sup> *London Gazette*, 3 September 1878, p. 5013. *The Accountant* (7 September 1878, p. 6) records that his liabilities were about £33,000, and his assets various copyrights and *Tinsley’s Magazine*. Eventually he kept the magazine and his creditors accepted 2s. 6d. (12.5 pence) in the pound. This was the first of Tinsley’s three bankruptcies.

<sup>59</sup> Chatto and Windus edition book I (University of Reading).

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Hardy; the book evidently sold well at once since 2,000 were bound in December 1901 and a new binding order was given in April 1902; they kept it in print until the expiry of their rights in 1935, selling sheets to, amongst others, Oxford University Press in Madras. In 1907 they ventured on a sixpenny ‘popular edition’ in paper wrappers, again reset without any input from Hardy – the initial print run was 25,000, another 10,000 were printed in 1911, and they were all off their hands by 1915 (this compares with Harper’s 1900 paperback edition of *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, which sold 100,000 copies very rapidly). Their final attempt to exploit their ownership of *Under the Greenwood Tree* in book form was an edition illustrated by Keith Henderson and published in 1913 at six shillings; 3,000 were printed and the sale was steady but unspectacular until in 1932 the small stock on hand was sold to the wholesalers Simpkin, Marshall; in a quite different venture they sold the film rights in the novel to British International Pictures Ltd, whose production appeared in 1929, one of the first British talking pictures.

Chatto also licensed other firms to publish the novel at different price ranges: Eveleigh, Nash and Grayson at 2s. 6d., William Collins at different prices at different times (including 7d. in their “Handy” Modern Fiction’ series), but throughout at 2s. and 4s., J. M. Dent between 1s. and 2s. and (as will be seen), Osgood, McIlvaine, Harper and Brothers and Macmillan at 6s. and at 3s. 6d. All of Collins’ and Chatto’s versions used the text of 1873, but Dent in their Wayfarer’s Library edition, first published in 1914, at some time acquired the version that Hardy had revised in 1912. Of this Hardy would doubtless have approved, and it is hard to say whether it was more irritating to him to have thousands of copies of *Under the Greenwood Tree* sold each year without his revisions, or to have Chatto and Windus pocketing the profit from them.<sup>60</sup>

The poet Coventry Patmore read this version of the work, and in an essay on Hardy’s fiction in general in *St James’s Gazette* (2 April 1887) he wrote of *Under the Greenwood Tree*: ‘Hardy has made a prose-idyll which deserves to rank with the *Vicar of Wakefield*; though, and partly indeed because, it is as unlike Goldsmith’s story as can well be, being absolutely

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix J for full details of the print runs of editions published or licensed by Chatto and Windus.

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unique in its way.<sup>61</sup> William Sharp enthused over this text a couple of years before he began his alternate career as Fiona MacLeod:

‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ was subtitled ‘A Rural Painting of the Dutch School,’ and here we have at once and unmistakably the hand of a master. To this day ‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ remains one of Mr. Hardy’s most distinctive achievements. It seems to me to stand alone as much now as at the time when it appeared. From first to last it is admirable, though it has no plot to speak of, and is, in a word, nothing more than a series of life-like studies of man and nature connected by a thread of narrative. But where can we find its like? When has anything more absolutely English been done? Where, since the time of Shakespeare, do we encounter such vivid fidelity, such Rembrandtesque setting of homely things in the picturesque aspect that is none the less true because seen quintessentially?<sup>62</sup>

In America the translator, critic and novelist Harriet Waters Preston (who had met Hardy) revealed her class assumptions:

as for that joyous idyl, ‘Under the Greenwood Tree,’ it was far too exclusively rustic to appeal to any but a highly sophisticated literary taste . . . Nevertheless, it was in ‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ that Mr. Hardy found his vein, for here was first produced that wonderful chorus of Shaksperian clowns destined to figure more or less in all the subsequent books, and to charm the *ennui* of the world by their archaic aspect and accent, their blundering wisdom and buoyant folly, their innocent mixture of piety and blasphemy, and their broad and beautiful misuse of our mother tongue. It was at first conjectured – and the Shaksperian title of ‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ gave color to the notion – that the precious dialect of these West Country clowns was a purely imaginary reproduction of Elizabethan English, as it may have lived upon the lips of the clodhopper.

It is not at all clear by whom this was conjectured – perhaps her New England literary friends; but she goes on to quote a typical speech and to draw an interesting conclusion from it:

‘Well, now, that coarseness that’s so upsetting to Ann’s feelings, is to my mind a recommendation, for it do always prove a story to be true. And for the same reason I like a story wi’ a bad moral. My sonnies, all true stories have a coarseness or a bad moral, depend upon’t. If the story-tellers could ha’ got decency and good morals from true stories, who’d ha’ troubled to invent parables?’

<sup>61</sup> p. 6.    <sup>62</sup> ‘Thomas Hardy and his Novels’, *The Forum* (July 1892), p. 588.

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Note the last remark, for it contains the germ of one of two or three fixed ideas or theories which have remained with Mr. Hardy throughout a literary life of some five-and-twenty years, growing with his growth and strengthening with his strength as a writer.<sup>63</sup>

After the publication of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* at the end of 1891 there ensued a fiery critical debate about the coarseness and morality of Hardy's work in general and of *Tess* in particular; Preston is acute in making this connection.

*First Collected Edition (The Wessex Novels: Osgood, McIlvaine's Edition 1896)*

James Ripley Osgood was interested in publishing a collected edition of Hardy's works as early as December 1888, as may be seen from a letter Hardy wrote to him at that time: 'With regard to the other matter, I think I told you that my publishers have the right to print my books till the end of copyright, unless I give notice to the contrary. Perhaps, however, it will be the better plan to wait till I can see you on this.'<sup>64</sup> Evidently they did talk about it, perhaps more than once, and soon after establishing the house of Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., Osgood wrote to Hardy on the subject again: 'You will recall our conversation of some months ago when I suggested the plan of a new and uniform edition of your books. I shall be glad to hear if you are ready to discuss this.'<sup>65</sup> At that time Hardy's agreements with other publishers, in particular Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington., who owned temporary rights over most of his novels, had nearly four years to run, and so the project was shelved, to reappear in 1893, when Hardy could look forward to gathering his whole output in the near future, always with the irritating exception of *Under the Greenwood Tree*.<sup>66</sup>

Sampson Low had been issuing eight of Hardy's novels (running chronologically from *A Pair of Blue Eyes* to *The Mayor of Casterbridge*) in uniform formats – maroon cloth or yellowback – for some years; and in a note dated tentatively by Purdy and Millgate to 1888, but which may well have been written a year or two later, Hardy significantly asked Edward

<sup>63</sup> 'Thomas Hardy', *Century* (July 1893), pp. 352–6. <sup>64</sup> *CL* 1, p. 182.

<sup>65</sup> 4 December 1890, DCM.

<sup>66</sup> Sadly Osgood had died in 1892, before he could see this project begin to take shape.

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Marston: ‘Could you, whenever advertising my books, use the words “Wessex novels” at the head of the list? . . . I find that the name *Wessex*, wh. I was the first to use in fiction, is getting to be taken up everywhere: & it would be a pity for us to lose the right to it for want of asserting it.’<sup>67</sup> I have seen no evidence, however, that the publishers agreed with Hardy, and as late as 1894, the year in which their licence to publish expired, there was no mention of *Wessex* on the volumes themselves.

Ward and Downey’s rights to *Desperate Remedies*, sold in 1892 to Heinemann, expired at the same time as Sampson Low’s in their novels, but Hardy had some difficulty in extracting *The Woodlanders* and *Wessex Tales* from Macmillan; eventually a compromise deal was worked out by which Macmillan would issue all Hardy’s novels in a colonial edition in exchange for the novel and the volume of short stories (*Under the Greenwood Tree* of course offered a different problem, discussed below). Hardy had undertaken to write prefaces for each of the volumes, which make fascinating reading for the student of *Wessex*; Henry Macbeth-Raeburn was engaged to draw and engrave landscape scenes from each novel (he visited every setting under advice from Hardy, as the form in which the title of each drawing was given makes clear: *THE ‘\*\*\*\*\*’ OF THE STORY / Drawn on the spot*), while Stanford was given the task of redrawing Hardy’s map of the region; their version appeared at the end of each book (except for *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, in which it is tipped to page 129 for no accountable reason).

As far as *Under the Greenwood Tree* is concerned, on 4 May 1894 Clarence McIlvaine (who was now in sole command of the firm) wrote to Andrew Chatto to ask if they could, over lunch at the Reform Club, discuss the possibility of including *Under the Greenwood Tree* in a uniform edition of Hardy’s fiction; the reply came the following day:<sup>68</sup>

Dear Mr McIlvaine,

In Mr Chatto’s absence from town I have opened your letter addressed to him, he will therefore be unable to accept your kind invitation to lunch next Monday or Tuesday. With reference to Mr Hardy’s ‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ the copyright

<sup>67</sup> *CL* 1, p. 171.

<sup>68</sup> Clarence McIlvaine was, like Osgood, originally an emissary from the American publishing house Harper and Brothers, and after the collapse of Osgood, McIlvaine, became one again.

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of which is ours, I will on Monday morning walk over to your office and see you upon the matter.

Yours very faithfully,

Percy Spalding<sup>69</sup>

Later, on 9 May, there is a letter from McIlvaine to Spalding: 'I find that, with a little leading etc., we should be able to make an independent volume of "Under the Greenwood Tree" uniform with our edition of Mr. Hardy's works. So that . . . we should be quite willing to make it a condition of our arrangement'.<sup>70</sup> The precise nature of that arrangement is not known, but it may approximately be recreated from the following note from Chatto and Windus to Macmillan and Company, dated 25 August 1902:

We are obliged by the receipt of your letter of August 22nd, informing us that the publication of Mr. Thomas Hardy's novels would be transferred from Messrs. Harper & Brothers at the beginning of October to yourselves. As regards 'Under the Greenwood Tree,' the copyright of which belongs to us, Messrs. Harpers hold our licence to print and publish this volume at prices not lower than 4/6d., paying us a royalty of 15 per cent on the publishing price of copies sold in Great Britain and its Dependencies; and a royalty of Fourpence per copy on exported copies for sale in the United States.

We shall be pleased to concur with Messrs. Harper in transferring this arrangement, and to continue it with yourselves, with the additional proviso that you shall be at liberty to issue the volume at as low a price as Three Shillings and Sixpence (3/6d.) on a Fifteen per cent (15%) royalty.<sup>71</sup>

Harper had taken over the licence from Osgood, McIlvaine in 1898, and it is reasonable to presume that the terms had not changed in the three years before this.

Osgood, McIlvaine's was the first complete collected edition of Hardy's works, and it was the occasion of Hardy's first revision of *Under the*

<sup>69</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book 28, fo. 637 (University of Reading). Spalding was Andrew Chatto's partner at this time.

<sup>70</sup> Random House contract files (unpaged, uncatalogued).

<sup>71</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book 42, fo. 629 (University of Reading).

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*Greenwood Tree*, twenty-three years after its first publication.<sup>72</sup> It was published as the sixteenth and last of the Wessex Novels in 1896 at the price of six shillings.

Hardy used a copy of a printing of Tinsley's 1873 stereotype plates (T<sub>2</sub>) as repaired for Chatto and Windus in 1891 on which to make his revisions for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (OM). The two substantive errors in T<sub>2</sub> were transmitted to OM (see 11.8 and 156.21); and, in addition to the new punctuation brought into the text during the resetting of half the novel in 1873, three further unauthorized changes, made while repairing the plates, were also incorporated in OM (19.20, 90.27 and 75.3).

Textually this is an important edition, as Hardy made many alterations to details of the story, particularly with regards to the environment of the novel, bringing Mellstock more completely into line with the geographical parish of Stinsford.<sup>73</sup>

This edition, in its comparatively brief life as the only authorized collected edition (some sixteen years), had three publishers: Osgood, McIlvaine, the initiators; then Harper and Brothers, who assumed all Osgood, McIlvaine's commitments in 1897 (though McIlvaine remained as Harper's representative in London); and finally Macmillan. Hardy's original seven-year agreement with Osgood, McIlvaine and Co. expired in 1902, when he invited Macmillan to become his English publishers.<sup>74</sup> They reissued the edition at a cheaper price (3s. 6d.), in a slightly smaller format and with a different coloured binding (blue smooth cloth), calling it the Uniform Edition. This reissue is of importance for some of the novels, as Hardy made revisions, occasionally significant, to them; but he did not make any to *Under the Greenwood Tree*. In 1907 they also published this version in a pocket edition, to which Hardy added the second title 'OR THE MELLSTOCK QUIRE', but otherwise made no changes. It appears from Macmillan's edition books that they reprinted the novel from the

<sup>72</sup> I am inclined to argue that the collection of Hardy's novels mentioned above, published in uniform bindings by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington between 1887 and 1894, constitutes a uniform edition, if not a complete collected edition. That Chatto and Windus also thought this is suggested by the fact that they issued *Under the Greenwood Tree* themselves in a maroon cloth binding which mimicked that of Sampson Low very closely.

<sup>73</sup> There is a full discussion of substantive revisions in all witnesses on pp. lxxii–cxvi below.

<sup>74</sup> The correspondence between Hardy and Macmillan concerning the transfer of publishing rights is printed in Morgan, pp. 154–61.

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plates of this edition from 1903 until it was reset in 1927, when Hardy's later revisions were incorporated into both formats.

Hardy's friend the poet and essayist Edmund Gosse wrote of *Under the Greenwood Tree* in 1901:

This is, and always will be, on its own account, one of the most beloved of its author's books. It is known to have had two great poets, Tennyson and Browning, among its earliest and most delighted readers. To this hour, it is not unusual to hear people of intelligence say that they wish the author had been content to continue the cultivation of this mood. But . . . [i]t is an experiment, carried out with complete success, which the author has never thought fit to repeat. 'Under the Greenwood Tree' is delicious; it is a dream of elfin revels in the warm coloured orchards of Wessex. But it is not characteristic; it is the one entirely gay book which Mr. Hardy has written, and after having finished this innocent and rustic love tale, Mr. Hardy excluded from his work for the future mere irresponsible, pastoral gaiety.<sup>75</sup>

One might wonder whether he had read the novel recently enough to have encountered Hardy's latest revisions in Osgood, McIlvaine's version, since 'a dream of elfin revels in the warm coloured orchards of Wessex', though characteristic Gosse, does not reflect particularly well any quality of the novel. However, like all the other critical responses made after 1872 quoted in this introduction, he gives the novel a unique place in Hardy's work, and considers it a 'complete success'.

*Macmillan's Colonial Edition*

At exactly the same time that Clarence McIlvaine was talking to Percy Spalding about including *Under the Greenwood Tree* in the collected edition, Macmillan were arranging with Osgood, McIlvaine to issue their new texts of the novels in a colonial edition. The agreement between Hardy and Macmillan for this edition was drawn up on 25 April 1894, specifying a royalty of 4d. a copy, and returned by Hardy on 21 May with one significant alteration, in which Hardy specified that *Under the Greenwood Tree* would be included in the edition whenever he had the power to do so.<sup>76</sup> It is worth

<sup>75</sup> 'The Historical Place of Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy', *International Quarterly* (September 1901), p. 316.

<sup>76</sup> BL, Add. MS 55444, fo. 151 and fo. 486.

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pointing out, in the absence of Hardy's correspondence with Osgood, McIlvaine, that it is in relation to Macmillan's colonial edition that we have some sense of when Hardy decided to revise so substantially his work. In a letter to Hardy of 17 September 1894, Frederick Macmillan wrote:

I have been rather surprised to hear from M<sup>c</sup>Ilvaine that he is postponing the publication of the uniform edition of your novels 'in order to allow time for the considerable revision which Mr Hardy intends to make.' I had begun the printing of the Colonial Edition because I understood from your letter of July 20<sup>th</sup> that you proposed to make only very slight corrections; that the utmost you thought of doing was to write a preface to some of them.<sup>77</sup>

At first glance copies of this edition appear as if printed from the same setting as the Osgood, McIlvaine edition; however it is clear from Macmillan's correspondence with their printer that R. & R. Clark set some novels themselves from Hardy's copy, and were continually being harried by the publisher to make them look as much like the Osgood texts as possible. Moreover, since Hardy read proof for at least *Far from the Maddening Crowd* in the Colonial Edition it is highly unlikely that the two texts of that novel and possibly others are identical.<sup>78</sup> Thus the edition is in general terms of considerable interest. However, it seems almost certain that neither Hardy nor Macmillan ever persuaded Chatto and Windus to allow them to include *Under the Greenwood Tree* in the edition; I base this opinion on two facts: there is no record in Macmillan's edition books of the novel being printed in 1894–5 for the Colonial Edition as there is for all the other novels and volumes of stories, and while the list of Hardy's novels used as endpapers in a copy of the Colonial Edition of *A Laodicean* that I possess, published in 1896, includes *Under the Greenwood Tree* as number 195 in the edition, a similar list in a copy of *The Well-Beloved*, published in 1898, skips from *A Laodicean* at 194 to *Two on a Tower* at 196. I conclude that Macmillan hoped to include *Under the Greenwood Tree* in the initial launch of the edition, but by the time *The Well-Beloved* was added they realized this wasn't going to happen. At least, in forty years I have encountered no copy of such an edition of the work.

<sup>77</sup> BL, Add. MS 55445 (2), fo. 689.    <sup>78</sup> See, for example, BL, Add. MS 55332, *passim*.

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*Second Collected Edition (Macmillan's Wessex Edition 1912)*

In the summer of 1910 the Bostonian Rufus Hinkley visited Macmillan with a proposal for the joint publication of an *édition de luxe* of Hardy's work; the English publisher cautiously welcomed the idea and asked for more details before committing or asking Hardy to commit himself. Part of the problem lay with the works from *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* onwards of which Harper held the copyright in the United States, and it was not until 30 September that Hinkley was able to tell Macmillan that this issue was more or less resolved – though the resolution involved a change of plan, in that for copyright reasons the edition would have to be printed in America rather than Britain. On 11 October, Frederick Macmillan wrote to Hinkley that this rather altered the position, though not fatally, and added: 'We should be glad, however, before binding ourselves to take 250 copies, to see some specimens of type and paper on which the books are to be printed, and have some idea of what our proportion of the cost may be. As to the date of publication, there is no hurry as far as we are concerned; we would agree to anything that would suit your convenience.' The same day he wrote to Hardy outlining the proposed arrangement, and asking permission to go ahead on that basis: that the edition would be of 750 copies of twenty volumes, that he would receive 1s. 6d. royalty on each copy sold in America, giving him £750, and that they would agree a royalty for the 250 English copies later.<sup>79</sup> The next day Hardy replied 'I am quite willing to have an *édition de luxe* of my books published in the manner you state . . . I conclude that the type of all the volumes will be re-set, and that I shall correct the proofs, there being many errors in the New York editions. Also that the spelling will not be American?'<sup>80</sup> Thus began the rather drawn-out saga of what was to become the Wessex Edition.

R. H. Hinkley Company were, as Macmillan explained to Hardy on 13 October,

people who sell their books entirely through canvassing agents. They do not go through the retail trade at all, and I fear that their prices have little relation to the cost of production, as they have to be made extremely high to cover the large commissions paid to the so-called Book Agents who go round and sell the books

<sup>79</sup> BL, Add. MS 55500 (2), fos. 847–8.    <sup>80</sup> CL iv, pp. 123–4.

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and collect the money for them; it is quite a different business to anything we have over here.

This, he suggested was the reason why Hinkley had been ‘rather astonished’ at being asked to pay a royalty of 1s. 6d. in advance. He added that they would not have anything to do with the project ‘unless we can be sure of having satisfactory type and paper’, and concluded by answering Hardy’s main concerns:

With regard to proofs, I think the best plan will be for you to send out a thoroughly corrected set of the English edition of the books from which they can print. I will send you a set for this purpose as soon as the matter is arranged. I will of course make it a condition that the spelling shall not be Americanised.<sup>81</sup>

To Hinkley on 10 November he wrote that the only condition Hardy made is that the edition ‘shall be set up from a corrected set of the existing edition which he will supply for the purpose. It appears that there are a good many inaccuracies and misprints in the old edition which he would like to get rid of.’<sup>82</sup>

The question of paper and type should not have been an issue, since Hinkley’s printer of choice for prestigious books, such as the Hardy edition was intended to be, was Daniel Updike’s Merrymount Press, which had built by 1910 a substantial and enduring reputation for handsome books, produced under the direct influence of William Morris’s Kelmscott Press. Hinkley commissioned his fourteen-volume Bible, his edition of Milton’s poems, and the works of Charles Lamb from Updike, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the Hardy would have gone to the same printer. He also employed a bookbinder who could produce satisfying work.

It is not until 16 June 1911, when Hinkley was again in England, that there is evidence of progress regarding the edition, when Macmillan wrote to Hardy:

I remember that when the Edition de Luxe was first proposed you said that you would like to prepare a copy of the present edition for the printers to work from, as you had a certain number of corrections to make. This of course would suit us very well, and I am sending down to you a complete set of the three-and-sixpenny edition for this purpose.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> BL, Add. MS 55500 (2), fos. 914–15.

<sup>82</sup> BL, Add. MS 55500 (4), fo. 666.

<sup>83</sup> BL, Add. MS 55503 (2), fo. 714.

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This proposal suggests that the arrival at Max Gate of books to work on stimulated Hardy to begin thinking about the new edition seriously; and perhaps also to begin reading *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* with a view to considering what he wanted to alter, what he wished to do with the changes he had made for the 1900 paperback edition. At least, in replying on 24 June Hardy made the first proposal to categorize his fiction, 'putting into the second group 4 or 5 of the more superficial & experimental ones, written just for the moment, critics having a way of pitching upon one or other of these lighter ones as typical of the whole'.<sup>84</sup>

Macmillan responded positively to Hardy's suggestion about dividing his novels, but gave some sense of the pace that things were proceeding by adding 'I shall be rather glad to know, as soon as you can conveniently tell me, what the order of the volumes is to be.' It had been decided that 'with the exception of six books – namely, "Tess of the D'Urbervilles", "Jude the Obscure", "The Well Beloved", "Wessex Poems", "A Group of Noble Dames", and "Life's Little Ironies" – which would have to be printed in America for copyright reasons, Macmillan proposed to print the edition in Britain'.<sup>85</sup>

Hardy's next concern was with the proofs of the proposed edition: 'Lying awake last night I was thinking that unless I correct those proofs myself there will be errors in the text – of a minute (the worst) kind– that will endanger the reception of the edition by our reviewers.'<sup>86</sup> Sir Frederick was able to assure him that there would be no problem about his reading proof, and on 2 July he sent an outline of the proposed arrangement of the novels, while on the eighth he wrote to another correspondent that he was 'busy with the drudgery of reprinting'.

Hinkley visited Hardy in the middle of July, and one consequence of the visit is of possible interest, for Hardy wrote to him on 18 July 'I believe you told me that the question of the 50 pages of MS. would be one of the first you would have to consider', and went on to say that the one he is sending is 'more than 50 pages, & is in good preservation considering its age'.<sup>87</sup> The editors of Hardy's letters speculate very reasonably that the manuscript

<sup>84</sup> CL iv, p. 160.    <sup>85</sup> BL, Add. MS 55503 (2), fos. 978–9.

<sup>86</sup> It is in passing interesting to note both Hardy's perpetual concern with critics expressed in this and the previous letter, and his use in this of the first person plural, marking his sense of the collaborative nature of the edition.

<sup>87</sup> CL iv, p. 165.

