

Michael
~~James~~ Henchard's Will.

- "That Elizabeth Jane Farfrae be not told of my death, ^{made to,} or grie on account of me.
 - "That I be not bury'd in consecrated ground.
 - "That no sexton, ^{be} asked to toll the bell.
 - "That nobody is wish'd to see my dead body."
 - "That no mourners walk ~~at~~ behind me at my funeral.
 - "That no flowers be planted on my grave.
 - "That ~~nothing~~ no man remember me. ~~expression~~
 - "To this I put my name.
- Michael
James Henchard.

"What are we to do?" said Donald, when he had handed the paper to her.

She could not answer distinctly, ^{she said at last:} "What ~~can~~ ^{carry out his wishes,} she answered. "Oh Donald, ^{bitterness lies there!} I would, ^{(not have minded so much if it had not been for that last parting!} But ^{there's no altering} ~~nothing~~ so it must be."

White line

What Henchard had written in the ^{anguish} ~~testament~~ of his dying was respected to the letter by Elizabeth Jane, ^{though} less from a sense of the sacredness of last words, as such, than from her ^{independent} ~~independent~~ knowledge ^{that} of the man who wrote them. She knew that the Dictator ^{meant what he said.} ~~was~~ ^{was a}

One of the closing pages of the Mayor MS.

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

THOMAS HARDY'S REVISIONS
OF
THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE

Christine Winfield



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of Hardy's composition of The Mayor of Casterbridge based on the manuscript and the six published texts of the novel. After a brief history of the novel's composition and publication, and an investigation of the physical structure of the manuscript, the thesis attempts to examine the textual development of The Mayor under the subject categories of plot, characterization, and setting; narrator's voice, imagery, and style, the arrangement of material in each category following a chronological order. The principal intention of this study is to throw light both on the author's conception of his novel and on his methods of composition.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

a. For texts of The Mayor of Casterbridge

Quotations from The Mayor will be identified by the abbreviations given below, followed by page reference. In references to the first edition, volume number will also be included.

MS	Manuscript	
H	<u>Harper's Weekly</u>	(American serial text)
G	<u>The Graphic</u>	(English serial text)
86	Smith, Elder	(1st edn., 2 vols., 1886)
87	Sampson Low	(2nd edn., 1887)
O	Osgood, McIlvaine	(Vol. III, Wessex Novels, 1895)
W	Macmillan	(Vol. V, Wessex Edn., 1912)

b. For Hardy's other novels

<u>Remedies</u>	<u>Desperate Remedies</u>
<u>Greenwood Tree</u>	<u>Under the Greenwood Tree</u>
<u>Blue Eyes</u>	<u>A Pair of Blue Eyes</u>
<u>Madding Crowd</u>	<u>Far from the Madding Crowd</u>
<u>Ethelberta</u>	<u>The Hand of Ethelberta</u>
<u>Native</u>	<u>The Return of the Native</u>
<u>Trumpet Major</u>	<u>The Trumpet Major</u>
<u>Laodicean</u>	<u>A Laodicean</u>
<u>Tower</u>	<u>Two on a Tower</u>
<u>Woodlanders</u>	<u>The Woodlanders</u>

<u>Tess</u>	<u>Tess of the d'Urbervilles</u>
<u>Jude</u>	<u>Jude the Obscure</u>
<u>Beloved</u>	<u>The Well-Beloved</u>

c. Other

<u>Life</u>	<u>The Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1928</u> (incorporating in one volume <u>The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1891</u> , and <u>The Later Years of Thomas Hardy, 1892-1928</u> , published 1928 and 1930 respectively) by Florence Emily Hardy (London, 1962).
Orel	<u>Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings</u> , ed. Harold Orel (London, 1968).
Purdy	<u>Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study</u> , by Richard Little Purdy (London, 1954).
DCM	Dorset County Museum, Dorchester
BM	British Museum

Unless otherwise stated, all references to Hardy's novels and to The Dynasts are to the Macmillan Wessex Edition (24 vols., 1912-31). References to the short stories are to The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy (Macmillan, 1928), and references to the poems, to Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy (4th edn., Macmillan, 1930).

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION

Thomas Hardy's tenth novel The Mayor of Casterbridge was written when the author was living at Shirehall Place, Dorchester. Information on the history of the novel's composition is scant. Below the final paragraph of the MS. Hardy has added: "(Written 1884-1885)"; virtually the only other evidence available is incorporated in The Life of Thomas Hardy¹ in which the author, with customary reticence, offers no information on the genesis of the novel, and confines his remarks on the date of composition to two brief notebook entries in Chapter xiii.

The first and earliest recorded reference to the novel occurs under the date of 16 August 1884: "Off and on he was now writing The Mayor of Casterbridge ..." (Life, p. 168). From the second, and more informative, entry it is possible to trace the beginning of composition to the early spring of 1884, and to record in full the date of completion. This note, which is entered under 17 April 1885,

¹ Ostensibly written by Hardy's second wife Florence, this work is in fact an autobiography by the novelist himself, who compiled all but the last four chapters from notebooks, diaries, letters, and memoranda, most of which he later destroyed. See Purdy, pp. 263-267, 269-273.

reads as follows: "Wrote the last page of The Mayor of Casterbridge, begun at least a year ago, and frequently interrupted in the writing of each part" (Life, p. 171).

Two further sources of information make it possible to chart more fully the progress of the novel's composition: the first consists of a letter which Hardy wrote to W. D. Howells, in response to a favourable review of The Mayor printed in Harper's Magazine in November 1886; the second, a descriptive fragment from one of Hardy's notebooks, printed in Chapter xiii of the Life. In the letter to Howells (9 November 1886) Hardy writes that "the greater part of The Mayor was finished in 1884--a year and half nearly before publication."¹ This claim is confirmed indirectly by the diary note in the Life. Dated 4 December 1884 the entry reads thus:

A gusty wind makes the raindrops hit the windows in stars, and the sunshine flaps open and shut like a fan, flinging into the room a tin-coloured light.... (p. 169)

Now as R. L. Purdy has pointed out: "It was Hardy's custom to set down in his diary observations, sketches from nature, fragments of description, etc. which might be introduced as occasion served into his novels. When such material had been used it was cancelled to avoid ...

¹ Quoted by Carl J. Weber, Hardy in America (Waterville, Maine, 1946), p. 58.

repetitionFor ...the biography a last gleaning of the diaries was made before they were destroyed, and a number of fine passages that had gone unused were printed...."¹ The appearance in the Life of the fragment quoted above seems then to be explained by Hardy's omission to cancel the note in his diary, for the entry had already been introduced into his fiction