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was that of ‘The Distracted Young Preacher’, which contains fifty-seven leaves, but they do not speculate why Hinkley needed such a manuscript. It seems possible, though, that he wanted it to distribute its pages among the fifty extra copies of the edition he proposed to print on Japan paper; but there is no mention of such an arrangement in any of Hinkley’s dealings with Macmillan.<sup>88</sup> Hardy gave some indication of his feelings about the prospect of the edition to his good friend Florence Henniker: ‘I did not feel altogether elated at the proposal, though it will be in some respects a good thing; for it involves re-reading old books of mine, written when my spirits were brisker than they are now, & full of artistic errors which cannot be altered.’<sup>89</sup>

On 1 August, Sir Frederick and Daniel Macmillan held a conference with Hinkley at which various details were discussed, and apparently Hinkley went back to Boston satisfied with the arrangements they had come to. However on 23 November the first serious disagreement emerged; Daniel Macmillan, responding to a letter from Hinkley dated 13 November, struck a note of surprise:

As to the question of royalties, we are astonished that you are under the impression that you are to print 600 sets. Neither Sir Frederick nor I have any recollection of any such modification of the original arrangement as to the number of sets being made. When you were over here in the summer what was arranged was that you should pay considerably less money in royalties than was originally agreed upon, and it is possible that this may have been stated in the form of your having one hundred sets free of royalty. As a matter of fact the royalty from which you are relieved comes to £175 or £200.

May I call to your mind the course of our negotiations for this edition? In a letter of Sir Frederick’s dated November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1910, the following sentence occurs:—

‘In the meanwhile I may say that I have Mr. Hardy’s permission to come to terms with you on his behalf on the basis that we discussed last year – that is to say a royalty at the rate of 1s 6d per volume payable on delivery of the books.’

Such a royalty of 1s 6d per copy on 500 sets comes to £750. On June 14 of this year you said, at an interview here, that you wished to print fifty sets on Japanese paper, and for these it was decided that you should pay £75, or £100 if the copies were signed by Mr. Hardy. On July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1911 you asked us if your payment could be

<sup>88</sup> In the event, as described below, Hinkley dropped out of the proposal; the manuscript must have been some compensation for his disappointment.

<sup>89</sup> *CL* iv, p. 168.

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reduced in consideration of the trouble you were having with Messrs Harper, and Sir Frederick suggested that Mr. Hardy should be offered £1,000 for an edition of 250 sets to be printed in England, 500 in America and 50 on Japanese paper. Of this £1,000, you were to pay £650 and we £350; to this you agreed and so did Mr. Hardy. We understood therefore that the question of royalties was settled, and the only modification, which we suggested in our letter of October 24<sup>th</sup>, was one which affects the question only as between us and Mr. Hardy. Perhaps you may have misunderstood the letter, as you seem to imagine that we are not to pay Mr. Hardy any more royalty for the 500 sets which we are now to print in England than for the 250. Naturally, however, we have agreed to pay Mr. Hardy a royalty of 1s 6d per copy on all sets sold in England beyond the original 250. Thus, if we sell 500 sets, we will pay Mr. Hardy £350 plus £375 = £725.

You will see therefore that, as regards payments to Mr. Hardy, you are in a considerably better position than we are; for whereas we pay £725 for 500 sets, you pay £650 for 500, as well as for fifty sets on Japanese paper. Our decision to print 500 sets in England cannot possibly affect you, as of course we should not allow any copies to go over to your side, just as we expect you not to sell any of yours in England; moreover any importation from here is prevented by your American copyright laws. Again, as I pointed out in my letter of October 24<sup>th</sup>, you will be financially the better off by our increased edition, since your share of the costs of production will be lowered to £1,393 from £1,524 which you would have had to pay had we only printed 250 sets . . . Of course, if you do not see your way to continue your agreement to pay your £650 and confine yourself to 500 and not 600 sets, we shall have no alternative but to drop the whole matter. Mr. Hardy has put the whole of the arrangement for this edition into our hands, and we could not possibly advise him to accept anything less than the very favourable terms which he has already granted you.<sup>90</sup>

By the beginning of September Hardy had begun to write the new prefaces, including that for *Under the Greenwood Tree*, and presumably also to work with the texts of the novels, and it was at the end of October that he sent to Macmillan the first volume, *Tess*, including the General Preface to the whole edition, with *Far from the Madding Crowd* following soon after.<sup>91</sup> But things were still not going smoothly between Macmillan and Hinkley. On 30 November Frederick Macmillan wrote to Hardy to tell him about the misunderstanding:

<sup>90</sup> BL, Add. MS 55005 (1), fos. 237–40.    <sup>91</sup> CL IV, p. 186.

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We are having some little difficulty with Mr. Hinkley about his agreement for the Edition de Luxe. He seems to have misunderstood the arrangement which we came to in the summer, and suggests terms which are not nearly so favourable to you as those which were really agreed upon. I do not propose to give way in this matter, and I think that when he sees this he will come round. Should the worst come to the worst we shall be quite prepared to publish an Edition de Luxe of your works for the English market only.<sup>92</sup>

A month later all optimism has vanished; Macmillan wrote on 22 December of Hinkley's 'impertinence' over the question of royalties, and went on to say that

In addition to this, there seems to be a good deal of difficulty about the type. When Mr. Hinkley was here he assured us that his printers had, or could obtain, a type that was exactly uniform with what we proposed to use for the volumes printed here; anything else could not of course be considered for a moment. He now however sends us a specimen of his printers' type, which is entirely different from ours and quite unsatisfactory.

Altogether I am inclined to think that the negotiations will have to come to an end, but before writing to Mr. Hinkley I want you to be in possession of all the facts. What I should like to do would be to tell Mr. Hinkley that we could go no further with it, but that you would allow him to bring out an edition printed in the United States if he could guarantee an adequate payment. If this is done, we on our part will undertake an entirely English printed edition, and will see that you are not the loser by the change of plans.

I must confess that from the first I have always felt a little doubtful about the possibility of a joint edition.<sup>93</sup>

If Macmillan had been doubtful from the beginning he managed to conceal his doubts quite carefully in his correspondence over the period of the negotiations. Hardy in response told Macmillan to do as he thought best,<sup>94</sup> and the consequence was that at the beginning of the new year (2 January 1912) Daniel Macmillan wrote to Hinkley calling the deal off:

We have received a letter from Mr. Thomas Hardy, in reply to some questions of ours, in which he says distinctly that he did not agree to, or hear of, any proposal for an increase of the number of your edition from five hundred to six hundred sets. He also shares our view that the type which you propose is totally unsuitable for the English edition.

<sup>92</sup> BL, Add. MS 55005 (1), fo. 386.    <sup>93</sup> BL, Add. MS 55005 (2), fos. 953–5.    <sup>94</sup> CL IV, pp. 195–6.

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In view of these difficulties therefore we, with Mr. Hardy's consent, propose to drop entirely the publication of a joint edition for England and America. We shall issue an edition of our own for this country; and if you care to make a proposal to Mr. Hardy for a special American edition, we shall be happy to forward it to him if you will address it to us.<sup>95</sup>

And the same day Frederick Macmillan wrote to Hardy, telling him that they had broken off arrangements with Hinkley, and outlining their own proposal:

What we should now like to do is to publish a definitive Edition of your novels with your new Prefaces in the type & style which we showed you, but not limited as to numbers at a uniform price of 7/6 per volume. We could give a royalty of 1/- per volume & should print 1000 sets to begin with which would if sold bring you in £1000. If this suggestion meets with your approval we can begin setting up & sending you proofs immediately.<sup>96</sup>

On 7 January 1912 Hardy wrote: 'I should be delighted to have a definitive edition of my books published by you as you suggest, the idea of a joint edition between Mr. Hinkley & yourselves having been abandoned.'<sup>97</sup> But at the same time he wondered why the royalty was so low, and by return Sir Frederick wrote:

We must certainly arrange to pay you as much on the Edition de Luxe as on the six-shilling edition of your novels, and I therefore write to say that the royalty shall be 1s 6d per volume. Of course the re-setting of the whole series is rather an expensive operation, but if, as I hope, the sales are not limited to the first thousand copies, we shall do all right.

I will put the printing of 'Tess' in hand at once, and send you proofs in due course.<sup>98</sup>

The letter was typewritten, but in a handwritten postscript he added: 'There ought to be some distinctive title for the Edition. What do you say to "The Wessex Edition"?' To which suggestion Hardy agreed the following day.

Unaware of these English developments, on 24 January Hinkley made a last-ditch attempt to rescue the joint edition on which he had spent

<sup>95</sup> BL, Add. MS 55505 (3), fo. 1079.    <sup>96</sup> BL, Add. MS 55505 (3), fo. 1115.    <sup>97</sup> CL IV, p. 198.

<sup>98</sup> BL, Add. MS 55505, fo. 1231.

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a considerable amount of time and energy; his letter of 24 January in response to Daniel Macmillan's dated three weeks earlier is worth quoting at some length, because it at least raises questions about the roles of the Macmillans and of Hardy in the negotiations:

It is quite needless to state that the contents of your letter are surprising and disappointing. I certainly had no reason to expect that a discussion by correspondence of the subject-matter of a conversation between us last summer should bring about results so unfavourable to my interests. This in view of the fact that I made no demands upon you, but simply stated my case in the most friendly sort of way after a definite arrangement had been made, and reopened by your suggestion that the number of copies for the English edition be increased.

The matter of type was, of course, merely a matter of detail . . . My printer was at all times ready to import a type, if necessary, to match any you might select.

I note what you write regarding Mr. Hardy's comments, and in reply will state that I outlined the proposition to Mr. Hardy just as we left it in your office, mentioning to him the fact that in view of the large payments I was forced to make to the American publishers, Messrs. Harper, we desired to print for America six hundred copies of the ordinary paper and fifty copies on Japan paper; for England, two hundred and fifty on ordinary paper.

No figures were made by Mr. Hardy, and I think I am quite safe in stating that he paid no particular attention to the exact details of the proposition, for immediately after I had ceased talking, settled the matter then and there in few words, by stating that he understood that the amount originally mentioned in the shape of royalties was in excess of a thousand pounds, but would gladly accept that amount if Sir Frederick approved . . . may I now give you in almost Sir Frederick's exact words just what he said in reference to this matter in your presence.

We had been discussing the royalty matter in connection with the Japan copies and my six hundred sets, and we had all been making figures, and I remember distinctly that your figures showed plainly that under the new plan the MacMillan Company would be standing more than the proper proportion of the royalty, and you gave us the exact figures. Sir Frederick then said, 'Mr. Hinkley, we will do this. I think you will find that Mr. Hardy will be satisfied if we pay him together one thousand pounds, and I do not think the exact number of copies we print will interest him one way or another so long as he receives approximately the amount of royalty he now expects. Therefore, if as I feel certain, you find that one thousand pounds is satisfactory to Mr. Hardy, we will undertake to pay three hundred and fifty pounds if you will pay six hundred and fifty pounds.'

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I trust and firmly believe that the contents of this letter will serve to establish my contention that while the suggestion of the extra one hundred copies came from me, the definite proposition came directly from Sir Frederick.<sup>99</sup>

This account must be set alongside the letter of 23 November 1911 from Daniel Macmillan to which it is in essence a response. It may be that there was a misunderstanding between the two parties of the kind Macmillan hypothesized, but Hinkley's letter, full of circumstantial detail as it is, makes me wonder whether it was not the idea that Macmillan could make a lot more money by running Hinkley's proposed edition themselves without any American fuss, and making it unlimited, that led Sir Frederick and Daniel to find a reason to back out of the collaboration, sure of Hardy's agreement with whatever they decided, so long as he didn't lose any money thereby. If this was at all the case, then they certainly treated Hinkley rather shabbily, and though there would have been no point in Daniel reiterating their argument in response to Hinkley's almost distraught letter, his final dismissal of 5 February 1912 is rather brutal: 'I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 24th, but there is nothing in it to lead us to reconsider our decision.'<sup>100</sup> It is hard to know whether this curtness derives from justifiable irritation at Hinkley's continued prevarication or because Macmillan recognized a certain amount of justice in his version of affairs. Rufus Hinkley has never been given much attention by Hardy scholars, and it is certainly possible that when the Macmillans suspected him of sharp practice, of trying to cheat Hardy, they were correct. On the other hand, it was his idea to produce the *édition de luxe*, and though he gave them excuses to withdraw, with more generosity of spirit on the Macmillans' part compromises might have been reached. Hinkley seems genuinely to have been an admirer of Hardy's work, was honoured to visit the author at Max Gate, and (as Macmillan himself acknowledged) was likely to make much less money out of the collaborative edition than Macmillan.

Unsurprisingly the insulting rejection was effective; Hinkley disappears from this narrative, clutching the manuscript that Hardy sent him, and Macmillan began issuing volumes of the Wessex Edition in April 1912, 1,000 copies of each novel. As far as *Under the Greenwood Tree* is concerned, of course, Macmillan had to make their own arrangements with

<sup>99</sup> BL, Add. MS 54893, fo. 97.    <sup>100</sup> BL, Add. MS 55505 (4), fo. 1960.

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Chatto and Windus, initially for the English element (250 copies) in the combined edition, which was agreed on 7 July 1911;<sup>101</sup> on 9 November 1911 they agree to allow another 250 copies at the same royalty of 1s. 6d.;<sup>102</sup> and then on 6 May 1912 they accepted that the edition was to be unlimited (with the same royalty per copy).<sup>103</sup> *Under the Greenwood Tree* was published at 7s. 6d. in July 1912 as No. 7 of the Wessex Edition, amongst the Novels of Character and Environment.

We can be sure that Hardy did indeed use as a basis for his revision for the Wessex Edition the copies of Macmillan's 3s. 6d. revised issue of the Osgood, McIlvaine edition that the publisher sent him, since the copy of *The Woodlanders* that was used by the printers as copy for the Wessex Edition survives,<sup>104</sup> and on 3 May 1913 he told William Macmillan: 'I have not destroyed the corrected volumes of the 3/6 edition that were used as copy for the Wessex Edition'.<sup>105</sup> Hardy revised *Under the Greenwood Tree* for this edition only slightly less thoroughly than for Osgood's. It was reprinted in April 1920, with a handful of alterations, at the same time as *The Return of the Native* (only *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *Far from the Madding Crowd* were reprinted earlier), and again in July 1931.<sup>106</sup>

In 1917 there was published in *Atlantic Monthly* an essay essentially in response to this edition called 'The Historian of Wessex', written by the scholar and critic Wilson Follett and his wife Helen; they make a sensitive connection between the Hardy family music books mentioned in the preface to *Under the Greenwood Tree* and Hardy's writing in general:

The truthful critic must describe the pessimism of Hardy as simply the extension of his earlier temperamental bias toward appreciation of incongruity. Probably no novelist has ever had a keener appreciation of the incongruous for its own sake. The quaint homemade songbooks of his Mellstock choir, made up of sheets hand-ruled by the horny fingers of country artisans, wheelwrights, ploughmen, cobblers, and containing between the same covers the most bizarre extremes of pious and unprintably profane, can stand as an image of character, of life, and of the world, as

<sup>101</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book 74, fo. 1243 (University of Reading).

<sup>102</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book 76, fo. 30 (University of Reading).

<sup>103</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book 77, fo. 465 (University of Reading). <sup>104</sup> DCM.

<sup>105</sup> *CL* IV, p. 271.

<sup>106</sup> See Appendix J for the full details of all printings of *Under the Greenwood Tree* between 1903 and 1938.

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Hardy tended from the beginning to see them. The incongruous mixture of elements in the same character; the incongruous domination of the strong or unified character by impersonal forces, Nature, Heredity, or simply Chance; pranks played on the helpless human soul by the mocking irresponsibility of the whole world scheme – these are the familiar and characteristic appeals of Hardy after a certain point; and even from the first they are a vaguely implied destination.<sup>107</sup>

Given this view of Hardy's work it is not surprising that in their brief discussion of *Under the Greenwood Tree* the critics claim that Fancy's refusal to tell Dick about her very brief engagement to the vicar undermines any anticipation of their happiness together the reader might have – a matter on which another view is certainly possible.

*Third Collected Edition (Macmillan's Mellstock Edition 1920)*

On 13 July 1914 Sir Frederick Macmillan wrote to Hardy proposing to revive Hinkley's idea of an *édition de luxe* of his prose, seeing it as a sequel to their successful 'Bombay' edition of Rudyard Kipling's works:

We should very much like to follow this up with a limited edition of your own prose works in the same form, same type [the Florence Press type], and at the same price. We should propose to limit it to five hundred copies, as I think we could dispose of that number without any difficulty . . . I have had a calculation made, and find that the prose works could be got into twenty-eight volumes. We could of course print from the text of the 'Wessex' edition so that we should not have to trouble you to read through the proofs. The royalty we should propose to pay you is twenty per cent on the published price, and if, as I have no doubt it will be, the whole edition is sold off, this would mean about £2,800 to you. [If you approve] I will put the preparation of the edition in hand at once and should probably announce it some time during the coming autumn.<sup>108</sup>

Hardy's answer was positive, though, as Macmillan might have expected, he wanted to have his poetry included. He ended 'I don't know if you have thought of giving the edition a name. Would "The Casterbridge Edition" or "The Mellstock Edition" do?'<sup>109</sup> Macmillan at once agreed to add the verse, and on 19 July Hardy wrote: 'I gather the edition will follow exactly the text of the Wessex Edition, including classification, prefaces, etc. . . . I suppose the printers can be depended upon for corrections if I don't read the proofs.'

<sup>107</sup> September 1917, pp. 356–7.    <sup>108</sup> BL, Add. MS 55524 (2), fo. 1000.    <sup>109</sup> CL v, p. 37.

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I have marked a few misprints and oversights in some of the volumes, and can send them in a list whenever they may be wanted, as it will be well to embody them'; later in the letter he assumed the title would be 'the Casterbridge Edition'.<sup>110</sup> However, two weeks later the United Kingdom declared war on Germany, and the project was shelved until 1919. The first documentary evidence of its revival is a letter from Macmillan to Hardy on 12 May accompanying 500 blank sheets ready to be signed for what was now to be known as the Mellstock Edition, 'when we can arrange for it'.<sup>111</sup> It seems likely that Hardy had called in at the publishers on a short visit to London at the beginning of May, and the new edition had been discussed then.<sup>112</sup> A month later Sir Frederick Macmillan told Hardy 'We have now gone carefully into the question of the "Mellstock" edition of your books and I am in a position to make the following proposal: We calculate that the edition will make 37 volumes in the type of the enclosed specimen', and proceeded to outline an edition of 500 copies at 18s. a volume, with royalty at 3s. a volume, which would net Hardy £2,775. In the relative post-war austerity they could afford no embellishments other than the map of Wessex and a new portrait of Hardy.<sup>113</sup>

The initial order to print was sent to R. & R. Clark on 25 July; 525 copies of each volume were printed, and the longer novels were divided into two. The first novel was published in December 1919, and *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Volume XIII, in March 1920. Hardy's copy of the novel in the Wessex Edition (preserved in the Dorset County Museum) has various pencil notations indicating corrections he wished made for the Mellstock Edition, eight in number, of which two were not considered important enough to send to the printers, or else were missed when they were copied from the volume to the list on paper.<sup>114</sup> This is the final version of *Under the Greenwood Tree* that Hardy revised.

According to the 1911 Copyright Act, the terms of the 1842 Act still applied to agreements made before 1911, unless the holder of the copyright came to an arrangement with the author or his heirs. Thus Chatto's rights expired not fifty years after Hardy's death as the 1911 Act would have provided, but only seven years after it, and on 27 April 1934 Chatto and

<sup>110</sup> CL v, p. 39.    <sup>111</sup> BL, Add. MS 55554, fo. 107.    <sup>112</sup> CL v, p. 301.

<sup>113</sup> BL, Add. MS 55554, fo. 725.    <sup>114</sup> See below pp. cxvi–cxix for details of these revisions.

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Windus wrote to Macmillan: ‘We . . . note that Mrs. Hardy has authorised you to act on her behalf regarding *Under the Greenwood Tree*. In view of the note which you have given us on her behalf, we acknowledge that our rights in this book will terminate on January 10th 1935.’<sup>115</sup> Macmillan thus had sole rights to publish the novel until 1978. As soon as they could in 1935 they published the seven most popular novels, including *Under the Greenwood Tree*, in their Cottage Library – essentially the pocket edition on cheaper paper – and they commissioned the novelist (and cricketer) Adrian Alington to provide an introduction, notes and specimen essay questions for the novel’s inclusion in their ‘Scholar’s Library’; one or two of his essay questions are interesting: ‘Compose an imaginary letter written by Mr. Maybold to his friend in Yorkshire after Fancy’s marriage, describing the whole story from his point of view’ and ‘How far do you think Hardy is justified in classing “*Under the Greenwood Tree*” as “a novel of character and environment”?’ The Wessex Edition became in turn the Library edition in 1950 and the Greenwood edition in 1966, while their first paperback issue was in the St Martin’s library in 1957. A few years before their copyright was due to expire Macmillan launched a New Wessex edition in both paper and hard covers with introductions and notes; those for *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1974) were written by the poet and critic Geoffrey Grigson, a man apparently well suited to the work, but whose combative spirit rather undermined the sensitive observations of his artist’s mind.

### Other Editions of Interest

#### *Continental Edition*

In September or October 1872, Tinsley sold the Continental copyright of *Under the Greenwood Tree* to A. Asher & Co. of Berlin (rivals of Baron Tauchnitz), who had just published George Eliot’s *Middlemarch* in a continental edition.<sup>116</sup> He gave Hardy half of the £20 he received. The novel was published in 1873 as No. 53 in Asher’s Collection of English Authors, at the price of 15 groschen, or 2 francs in France, printed

<sup>115</sup> Chatto and Windus letter book [n.s.] 56, fos. 402–3 (University of Reading).

<sup>116</sup> Letter from Tinsley to Hardy, 4 October 1872, Purdy, p. 333.

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by Bär & Herman of Leipzig. It has no authorial variants, and is printed from the text of T<sub>1</sub> rather than T<sub>2</sub>.

*First American Edition*

The first American edition was published by Henry Holt in 1873 in his Leisure Hour Series. The printing was begun without Hardy's knowledge, and the publisher wrote to Hardy on 29 May 1873 informing him of the fact, also mentioning that Frederick Macmillan had recommended Hardy's fiction to him.<sup>117</sup> The edition is based on T<sub>1</sub>, with many differences in punctuation; it has no authority, nor does any other American edition have independent authority; Harper had Osgood's version, and bought Macmillan's Wessex Edition plates.

A review in the *New York Nation* of 10 July 1873 commented that *Under the Greenwood Tree* is 'a story of English rustic life, told with a delicious humor, and with a more careful study of character than is at first apparent . . . We have not read anything more fresh and good since making the acquaintance of Björnson's "Arne"; or, to make a comparison which shall hint at a peculiar quality of the book, since we read Barnes's poetry of rural life.'<sup>118</sup>

Since Macmillan's copyright expired in 1978 there has been a flood of versions of Hardy's fictional work, but those series edited with serious purpose are in Penguin Classics under the general editorship of Patricia Ingham and Oxford University Press's World's Classics under my general editorship.

Revision in the Novel

*The Major Transformation*

Though almost all the manuscript as it survives was initially fair copy, most leaves were subsequently revised; and the two numerations mentioned earlier show that some of the alterations were substantial – essentially altering the structural balance of the novel.

<sup>117</sup> Letter in DCM, printed by C. Weber in *Hardy in America* (Waterville, ME: Colby College Press, 1946), p. 15.

<sup>118</sup> p. 27.

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When Hardy first wrote out the fair copy that constitutes the bulk of the manuscript, the affair between Dick and Fancy was a straightforward matter of meetings, declaration and acceptance, father's opposition, father's permission, and marriage, enacted in such a sparsely episodic manner as to leave the suspicion that Hardy's real concern in that narrative strand was not with romance, but with getting the lovers to encounter a range of interesting and distinctive characters unconnected with the choir: Mrs Endorfield, Mr and Mrs Day, Haylock the butcher, Enoch the trapper and the innkeeper at the Ship. Dick's only rival was the innkeeper Fred Shinar; the vicar Mr Maybold was simply the nemesis of the choir, and it is possible that in this early version of the narrative they were not even seen singing him carols. The only passages in which Dick and Fancy were shown alone together were the one important and essential love scene (the journey from Budmouth to Mellstock ending with their agreement to become engaged) and the two scenes that illustrate Fancy's manipulation of Dick – at the schoolhouse after he has fetched her from Yalbury, and during her relation of Shinar's instruction in bird-snaring (though during Dick's ecstatic dance with Fancy at Christmas he felt alone with her, and it too was present from the first to suggest an erotic charge between them). Even the final chapters describing the wedding were dominated by the conversation of the guests (and remain so), and though we don't know how the manuscript might originally have ended (since the original last page was lost), it cannot have done so as it does at present, for at that time there was no secret for Fancy to tell.

Though there is no way of proving the hypothesis, it seems likely that this is the state of the manuscript that Morley and Macmillan read, for it justifies more fully than the final version Macmillan's comment that the story would be found very slight. The first and most substantial stage of Hardy's revision to the manuscript can straightforwardly be seen as a direct response both to this comment, and to the suggestion that (despite the brevity of the work) the opening of the novel should be decidedly shortened.

Most of the leaves that Hardy added to the manuscript after absorbing the comments of Morley and Macmillan have Fancy at their centre; she becomes as a result of this revisioning of the novel undoubtedly its central character; tranter Dewy remains important as the essential voice of the

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choir, Dick inevitably grows in stature as his courtship of Fancy is given more space and depth, and the vicar Mr Maybold moves from a peripheral figure whose only significance is as a new broom sweeping old customs away, to an at least partially realized actor in Fancy's life; but it is on Fancy now that the reader's attention is focussed.

The first indication in the manuscript of the new thrust of the romantic plot into the choir's narrative is in the rewriting of a leaf so as to include Reuben Dewy's prophetic speculation about the new vicar and Fancy Day: "Now putting two and two together . . . that is, in the form of that young vision we seed just now, and this young tinner-voiced parson, my belief is she'll wind en round her finger, and twist the pore young feller about like the figure of 8—that she will so, my sonnies" (39.3–7). Hardy follows this by adding a paragraph to the Christmas Day service that parallels Dick's fascinated response to his first sight of Fancy with Maybold's own attraction to her (though he tries to repress it):

By chance or by fate, another young man who attended Mellstock Church on that Christmas morning had towards the end of the service the same instinctive perception of an interesting presence, in the shape of the same bright maiden, though his emotion reached a far less-developed stage. And there was this difference, too, that the person in question was surprised at his condition, and sedulously endeavoured to reduce himself to his normal state of mind. He was the young vicar, Mr. Maybold. (44.19–25)

The image of Fancy greeting the carol singers by candlelight was very attractive, and her boot eloquent, but Hardy was aware that if she was going to be so much more important in the novel than he had at first conceived, he would have to give the reader a clearer sense of what has fascinated the two young men, and so he added a page to the Christmas party:

We gain a good view of our heroine as she advances to her place in the ladies' line. She belonged to the taller division of middle height. Flexibility was her first characteristic, by which she appeared to enjoy the most easeful rest when she was in gliding motion. Her dark eyes—arched by brows of so keen, slender, and soft a curve, that they resembled nothing so much as two slurs in music—showed primarily a bright sparkle each. This was softened by a frequent thoughtfulness, yet not so frequent as to do away, for more than a few minutes at a time, with a certain coquettishness; which in its turn was never so decided as to banish honesty. Her

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lips imitated her brows in their clearly-cut outline and softness of curve; and her nose was well shaped—which is saying a great deal, when it is remembered that there are a hundred pretty mouths and eyes for one pretty nose. Add to this, plentiful knots of dark-brown hair, a gauzy dress of white, with blue facings; and the slightest idea may be gained of the young maiden who showed, amidst the rest of the dancing-ladies, like a flower among vegetables. (52.3–17)

Perhaps the three most important words here are ‘flexibility’, ‘coquettishness’, and ‘honesty’ – a combination which gets to the heart of her nature; and the final simile is intended to give a sense of her difference from the run of village women, though it was less vivid (one might say less grotesque) in the manuscript: ‘like a flower among its leaves’. Hardy included on the same leaf the following briefer description of her third suitor the rich farmer Mr Shinar, who had metamorphosed from the innkeeper of the Old Souls in the original version of the manuscript in order to make him a more formidable rival for Dick: ‘Mr. Shinar, age about thirty-five, farmer and churchwarden, a character principally composed of watch-chain, with a mouth always hanging on a smile but never smiling, had come quite willingly to the party, and showed a wondrous obliviousness of all his antics on the previous night’ (51.25–9). When he came to read this rather unhelpful account of the man in 1896, Hardy decided to make him appear slightly sinister by adding before ‘watch-chain’ ‘a crimson stare, vigorous breath, and ‘a’ and ‘dark’ before ‘smile’.

This leaf of the manuscript and that on which the choir’s singing to the vicar is presented were both initially numbered in pencil, unlike any others, and this as much as anything else marks the passages out as the beginning of Hardy’s response to Macmillan and Morley’s criticisms.

If the affair between Dick and Fancy was going to be so much more important, Hardy had to give the reader some sense of its progress over time instead of leaping from one incident to another, and so he added the very brief first chapter of ‘Spring’ which records Dick’s frequent passing to and fro by Fancy’s schoolhouse and her becoming familiar with his appearance there (though telling us nothing of her thoughts on the matter). Immediately after this the choir meet to discuss the new vicar and his intention to banish them from the church music; Hardy added a couple of leaves to this conversation in order to introduce in several places Mrs

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Penny's conviction that she has seen Maybold look at Fancy with more warmth than pastoral care would warrant (Hardy subsequently deleted one of these leaves, and rewrote two of Mrs Penny's sharp observations on the versos of those that survived).

In the next substantial addition Fancy expresses her frustration at being forced by her father to teach when the conventions associated with the position mean that she can't display her physical attractions to their best advantage; she has conceived a burst of jealousy because Dick danced with a pretty girl at a gipsy party Fancy could not go to. Hardy must have felt that these pages gave a more plausible motive than the brief text they replaced (whatever it was) for Fancy's confession of flirtation with Shinar with which she hopes to make Dick jealous in return. In fact the leaves on which she confesses are themselves almost untouched fair copy, and though the numeration in this instance gives no clue, it is at least possible that the whole of the chapter was rewritten.

Hardy chooses Fancy's interest in her clothes as a major manifestation of her self-absorption, and to that end adds the chapter in which she prefers to spend hours adjusting the fit of a dress that Dick will never see her wear, to spending the afternoon nutting with him; as a consequence Dick demonstrates some strength of character in his relationship with Fancy, and abandons her to go off to the wood by himself. His moment of independence is a small crisis for her; he has driven her to discover that she loves him rather more deeply than she had thought.

Despite this evidence of mutuality, even in the earliest version of the novel Dick and his father recognized that in hoping to marry Fancy he was aiming above him, since Fancy's father was much better off than they; it was also clear in the manuscript Macmillan saw that Day had Fred Shinar in mind as a husband for his daughter; and so it came as no surprise that the chapter in which Dick asks the keeper for Fancy's hand was full of references to Shinar (as innkeeper) and originally ended with a good example of the keeper's laconic nature:

"I've come to ask for Fancy," said Dick.

"I'd as lief you hadn't."

'Why should that be, Mr. Day?'

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“Because it makes me say that you’ve come to ask for what ye be’n’t likely to have. Have ye come for anything else?”

“Nothing.”

“Then good night t’ye Master Dewy.”

Given the new shape of the novel, Hardy decided to delete the last line of this and add a page in which the keeper outlines Fancy’s superior ancestry on her mother’s side, her superior education and her startling achievements during her teacher training, and as a clincher he asks Dick:

“do ye know what I live in such a miserly way for when I’ve got enough to do without it, and why I make her work as a schoolmistress instead of living here?”

“No.”

“That if any gentleman, who sees her to be his equal in polish, should want to marry her, and she want to marry him, he sha’n’t be superior to her in pocket. Now do ye think after this that you be good enough for her?”

Of course Dick says no, and Hardy has provided an emphatic escalation of the difficulties facing his suit, though on reflection it is perhaps rather uncomfortable placed just where it is, since it rather undermines the keeper’s desire to have the farmer as a son-in-law – not even the upscaled Shinar fits the role of gentleman equal to Fancy in polish; and while Mr Maybold certainly does, Mr Day has no reason to suspect he has any interest in his daughter (167.20–169.3).

The final major addition was the most substantial, three chapters that begin on the Sunday of the inauguration of the organ in Mellstock church (pp. 179–195). Dick has to assist at a funeral, but he goes out of his way in order to speak with Fancy before she plays – and meets her as she leaves the schoolhouse, this time actually dressed to kill on an occasion when he will not be present; she bribes him into complaisance with a kiss. She has a triumph playing the organ – a triumph that so resonates with the vicar that he is driven to propose marriage to her:

she did not see that he loved her during that sermon-time as he had never loved a woman before; that her proximity was a strange delight to him; and that he gloried in her musical success that morning in a spirit quite beyond a mere cleric’s glory at the inauguration of a new order of things. (182.19–23)

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Hardy has Maybold slip into his proposal, rather crudely, a sense of his own superiority: “Don’t refuse; don’t,” he implored. “It would be foolish of you—I mean cruel!” Though she hesitates, the material goods that he has on offer persuade her to accept him. In so short a novel Hardy has no room for much in the way of subsequent complication, and so the next day he has Dick meet Maybold and reveal his prior engagement to Fancy; at the same time Hardy takes the opportunity to give Dick a promising future: he tells the vicar he’s setting up a branch of his father’s business, and ‘to keep pace with the times’ he has had business cards printed, one of which he gives Maybold. This is an important detail, for it is an indication that Dick shares Fancy’s modern views, another small hint that they really might be happy together.

The stunning information about Fancy that Dick has imparted stimulates the vicar to write to ask Fancy if she really wants to break her word to Dick; meanwhile a night of anxious thought for Fancy has dispelled the glamour of the vicar’s offer, and her letter asserting her enduring love for Dick and begging to be allowed to withdraw from her agreement crosses nicely with his (both use children as letter carriers and they meet half-way and have a pugilistic frisk before carrying on to deliver their envelopes).

After Hardy added this substantial crisis for Fancy there was only the wedding to come, though the manuscript as it survives suggests some slight ambiguity about when it took place. Originally at the end of the chapter in which Fancy nearly starves herself to death for love her father gives way and agrees that Dick may marry her ‘as soon as he’s a-minded to’; presumably this would be very soon, and indeed in the earliest form of the novel this chapter was immediately followed by the preparations for the ceremony and the party after it. In revision, however, Day says the marriage can take place after ‘we’ve considered a little’ (177.28), and on being pressed by Fancy for a date, names the following midsummer. It does seem likely that as originally written the wedding took place slightly earlier, for the environmental description that begins the first chapter of the conclusion (199.3–14) feels more like late spring than midsummer, and (as Hardy would have been well aware) Dick’s bees would almost certainly have swarmed in the spring (this is why he’s a bit late for the walk to the church).

Hardy also has to add a page to this chapter in which Dick wonders why Maybold won’t officiate at his wedding, ‘a man I like so much too’; this

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gives the narrator the opportunity to make another wry comment about Fancy: “I wonder,” said Fancy, looking into vacancy with those beautiful eyes of hers—too refined and beautiful for a tranter’s wife; but, perhaps, not too good’ (207.25–7). The last three leaves of the manuscript were also rewritten at this stage, in part to include Thomas Leaf’s story and in part to alter the ending to include Fancy’s secret.

Thus the amount of time Dick and Fancy were seen alone together was nearly doubled, and though it is perhaps still only their physical interaction during the Christmas dance that helps us to feel that a powerful erotic bond might be possible between them (the narrator refuses to show us any of the kisses they exchange), nevertheless Fancy’s reactions to the small but intense crisis when Dick under extreme provocation abandons her to go nutting, and to the larger crisis of her acceptance then rejection of Maybold’s offer of marriage, do allow us to understand that for all her manipulateness, she loves Dick almost as much as he loves her.

At the same time as he added all this material, to meet Macmillan’s other objection he removed five or six pages of (probably) dialogue amongst the choir in the tranter’s house before the carol singing (the missing leaves were 11–15 in the first numeration). Once he had satisfied himself, he renumbered the manuscript on the right-hand side of the page. I would argue that he did all this fairly soon after getting the manuscript back from the publisher, in November 1871 perhaps, while their criticisms were still fresh in his mind, and with the hope that either Macmillan in the following spring or Tinsley at some earlier date might be more interested in the revised novel.

When Tinsley didn’t ask for *Under the Greenwood Tree* (or *A Pair of Blue Eyes*) in October, Hardy wrote to him again in January 1872 about the accounting for *Desperate Remedies*, and kept the idea of the later novel before him by adding: ‘I have rather delayed the completion of my new MS. until the result of the other is clear’.<sup>119</sup> This is less than accurate, since as we have seen Macmillan had already read a completed version; but in March, when Tinsley did ask to see the new story, there was a delay of two weeks or a little more before Hardy sent him the manuscript. It was during these weeks, I suspect, that Hardy made the final substantial changes to the document we have today, removing another five pages from the gathering

<sup>119</sup> CL 1, p. 15.

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at the tranter's house before the carol singing (22–28 in the first numeration, 20–24 in the second), a page from the tranter's ablutions on Christmas morning (1N43, 2N39), and three pages from the choir's conversation before they visit the vicar (72a/72, 74/74 and 76/76) (though, as pointed out earlier, in *Life and Work* Hardy has a different story).

In the version that Tinsley read, then, Fancy and Dick and the vicar are no longer just three amongst the rich diversity of characters Hardy was concerned to portray in the novel, almost as a social historian. As Fancy, now specifically heroine, dominates the Christmas dance, so the love quadrangle informs the whole plot, intruding into the very episode announcing the demise of the choir. Earlier, Dick's love for and marriage with Fancy might have been seen as providing a (rather slight) tonal contrast to the fate of his fellow musicians, but now such a view is no longer possible; when considered as a whole, the focus of the novel has decisively shifted. Though in structural terms one might think of the first edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* as a novel of two halves – the first concentrating on the choir, the second on the romance – it is now the case that while the romance percolates throughout the first half, the choir as choir does not feature in the second, save as defeated men listening to Fancy play in their place.

This development draws attention to one other important detail in the manuscript. In his 1912 addition to the preface he had written for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition, Hardy wrote that he might have given a deeper, more essential, more transcendent treatment of the Stinsford church choir than he did in creating the Mellstock choir, but accepted that 'circumstances' in the late 1860s and early 1870s rendered such an approach 'unadvisable'. These circumstances were both Hardy's utter uncertainty about his gifts as a writer of fiction, and, as we have seen, his response to the assessments by readers and critics of his first two novels. It is easy enough to imagine that the struggle of the choir for existence, the battle it embodies between established tradition and new methods, and the individual responses to failure, would have been handled very differently if Hardy had written about them thirty or forty years later than he did. As noted earlier, in 1907<sup>120</sup> he made a gesture

<sup>120</sup> A note from Macmillan to their printer R. & R. Clark of 13 July 1906 in relation to the pocket edition reads: 'please give us a proof of an altered title / Under the Greenwood Tree / or / The Mellstock Quire' (BL, MS Add. 55338, fo. 524). The novel was not issued in the pocket edition until the following year.

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towards redressing the diminishment of the choir's role in the narrative, by adding to the pocket edition of the novel a second subtitle: 'or The Mellstock Quire'. In *Life and Work* he wrote that the title was originally intended to be 'The Mellstock Quire but altered to *Under the Greenwood Tree* because titles from poetry were in fashion just then';<sup>121</sup> in *The Early Life* the first page of the manuscript is reproduced opposite page 116 as verification of this claim, and indeed at the top of the leaf is 'The Mellstock Quire / or / Under the Greenwood Tree'. However, it is certain from its placement on the page, the ink used, and the fact that the spelling 'quire' only occurs once in the manuscript, in Leaf's voice (87.20), that the first two lines were added (and then immediately cancelled) at a date considerably after the manuscript's inscription and revision – possibly in 1907 when Clement Shorter first suggested to Hardy that his manuscripts should be bound.

In order to re-envision in 1912 in a more profound way the choir and its demise as the central focus of the novel, Hardy would have had to recast the narrative at least as substantially as he had in the manuscript, and this was not an option for him at that stage in his career (or his life) – neither perhaps was it in 1895–6, when his mind was turning so eagerly towards poetry.

### *Associated Changes*

There are throughout the manuscript and all the versions of the work that Hardy revised smaller changes that he made as a consequence of this upheaval to his original design. In particular, Hardy was not satisfied with everything he had done in establishing the more prominent role given to Fancy in the extended narrative. To the already existing episodes in the manuscript he added smaller details, as when, for instance, in the conversation over the keeper's meal table he gives Fancy two more speeches (108.6–8 and 108.12–13), both of which have to do with relationships between the sexes. An even slighter addition on the previous page (106.32) is nevertheless important in keeping before the reader another side of her personality: the narrator describes how at the table Dick takes an opportunity to place his hand over Fancy's; originally Hardy wrote Fancy's reaction thus: 'So Fancy, instead of pulling her hand from the trap, settled her eyes on her father's, to guard against his discovery of this perilous game

<sup>121</sup> p. 88.

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of Dick's; in revising the manuscript he added with almost hostile irony 'the innocent' before Fancy. Perhaps to balance the effect of this change he added on the proof for the first edition the rather ineffectual description of Fancy calming the disruption caused by her stepmother as a 'bright little bird' (110.20).

Hardy also felt on a number of occasions that he had not given sufficient indication to the reader of Fancy's state of mind as she spoke, and so, in the manuscript he added these phrases: 'she continued mournfully' (140.22–3), 'sighed the invalid' (177.26) and 'with a breath of relief' (207.13); when he came to read the proofs for the first edition it was the extended courtship dialogue between her and Dick during the journey between Budmouth and Mellstock that caught his attention in this respect, and he decided to add 'she serenely observed' (129.28), 'she replied with soft archness' (130.3), 'said she in low tones' (130.20), 'she said gently' (131.14) and 'she whispered tenderly' (131.21). To her self-defence when Dick meets her in splendid clothes and a profusion of curls on her way to church by herself he added 'she said smiling archly' (180.25) in the manuscript, and 'she pouted' (181.11) in the proofs. It should be noted, though, that occasionally the speeches of other characters were belatedly provided with similar expressive adverbs, so it is only in the proofs that Fancy's father tells the butcher 'despondingly' that he'll enquire after the reason for Fancy's meagre meat order (176.19), or Mr Maybold says goodbye to Fancy 'tenderly' after she has agreed to marry him (189.17).

A number of changes in all the printed editions help to convince the reader that Fancy is in control of most of the situations the novel shows her in: until 1912, in response to Dick's exclamation at the inn that they should get engaged at once, the text read "'And, goodness me, what have I done!' she faltered, getting very red and confused. "Positively, it seems as if I meant you to say that!"' (135.18–20). For the Wessex Edition, however, Hardy significantly removed 'and confused', allowing the reader more easily to suspect that she had deliberately manipulated the whole situation.

Just before she attempts to make Dick jealous by confessing her flirtation with Shinar, Hardy added in proof for the first edition the narrator's rhetorical comment: 'Fancy had settled her plan of emotion. To reproach Dick? O no, no' (141.9), pointing out to readers her manipulative nature in case they might fail to notice it – though her plan is ultimately less effective

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than she had hoped. In the manuscript he made clearer her strategy in trying to prepare her father to receive favourably Dick's request to marry her by adding 'until he likes you' after 'kind' in 'Not tell him what you come for, or anything of the kind, and so win his brain through his heart, which is always the way to manage people,' and changing 'let him guess what your coming signifies, & you might be able to ask him that very night' to 'let him guess what your coming signifies, without saying it in so many words' (145.23, 26–7). The approach she advocates contrasts (as often) with Dick's open directness (which is, however, in this instance a complete failure).

It is clear enough from the narrative of their relationship that Dick loves Fancy more completely than she does him, but again Hardy decided to alter a narrative comment in the manuscript in order to spell the matter out: in the weeks after Dick's failure to get Mr Day's permission to marry her, originally Hardy wrote that Fancy 'had continued to love him', but in keeping with his subsequent rather less generous view of her nature he changed it to 'had loved him more for the opposition than she would otherwise have dreamed of doing' (171.16–17); the new words have the added effect of implying again the control that she has over her emotions – which in turn makes the more powerful her loss of control when abandoned by Dick a few pages earlier.

Most of the changes noted in the manuscript so far do not occur in the pages added to enhance the love quadrangle, but one passage was added at the beginning of the chapter in which the vicar makes his marriage proposal: this is Fancy sitting at an open window towards the end of September, looking out at the rain:

She was thinking—of her lover Dick Dewy? Not precisely. Of how weary she was of living alone; how unbearable it would be to return to Yalbury under the rule of her strange-tempered step-mother; that it was far better to be married to anybody than do that; that eight or nine long months had yet to be lived through ere the wedding could take place. (184.5–10)

Again it is possible to sense a thread of narrative hostility to Fancy in the sentences; there is an implication that she only allowed herself to fall in love with Dick, only manoeuvred him into proposing to her, because she was fed up with teaching, with living alone, and couldn't face her family any more – a thought which prepares the reader more fully for her succumbing

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to the temptations of Maybold's offer. This effect is enhanced when she thinks to herself, after the rain-soaked Dick has departed, 'I like Dick, and I love him; but how poor and mean a man looks in the rain, with no umbrella, and wet through!' Her 'poor and mean' quite undoes liking and loving; but in 1896 Hardy felt this went too far and changed the phrase to the much less opprobrious 'plain and sorry' (186.10). In the Wessex Edition he alleviated her materialism a little further by changing a word in her letter of retraction to the vicar, so that instead of confessing that it is her nature to care about 'surroundings more elegant and luxurious' than those she has been used to, it is 'surroundings more elegant and pleasing' that fascinate her (195.3), substituting an aesthetic for a material good. But elsewhere in the same edition he had increased at least the comfort of Fancy's surroundings in comparison, say, with Dick's, by giving her a small entourage of servants. When considering the amount of butter she normally orders in to her household Hardy added in 1912 to an amount for herself, also 'just so much salted for the helping girl, and the 'ooman she calls in' (175.10). Another minute change also has a substantial social effect: in proof for the first edition, instead of calling the vicar 'sir' as the villagers do, she calls him 'Mr. Maybold' more or less as an equal, subtly transforming their exchange (187.9).

Finally there are two equally small and similarly significant alterations to the following passage:

Fancy, who, as an additional precaution in this direction, had strictly charged her father and the tranter to carefully avoid saying "thee" and 'thou' in their conversation, on the plea that those ancient words sounded so very humiliating to persons of decent taste; also that they were never to be seen drawing the back of the hand across the mouth after drinking,—a local English custom of extraordinary antiquity, but stated by Fancy to be decidedly dying out among the upper classes of society. (213.16–23)

In 1896 Hardy changed 'decent taste' to 'newer taste', which removes one example of her social snobbery, and more importantly places her request within one of the primary themes of the novel (and indeed of Hardy's vision of Wessex as a whole), the overtaking of the traditional by the modern. In 1912 he changed 'upper classes' to 'better classes', blurring the

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focus of this other piece of social snobbery, since ‘better’ is so much less precise than ‘upper’.

And then there are Fancy’s three suitors. Hardy didn’t really do enough to make Maybold the significant character he perhaps ought to have become when he was developed as a candidate to marry Fancy, even though he is, of course, remote from the central consciousnesses of the novel – an alien in the village life. The previous vicar Mr Grinham had been similarly alien, with this difference, that he had left the villagers to their own devices (Hardy added in the manuscript of the chapter in which Mrs Endorfield talks with Fancy the detail that Mr Grinham’s time as vicar had proven very favourable to the increase of witches in Mellstock (172.1–5)), while their principal complaint about Mr Maybold is that he intrudes in their lives in all sorts of ways that show he doesn’t understand them. For the Wessex Edition he gave them a further complaint:

“No sooner had he got here than he found the font wouldn’t hold water, as it hadn’t for years off and on; and when I told him that Mr. Grinham never minded it, but used to spet upon his vinger and christen ’em just as well, ’a said, ‘Good Heavens! Send for a workman immediate. What place have I come to!’ Which was no compliment to us, come to that.” (78.18–19)

Though Hardy has no desire to enter doctrinal discussion in the way Eliot does in *Scenes from Clerical Life* or *Adam Bede*, still it is clear enough that Maybold’s place is in the evangelical wing of the Church of England. At the end of the villagers’ discussion of his behaviour the tranter points out that Maybold had even said ‘How d’ye do’ to him when he was in his oldest most disreputable clothes, and on the first edition proofs he emphasized this egalitarianism by continuing ‘the man couldn’t have been civil-ler’; in 1896 he piled it on by having the vicar shake Dewy’s hand as well (79.19).

Up to this point we have no idea of what Maybold looks like, so at the beginning of the choir’s visit to his house Hardy included as a revision in the manuscript a description, but one so brief as to be almost deliberately unhelpful: ‘a young man with courageous eyes, timid mouth, and nose of a neutral kind’ (86.5–7); this emphasizes his distance from the men who have come to talk with him about the church music – though he does throw him a ‘good-looking’ before ‘young’ on the first edition proofs, recognizing

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that some such minimal general indication of the effect of his appearance was really required. Then, after he tells the tranter that one of the churchwardens has asked that Fancy play the organ in church, Hardy added, to keep Maybold's interest in Fancy simmering, 'Now for some reason or other, the vicar at this point seemed to have an idea that he had prevaricated . . . He corrected himself, blushing as he did so, though why he should blush was not known to Reuben', and says that he too had wished her to play (90.14–17). Though Reuben is strangely obtuse, the reader of course is not.

During this chapter Hardy also added an altogether more interesting insight into Maybold's character; as a response to the tranter's "Well then, Mr. Mayble, since death's to be, we'll die like men any day you names" the narrator now notes: 'Mr. Maybold bowed his head' – though the tranter continues without noticing anything (91.8). Of all his reactions to the choir's argument this is the most profound and humane; and if Reuben Dewy had left it at that, their demise might have been longer postponed. It is the subsequent farce that makes up the vicar's mind for him, and it is this episode more than any other which Hardy must have deeply regretted when reconsidering the novel in later life.

There is then a long gap in the narrative with no further indication of Maybold's possible attraction to Fancy – between his blush at admitting he wants her to play in church and his response to her actually doing it – and thus his proposal of marriage comes to her as a surprise, though not exactly as a bolt from the blue, since she does see at least that he's affected by her presence when she plays the organ in church; but it is doubtful whether the continuation of that paragraph quoted earlier outlining his love for her (182.17–23) is sufficient to convince most readers of his passion as more than a plot mechanism. At any rate Hardy makes a couple of changes in these added manuscript chapters, one to Maybold's proposal and the other to his letter to her, that in a small way help us to believe. In the midst of the vicar's declaration, Hardy added "I see your great beauty" (188.8–9). Neither Dick nor Shinar have told her she is beautiful so far as we know, and though Hardy makes nothing more of it here, we may think that he remembered this when two years later he wrote in *Far from the Madding Crowd* that it was 'a fatal omission' of Boldwood's that in contrast to Troy he had never once told Bathsheba that 'she was beautiful' (Chapter xxiv).

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It is the more puzzling, then, that in 1912 Hardy changed ‘beauty’ to ‘charm’. Did he really think it was inappropriate for Maybold to be influenced by mere physical attributes? The second change at last gives the vicar some real intensity of feeling as he expresses in his letter how he has responded to learning of her engagement to Dick; originally Hardy wrote “though my opinion of you is modified I love you still”, but as a seriously important second thought he changed ‘modified’ to ‘assailed and disturbed in a way which cannot be expressed’ (194.7–8).

As for Shinar, Hardy couldn’t even settle on the right spelling of his name. In the manuscript it was initially Shiner, but when he transformed him from publican to wealthy farmer he decided to call him Shinar, and also changed most instances of the earlier spelling. This is how it appeared in the first edition, and thus in the edited text, but in 1896 he decided to return to Shiner, which it remains in 1912.<sup>122</sup> One of the consequences of his transformation from publican to wealthy farmer in the manuscript was that Hardy could make him a churchwarden; and thus Shinar himself tries to persuade the vicar to get Fancy to play in church rather than getting the churchwardens to do it, as the early version of the novel has it (134.1). With this in mind Hardy at the same time revised the tranter’s comment on Shinar’s outraged reaction to the choir’s carol singing outside his house to include “Only a drap o’ drink got into his head,” said the tranter. “Man’s well enough when he’s in his religious frame. He’s in his worldly frame now” (35.15–16). Otherwise Hardy thought that the elevation of his social standing was sufficient, as a couple of manuscript revisions to the honey-taking episode suggest: where initially Shinar ‘looked superior, as if he could even now hardly join the trifling from very refinement of nature’, Hardy successively changed ‘refinement of nature’ to ‘dignity of nature’, and then ‘importance of station’ (164.10); a page later he added the description of him as ‘a high-class man’ (166.3–4).

For the most part Hardy was careful in making all the alterations required by the change in Shinar’s occupation, but there is a remnant of his former situation at 106.16 when Geoffrey Day asks Fancy “Did Fred Shinar send the cask o’ drink?” Presumably Hardy thought a farmer might make his own cider or ale, since he found nothing wrong with the sentence

<sup>122</sup> See below pp. cxxxix for a detailed account of the name’s appearance in the manuscript.

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over any of his revisions to the work. The narrator comments that Shinar was a ‘remarkably easy-going’ man in terms of his lovemaking (145.14), and despite his relative wealth and Fancy’s father’s favour, he doesn’t appear to be a serious rival to Dick; to make him just a little more so Hardy added at a late stage to the manuscript a brief description during his dance with Fancy at the Dewy’s, so that now he continued ‘with an affectionate bend towards her’, and she responded by smiling ‘warmly’ at him, (54.12), and in proof during the same chapter he was called an ‘ardent’ male (64.2).

The only objective description of Dick in the novel is the black silhouette offered in the first chapter, in which the word ‘ordinary’ appears four times (8.25–9.1); however, the substantial development of his romance prompted Hardy to gesture in the same direction as he had in adding ‘good-looking’ to the description of the vicar, since he needed something apart from the Christmas dance to suggest that Fancy might have paid him some attention at first or second sight. Fancy and Dick’s sister Susan discuss the gypsy party that Dick was at, and Susan tells her that another girl “‘wanted to dance with him again badly enough, I know. Everybody does with Dick, because he’s so clever and handsome””; that’s how it was on the leaf added to the manuscript, but on the first edition proofs Hardy altered ‘clever and handsome’ to ‘handsome and such a clever courter’ (140.10–11). We may think this is sisterly partiality, or even meant to tease Fancy, since earlier the narrator claims that before attempting to give Fancy back the handkerchief she had dropped at his parents’ Christmas party, Dick had never ‘been engaged in the practice of love-making at all, except in a small schoolboy way’ (69.11–12) – or perhaps in the excitement of reading the proofs he forgot this detail. He could afford to alter the general ‘clever’ to ‘clever courter’ because earlier he had added in the manuscript the significant information that Dick’s parents had given him an education so good it was hardly fair to the other children (119.25–26), so in that respect he becomes more Fancy’s equal; the financial gap remains, however, and in 1912 Hardy made a small change in order to make it clearer that the gap is financial rather than social: Dick’s father points out that the Days are better off in the ‘pocket’ rather than the ‘world’ than the Dewys (120.22). During the same conversation to which Hardy made these changes Dick also indirectly makes the point; he ‘looked into the distance at a vast expanse of mortgaged estate’ (‘mortgaged estate’ was ‘nothing’ in the manuscript)

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and murmured (with a touch of *Poor Man and the Lady* sensibility): “I wish I was as rich as a lord when he’s as poor as a crow.” It is perhaps obvious enough to the reader why Dick wishes this, but to emphasize his new eagerness for Fancy Hardy had him fill out the consequence: “I’d soon ask Fancy something” (119.12–14).

A final change that Hardy made to Dick’s part in his newly developed romance was to add in 1912 to his conversation with the vicar as they walk to Casterbridge the detail that the branch of his father’s business he is going to manage is ‘elsewhere’ – so that whether Fancy marries Dick or Maybold, she will be leaving the district (192.7).

*Alterations to Other Characters*

As noted above, Hardy chose Mrs Penny to suspect early on that Mr Maybold was attracted to Fancy; he thought it should be a woman’s perception, and the discussion during which her suspicion is first added takes place outside her husband’s workshop. He also gave Dick’s mother more to say of a characteristically sharp sort (17.7, 24.14, 49.22–9), while Thomas Leaf and his story of financial acumen were only added to the wedding party as an afterthought. Of all the choir members, though, it is Elias Spinks who attracts the largest number of changes over the course of the work’s evolution, the most significant of which are attempts to clarify and to support his status in the village as a retired teacher – in part doubtless as a contrast (or complement) to Fancy as a freshly-minted board-school teacher. As so often, what Hardy tried to do in the two collected editions was to diminish the slightly patronizing mockery of Spinks that was prevalent in the first edition, by providing him with a serious qualification to be thought of as intellectually competent. When Mail says in a longish manuscript addition that Spinks has read something of almost everything (24.23–25.6), the tone and the speaker entitles us to dismiss this as a combination of exaggeration and ignorance, if that is our desire. When we learn, however, as we do in 1912, that he had been ‘a great filler of young folks’ brains’ (24.24) and had once kept a night school (21.18), any well-read middle-class metropolitan might have remembered Bartle Massey in *Adam Bede* and have taken him more seriously.

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One of the methods of characterization Hardy uses, gathered from his experience of Dorset society, and encouraged perhaps by the example of Dickens, is to provide his people with repetitive habits of speech. Elias Spinks' inherent scepticism comes out all the time in the formulation that closes most of his speeches, as in: "I don't doubt there's a likeness, Master Penny—a mild likeness—a far-remote likeness—still, a likeness as far as that goes" (23.24); in this instance in 1896 Hardy thought that since his speech continued "But *I* haven't imagination enough to see it, perhaps", Spinks logically would not have used his tag phrase, and removed it. A little later on, during the discussion of the most appropriate instruments for church music, Spinks says in the first edition: "Strings are well enough, as far as that goes" (28.25); this time in 1896 he enlivened the rather flat speech so that it became "Strings be safe soul-lifters, as fur as that do go". Hardy added such dialect pronunciation and grammar to all village speakers throughout the revision of 1896, and it is characteristic of his reworking of the text in 1912 that he there retained the grammatical distinction in 'do go' but removed the notation of Wessex accent, turning 'fur' back to 'far'.

Reuben Dewy and Robert Penny also are distinguished by an easily identifiable phrase they habitually use in speech, and in working his way through the manuscript Hardy had sometimes to alter either the speaker or the speech in order to sustain this characteristic. Three examples come from the conversations before and after Fancy and Dick's wedding:

"True: we did so," said Geoffrey. "We shall form a very striking object walking along: good-now naibours?"

This issue with this is that 'naibours' is a characteristic locution of Reuben Dewy, and he is the only character to use 'good-now' (though only once before this). And so Hardy revised the speech on the manuscript:

"True," said the tranter, "we ought to go round Galligar-lane to do the thing well. We shall form a very striking object walking along: good-now naibours?" (209.11–12)

In the second, instead of changing the speaker he changed the word; at first it read: "I tell ye, souls, when the pinch comes," said the tranter.' But 'souls' identifies Robert Penny, and in revising the passage he changed it to 'naibours' (216.26). In the third example he decided to change the speaker in "Ah," said Mr. Penny as Dick retired.' But at the same time he added

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another characteristic verbal marker: “Ah, sonnies” said the tranter as Dick retired’ (216.6). The tranter varies this locution with ‘my sonny’ or ‘my sonnies’, which allows Hardy’s narrator to make an amused comment:

“Well, now, look here, my sonnies,” he argued to his wife, whom he often addressed in the plural masculine for convenience of epithet merely; “I don’t see that”. (56.10–12)

It is also possible to identify the speaker of at least one speech in the dialogue at 99.3–9 which has no direct indication of most of the speakers: “You might live wi’ that man, my sonnies, a hundred years . . .” (99.8).

In addition to ‘souls’, Mr Penny also uses ‘a b’lieve’; Hardy combined both in: “Your plain music well done is as worthy as your other sort done bad, ’a b’lieve, souls; so say I” (32.8–10). This is the only occasion, however, on which Hardy definitely gives him ‘so say I’, while his wife has the phrase three times; it is to be supposed that their long married life has seen them share habits of speech as well as other things. It turns up a fifth time at 77.10 in an unattributed speech:

“Ay, there was this to be said for him, that you were quite sure he’d never come mumbudgeting to see ye, just as you were in the middle of your work, and put you out with his anxious trouble about you—so say I.”

This sounds much more like Mrs Penny than her husband, but cannot be, since she is the previous speaker. She was added to the group discussing the new vicar only in a late revision, and possibly Hardy didn’t integrate her as thoroughly as he might have done. He realized the problem when he came to revise the novel in 1896 and replaced ‘you – so say I’ with ‘ye’, and in 1912 he changed ‘anxious trouble’ to the more probable ‘fuss and trouble’ so that the speech becomes satisfyingly anonymous.

As has already been seen, Hardy raised keeper Day’s status somewhat in manuscript revisions; he completed the process in 1896 and 1912 through several alterations, the most detailed of which was an addition for the Wessex Edition during his exposition to Dick of all the reasons why he shouldn’t even think of marrying Fancy: “I was only a keeper then, though now I’ve a dozen other irons in the fire as steward here for my lord, what

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with the timber sales and the yearly fellings, and the gravel and sand sales, and one thing and t'other'" (168.2). My lord here is the Earl of Wessex, and there is an interesting related small change in 1896, when at 105.8 Day says that a clock is as true as 'town time' rather than 'Squire's time'. Was there, once Mellstock and Yalbury were firmly placed within Hardy's Wessex, no squire in Day's district – was it all owned by the Earl? Or is it just that in his more important social position he has no sense of any squire as a superior authority?

*Further Revision in the Collected Editions*

From one point of view the most important change to the novel was the addition of a preface in 1896 and a supplement in 1912. These few pages are important in this analysis because they set the tone for many of the changes Hardy felt bound to make later in life to the first edition text (they are reproduced as Appendix B). The 1896 preface gave readers a sociohistorical context for early nineteenth-century rural church music, musicians and their supplier the itinerant music pedlar – the kind of material that underpinned the development of the idea of Wessex in Hardy's creative consciousness, the development that led to the drawing together through revision of his fictional world and the realities on which it was based. At the same time he made it clear that the Mellstock choir was based on a real one, and that his connection with it was quite close, for he mentions 'an old executant' who gave him information about how the choir members used the small amount of money they were paid, and describes some of their home-made music books that 'now lie before me' (332.25) (and which may yet be examined in the Dorset County Museum). It was not until the first volume of Hardy's autobiography was published after his death, however, that the intimacy of his connection was publicly revealed:

The practice [of playing in church] was kept up by Thomas Hardy the Second, much as described in *Under the Greenwood Tree* or *The Mellstock Quire*, though its author Thomas Hardy the Third invented the personages, incidents, manners etc., never having seen or heard the choir as such, they ending their office when he was about a year old. He was accustomed to say that on this account he had rather burlesqued them, the story not adequately reflecting as he could have wished

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in later years the poetry and romance that coloured their time-honoured observances.<sup>123</sup>

The section of the preface he wrote in 1912 is primarily a similar, though more powerful expression of regret at his treatment of the musicians in the novel, and because much of the revision in both 1896 and 1912 was made with this regret at the forefront of his mind the passage is worth quoting here:

In rereading the narrative after a long interval there occurs the inevitable reflection that the realities out of which it was spun were material for another kind of study of this little group of church musicians than is found in the chapters here penned so lightly, even so farcically and flippantly at times. But circumstances would have rendered any aim at a deeper, more essential, more transcendent handling unadvisable at the date of writing. (333.6–11)

It is, indeed, a question of whether the revisions of 1896 and 1912 that Hardy made as a consequence of this fundamentally different understanding of the implications for the local society and the individuals involved in the killing off of parochial church music in general, and of his father and grandfather's involvement in the music in Stinsford church in particular, should be considered more significant in changing the texture of the novel than those he made to bring the novel into the environmental and socio-cultural structure of Wessex. They are certainly more emotionally charged. Take, for instance, the way the narrator introduced the first carol that the choir sings on their rounds; in the manuscript it went simply: 'the hymn was sung, beginning:—"Remember Adam's fall / O thou man."' Reading for the first edition proofs Hardy decided that both hymn and singers needed a narrative commentary, and so replaced the manuscript version with 'Then passed forth into the quiet night an ancient and well-worn hymn, embodying Christianity in words peculiarly befitting the simple and honest hearts of the quaint characters who sang them so earnestly.' He also added the complete text of the carol so his readers could judge the accuracy of the description of it (30.22–31.29). It is the last sixteen words from 'peculiarly' that are so unpleasant. It is distressing, now we know so much about the sources for this strand of the novel in Hardy's own family, to imagine him

<sup>123</sup> *LW*, p. 17.

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at the age of 32, still partly living at home in Dorset, writing thus distantly and patronizingly in order to flatter the sensibilities of his middle-class urban readers. By 1896 he no longer needed or wanted his narrator to take such a position, and he replaced the words with others in his local historian voice: ‘orally transmitted from father to son through several generations down to the present characters, who sang them out right earnestly’. In harmony with this revision he also altered ‘well-worn’ to ‘time-worn’. In 1912 he couldn’t quite leave this version alone, turning ‘embodying Christianity’ into ‘embodying a quaint Christianity’. Was it a coincidence that he used the adjective for the religion that he had deleted from the characters? And what did he think quaint in the carol?

He must also have regretted much in the tone of the discussion amongst the choir before Mr Penny’s workshop and the subsequent interview with the vicar; he wasn’t going at the age of 72 to rewrite the novel, but as the choir mulls over the visit after leaving the vicarage, he did give the tranter an extra speech in the Wessex Edition that goes some way towards making a realistic and serious assessment of what they had achieved: “‘And I’m glad we’ve let en know our minds. And though, beyond that, we ha’n’t got much by going, ’twas worth while. He won’t forget it” (97.4). This last sentence differs radically in tone from so much of what went on in the vicarage. The initial response to the tranter’s speech is: “‘Now, that was very nice o’ the man””, to which, as a kind of acknowledgement of Dewy’s new seriousness, Hardy added in 1912: “‘even though words be wind”” (97.8). A few lines later (97.16) he altered the tranter’s farcically illogical conclusion concerning the vicar: “‘Ay, the man’s well enough; ’tis what’s in his head that spoils him”” to “‘Ay, the man’s well enough; ’tis what’s put in his head that spoils him, and that’s why we’ve got to go””, transforming the speech to a generous acknowledgement that the vicar has been worked upon by the churchwarden Shinar.

But in revising Hardy encountered farce throughout the novel – Dick’s conversation with the innkeeper about his engagement to Fancy is an example, and again Hardy provided for the collected editions a much more substantial basis for the innkeeper’s joshing; where in the first edition he accused Dick merely of unprofessional conduct – of ordering tea for a passenger and then going in to have some too – in 1896 he called for tea for a ‘feymel’ passenger, and in 1912, as well as sharing the tea he stayed in

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the room ‘such a fine long time’ (136.24–5). The conversation that follows has much more point as a consequence; it might even be thought mildly amusing.

A similar exchange is Shinar’s declaration of ‘love’ to Fancy at the honey-taking (161.24–162.9). It had been criticized in one of the early reviews (see above p. xlvii), and even though that had been twenty-four years earlier Hardy had preserved the review in a scrapbook. In fact even before the passage saw print he was having second thoughts about it: Shinar comments that Fancy doesn’t “accept attentions very freely”, to which she replies that it “depends upon who offers them”. He responds “A fellow like me, for instance”, and after a pause, in the manuscript she says “It then depends upon how they are offered.” Above ‘how they are offered’, in barely legible pencil, Hardy wrote ‘what sort of a fellow you are’; Shinar’s response in the first edition is: “Not wildly, and yet not indifferently; not intentionally, and yet not by chance; not actively nor idly; quickly nor slowly.” In the pencilled interlineation this began ‘Not a wild chap & yet not a {illegible} chap’ and after another two or three unreadable words, next to ‘not slowly’ is ‘{a very?} mild feller’. There is nothing else legible on the manuscript, and it seems he must have given up this new approach, which so clearly fits as a response to the reviewer’s criticism that (since Hardy got the manuscript back from the printer after it had been set in type) it might almost be thought he was trying out a new version *after* he had read the review and erased his pencilling just before he sent the manuscript to be bound more than thirty years later. When he came to consider the exchange in 1896 all he could do was to tinker with the language: ‘not indifferently’ became ‘not careless-like’, ‘intentionally’ became ‘purposely’, ‘actively nor idly; quickly nor slowly’ became ‘not too quick nor yet too slow’. Fancy asks “How then?” and initially in the manuscript Hardy had Shinar respond “Idly”, but he soon recognized that even for a man called remarkably easy-going later on, this was too insensitive, and altered it to ‘Coolly & practically’; whereupon Fancy responds with a list of negatives of her own: “Not anxiously, and yet not carelessly; neither quickly nor slowly; neither redly nor palely; not religiously nor yet quite wickedly.” In 1896 he changed ‘carelessly’ to ‘indifferently’ and simplified ‘quickly nor slowly; neither redly nor palely’ to ‘blushing nor pale’. But he could not alter the punchline that the reviewer in 1872 claimed

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would have brought the house down in a music hall; when Shinar demands “Well, how?” Fancy’s scripted response is “Not at all.”

One of the features of the novel, indeed of all Hardy’s early novels, is the acceptance as an integral part of the community of the person whom a Victorian middle-class urban reader might be inclined to call the village idiot; but the intentionally farcical statement of the narrator in the first edition: ‘it was an accepted thing that Leaf didn’t in the least mind having no head, that he habitually walked about without one being an unimpassioned matter of parish history’ (82.24–5) invites such a reader to mock rather than understand. In the manuscript ‘that he habitually walked about without one being’ had been the less jocular ‘and that the lack of it was’, and in 1896 he found a similarly neutral phrase that somewhat undoes the effect of the 1872 proof revision: ‘that deficiency of his being’.

Hardy’s regret at the levity of his treatment of the choir members and their loss of occupation (the word becomes ‘church-work’ in 1912 (79.1)) underlies a considerable volume of revision in both collected editions that might individually be thought of as merely stylistic, but which taken together reveals a concerted attempt, short of rewriting the novel, to diminish what he came to think of as the sometimes misjudged tone of those sections of the story in which the choir appear. Here is a characteristic passage from the edited text:

The operation was then satisfactorily performed; when Michael arose, and stretched his head to the extremest fraction of height that his body would allow of, to restraighthen his bent back and shoulders—thrusting out his arms and twisting his features to a mere mass of wrinkles at the same time, to emphasise the relief acquired. A quart or two of the beverage was then brought to table, at which all the new arrivals reseated themselves with wide-spread knees, their eyes meditatively seeking out with excruciating precision any small speck or knot in the table upon which the gaze might precipitate itself. (17.19–28)

From this, ‘mere’ in line 4 and ‘with excruciating precision’ in line 7 were removed in 1896, while ‘bent’ in line 3, ‘at the same time’ in line 4, and ‘small’ in line 7 were taken out in 1912, and ‘table’ in line 8 was altered to ‘board’. A comparison of the 1872 version with that of 1912 might lead a reader to wonder why, in the same spirit, he didn’t also change ‘extremest fraction of height’ in line 2.

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Hardy felt under pressure throughout the successive stages of revision to the manuscript and when reading the proofs for the first edition to make the novel more interesting for its perceived market, and it is striking that on a number of occasions in 1912 he returned the text to the first reading in the manuscript. In the manuscript he wrote a speech of Mr Penny thus: “‘You needn’t be so mighty particular about little and small!’ said her husband’, but on the first edition proofs he added ‘pecking the air with his nose’ (59.18). In 1912 he repented of this decision and cancelled the words. The same thing happened in a surprisingly similar situation, though the addition this time was within the manuscript; at first he had Dick Dewy say “‘That’s a terrible crippled rhyme, if that’s your rhyme!’” . . . with a grain of superciliousness in his tone’; subsequently he emphasized the superciliousness with a gesture expressed in the slightly patronizing and jocular tone that is so characteristic of the 1870s version: ‘& elevating his nose an inch or thereabout’; again he cancelled the words in 1912 (163.26–7). A slightly more complicated situation comes when on the 1872 proofs Hardy added ‘shaking his head two-and-half times’ after “‘Twas his mother’s fault,” the tranter continued’. In 1896 he felt that the half-shake was a false note, and changed the phrase to ‘two or three times’, but in 1912 he decided he had been right when he first wrote the passage and deleted the phrase altogether (80.18–19).

Finding the right word or phrase to describe this tonal quality that Hardy strove in later years to eliminate from the first edition version, or at least to diminish, is not easy; but it might be thought of as a kind of unconsciously patronizing overexuberant silliness. Take this brief paragraph:

That they knew one another very well was received as a statement of much relevance to the present subject, and one which, though very familiar, should not in the nature of things be omitted in introductory speeches. (81.22–4)

In 1896 he left out ‘of much relevance to the present subject’, and ‘one’ and ‘very’ before ‘familiar’, while in 1912 he left out ‘in the nature of things’, so that in the Wessex Edition the paragraph read with less of an uncomfortable flourish:

That they knew one another very well was received as a statement which, though familiar, should not be omitted in introductory speeches.

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Immediately following there is:

“Then I say this”—and the tranter in his emphasis suddenly slapped down his hand on Mr. Spinks’s shoulder with a momentum of several pounds, upon which Mr. Spinks tried to look not in the least startled by what had sent his nerves flying in all directions. (81.25–8)

From this Hardy omitted ‘suddenly’ and ‘by what had sent his nerves flying in all directions’ in 1896; again in the same spirit he might also have left out ‘with a momentum of several pounds’; but he did not.

There are many other places in the novel where either in 1896 or in 1912 or in both Hardy simplified, mostly by omission of one or two words, the overwritten redundant text, deciding that the briefer version made the stronger effect – a few examples will make the point. From ‘the door opened, and three-quarters of the blooming young schoolmistress’s face and figure stood revealed before him; a perpendicular slice on her left-hand side being cut off by the edge of the door she held ajar’ Hardy cancelled in 1896 the redundant ‘perpendicular’ and ‘she held ajar’ (68.20–1); from “‘Now ’tis to turn us out of the quire neck and crop,” said the tranter after a silent interval of half a minute, not at all by way of explaining the pause and pull, which had been quite understood, but simply as a means of keeping the subject well before the meeting’ (76.26–9) he deleted ‘silent’, ‘at all’, and ‘simply’. In 1912 ‘straight firm dashes’ became ‘straight dashes’ (123.14), strides ‘three feet and a half long’ became ‘three feet long’ (123.16) and ‘the extreme depths’ of pockets into which hands were lowered became ‘the depths’ (166.22). This pattern of change becomes almost purely stylistic during the chapters ‘The Interview with the Vicar’ and ‘Returning Homeward’, when in 1912 he removed ‘sir’ a considerable number of times from the former and ‘William’ and ‘he said’ from the latter. The cumulative effect of these changes in the collected editions, and others to be found in the footnotes to each page of the edited text, might neutrally be summarized as a simplification of what was overwritten, but Hardy would have thought of them as restoring a fraction of dignity to the characters and situations he had burlesqued in the first edition.

It was also sometimes the case, though by no means so often, that Hardy felt he had travestied the choir by making them appear more simple-minded than they were, and consequently enriched the text – as in this passage:

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“Robert Penny, you were in the right,” broke in the eldest Dewy. “They should ha’ stuck to strings. Your brass-man is brass—well and good: your reed-man is reed—well and good: your percussion-man is percussion—good again. But, I don’t care who hears me say it, nothing will speak to your heart wi’ the sweetness of the man of strings.” (29.22–6)

We are told repeatedly that William Dewy’s whole passion is music, and this empty repetition belies his emotional and intellectual commitment to it – he must have had more discriminating feelings about the qualities of the different instrumental groups. At any rate Hardy believed so in 1896 and changed ‘is brass’ to ‘is a rafting dog’, ‘is reed’ to ‘is a dab at stirring ye’ and ‘percussion-man, is percussion’ to ‘drum-man is a rare bowel-shaker’. This version of the speech gives a very different sense of William’s understanding of the power of music—though possibly Hardy in the early 1870s would not have felt it appropriate to publish ‘bowel-shaker’ since, for instance, on the first edition proofs (77.13) he altered ‘slops’ to the more genteel ‘soap-suds’ (only to return to ‘slops’ in 1912 because he knew that’s what Mrs Penny would have said).

### *Wessex*

The growth in Hardy’s mind over time of the meaning of the concept of ‘Wessex’ has been charted most fully in the study *Thomas Hardy’s Vision of Wessex*, which should be consulted by a reader who wishes to discover in some detail how Hardy came to understand it as he did by the time he made the substantial revision of 1896. Perhaps because of its copyright situation, or perhaps because he kept to the end a novel he felt ambiguously but strongly about, *Under the Greenwood Tree* was the last to be published in the sequence of ‘Thomas Hardy’s Works: The Wessex Novels’. Hardy had thus already been through a massive amount of revision to the rest of his work between 1894 and 1896 before reaching this last text, and his sense of what Wessex had come to be had been confirmed in the process; it is not surprising therefore that he thoroughly overhauled the novel in this respect.

To simplify, there are two strands to Hardy’s work in bringing the novel into Wessex conformity – one essentially topographical, the other social, cultural and historical. The first was relatively easy for him because

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Mellstock, Yalbury and Casterbridge were based on places he had known intimately from his boyhood, though at the same time the process of removing the obscurities of distance, direction and environmental detail he had introduced throughout in 1871–2 as disguise required careful attention, and was not fully achieved until 1912. The detail of what he did in this respect can be followed through the notes of substantive revisions at the foot of each page; it is worth, though, putting together one or two of the more substantial passages of change in order to give some idea of their scope.

The first chapter provides a good example; Dick Dewy, out for a run to warm his feet on a chilly Christmas eve, meets members of the choir coming to his father's house. In the fragments that follow the italicized words are found in the first edition, while those in square brackets replaced them, sometimes in 1896, sometimes in 1912, sometimes in both:

a man was passing *along* [up 96] a *lane* [lane near Mellstock Cross OM; lane towards Mellstock Cross W] in the darkness of a plantation (7.9–10)

The lonely lane he was following *connected the hamlets of Mellstock* [connected one of the hamlets of Mellstock parish with Upper Mellstock OM] and Lewgate (7.17–18)

*At the termination of the wood* [After passing the plantation OM; . . . plantation and reaching Mellstock Cross W], the white surface of the lane revealed itself (8.3–4)

“Ho-i-i-i-i-i!” from the *dark part of the lane in the rear* [crossing lane to Lower Mellstock, on the right W] of the singer, who had just emerged from the trees (8.10–11)

*Having escaped both trees and hedge* [Having escaped the bower of trees OM; Having come more into the open W], he could now be distinctly seen rising against the sky (8.22–3)

Scuffling, halting, irregular footsteps of various kinds were now heard, coming up the *hill from the dark interior of the grove* [hill W] (9.3–4)

Mr. Robert Penny . . . moving on with his back very hollow and his face fixed on the *north* [north-east OM] quarter of the heavens before him (9.13–16)

I have just been for a *run* [run round by Ewelease Stile and Hollow Hill W] to warm my feet (10.8–9)

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Soon appeared glimmering indications of the few cottages forming the small hamlet of *Lewgate* [Upper Mellstock OM], for which they were bound, whilst the faint sound of church-bells ringing a Christmas peal could be heard floating over upon the breeze from the direction of *Mintfield parish* [Longpuddle and Weatherbury parishes OM] on the other side of the hills. A little wicket admitted them to a garden, and they proceeded up the path to Dick's house (10.22–7)

This sequence requires a few comments. First it will be seen that there are several kinds of revisions: name changes, changes to the physical environment, and the addition of extra environmental detail. The primary name change here is from *Mintfield*, which appears nowhere else in Hardy's work, to *Longpuddle and Weatherbury*, which by 1896 were familiar places on the Wessex map; in the same passage Hardy also changed *Lewgate* to *Upper Mellstock*, but had retained the name earlier, adding *Upper Mellstock* to *Lewgate* at 7.17–18, though he might as easily have deleted it there also and been more consistent. However, Hardy used the name again in two stories collected in *Life's Little Ironies* (1894), 'The Fiddler of the Reels' and 'A Few Crusted Characters' (where *Lewgate* is described as being 'near Mellstock'); he also told the photographer Hermann Lea that *Lewgate* would have been the name of the cottage he was born in if his family had bothered to give it one. So it must be supposed that he was distinguishing that house at the end of the lane, on the edge of the heath, from *Upper Mellstock* in general. *Mellstock* itself, like *Casterbridge* and *Budmouth*, first appeared in Hardy's work in this novel, and all three returned in much of his fiction.

When all the alterations and the additions to the physical environment in this passage are put together, reference to a large-scale map of a small area of *Stinsford parish* in Dorset will show how accurately Hardy had by 1912 plotted the characters' movements and surroundings, including contours ('up' instead of 'along') and directions ('north-east' instead of 'north', 'right' rather than 'behind'); and indeed an invaluable small self-published book *Hardy's Mellstock on the Map* by M. R. Skilling (1968) not only provides such a map, but describes with local knowledge and in intimate detail how the landscape indicated on the map appeared to the eye both in 1968 and (as far as can be recovered) in Hardy's time.

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Through a similar sequence of revisions (p. 11) Hardy made the tranter's cottage correspond more and more closely with his own birthplace in Higher Bockhampton (Upper Mellstock); this was first pointed out by Claudius Beatty in *Notes & Queries*.<sup>124</sup>

One of the many revisions to the itinerary of the choir as they traverse the scattered parish to sing carols on Christmas eve shows that on occasion even in the manuscript Hardy was considering the relationship of his fictional environment to what he knew so well. Originally the sentence in question read: 'Most of the outlying homesteads & hamlets had been visited by about two o'clock: they then passed across the fields toward the main village.' In the revised manuscript version 'the fields' became 'the Home plantation', and it is clear from the much more substantial 1896 change that he made the alteration because, despite the fact that at this stage he was disguising his natal environment, he couldn't resist planting a reference to the specific location he had in mind. In 1896 'the Home plantation toward the main village' was transformed into 'the outskirts of a wooded park toward the main village, nobody being at home at the Manor' (28.6–7), and as a consequence of this and other revisions those interested can chart the fictional choir's walk across the geographical Kingston Maurward estate and over the whole parish. By the time the novel is finished in the 1912 version almost every road, pathway and track in Mellstock/Stinsford parish has been crossed by someone or other.

Away from Mellstock/Stinsford, Hardy also altered Budmouth, or what we see of it, from an unparticularized watering place to a town that was recognizably a version of Weymouth. In 1896 the front street became Mary Street, the king's statue was added, the Parade was changed to the Esplanade, the chains made a feature of its border, and the Royal Hotel was identified. There were no longer equidistant elm trees but simply trees, which were specifically on the road to Casterbridge and Mellstock, and not on the seafront. Also the distance between Budmouth and Mellstock was made more accurately ten (124.14) or ten or eleven miles (134.13) from the (respectively) fourteen or eighteen in the first edition and manuscript. In 1912 Hardy added further distinguishing features; Budmouth itself was called Budmouth Regis, and the history of the 'Old' Royal Hotel elaborated

<sup>124</sup> 'The Tranter's Cottage in *Under the Greenwood Tree*' (January 1963), p. 26.

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(both additions reflecting Hardy's interest in George III's visits to the town); the house that cut into Dick's view of the bay was made white, and the bay itself described more accurately – while on the journey home, a mast was placed before the inn he and Fancy stop at – the inn that had been identified as 'the Ship' in 1896 so that it becomes possible to imagine that it is at the village of Upwey that the pair engage themselves.

Just occasionally the disguise that Hardy had used in the first edition to veil the reality on which the environment was based caused a problem that required revision that was not strictly environmental. When Dick was on his way home from his solo nutting expedition the narrator described his route thus in the first edition:

The path he pursued passed over a ridge which rose keenly against the western sky, about fifty yards in his van. Here, upon the bright after-glow about the horizon, was now visible an irregular outline, which at first he conceived to be a bush standing a little beyond the line of its neighbours. (155.24–156.1)

He had added the extra descriptor 'about the horizon' at a late stage in the manuscript, and as the passage stands we have a clear picture of the bush at the top of the ridge blackly visible against the brilliance of the evening sky. The problem came when in 1896 he altered the beginning from 'The path' to 'Cuckoo-Lane, the way'. This section of the narrow road which leads from Mellstock Cross to the high road between Dorchester and Bere Regis is still called Cuckoo Lane, and a glance at a map will show that Dick is walking south rather than west, and so the after-glow would be on his right rather than ahead of him; so Hardy changed 'western sky' to 'sky'. There were no bushes along Cuckoo Lane, so his commitment to represent accurately the actual location as far as possible drove him to change 'bush' to 'bough', which has the unfortunate consequence of making the subsequent identification of the object as the body of Fancy a good deal less convincing. Perhaps because he realized this, but didn't feel able to rewrite the whole paragraph, in 1912 he altered 'irregular outline' to 'irregular shape' – though the change doesn't help much.

On the other hand sometimes a topographical change allowed Hardy to make an associated addition that enriched the text in a different way; in order to get from Lower Bockhampton to Stinsford church as well as from Lower Mellstock to Mellstock church the direct way is as Hardy described

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it in 1896, when the choir ‘went along an embowered path beside the Froom’ (35.19). The new itinerary allowed grandfather William an extra note of alarm when Dick is found to be missing: ‘Perhaps he’s drowned!’

It is perhaps not surprising in view of the novel’s title and opening paragraph that Hardy should have been attentive in 1896 to the trees in the novel. On the first page he caught himself describing the boughs of oaks as pale grey when, as his revision demonstrates, trunks and limbs of beech trees are much better so described (7.19), but this is the only botanical error he corrected; the others are topographical. So the undefined trees in the park of the manor become ‘lime-trees’ (28.9), the wall against which Dick is found leaning while he gazes at Fancy’s bedroom window becomes a ‘beech tree’ (37.22), as we have seen, the elm trees that lined the road out of Budmouth towards Mellstock in the first edition are now just ‘trees’, and perhaps most significantly the greenwood tree itself, once specifically a beech tree, is also generalized to ‘tree’ (213.4). It is easy to assume that the reason for the last two changes is that Hardy in 1896 believed he had got the type of tree wrong; I have been unable to pin down the species of trees that did line the road, though an early twentieth-century postcard shows that they were certainly not elms then;<sup>125</sup> but in *Hardy’s Mellstock on the Map* Skilling noted in 1968 that the current occupant of the keeper’s house ‘points out with pride a huge beech tree situated as Hardy places it at “the point in Yalbury Wood which abutted on the end of Geoffrey Day’s premises”’.<sup>126</sup> Since beech trees have a lifespan of 200 years or more, his pride may have been justified, but then why did Hardy not allow the identification to stand in 1896?

As a coda to this discussion it is perhaps instructive to point out that one of the first pieces of evidence Hardy placed before the public that it was instinctive in him to see his fictions as linked parts of a larger whole came eighteen months or so later in the February 1874 episode of *Far from the Madding Crowd* in *Cornhill*, in which Joseph Poorgrass tells the assembled company at the Malthouse that he only spoke to an owl on his way home one night because he had been drinking keeper Day’s metheglin.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Dorset Online Parish Clerks, [www.opcdorset.org/WeymouthMelcombeFiles/Postcards-amelia.htm](http://www.opcdorset.org/WeymouthMelcombeFiles/Postcards-amelia.htm) (accessed September 2016).

<sup>126</sup> p. 18. <sup>127</sup> *Cornhill Magazine* 29, p. 144.

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*Naming in the Novel*

The revisions in 1896 and 1912 discussed above that brought *Under the Greenwood Tree* into Wessex naturally included place-name changes, as we have seen, though the novel had already fixed others in 1872, like Mellstock, Yalbury and Casterbridge; it is interesting to note that when the last of these names first appears in the manuscript, as Michael Mail tells how he was walking down the front street of Casterbridge and passed an auction going on in a shop, Hardy had initially no idea what name he was going to use for the town and left a space for it, which he filled in later with what is evidently a different nib, or the same nib differently applied to the paper – though since the space was sufficiently large he probably had a longish name in mind, and perhaps was debating with himself whether to use the more revealing ‘Froominster’, which had been the town’s name in *Desperate Remedies*. In 1896 Hardy altered ‘Casterbridge’ to ‘Casterbridge, jist below the King’s Arms’, and since the hotel exists in Dorchester as well as Casterbridge, located the shop Mail referred to in both reality and fiction (16.8, MS2N10). In fact Hardy changed the names of all the drinking places in the novel in 1896. The ‘Old Souls’ became ‘Moors’ (and in 1912, ‘Morrs’). In the census for 1841 James Morrs was recorded as a smith in Stinsford; in 1851 he was named James Moors; in 1861 he was again Moors, but this time he was identified as a seller of beer as well as a smith (175.6–7). The ‘Three Choughs’ in Casterbridge became the ‘Dree Mariners’, here as well as in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, where it had been called ‘The King of Prussia’ in the first edition.

Hardy also deliberately added in 1896 two place-names to connect the environment of *Under the Greenwood Tree* with two other novels that have overlapping spheres of action: rather than walking ‘down the lane’, Robert Penny describes how he was bearing ‘across to Bloom’s End’ to link up with *The Return of the Native* in particular (24.5); and Dick’s footsteps, rather than just dying away, die away ‘towards Durnover Mill’ and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (192.20).

As he had for Casterbridge, so Hardy also left spaces in the manuscript when copying out the first mentions of the names of the heroine of the novel and the vicar of Mellstock (22.20 and 23.2, MS2N17); it is striking in this context that twice in the manuscript tranter Dewy’s Wessex-accented

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version of the vicar's name is 'Newble', and only became 'Mayble' in the first edition (92.17, 97.14). Did Hardy waver between Newbold and Maybold, deciding against the former because the 'new' element was too obvious an allusion to his fresh approach to the parish, and did he here forget he had chosen the latter? Or perhaps a rural clergyman in *The Poor Man and the Lady* was called Newbold.

Hardy used in the novel two local names exactly as they are found in graveyard or census; there is the Voss he refers to in *LW* (27.20), but also there were Crumplers living in nearby Tincton, and two people of that name (father and daughter-in-law?) are guests at the Dewys' Christmas party (53.14, 58.7). He only loosely disguised the Hardys' neighbours the Keates family under the name Caytes, which he changed to Kaytes in 1896 (13.29). In fact Hardy made alterations to personal names at all stages in the passage of the work through time. One of Fancy's bridesmaids was in the manuscript originally called Vashti Small, but subsequently Hardy went to the trouble of erasing Small rather than just striking it through, and substituting Sniff (206.4); perhaps the name Small had some significance for him or for someone who might read the manuscript, though I have found no confirmation of such a speculation. Hers is the only name that Hardy altered in the manuscript, but when he made the mass of Wessex changes in 1896 he also changed some of the names of less important characters; thus the butcher Sabley becomes Haylock (175.21), the dairyman Quenton becomes Viney (175.10), the farmer Crocker becomes Kex (209.9) and the clockmaker Sparrowgrass becomes Saunders (103.4, 200.17). Thomas Saunders was a watch- and clockmaker in Dorchester, and so one might suspect that the other new names belonged to people whom Hardy knew or knew of, and who were alive in the 1840s – but in fact he did with them what he had done with most Wessex place-names: he made a transparent version of the original; so one can learn from the 1851 census that John Vine was a dairyman in Lower Bockhampton (that is, Lower Mellstock), and that James Cake farmed Bhompston in the same parish (while William Cake was at Norris Mill farmhouse and Percival Cake at Ilsington farmhouse in the neighbouring Puddletown parish – *kex* is a Dorset name for the dead stem of cow parsley). In Dorchester (Casterbridge) Joseph Lock was a master-butcher in North Square. In 1912 he changed the first name of the other Casterbridge butcher from Joe to John Grimmett (176.16), and

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though I have found no reason for this alteration in Dorchester records, I do not doubt there was one – and the same goes for the other name change in the Wessex Edition which saw Bet Taylor become Bet Tallor (147.13).

As a footnote to this discussion, Hardy also altered in 1896 the names of the apples that made tranter Dewy's cider from 'Horners and Cadburys' to 'Sansoms, Stubbards, Five-corners, and such-like' (13.14). The track record would lead one to suggest that Hardy invented the first two names, and that the last three were names he had heard for Higher Bockhampton apple trees – but I have found no evidence to support this speculation.

*Other Patterns of Revision*

*Indirections*

On occasion Hardy felt that the assured narrative voice he created for the novel required reining back; sometimes the application of a speculative assertion was too general, so that in the manuscript, as the choir rests in the belfry of Mellstock church (the gallery in 1896), there could be heard 'a little world of undertones and creaks from the halting clockwork, which never spread farther than the tower they were born in, and raised in the mind a fancy that here lay the direct pathway of Time' (36.1–4). In reading the proof of this passage Hardy realized that though he had intended it to be understood that the mind referred to was the narrator's, a reader might suppose he thought that this fancy was raised in the mind of every choir member, and further that some readers would themselves find the thought unacceptable, so he changed 'in the mind' to 'in the more meditative minds'; by retaining 'the' he made it easier for the reader to assume that the minds referred to were those of a select portion of the choir rather than of the population in general.

He made a similar change to the following narrative observation at the tranter's dance: 'Mrs. Crumpler . . . moved so smoothly through the figure that her feet were never seen; conveying the idea that she rolled on casters' (53.14–8). On the proofs he added 'to imaginative minds' after 'conveying'. This distancing effect – allowing the reader to think that perhaps the narrator discounts imaginative minds – is sometimes developed further:

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then an earnest and prolonged wiping of shoes, conveying the notion that volumes of mud had to be removed; but the roads being so clean that not a particle of dirt appeared on the choir's boots . . . this wiping must be set down simply as a desire to show that these respectable men had no intention or wish to take a mean advantage of clean roads for curtailing proper ceremonies. (87.5–11)

As we have already seen, later in life Hardy was uncomfortable with the tone he had adopted for his narrator in such a passage, but though he felt he could not rewrite it wholesale, in this instance he undermined the confident superiority of the voice by altering 'must be' to 'might have been' in 1896, so that the narrator becomes at least a little uncertain. Later in the novel he twice refuses his narrator permission to know whether Dick and Fancy kiss by adding in 1912 the word 'probably' after 'cherries' and 'was' in the following fragments: 'if Fancy's lips had been real cherries Dick's would have appeared deeply stained' (136.19); 'Dick followed her into the inner corner, where he was not slow in availing himself of the privilege offered' (182.4). These are small examples of a characteristic of the narrators that Hardy created for his fiction; they are omniscient, but from time to time they prefer to pretend ignorance, sometimes at significant crises, thus forcing readers to speculate for themselves.

*From Vague to Precise*

Hardy was always aware that in writing the manuscripts of his novels, being anxious to get the general effect on paper, he sometimes failed to pause in the flow of creation to render exactly the detail of his imagined perception; some manuscripts reveal this more nakedly than others, those written against time for magazines in particular, but it is true of *Under the Greenwood Tree* also. Thus when he went back over the manuscript he cancelled the neutral 'the schoolchildren' and substituted the more lively 'a throng of Sunday-school girls' (44.1–2); or, reading the proofs for the first edition, he altered the bland 'at those times' to 'when ye are in the mess o' washing' (77.17–18). This process continued throughout Hardy's engagement with the work; it was in 1912 that he recognized that Dick would have to catch his horse before he could put it between the shafts of his cart, and so added 'caught and' to 'was put in' (117.15); it was also in the Wessex Edition that Hardy altered Dick's vague perception of Fancy in the distance

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from ‘it was a living being of some species or other’ to ‘it was a living being sitting in the bank, head bowed on hand’ (156.3).

Hardy was equally anxious to make sure that actions that he had left unmotivated or inadequately motivated should acquire motives. In the manuscript revision for instance, he added the explanation that the older guests were grudging space at Fancy’s wedding feast by the young ones because they ‘were greedy of pirouetting room’ (214.6), or in proof for the first edition Fancy made her little criticism of Dick wet through ‘still conscious of that morning’s triumph’ (186.8–9).

*The Effect of Time*

It is by and large the same motive for precision which produced the few small changes there were to the timescale within the story, apart from those inevitable ones made in the manuscript to accommodate the inclusion of the nutting episode and the vicar’s proposal of marriage.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand there is a body of changes which derive from the passing of time in the world as opposed to the novel. Thus ‘less than a generation ago’ in the manuscript (7.9) became ‘within living memory’ in 1896, and it seems clear that Hardy’s reason for making the change was to preserve for contemporary readers the approximate period of the action of the novel; that it was allowed to stand in 1912 and 1920 is a reflection of Hardy’s own longevity, and it is to be supposed that he was unconcerned about how such a phrase would be understood a hundred years later. The same kind of effect appears when he added to the description of Mr Maybold’s fancy silk umbrella in 1912 that it was ‘less common at that date than since’ (186.20) as silk is pretty uncommon again as a material for umbrellas in the twenty-first century – except in China.<sup>129</sup> It was more to the purpose when he altered the tense of the verb from ‘is’ to ‘was’ in ‘the mixed, midday meal of dinner and tea, which is common among cottagers’; in 1896 he had made the reference more appropriate to the more important Day household by replacing ‘cottagers’ with ‘frugal countryfolk’ (110.9). In the same way

<sup>128</sup> For example 69.13–14, 148.3, 199.3; for example 145.25, 178.5–7.

<sup>129</sup> Umbrellas had only been acceptable accessories for men for fifty or sixty years by the time of the action of the novel, and were both cumbersome and expensive until around 1840 when steel ribs replaced whalebone; the fabric at this time was either silk or cotton. See William Sangster, *Umbrellas and their History* (London: Effingham Wilson), 1855, pp. 58–60.

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Hardy's experience with his schoolteacher sisters encouraged him to write in 1912 that Fancy's audacious appearance when playing the organ in church was unparalleled in schoolmistresses' attire 'at this date' (180.9).

*Revisions to Spoken Language*

I mentioned earlier that Hardy took to heart in 1896 the suggestion by several reviewers of the first edition that the language spoken by some of the characters was inappropriately sophisticated, and altered the passages they criticized.<sup>130</sup> Though twenty-three years separate reviews and revision, Hardy preserved the reviews, and it cannot be coincidence that he altered "imaginative on the subject of children" (83.12) to "romantic on the matter o' children", and "showed upon your face a flattered consciousness of being attractive to them" (133.15) to "showed upon your face a pleased sense of being attractive to them". The speaker of the first is tranter Dewy, and Hardy's replacement is appropriately inflected by the Wessex accent; in the latter it is his son Dick speaking to Fancy, and his new phrase is plainer but still standard English, as befits someone as well educated as he is reputed to be.

In fact Hardy was attentive to Dick's expressiveness throughout the novel in 1896, so, for instance, he gives him the more colloquial 'stretching it' in place of 'exaggerating' in "you've been exaggerating very much in giving such a dreadful beginning to such a mere nothing" (143.12–13); in the same way he says he wouldn't have 'tried new attractions' as Fancy has, rather than 'adopted' them (181.21). A slightly more complicated situation comes during the same conversation: Dick recalls that previously they had spoken of his absence from church on the day she is to play the organ there for the first time, and when "I regretted it so, you said, Fancy, so did you regret it, and almost cried" (181.7–8). In 1896 he replaced 'regretted it so' with 'was so sorry for it' and 'did you regret it' with 'was you sorry' – the verb here is a Wessex form rather than standard English, and in 1912 Hardy altered it to 'were'. Along the same lines, Dick wonders to Fancy why Mr Maybold wouldn't marry them and adds "I slightly reminded him of it when I put in the banns" (207.22), which in 1896 became "I just hinted to en of it when I put in the banns", and in 1912 Hardy changed 'en' to 'him'. Hardy added Wessex grammar and accent to the speech of all the

<sup>130</sup> See above p. xlvi.

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characters in 1896, except the vicar and Fancy, and removed some in 1912, so nothing too much, except that he was trying hard to be sensitive to the exact quality of Dick's language, can be read into these changes; nor when the Wessex-inflected 'tis like' replaced 'probably' in "I never noticed it, and probably nobody else would" (153.10).

Though he took most care in this respect with Dick's speech in 1896, he had his ear attuned to the dialogue as a whole with the reviewers' criticism in mind. Thus Mrs Dewy claims that her son is wondering about 'the climate' in the cider barrel in the first edition, but 'how 'tis' in there in 1896 (17.6), her assertion that the Dewys are all 'vulgar perspirers' becomes 'vulgar sweaters'. Grandfather William at the climax of his praise of string music neatly calls all organs, harmoniums and suchlike 'Miserable dumbledores' rather than "Miserable machines for such a divine thing as music!" (30.9 – presumably he doesn't care for the drone of bees either). Mr Penny describes John Waywood as 'weeping and teaving' rather than 'weeping and crying' (24.12). Michael Mail remembers how, playing the violin one winter, he had 'no fingers' to his 'knowing' rather than his 'knowledge' (29.8). A page later tranter Dewy proposes that there is a rakish, scampish 'twist' rather than 'countenance' about a fiddle (29.19). Even Susan Dewy, who only has a page or so of dialogue, makes this list; instead of telling Fancy that when Dick found out that she wouldn't be at the gipsy party it was too late to 'decline the invitation', she simply said it was too late to 'refuse' (139.24).

A slightly different aspect of revision to spoken language is Hardy's fluctuating approach to the representation of Wessex dialect in the novel. Mrs Fennel the shepherd's wife in Hardy's story 'The Three Strangers' (1883) talks with the first stranger who interrupts the christening party:

"One of hereabouts?" she inquired.

"Not quite that—further up the country."

"I thought so. And so be I; and by your tongue you come from my neighbourhood." (15)

Hardy makes very few attempts to represent such fine distinctions amongst speakers of the Wessex dialect, either in this story or elsewhere,<sup>131</sup> but here

<sup>131</sup> There are examples from Somerset in *A Laodicean* and the Sherborne district in *The Woodlanders* discussed in my *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 215, 221.

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he lets us know that he is well aware of them, and implies that he too would be able to distinguish between a native of Dorchester and a native of, say Shaftesbury or Blandford. Wessex speech has a linguistic base, an established grammar (thanks to William Barnes), but there are local words and local accents that make distinct pocket after pocket of villages and towns – or at least there were, before the erosive effect of the railways and national schools began to be felt by the 1860s and 1870s.

A reader of this edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* will experience Hardy's second published attempt to find a satisfying literary equivalent of the sounds he heard around him all the time he was at home in the parishes of Stinsford and Puddletown. In *Desperate Remedies* (also set in approximately the same district) he had tried a little more fully to give a phonetic representation of Wessex speech, by using for instance a diaeresis, as in 'seën', a word that he changed to 'seeing' for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition; but there are still many speeches in *Under the Greenwood Tree* in which it is clear that he is attempting sustained instruction to an uninitiated ear – tranter Dewy's description of his encounters with Mr Maybold (79.11–20) is a good example. It is important to draw attention to the enduring effect of such local speech in the work as a whole over time, since the concentration on revisions alone that follows draws unbalanced attention to what was changed rather than to the huge majority of dialect expression that remains unaltered.

In reading the proofs for the first edition Hardy felt that he had handled the dialect reasonably well; he made only around fifteen changes, split more or less evenly between the addition and the standardization of dialect – the most frequent of these was the alteration of 'you' to 'ye'. In 1895–6 Hardy was full of enthusiasm for the collected edition that was an expression of his understanding of fully imagined Wessex; and his revision of dialect in every novel and story reflected that excitement. And so he added to *Under the Greenwood Tree* representations of Dorset accent and grammar in the speech of every character who might use it (the exceptions are Arthur Maybold, Fancy Day and Fred Shinar). There are changes to accent, like 'kip' for 'keep', 'on'y' for 'only', 'ooman' for 'woman', 'voot' for 'foot'; grammatical alterations: 'do make' for 'makes', 'took' for 'taken', 'broke' for 'broken', 'inconvenient' for 'inconveniently'; and lexical revisions: 'work-folk' for 'labourers', 'onriddle' for 'translate', 'church-hatch'

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for ‘church-porch’; ‘tis like’ for ‘probably’. One time he both revised the word and added a Wessex pronunciation, exchanging ‘zickness’ for ‘illness’. Occasionally he altered an already dialect use, as when ‘set’ (dialect for ‘sat’) became ‘zot’ (he also changed ‘sitting’ to ‘setting’), or ‘What’s doing here’ became ‘What be’st doing here’.

Altogether there are around a hundred such revisions (depending on exactly what is counted) in 1896, while there are just three words in the novel for which he reverses his practise – places where he evidently felt that the versions he read were inaccurate representations of the sounds he wished readers to hear; they are the alteration of ‘trew’ to ‘true’ (made on six occasions), ‘stap’ to ‘step’ and ‘ses’ to ‘says’.

At some time between 1896 and 1908, and for some reason that I have not been able to discover, Hardy changed his mind about some aspects of this intensification of dialect forms, for he wrote in the latter year in the preface to his selection from the poems of William Barnes:

For some reason or none, many persons suppose that when anything is penned in the tongue of the country-side, the primary intent is burlesque or ridicule, and this especially if the speech be one in which the sibilant has the rough sound, and is expressed by Z. Indeed scores of thriving storytellers and dramatists seem to believe that by transmitting the flattest conversations into a dialect that never existed, and making the talkers say ‘be’ where they would really say ‘is’, a Falstaffian richness is at once imparted to its qualities.<sup>132</sup>

Whatever the cause of this bitter outburst, when he came to consider the novel again in 1912 he took out dialect use with an even greater frequency than he had added it in 1896 – somewhere around 140 times. Some twenty of these even undid changes he had made in 1896 – so ‘s’orn’ goes back to ‘sworn’, ‘zunk’ to ‘sunk’, ‘rayson’ to ‘reason’ and ‘heerd’ to ‘heard’; these are all indications of Wessex pronunciation, as are most of the changes he made to first edition readings, though there are grammatical revisions: ‘I be’ and ‘we be’ are changed to ‘I am’ and ‘we are’ quite often, and he also altered ‘d’come’ to ‘comes’ and ‘theirselves’ to ‘themselves’.

Hardy was not by any means rigorously consistent, however: the tranter in 1912 always says ‘neighbours’ instead of ‘naibours’, or ‘treble’ instead of ‘tribble’, but there were still four occurrences of ‘martel’ in the novel in the

<sup>132</sup> *Select Poems of William Barnes* (London: Henry Frowde, 1908), p. vii.

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Wessex Edition, though Hardy had changed seven of them to ‘mortal’, and one instance of ‘nater’ escaped revision to ‘nature’. It is equally important to observe that in most speeches, like the following of keeper Day and the butcher Sabley, though some is changed yet much abides. In the first both ‘gie’ and ‘chiel’s’ remain unrevised in 1912, though ‘naibour’ becomes ‘neighbour’:

“I’ve called to pay up our little bill, naibour Sabley, and you can gie me the chiel’s account at the same time.” (175.21–2)

A few lines later Hardy revised ‘trating’ to ‘treating’ in 1912, while he left ‘mossel’ alone:

“Every mossel,” said the butcher—“(now, Dan, take that leg and shoulder to Mrs. White’s, and this eleven pound here to Mr. Martin’s)—you’ve been trating her to smaller joints lately, to my thinking, Mr. Day?” (176.7–9)

For the most part Hardy removed spellings like ‘pore’ (changed to ‘poor’) or ‘matayrial’ (changed to ‘material’) which didn’t particularly help the reader to hear the word accurately, and appeared strange for the sake of strangeness (as he had done with a few words in 1896), while ‘mossel’ or ‘chiel’ to his mind represent a difference from standard English worth indicating.

Finally, just to bring this all together, consider what Hardy did with the past tense of the verb *to see*. When Michael Mail and Thomas Leaf use the present form in the manuscript it remains unrevised throughout – “I passed a shop-door and see him inside” (16.8) and “I never see the like afore nor since” (78.17–18) – but when Mrs Penny uses it – “I never see such envy as there was!” (201.22) – in 1896 Hardy altered ‘see’ to ‘zid’, and in 1912 when he was removing most of the Zs and revising the grammar, ‘zid’ became ‘did see’, thus avoiding the standard ‘saw’. Barnes pointed out that many strong verbs in standard English remain weak in Wessex English, and Hardy identifies *to see* as one of them; the form ‘zid’ is a more fully articulated Dorset form of ‘seed’, as used by keeper Day in “She didn’t complain to me at all, when I seed her” (174.7–8), but on this occasion in 1896 Hardy changed ‘seed’ to ‘zeed’; in 1912, because keeper Day had by that time become considerably elevated in status, he did turn ‘zeed’ into ‘saw’. When in 1896 he read Reuben Dewy’s description of Fancy as

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“that young vision we seed just now” (39.5), he similarly changed ‘seed’ to ‘zeed’, but the twist here is that in 1912 he allowed ‘zeed’ to stand unaltered.

*Some Apparent Errors*

There are three places in the novel where it is possible to argue that Hardy never caught what appear to be errors. The first is at 19.20 where Grandfather William includes the name John in his general greeting. No character with that name is present at the tranter’s, nor indeed does the name recur in the rest of the novel; he may represent a residual remainder from *The Poor Man and the Lady*. Secondly, in 1896 Hardy altered ‘entered the belfry’ to ‘entered the church and ascended to the gallery’, which is more appropriate for Stinsford church at that time (35.22), but a page later he had evidently forgotten this change and the text in both 1896 and 1912 reads ‘Leaving their lanterns and instruments in the belfry’ (37.7), although at 38.3 ‘gallery’ was again added in place of ‘belfry’. Thirdly, when the narrator in describing the Days’ living room after Fancy’s marriage portion has been taken off to her new house mentions that it included ‘the clock by Thomas Wood, Ezekiel Sparrowgrass being at last left sole referee in matters of time’ (200.16–17), he contradicts Geoffrey Day’s earlier comment to Fancy ‘That Ezekiel Sparrowgrass o’ thine is tearing on afore Thomas Wood again’ (105.2–3).

*A Note on Hardy’s Study Copy of the Wessex Edition*

There are seven places in Hardy’s study copy of the first impression of the Wessex Edition at which he has written alterations, while on the front free endpaper he wrote: ‘Corrections. | In pencil – are sent to be made in reprint of this edition | [written in green pencil] In green – those that, in addition to the above, are sent up for the Mellstock edn., but were not considered of sufficient importance for type-shifting they wd. necessitate’. This note is not entirely accurate, and was probably made some time after the actual lists of ‘corrections’ were sent to Macmillan. Initially Hardy made all the changes in pencil, and then overwrote two of them in green; for some now irretrievable reason both of those he turned green were in fact included in the second impression of the Wessex Edition (1920), one of which did involve a few lines of type shifting, while two in pencil were not, one of

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which was the simple change of a letter. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the note is that Hardy labelled the changes ‘Corrections’ – a reminder that he saw each active revisitation of his work as an attempt to reach closer, if even in a very small way, as here, to an ideal perfectly achieved whole. It is possible to work out how each of these revisions might be called corrections, and it is worth looking at them in a little detail as a coda to this discussion of substantive change to the novel, for they illustrate once more Hardy’s primary preoccupations.

The alteration most obviously a correction was Hardy’s retrieval of ‘leg-wood’ at 19.20. When Chatto and Windus ordered the repair of the rather damaged plates of Tinsley’s 1873 second edition of the novel the printer’s reader must have decided that ‘leg-wood’ was a typo, and had the ‘e’ changed to an ‘o’; Hardy used a copy of the novel printed from the plates thus tinkered with when he made the revision for Osgood, McIlvaine’s edition (I can’t call it a ‘correction’), and did not catch the unauthorized change either then or when he revised for the Wessex Edition. The most surprising detail, however, is that this correction did not appear in either the second impression of the Wessex Edition or the Mellstock Edition. Though he may have overlooked it when sending up lists to Macmillan, it seems more likely that he only noticed the error after 1920, and there came no further opportunity of incorporating it into his work before his death in 1928. Evidence from his study copies shows that he certainly made late notes of change to other novels; Hardy’s attention to and care for the texts of his work into his eighties is amazing.

The other change made only in pencil and not transferred anywhere might have been neglected because it would require type shifting. The narrator describes the Mellstock band of players: ‘Old William Dewy, with the violoncello, played the bass; his grandson Dick the treble violin; and Reuben and Michael Mail the tenor and second violins respectively’ (27.3–5). The correction Hardy would have liked to make replaced ‘second violins’ with ‘counter parts’; though the new version is almost exactly the same length as the old, on the plates of the Wessex Edition ‘second’ ends one line and ‘violins’ begins the next, and this might have complicated the change. The alteration itself is an improvement, since it not only removes the repetition of ‘violin’ but also uses the terms that the players themselves would have used.

Hardy has Reuben Dewy tell his wife that he will ‘draw’ up the clock before they go to bed rather than ‘wind’ it up (65.21). This may have been in

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his eyes a correction because in order to recharge the clock in his parents' house when he was young a weight had to be manipulated by hand rather than wound with a key – a fragment of the drive in him towards accuracy in the relationship between his fictions and historical reality as he understood it. Hardy overwrote this change in green crayon, though both words have four letters; but like all those that follow it did appear in both the second impression of the Wessex Edition and the Mellstock Edition.

The other change that he turned green is indeed the one most likely to cause type shifting: in agreeing with William Dewy that there should be no dancing until Christmas Day had passed, Mrs Penny said in the first edition “'tis only fair and honourable to the Church of England to have it a sit-still party. Jigging parties be all very well, and this, that, and therefore; but a jigging party looks suspicious” (50.23–26). ‘Church of England’ became ‘Church o’ England’ in the wholesale addition of Wessex accent in 1896, and was abbreviated to ‘Church’ in Hardy’s mood of simplification in 1912. Now he decided to get rid of the church altogether and replace it with ‘sky-folk’; to my ear this is a false note, but it seems likely that Hardy had heard the word used thus in his youth, and felt it more probable in context. At the same time, though, he also removed the rather vague ‘and this, that, and therefore’ and put in its place the more pointed ‘on the Devil’s holidays’; it was just as well he had added ‘now’ after ‘suspicious’ in 1896, or he would certainly have had to do so in his study copy. Whether the speech as ‘corrected’ is characteristic of Mrs Penny as she appears throughout the novel is perhaps an open question. Despite the relative magnitude of the change it did appear in the new impression of the Wessex Edition.

One change was purely stylistic: Hardy altered the second of three occurrences of ‘that’ to ‘this’ in the following: ‘to signify that till that moment they had quite forgotten that it was customary to eat suppers’ (60.12–13). Such minute care might really be unexpected at such a stage in the history of the work and in Hardy’s life; is it possible that someone pointed out this infelicity to him? Or did he reread the novel with such attention to detail between 1912 and 1919?

As Tim Dolin has pointed out in his edition of the novel, Hardy wrote many moments in *Under the Greenwood Tree* in which a character gazes introspectively at nothing in particular,<sup>133</sup> and he made a change to the one

<sup>133</sup> Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998, p. 194.

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in which the narrator describes Spinks ‘looking at the world in an abstract form rather than at the scene before him’ (13.23). He has just agreed with Bowman’s statement that watered cider is too common these days, and it seemed to Hardy more logical that he should be looking at the ‘case’ rather than the ‘world’ in an abstract form – not to mention that to look at the world in an abstract form is in itself a difficult feat.

The final change was to a speech of Thomas Leaf; Reuben Dewy has just suggested that Leaf had better not go with them to the vicarage, and William adds “He don’t want to go much; do ye, Thomas Leaf?” Until this study copy Leaf’s reply had been “Hee-hee! no; I don’t want to” (82.18). In fact, as we see, he always wants to join in, wants to go to the vicarage, wants to go into the study to face the vicar, wants to go to Dick and Fancy’s wedding – and he’s always allowed to. So Hardy is only making manifest the desire within his fearful diffidence by adding “Only a teeny bit!” (There was plenty of space in the line to add the words.)

Thus in his final attempt at getting his novel ‘correct’, Hardy made changes to the characterization, to the Wessex accuracy and to the style of the novel.

*Conclusion*

As a conclusion, a more extended example of the kind of effect generated by such detailed revisions as have been outlined may be instanced in the lively description of Dick’s dance with Fancy at his family’s party (57.1–58.9). The changes Hardy made over time to the passage as he originally inscribed it in the manuscript (which may be retrieved from the footnotes to the edited text) rendered it more precise, more vivid and more intense in its description, made it more appropriate to Mellstock as his account of the novel’s environment developed, and perhaps most importantly enhanced the dreamlike sense of the climax in the image he added for the first edition: ‘the look of the fiddlers going to sleep as humming-tops sleep, by increasing their motion and hum’.

As revised this becomes one of the finest moments in the novel, catching precisely – in the images of the fiddlers, Dick and Fancy together, and the two inaudible but gesticulating old men by the fire – the dreamlike air, the romantic yet realistic nature of the dance. It is not surprising that Hardy should have reconsidered this passage carefully, as the dance was for him, in all his novels, a specially potent transmitter of emotion and particularly

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of erotic intensity. It is in this scene above all others that we sense the possibility of the success of the relationship between Dick and Fancy.

## Punctuation in the Novel

Throughout his career as a writer of fiction Hardy punctuated his manuscripts in a way that the printing houses and/or the compositors who first set his novels and stories in print found generally unacceptable. As he gained reputation and experience the divergence between his practice and that of the printing houses narrowed somewhat, but *Under the Greenwood Tree* was the second novel of an anonymous author.<sup>134</sup> Most published novelists in the nineteenth century would have expected their printer to alter their punctuation, to make it conform in some respects to a house style, in some cases were even happy to have it corrected; but the intervention of Robson and Sons' compositors in *Under the Greenwood Tree* is so substantial that it demands some investigation. In all there are about 2,900 differences in punctuation between the manuscript and the first edition, which means that on average the compositors altered what Hardy wrote once every twenty words.<sup>135</sup> Table 1 shows the most significant categories of difference between the manuscript and the first edition.

Table 1

Marks of punctuation	Total occurrence	Percentage of all differences	Marks of punctuation	Total occurrence	Percentage of all differences
T1 adds comma	1280	44.2	T1 removes comma	80	2.8
T1 replaces other MS marks with semicolon	410	14.1	T1 replaces MS semicolon with other marks	30	1.0

(Continued)

<sup>134</sup> For more discussion of the work of the compositors in this novel (and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*) see Simon Gatrell, 'Hardy, House-Style and the Aesthetics of Punctuation', in *The Novels of Thomas Hardy*, ed. A. Smith (London: Vision, 1979), pp. 169–92.

<sup>135</sup> This number and the numbers in the tables that follow are approximate rather than precise since there is a certain amount of ambiguity in defining the nature of some changes, or indeed whether they are changes at all.

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Table 1 (Continued)

Marks of punctuation	Total occurrence	Percentage of all differences	Marks of punctuation	Total occurrence	Percentage of all differences
T1 replaces other MS marks with exclamation mark	160	5.5	T1 replaces MS exclamation mark with other mark	20	0.7
T1 replaces other MS marks with dash	40	1.4	T1 replaces MS dash with other marks	440	15.2
T1 replaces other MS marks with colon	40	1.4	T1 replaces MS colon with other marks	190	6.6
T1 adds hyphen	230	7.9	T1 removes hyphen	25	0.9

The simple addition of a comma to the text constitutes approaching half of all the differences; on average the composers added a comma to every fifty words of Hardy's manuscript text, three commas to every page of the first edition. It is evident also that Hardy and the composers had widely divergent views about the appropriate use of the semicolon, the dash, the colon and the exclamation mark.

A few of these differences will have been the consequence of proof correction on Hardy's part – but not very many; though no proofs of the novel survive, a consideration of what he did on the proofs that do survive suggests that no more than 250 of the 2,900 differences are likely to have been the result of proof changes – probably less, since some proportion of Hardy's alterations on the proofs will have indicated a reversion to the manuscript reading – at any rate a small enough number not to affect any general conclusions that may be drawn from the overall evidence.

At first sight it might be thought that the composers in altering Hardy's manuscript punctuation so radically were only doing what most nineteenth-century printing houses encouraged their workers in – the imposition of a consistent and correct system (as mandated by manuals of the period) upon what was normally neither consistent nor always correct. A comparison of *Under the Greenwood Tree* with half a dozen other novels printed by Robson at about the same time does reveal a broad similarity in the handling of

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commas, dashes, semicolons and colons, and though there are three or four anomalies, none of them occurs in Hardy's novel.<sup>136</sup> Gould in his *Compositor's Guide* advises the novice that 'Punctuation also must be carefully studied and adapted as nearly as possible to the "style" of the house – some houses preferring very "slack" punctuation, while others insist upon very "stiff," or to use the common phrase – "You must stick in a comma wherever it will take one."<sup>137</sup> Robson's house was evidently one of the latter kind.

A close scrutiny of the actions of each of the compositors of *Under the Greenwood Tree* does show that in general they all agreed in following some basic rules of practice, in particular in breaking up with commas (and semicolons) passages that Hardy was happy to leave unpunctuated, and in changing his frequent dashes and colons; however, such analysis also reveals personal preferences or dislikes which undermine the notion of uniformity.<sup>138</sup> For instance, Dodd was most reluctant to use a semicolon, particularly in the place of one of Hardy's dashes; the following figures, in numbers overall and percentage of all that compositor's changes, refer specifically to this substitution.

Table 2

Compositor	Instances	Percentage of his changes
Stewart	25	5.3
Jones	36	5.2
Giles	33	4.9
North	26	4.6
Dodd	01	0.3
Whole manuscript <sup>139</sup>	131	4.5

<sup>136</sup> The six novels chosen were: A. de Walden, *Harry Disney*; H. Lysons, *A Life's Reward*; J. Hatton, *The Valley of the Poppies*; E. Yates, *A Waiting Race*; Anon. (M. Houstoun), *Wide of the Mark*; and Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, which is the source of two of the anomalies, having markedly fewer commas and more colons than the other novels, perhaps because it was initially set in a hurry for its serialization in *Tinsleys' Magazine*, and so the compositors had less time to consider alternatives to Hardy's punctuation.

<sup>137</sup> Joseph Gould, *The Compositor's Guide and Pocket Book* (London: Farrington & Co., 1878), pp. 11–12.

<sup>138</sup> See Appendix G for the division of compositorial stints and a discussion of the composition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

<sup>139</sup> The overall figures include the stints performed by Parsloe, omitted from individual consideration because the sample of his style is too small, and one unassigned stint.

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Table 3

Composer	Addition of semicolon to MS		Other mark for MS semicolon	
	Instances	Percentage of his changes	Instances	Percentage of his changes
Stewart	79	16.7	4	0.8
Jones	117	16.5	3	0.45
North	81	14.3	5	0.9
Giles	85	12.4	7	1.05
Dodd	21	6.8	10	3.3
Whole MS	410	14.1	29	1.0

Table 4

Composer	Substitution of comma for dash		Omission of MS dash	
	Instances	Percentage of his changes	Instances	Percentage of his changes
Giles	76	11.2	13	1.9
Dodd	29	9.3	5	1.6
Jones	47	6.8	6	1.3
North	33	5.9	12	2.1
Stewart	18	3.9	0	0
Whole MS	213	7.4	38	1.3

Table 3 demonstrates further Dodd's relative reluctance to use a semicolon when all other composers are comfortable with the mark:

Though 39 per cent of Dodd's alterations to Hardy's punctuation were the addition of a comma, it will be seen with reference to Table 1 that this is 5 per cent less than the average for this change, while all the other composers in this respect were within less than 1 per cent of the average; at the same time he removed about twice the number of commas from the manuscript than the norm – a further expression of his individual preference.

Stewart also removed far more of Hardy's commas than the other three composers, and he was also considerably more receptive to Hardy's dashes, as Table 4 suggests, while Giles was almost equally hostile to them.

North had his own idiosyncrasy in relation to the dash: there are thirty pages of the manuscript on which Hardy wrote one or more dashes which were altered in the first edition to the hybrids comma-dash or

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semicolon-dash; North composed twenty-five of these – the remaining five were composed by that other individualist, Dodd.

These figures and others to be found in ‘Hardy, House-Style and the Aesthetics of Punctuation’ suggest that house style in Robson’s shop was not a straitjacket, that his compositors felt no obligation to conform rigidly to the detail of a particular rule book or guidebook, but felt free, within certain broader limitations, to alter an author’s punctuation as each saw fit.

But statistics only tell part of the story. If even an approximately consistent house style were employed in the composition of the first edition, then any recurrent situation would be treated in the same way throughout; but this is far from the case. To give just one instance: whenever a speech in the manuscript begins with ‘Now’ – as in “Now what I want to know is” (120.16) – it would most often be changed (in this instance by Stewart) to read “Now, what I want to know is”. It is easy enough, though, to find places where neither Hardy nor the compositor has a comma – “Now to my mind” (Giles, 83.12); “Now is there anything else we want” (Stewart, 116.12) – or places where Hardy has a comma and the compositor naturally follows suit – “Now, Mr. Dewy!” (Jones, 129.30) – and even once or twice where Hardy has a comma and the compositor removes it – “Now, you ought not to” becomes “Now you ought not to” (Jones again, 131.25). There is a similar pattern of inconsistency on the part of both Hardy and the compositors in such situations as before vocatives, the exclamatory ‘why’, or participial clauses and phrases; the only constant is that where the two witnesses differ, most frequently Hardy had no comma and one was added when it was set in type.

It has already been noted that the compositor Stewart was relatively more sympathetic to Hardy’s dashes than the others, and when his work is examined in detail it can be seen that he is the only one who understood the value of one of Hardy’s uses of the mark. It can be seen in: “The remainder—stalwart ruddy men and boys” (26.8–9); “to soothe her—the captive” (128.17); “It was the morning of the latter summer time—a morning of lingering dews, when the grass is never dry in the shade” (139.1–2). These dashes – the first two altered in T<sub>1</sub> to a comma (by Jones), the last to a semicolon (by Giles) – indicate that the reader should expect a further definition of the main subject. This is an appropriate function for the mark, and one which Stewart recognized, for he alone allowed dashes to stand in

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such positions, as in “Never such a man as father for two things—cleaving up old dead apple-tree wood, and playing the bass-viol” (18.2–3).

These few examples have at least suggested that the punctuation of the first edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* was more subject to the individual preferences of the men who set it than might have been expected. In what follows there is an attempt to give an impression of the principles upon which the compositors operated, and to assess the balance of loss and gain when so much of an author’s punctuation is altered in setting his work; the terms of discussion must inevitably be interpretive and thus subjective, but the intention is to present a range of examples and to keep interpretation open as far as possible. It will be my contention that in general Hardy punctuated his prose, speech in particular, as he heard it in his mind as he wrote, while the compositors punctuated according to convention and for the eye; but there are exceptions, which I will also illustrate.

As has been seen, very many commas were added to the text of the first edition by the compositors, and while the addition of a single comma often makes no substantial difference to a reader’s experience of any particular moment in the work, the effect can be cumulative and potentially disturbing. This is William Dewy talking to keeper Day about Dick in the manuscript:

“What wi’ one thing and what wi’ t’other he’s all in a mope as m’t be said.”  
 (178.14–15)

In the first edition this becomes:

“What wi’ one thing, and what wi’ t’other, he’s all in a mope, as might be said.”

If a primary purpose of the punctuation of speech is to give guidance to the reader concerning the rhythm, the pattern of emphasis in what is spoken, then both interpretations fail. Faced with Hardy’s unmarked speech almost anyone would wish to decide the pattern of the rise and fall by adding at least one pause somewhere – after ‘t’other’ or ‘mope’ depending on how the speech is recreated in the mind. In reading what the compositor (Giles) set, however, the rhythm is so broken it is almost impossible to get the imagination working on how the words might have been spoken – though in terms of convention each comma can be justified, and one might argue that since Hardy left no indication, Giles did the neutral thing by adding the three commas.

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In a different example Hardy has Fancy say to Dick:

“Now Mr. Dewy—no flirtation, because it’s wrong and I don’t wish it.”

This appears in the novel’s first edition as:

“Now, Mr. Dewy, no flirtation, because it’s wrong, and I don’t wish it.” (129.1)

In this instance Hardy’s punctuation gives clear information to the reader about how Fancy speaks the words, and the compositor (Jones) is evidently forced by convention or rule (a comma after the introductory ‘Now’, dislike of the dash, and commas required before conjunctions) to undo that information and break the speech up into the same unhelpful fragments as in the previous example. Here the difference between the two versions comes close to being substantive.

On the whole it appears to be even more dangerous when a compositor decides to remove one of Hardy’s commas. William Dewy says in the manuscript:

“But, I don’t care who hears me say it, nothing will spak to your heart wi’ the sweetness of strings.” (29.25–6)

The compositor (Jones again) omitted the first comma and in doing so attached ‘But’ to ‘I don’t care’ instead of to ‘nothing will spak’ where it belonged, causing a slight alteration of meaning as well as of emphasis. Occasionally, however, the omission of Hardy’s commas really matters; in the manuscript the narrator wonders why Charley Dewy ‘discovered that the chimney-crook, and chain from which the hams were suspended, should have possessed more merits and general interest as playthings than any other article in the house’ (50.4–6). Hardy’s two commas were set aside by Dodd for the first edition, obscuring the fact (perhaps unfamiliar to middle-class urban readers in the 1870s and certainly to modern readers) that the crook and chain were two quite separate objects; when he came to revise the novel for the first collected edition Hardy recognized the problem, and altered ‘article’ to ‘articles’.

In narrative, however, the distinction between the manuscript and the first edition is often a matter of style. The compositors worked according to conventions or rules which dictated that subordinate or separate clauses must be marked by punctuation in some way or another, and for the most

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part they followed these conventions. From the evidence of the manuscript it would appear that Hardy had his own sense of how prose should read, that too much punctuation interfered detrimentally with the reading experience; here is one example that might reasonably be considered typical of hundreds in the novel:

For several minutes Dick drove along homeward with the inward eye of reflection so anxiously set on his passages at arms with Fancy that the road & scenery were as a thin mist over the real pictures of his mind. (118.3–5)

Stewart added commas after ‘homeward’ and ‘Fancy’, commas that no one would find redundant or exceptional, but which change the effect of the sentence for the reader. Another example comes from the same chapter and the same compositor:

the tranter gave vent to a grim admiration with the mien of a man who was too magnanimous not to appreciate a slight rap on the knuckles even if they were his own. (120.6–8)

As might be expected, Stewart couldn’t let this pass unpunctuated, and set commas after ‘admiration’ and ‘knuckles’. These and myriad other examples show that the first edition is punctuated for the most part as a nineteenth-century reader would expect; the manuscript is punctuated according to the individual understanding of a single creative mind, and when read comparatively the two experiences are quite different.

The compositors rarely removed one of Hardy’s commas without replacing it with some other mark, but there is one situation in which they almost always do. When Hardy wrote: ‘said Fancy, hesitatingly’ (172.29), the compositor (in this instance Parsloe) removed the comma, and this happened wherever Hardy separated with a comma the verb *to say* and an adverb modifying it. This idiosyncrasy of Hardy’s punctuation might be thought an error, and the manuscript certainly includes other details of inadequacy and error; he was not thoroughly systematic (though as I have shown, neither were the compositors) and his attention sometimes wandered (I have only found two places where this is true of any of the compositors). His comfort with what we might think of as light punctuation very occasionally results in possible ambiguity. We see Dick Dewy driving through Budmouth

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displacing two chairmen who had just come to life for the summer in new clean shirts and revived clothes and being almost displaced in turn by a rigid boy advancing with a roll under his arm and looking neither to the right nor the left.

(127.14–17)

Since ‘being’ is a participle in parallel with ‘displacing’, a careful reader of this passage will probably understand that it is Dick rather than the chairmen who is almost displaced by the rigid boy, but the commas added by Jones after ‘chairmen’, ‘clothes’ and ‘arm’ help to make this clearer (though the whole sentence really needed to be rewritten).

To show how thoroughly the manuscript punctuation is made over it is necessary to consider how some of the other marks are used in the two witnesses to the work. The very large number of dashes in the manuscript forced Robson’s compositors into accepting some: they were prepared, for instance, sometimes to allow the parenthetical function. In anticipating the choir’s visit to the vicar the tranter says

“we’ll warm up an extra drop wi’ some mead and a bit of ginger: every man take a thimbleful—just a glimmer of a drop, mind ye—no more—to finish off his inner man—and march off to Pa’son Mayble.”

(84.7–10)

Hardy wrote parenthetical dashes around ‘no more’ within the dashes that enclose the larger parenthesis, a possibly ambiguous situation which Stewart rectified by changing the inner dashes to commas, while allowing the outer pair to remain (it should be noted also that he altered Hardy’s colon to a semicolon – part of another recurrent pattern of difference between the manuscript and the first edition). The same compositor (already noted as more comfortable with the dash than the others) might well have altered the semicolon before ‘all’ in the following fragment to a comma, but instead he changed both the semicolon and the comma after ‘below’ to parenthetical dashes:

Such topics as that . . . ; as that . . . ; all news to those below, were stale subjects here.

(43.9–18)

As Table 1 shows, however, only forty dashes were added to the novel by the compositors altogether, so this is a rare occurrence. Much more frequently dashes were removed, and sometimes without sufficient thought on the part of the compositor responsible; when Giles read the next

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sentence he altered the dash to a comma, apparently paying no attention to the quality of the pause in Leaf's account of his dead brother:

"She'd never have had to work in her old age if he had continued strong—poor Jim!" (83.4–5)

The dash expresses at least a slight reflective pause, perhaps more – a shake of the head and a change in the tone of voice – which the comma, linking the last two words more firmly to the rest of the sentence, cannot. The same pausal subtlety might be thought of as operating in one of the tranter's speeches:

"Why Shinar is for putting forward that young woman that only last night I was saying was our Dick's sweetheart, but I suppose can't be—and making much of her in the sight of the congregation, and thinking he'll win her by showing her off—well, perhaps 'a will." (98.1–4)

Dewy's thought changes direction slightly at 'but I suppose can't be', which is a kind of aside, and the dash represents the slight breath and pause that the tranter takes before getting back to his main point; Stewart's comma in the first edition elides this carefully observed detail. However, the sense of the passage indicates that the second dash represents a more emphatic pause, and Stewart's sensitive alteration to a semicolon effectively makes that point.

Though using too many dashes can be counterproductive, Hardy uses the mark at some important moments in the novel; early on the tranter confesses how he was taken in when he bought the barrel that he is about to tap, and his wife comments:

"But 'tis like all your family were—so easy to be deceived."

"That's as true as Gospel of this member," said Reuben.

Mrs. Dewy began a smile at the answer, then altering her lips and refolding them so that it was not a smile, commenced smoothing little Bessy's hair—the tranter having meanwhile suddenly become oblivious of conversation, occupying himself in a deliberate cutting . . . (15.22–7)

The first dash here is important, in that the comma added by Jones doesn't quite represent the pause required by the meaning of the speech. It is the second, however, that is the main interest, for it demonstrates how a dash can indicate a new direction in a sentence without destroying its sequence in the reader's mind. The connectivity implicit in the dash

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encourages the reader to see a relationship between Mrs Dewy's smile and the tranter's sudden obliviousness, while Jones' semicolon breaks the sentence into two less strongly connected parts, and makes it slightly harder for the reader to infer that the tranter's speech has anything to do with possible deception on Mrs Dewy's part. This moment is called a 'critical point of affairs' in the following paragraph, and it seems not too much weight to place on a single mark of punctuation to suggest that the dash assists the reader to see that this phrase might refer to both deception and the cider broaching, a coincidence of crises. In part, I would argue, the very form of the dash, both connective and distancing, assists in creating this effect in a way a comma could not and the semicolon does not.

Hardy liked sometimes to use a dash in a kind of situation already looked at in relation to the comma; here are a couple of examples:

"Well—I suppose I must say pretty fair" (14.13)

"Yes—I see it is" (88.6)

The first of these was changed by Jones to a comma, the second by Stewart to a semicolon. The issue here is created by two factors; the compositors' reluctance to allow Hardy's dashes to remain in the printed text, and the indeterminate nature of the pause represented by the dash. Anyone confronted with 'Well, I suppose I must say' and 'Yes; I see it is' would understand that Penny makes only the slightest of pauses after 'Well', and that Maybold rests after 'Yes' for a more perceptible space of time; but the dashes place the onus on readers to interpret the weight of the pause according to their sense of the context of the remark. Indeed, this is what Jones and Stewart have done, and it is a question whether we should be glad of their guidance.

The issue for the compositors of what to do with Hardy's dashes can become more complex; take for instance another example from the second chapter of the novel. Hardy wrote:

"Now then Suze—bring a mug" (17.2)

This time Jones had multiple decisions to make: should he put a comma after the introductory 'Now' in the manner already discussed above? He

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might have, but did not, presumably recognizing that ‘Now then’ was spoken without any sort of pause between the words. Should he put a comma after ‘then’? By rule he should, but if he could hear as he composed ‘Now then’ as a single rhythmical unit, then he might have heard ‘Now then Suze’ similarly – encouraged by the context (it is the tense moment when the tranter is about to put the tap into the barrel), by Hardy’s lack of punctuation and by the dash that follows; but he did not, and added a conventional comma after ‘then’. Having done this, and rejecting Hardy’s dash, what mark should he choose to replace it? The easy answer is a comma, and this is Jones’ choice, so that in the first edition the speech reads:

“Now then, Suze, bring a mug”

Unexceptionable, but only half responsive to the moment of crisis. Much later in the manuscript Jones came across a similar speech; this is Fancy sitting at a high window after her triumphant organ playing talking to Dick standing below in the rain and longing for a kiss. She can’t reach him with her lips without getting wet and so she says:

“Never mind Dick—kiss my hand” (186.4)

As might be anticipated, Jones added a comma after ‘mind’, but this time he altered the dash to a semicolon:

“Never mind, Dick; kiss my hand”

Why did he make this decision? Well it is not the nature of any answer that is important, but the fact that in answering the question it is necessary to suggest either that it was a random choice, or that Jones was forced to interpret the rhythm of the speech. If the conventions he was following had let him retain the dash, he could have left interpretation to the reader. Another example provides a different starting point but a similar result:

“Yes—I did—and that was a wicked story!” (141.26)

Here Fancy is admitting that the day before she had told Dick she had never flirted in her life. Hardy evidently heard two equal hesitations as Fancy deliberately manipulates Dick’s emotions; but the compositor, North, interpreted the pattern differently, replacing the first dash with a comma

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and the second with a semicolon, thus producing a different cadence to Fancy's voice:

"Yes, I did; and that was a wicked story!"

Omitting Hardy's dashes altogether can be as dangerous as omitting his commas. Fancy at the inn is reluctantly insisting on conventional propriety between herself and Dick, suggesting that as the schoolmistress she can't be seen going into a private room with 'anybody'. Dick says he is not 'anybody' and Fancy responds

"No, no: I mean—with a young man" (135.14)

This gives clear notation of how the words should be heard in the reading mind; Giles, however, was not or could not be responsive to that pattern of emphasis and pause, and set the speech as

"No, no, I mean with a young man"

Again, no one reading this would find anything wrong; it is, though, substantively different from how Hardy conceived it. The same is true of a moment in the talk during the meal at keeper Day's house, in which most of Dick's consciousness is with Fancy and his words have trouble keeping up with the subject of the conversation:

"Very trying—it must be." (103.3)

This time it is North who omits the dash entirely, and though it is a tiny incident the difference between the two versions is radical.

A final more substantial and more extreme instance of the compositors' handling of Hardy's dashes comes in the midst of the vicar's proposal of marriage to Fancy:

"Your musical powers shall be still further developed—you shall have whatever pianoforte you like—you shall have anything Fancy—anything to make you happy—pony carriage, flowers, birds, pleasant society—yes, you have enough in you for any society after a few months of travel with me." (188.22–6)

Is this profusion of dashes the consequence of lazy thinking on Hardy's part, or of his haste in writing – or can it be justified? Jones was not conditioned to consider justification, and set the passage thus:

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“Your musical powers shall be still further developed; you shall have whatever piano you like; you shall have anything, Fancy! anything to make you happy—pony carriage, flowers, birds, pleasant society; yes, you have enough in you for any society, after a few months of travel with me!”

It has been the implicit contention that in the examples preceding this one the composers in sacrificing Hardy’s dashes have also sacrificed some fragment of the meaning of the words they have set – meaning generated mostly from speech pattern rather than lexically; in this instance, though, it appears to come down to a matter of taste alone. But still the compositor was not a neutral transmitter of the work; he has interpreted for the reader. To take the point a little further, consider this speech of the keeper’s over the meal table:

“Yes: there; wives be such a provoking class of society, because though they be never right, they be never more than half wrong.” (106.9–10)

North saw nothing here to change; but if Hardy had written the first three words ‘Yes – there – wives’, as previous examples have shown he might well have, what would North have done then? Almost certainly he could not have allowed the dashes to remain, and would thus have been forced to interpret the opening of the speech according to his own lights – which interpretation, considering evidence from the composers’ work throughout the novel (particularly their attitude to Hardy’s colons), would almost certainly not have been ‘Yes: there; wives’ as Hardy had it. The compositor would have interpreted the speech according to his own lights. In fact it is moderately unusual for any of the composers to preserve one of Hardy’s colons; he doesn’t use them so often as he does dashes, but he does use them in as wide a range of places. A couple of examples will give the flavour of difference; Dick reveals to Maybold his engagement with Fancy:

“Why, she’s my sweetheart: and we are going to be married next Midsummer.” (191.27–8)

Dick begins by being surprised that the vicar doesn’t know why he should have wished to be in church when Fancy first played the organ there, and the colon suggests that he thinks of leaving his response there; but then his pride takes over, and perhaps also he connects the vicar with his future wedding. At any rate the relatively long pause conventionally indicated by

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the colon does suggest a separation between the two elements of the sentence, whereas the comma with which Dodd replaced the colon, presumably because of the conjunction immediately following, links the two into one process of thought on Dick's part. There is an almost identical incident earlier in the novel when Fancy first denies to Dick any affection for Shinar, and then says that she knew nothing of Shinar's demanding of the vicar that she should play the organ in church; Hardy wrote:

"I don't like him indeed. And I never heard of his doing this before." (134.6)

Despite the strongest indication given by Hardy of Fancy's pattern of thought Giles did as any of the compositors would have done, and altered the first full stop to a comma. That he also altered the second to an exclamation mark was probably a response to Fancy's 'indeed' – an element in another repetitive pattern of change that will be considered in a moment. First, however, an example to parallel in relation to the colon the perhaps excessive use of the dash in the vicar's proposal to Fancy. This is Nat Callcome reassuring Fancy that her bridegroom will soon turn up:

"'Tis all right: Dick's coming on like a wild feller: he'll be here in a minute: the hive o' bees his mother gie'd en for his new garden swarmed jist as he was starting"  
 (204.3–5)

Hardy describes how Nat, in order to get Fancy to hear him, 'threw his voice upward through the chinks of the floor', and it might be thought that the three colons in parallel represent the equal pauses that such a method of delivery would probably entail; but again it is probable that none of the compositors would have allowed such an apparently eccentric sequence to survive, North in this instance changing the first two colons to semicolons, and the third to a full stop.

There is also one place at least where it seems likely that the addition of colons to the first edition text might have been Hardy's proof revision. Dick calls at Fancy's school house with a handkerchief she has dropped at the Dewys' dance; in the manuscript his proffering speech is: "Your handkerchief Miss Day – I called with." He held it out spasmodically and awkwardly. "Mother found it under a chair." In the first edition this became: "Your handkerchief: Miss Day: I called with." He held it out spasmodically and awkwardly. "Mother found it: under a chair" (69.6–7). If Hardy did not

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introduce the spasmodic punctuation, then Jones must in this instance be credited with some interpretive sensitivity.

A large number of exclamation marks were added by the compositors to Hardy's manuscript version of the novel; the rule the compositors mostly followed was that any imperative verb, or any word that might possibly imply an exclamation, must be followed by an exclamation mark whatever the context, however the author indicated the words were spoken. When Fancy points out a mark on the shoulder of Dick's jacket, in the manuscript he replies:

"Ah, that's japanning—it rubbed off the clamps of poor Jack's coffin when we lowered him from our shoulders upon the bier." (185.18–19)

The only justification Jones could have had for replacing the full point with an exclamation mark as he did lies in the introductory 'Ah'; but this word is as regretful in tone as the whole of the speech that follows. It might be suggested that if an exclamation mark were thought necessary it would come better where the emphasis might lie, after the 'Ah', or possibly 'japanning'; but the compositors were reluctant to break a sentence this way – more evidence that they saw punctuating as a technical matter rather than an expressive one – and as before, this sometimes led them into obscuring Hardy's effects. Dick is interrogating Fancy about her feelings for Shinar, and in the manuscript she replies:

"Now, Mr. Dewy!" said Fancy severely. "Certainly he isn't any more to me than you are." (129.30–1)

This provides examples of two repetitive differences between Hardy and his compositors. When phrases describing who is speaking intervene in what was clearly a single sentence Hardy often erroneously ends that phrase with a full point and begins the continuation with a capital letter. Here, however, the position is not quite so clear, for it is also Hardy's habit to place an exclamation mark immediately after the phrase or word he intends to be sounded emphatically, even if it breaks up what might otherwise be seen as a single sentence. In this instance it is for Jones a matter of rule, for though the first three words with their concluding exclamation mark might be thought of as a separate sentence by anyone who does not believe an adequate sentence has to have a main verb, the

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compositor has to follow convention, and so takes the whole speech as one sentence, and replaces Hardy's exclamation mark and his first full stop with a comma, and his final full stop with an exclamation mark. He is technically correct in so doing, but his pointing fundamentally alters Fancy's speech pattern. He might have availed himself of another convention which allows an exclamation mark in the middle of a sentence without breaking the sentence into two, as he did in an emotional speech of Dick's a page later:

“Nonsense—when you know that I would do anything on earth for your love!”  
 (131.11–12)

In this instance he replaces the dash (he would have felt pressure to replace it with something) with an exclamation mark, and changes Hardy's exclamation mark to a full point. This procedure reinforces the contention that neither Hardy nor the compositors were ever consistent in their punctuation practice. It is interesting to speculate what Jones would have done if Hardy had written “Nonsense—” said Dick, “when you know that I would do anything on earth for your love!”

In another example Dick is at a pitch of high emotional intensity, as he believes Fancy is about to confess some erotic dalliance with his rival Shinar; Hardy scatters dashes about as an indication of this, as he did in Maybold's proposal, and balances them with two colons.

“Come, dear Fancy: tell: come—I'll forgive—I must—by heaven and earth I must whether I will or no—I love you so.”  
 (142.31–2)

This is highly idiosyncratic, and it would have been extraordinary if North had preserved this punctuation; as it is he does retain a colon and a dash, but, forced into change, he interprets as well as he can, and concludes with a justifiable exclamation mark. It is only the conventional comma after ‘earth’ that one might wish away:

“Come, dear Fancy, tell: come. I'll forgive; I must,—by heaven and earth, I must, whether I will or no; I love you so!”

Whichever of the versions you might prefer as an indication of how Dick spoke the words, it is North's that you get to read; there *is* no choice unless you take the trouble to work recreatively from the list of punctuation variants in this edition. The following interchange as it

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appears in the first edition includes three exclamation marks added by the compositor:

“It is nothing, but O—O! a bee has stung the inside of my lip! He was in one of the cells I was eating!”

“We must keep down the swelling, or it may be serious!” said Shinar, stepping up and kneeling beside her. “Let me see it.”

“No, no!” (164.15–19)

The question is why, though Giles added exclamation marks after ‘eating’, ‘serious’ and ‘no’, he did not add one after ‘it’ even though the verb in the sentence is imperative, and there are exclamation marks everywhere else. The only answer seems to be that he chose not to.

An examination of surviving fictional proofs marked by Hardy during the course of his career shows that the addition of an exclamation mark in place of some other was, after the removal of a comma, one of the more frequent punctuation changes he made, and so he may have made in proof for the first edition one or other of the alterations in this respect I have here attributed to a compositor—but in any case only a small proportion of those noted in the list of punctuation variants. The same is true of the addition of hyphens to the text of the novel; it is a characteristic of the manuscript that many words which might have a hyphen do not have one; it is equally a characteristic of the first edition and to a lesser extent of the first revised edition that a hyphen was added to such words. The words Hardy did not hyphenate range from *windowshutters*, *greenfaced*, *doorstone* and *afterglow* to *church goers*, *bread and cheese*, *to day* and *left hand*: to each of these, and two hundred and more other instances the first edition compositors added a hyphen.

There were only twenty-five places at which the first edition compositors removed one of Hardy’s hyphens, including words such as ‘re-straighten’, ‘may-be’, ‘now-a-days’ and ‘pic-nic’ which were made one unhyphenated word, and ‘auctioneering-feller’, ‘what-not’ and church-music’ which were made two. As with everything else to do with punctuating, hyphenation is to a degree a matter of fashion, and Robson’s compositors followed contemporary practice from which Hardy often dissented. There is only one word in the novel which the compositor – North in this case – hyphenated against the authority both of the *OED* and contemporary ornithological

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practice; this is ‘night-jar’ at 199.7; there are also, naturally enough, some words caught up in the issue of end-of-line hyphenation in the first edition discussed on pp. 301–2 below. It is also characteristic of punctuation in the manuscript and the first edition that a word like ‘table-cloth’/‘tablecloth’ is hyphenated and not hyphenated in both witnesses (106.30, 109.11, 12, 16 – all occurrences also composed by North).

Hyphenation is not often thought of as having a substantive effect, but a couple of instances suggest at least the possibility. Hardy had the hedge-schoolmaster Spinks speak of a ‘far remote likeness’ between father’s last and daughter’s boot, and the compositor Jones changed this to ‘far-remote likeness’ (23.23–4); he presumably did so because ‘far’ by itself is not a normal qualifier for ‘likeness’, but it would be possible to argue that the variation from the norm is the point Hardy was trying to make. The reverse happened at 58.17: in the manuscript the tranter says that something happened ‘a good-few years ago’, and Giles removed the unusual but expressive hyphen.

There is, however, one occasion on which alteration in the first edition of the manuscript hyphenation certainly made a substantive difference. This is at 77.11–12, where Hardy wrote ‘he’s a very singular-well intentioned party’, and Stewart changed it to ‘he’s a very singular, well-intentioned party’; Mrs Penny’s ‘singular’ is a dialectal form of the intensifying adverb ‘singularly’; in Stewart’s eyes it was an adjective directly describing ‘party’. When Hardy came to revise for the first collected edition he realized something was wrong, and changed the whole passage.

There are a few spelling differences between the manuscript and the first edition: Hardy always wrote ‘waggon’ and most of those who set his work spelled the word ‘wagon’, similar pairs found in *Under the Greenwood Tree* are (manuscript first) ‘further’/‘farther’;<sup>140</sup> ‘grey’/‘gray’; ‘enquire’/‘inquire’ (and derivatives); ‘rencontre’/‘reencounter’; ‘bason’/‘basin’; ‘easeful’/‘easful’; ‘leapt’/‘leaped’; and words ending in -ise/-ize. He did not alter his practice in later manuscripts; but neither did he often alter the compositors’ versions in such proofs as survive. The same is true of other less often repeated words such as ‘bran new’ (‘brand-new’ 132.22), which was repeated in both

<sup>140</sup> But cf. 124.1 where Hardy wrote ‘farthest’, perhaps with some sense of the distinction between actual and metaphorical distance.

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*The Mayor of Casterbridge* Chapter xxxix and *The Woodlanders* Chapter XLVIII,<sup>141</sup> and ‘ances’ which was repeated at least in *The Woodlanders* Chapter xxxiii and in a letter to his wife.<sup>142</sup> Other spellings in the manuscript are registered as alternatives in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, including ‘forceable’, ‘hoarhound’ and ‘miseltoe’, while the same source allows of some debate whether one of Hardy’s words, ‘assayed’ (44.14), has a sense not understood by the compositor as distinct from the more usual ‘essayed’ with which he replaced it.

As has been seen, Hardy himself varied the spelling of the farmer’s name, both in the manuscript and later, between ‘Shiner’ and ‘Shinar’. It appears from an examination of the manuscript that first he wrote ‘Shiner’; second, he revised most (though not all) to ‘Shinar’, while third, some leaves written at a later date have ‘Shinar’ as the original version. The following list shows the pages of the manuscript on which each of the three varieties occurs. The numbers after the point indicate the order of the variety’s occurrence in a page where the word appears more than once.

‘Shinar’: 31; 35; 42; 50; 51.1; 54; 87 × 3; 90; 95.2,5; 136 = 13 occurrences

‘Shin<e>ar’: 32; 52 × 3; 53 × 2; 62; 94; 95.1,3; 111.1; 117.1; 127.1; 128.1; 137; 138; 139 × 4; 149; 150.1,3,4; 151.1; 152 × 5; 154 × 4; 155.2,3; 156.1,4,5; 157.1,2,4 = 43 occurrences

‘Shiner’: 51.2; 95.4; 102; 103 × 2; 104; 107; 111.2; 113 × 2; 117.2; 123; 127.2; 128.2; 150.2; 151.2; 155.1; 156.2,3; 157.3 = 20 occurrences

Hardy was clearly not fully convinced by the alteration from *Shiner* to *Shinar*, for even on two pages added after 1N – 2N<sub>51</sub> and 2N<sub>95</sub> – he wrote *Shiner* and it remained uncorrected. It is probable from the evidence of this list that 2N<sub>90</sub> and 2N<sub>136</sub> were added to the text after 1N (though there is no direct physical evidence to suggest that they were), for all the other pages that have ‘Shinar’ are demonstrably such later additions. In the first edition the name is consistently ‘Shinar’, and in the first collected edition it consistently reverted to ‘Shiner’; the final leaf of the manuscript rewritten probably in 1906 unsurprisingly has ‘Shiner’.

Another interesting site of revision is the word ‘choir’. Seven times out of thirty-four occurrences in the manuscript Hardy revised the word in proof

<sup>141</sup> In the *Graphic* version of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and all editions, ‘bran-new’ was retained, while in *The Woodlanders* in *Macmillan’s Magazine* it was altered to ‘brand-new’.

<sup>142</sup> *CL* II, p. 256.

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for the first edition to ‘quire’. These occur in the three chapters in which the visit to the vicar is discussed and takes place, and each is in the voice of a villager (including Maybold’s servant, Jane). Earlier in the novel however, choir members still use the spelling ‘choir’ five times, and later Dick does the same; Maybold and Fancy both still use ‘choir’, and the narrative always uses ‘choir’. To muddy the waters a little further, there is in fact one instance in the manuscript of the spelling ‘quire’, in the voice of Thomas Leaf when he pleads to be allowed to go in with the tranter to speak with the vicar. The important question is, what distinction did Hardy have in mind between the two spellings? An answer of sorts seems to be provided by the revision for the Wessex Edition, in which he changed the five remaining early uses of ‘choir’ by the musicians to ‘quire’, as with Dick’s later on, and the title of the chapters ‘The Assembled Choir’ and ‘A Meeting of the Choir’, leaving the rest as they were. I have included these changes in the list of alterations of non-standard spellings because Hardy appears to imply that he can hear some distinctly different pronunciation indicated by the two spellings, though the *OED* gives the two as equal alternatives. His use of ‘quire’ in the display situation of chapter titles is matched by the alternate title that he gave the novel in 1906, *The Mellstock Quire*. These conclusions are supported by evidence from *Life’s Little Ironies* (1894), where in the first edition of two anecdotes from ‘A Few Crusted Characters’ – ‘Old Andrey’s Experience as a Musician’ and ‘Absent-Mindedness in a Parish Choir’ – Hardy used ‘choir’ exclusively, but in the Wessex Edition he changed all the occurrences in the villagers’ voices and in the title of the latter to ‘quire’, while keeping ‘choir’ for the voice of Lackland the returning native whose curiosity stirs up these stories.

It is therefore to be supposed that when reading through the proofs of the first edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* this distinction only crossed his mind when he saw in print the single instance of ‘quire’ in Leaf’s voice and thought it would be appropriate to extend it backwards to all the choir members; but unfortunately he had already returned the first galley or set of page proofs back to the printer. If it were accepted that this was the case, would an editor using the first edition as copy-text be justified in altering the five earlier instances of ‘choir’ to ‘quire’? Dick’s use of ‘choir’ may have been allowed to stand because of his superior education.

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The punctuation surrounding some of Hardy's later additions to the manuscript is occasionally ambiguous. Often no more than a simple duplication is involved, as in 'the <garden>, |enclosure,| enjoined' (30.14), or 'path—<and> |—a man| without' (185.4) or 'said <Geoffrey>. |the tranter.|" (209.11). In such situations the compositor would have no difficulty in divining the author's intention. Slightly more difficulty arises when Hardy wrote two different marks: 'were <weary>, |slightly wearied—|and' (44.28); it might be argued that the new version of the words carries its own punctuation, which was intended to replace that of the earlier version, even should that mark remain uncanceled; and under most circumstances such an argument would be unexceptionable. There is, however, a potentially complicating factor in this particular case. Hardy seems to have had a predilection for the dash when punctuating revisions, as if it were a marker to connect the new words with the old; and where ambiguity arises of the kind noted immediately above, involving a dash and some other mark, one can't be certain that he really intended the dash to replace the comma. Each situation, however, were the manuscript to be used as copy-text, would require an editorial decision, and if the section describing Hardy's use of the dash carries any conviction, then it is clear that every dash should be considered carefully before it is discarded.

There is a further ambiguity occasionally to be found in relation to the punctuation of revisions. Hardy quite often wrote the caret mark to indicate additions to the text over an existing mark of punctuation, most often a comma. In some cases this appears to be a deliberate cancellation, but on other occasions, particularly when the punctuation became inadequate as a consequence, it isn't certain that he intended totally to overwrite the mark, as for example on MS2N143 (pp. 152.4 and 152.18). Each instance requires careful consideration.

If the proof copies of *Life's Little Ironies* (1893, DCM) and the 1906 printing of the Osgood text of *The Woodlanders* revised by Hardy for the Wessex Edition (DCM) are accepted as guides, then it is almost certain that Hardy altered the punctuation for both editions of every volume in the versions that were sent, revised, to the printers, in first proofs and possibly in revises.

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Table 5

Change	In OM	In W
Comma omitted	92 = 31.5%	378 = 87.5%
Comma added	38 = 13%	9 = 2%
Comma for semicolon	9 = 3%	3
Semicolon for comma	9 = 3%	1
Exclamation mark for point	22 = 7%	0
Hyphen added	16 = 5.5%	11 = 2.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>432</b>

Table 5 shows the most significant changes in both editions of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, in terms of number of occurrences and the percentage of all punctuation revisions.

In default of copy or proof, it is impossible to assess accurately the proportion of these changes made by the printing house responsible for either edition. In the case of the Wessex Edition the proportion is likely to have been very small, since it is probable – on the evidence of the version of *The Woodlanders* mentioned above (where comma excision accounted for 95 per cent of all Hardy's accidental changes) – that most, if not all, of the 378 commas were removed by Hardy. This number represents a substantial return to the punctuation of the manuscript, though not all of the commas thus removed were first added in the first edition.

The relatively large number of commas that were omitted in 1896 also seems to indicate Hardy's hand at work, though a few of the alterations on the galleys of *Life's Little Ironies* may not be in his hand. The figures above at least suggest that Hardy's approach to the punctuation of the novel differed between the Osgood, McIlvaine edition and the Wessex Edition in the same way as his handling of the representation of dialect pronunciation and grammar noted above.

If it has been seen that Hardy breaks some of the rules of punctuation laid down by grammarians, rules that themselves change as fashion changes, it should also at least be considered whether he may not rightly treat punctuation as a guide for the reader rather than as a straitjacket. He wrote in *Life and Work* probably in 1875:

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The whole secret of a living style and the difference between it and a dead style, lies in not having too much style – being – in fact, a little careless, or rather seeming to be, here and there. It brings a wonderful life into the writing:–

A sweet disorder in the dress . . .  
 A careless shoe-string, in whose tie  
 I see a wild civility,  
 Do more bewitch me than when art  
 Is too precise in every part.

Otherwise your style is like worn half-pence – all the fresh images rounded off by rubbing, and no crispness or movement at all.<sup>143</sup>

The manuscript of *Under the Greenwood Tree* bears witness to Hardy's active employment of the theory proposed in this comment in relation to punctuation (as indeed to other aspects of his writing). This section of the Introduction has shown, at some length, the extent to which the compositors of the first edition rubbed away the freshness and vitality of his punctuation style.

### Copy-text

A critical edition presents an argument about a work. The argument made in this edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* reflects the general guidelines of the Cambridge Hardy Edition as a whole, in which the first edition version of the work is almost always used as copy-text.

It is a self-evident truth that without publishers, printers, booksellers, lending libraries and readers no novel, in the nineteenth century at least, would ever have gone beyond the writer's study; the singular manuscript became a material object beyond the author's reach and reproducible in exactly the same form many thousands of times. It is also true that once out in the world for the first time, it had to take its chance with reviewers and readers, and we are now well accustomed to think that though authors may have had meanings in mind when they wrote, those meanings are irretrievable, and once the work is published they are replaced by the meanings ascribed to the text by each reader. Thus this initial moment of public

<sup>143</sup> p. 108.

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exposure is of central significance in the life of a work and has been chosen as the basis of this edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*.<sup>144</sup>

However, it is important to note that the preceding account of the novel's composition and production might also support other arguments. Details of the comparison made above of punctuation in the manuscript with that in the printed editions of the work might suggest that the manuscript would be more appropriate than the first edition as copy-text, for the virtues often associated with compositors' treatment of Victorian texts can in fact not be found in the punctuation of the first edition – there is neither consistency nor complete accuracy – and their collective and individual preferences can be shown to alter significantly from time to time what Hardy wrote.

On the other hand, every more-than-casual reader of Hardy's writing understands how important the idea of Wessex in all its dimensions became to Hardy as he worked on his texts over more than forty years; and some will be surprised by a version of any of his novels that excludes the revisions he made later in life as a consequence of this growing commitment to his half-real, half-invented province.

The essential problem, though, with using as copy-text the version of the work that contains all of Hardy's changes, the 1920 impression of the Wessex Edition, is that it is customary everywhere to think of and to describe *Under the Greenwood Tree* as a very early novel in Hardy's career, a novel of 1872, written at a time when he was anxious rather to hide the novel's roots in his family history and the parish of his birth than to revel in them. The alterations he made in both 1896 for the first collected edition and 1912 for the Wessex Edition undo disguise and reveal previously hidden connections.

But, though the first edition version of the work is the copy-text, this is a *critical* edition, and it does not detract from the argument for that form of the words of the novel, to consider critically the relationship between the author's and the compositors' approaches to punctuation. Under scrutiny

<sup>144</sup> One consequence of using the first edition of the novel as the copy-text is that the decision by the publisher to market the book in two volumes was marked by the notation 'END OF VOL. I.' at the bottom of the last page of Chapter vi of 'Spring', which notation is included here. It should be remembered, however, that Hardy in writing the narrative had no knowledge that such a break would be effected.

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it becomes evident that some of the actions of the compositors in altering Hardy's punctuation change the sense of a passage. Such instances mostly occur in speech, where punctuation can be crucial in establishing for the reader how to hear the words spoken – where the emphasis lies – and sometimes in establishing the speaker's intention in using them. Whenever the compositors' decisions to alter punctuation obscures or counters the effects of speech in the manuscript, then there is a case for considering them in error, and it is on this account that most of the editorial emendations to the copy-text have been made.

At the same time there are many places in the manuscript where Hardy neglected to write necessary inverted commas to indicate speech (though paragraph indentation almost always made it clear that speech was intended); he left out a handful of necessary apostrophes, and rather more necessary full stops to end sentences; the first edition tidies up all but two of these omissions – the exceptions are noted in the list of emendations.

Hardy wrote 'and' in three different ways in the manuscript. Besides the normal spelling, he also used two forms of ampersand, a full variety '&' and an abbreviated form. He used the word almost exclusively at the beginning of a sentence, and the full ampersand often after heavy punctuation or in a revision; but as there is no absolute consistency and the distinctions are not meaningful, no note has been made of these purely orthographic differences. Hardy also consistently used the long s-form when writing Mifs, and occasionally a double hyphen, seen in 'by=long and by=late' on MS2N163 for example; these peculiarities have also not been recorded in the notes.

As far as the words of the edition are concerned, almost all the editorial emendations have been made to correct compositors' misreadings of the manuscript. There is, however, one instance which might or might not indicate compositorial interference: the manuscript reads 'I don't mind a sting in ordinary, but it is so bad upon your lip' (164.22–3); in the first edition 'places' was added after 'ordinary'. It is possible that the compositor did not recognize that the phrase 'in ordinary' might stand for 'ordinarily', and added 'places' on his own authority, but also Hardy may have decided that the phrase was too literary for the anxious Fancy at this juncture and altered it himself in proof. Since Hardy saw nothing to correct later, the conservative option is to retain the copy-text reading, and I have done so.

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Each editorial decision to alter the copy-text has been separately recorded and justified, and any user of the edition who disagrees with the procedure in general or with individual decisions is at liberty to emend his or her copy of the edition.<sup>145</sup>

### Abbreviations and Other Signs Used in the Footnotes to the Edited Text

When the variant reading is simply the cancellation of material in the manuscript the note begins with the abbreviation MS, and the cancellation is enclosed within pointed brackets <>. Otherwise the first reading encountered is the reading in the copy-text, the first edition of the novel (T1); where the variant readings are in the manuscript the sequence of change is indicated by MS1 (the earliest), MS2 etc. (the final leaf of the manuscript, written when the manuscript was bound, is indicated by MSrw); where the variant readings are in versions of the work published after the first edition (second edition [T2]; first collected edition published by Osgood, McIlvaine [OM], second collected edition, the Wessex Edition [W] or its second impression in 1920 [W20]; third collected edition, the Mellstock Edition [ME]) then it is assumed that the copy-text reading originated in the manuscript. Occasionally, however, Hardy altered a word or phrase both before and after the first edition was published, and in such cases the initial reading is that in the first edition, and the differences follow it in chronological order.

Occasional editorial emendations are indicated by the abbreviation *ed*.

Places in the manuscript where Hardy wrote alterations in pencil and then inked them over are indicated by the abbreviation *pu* (for *pencil under*). Other indications of anomalies in the manuscript are described in italics within square brackets; where text needs to be quoted on such occasions it is therefore in roman type.

<sup>145</sup> As material evidence of compositorial involvement in changing Hardy's punctuation there are in the manuscript of the novel twenty-two places where a compositor has made pencil alterations to what Hardy wrote. These are identified in Variants in Punctuation and Styling by the notation [pencil].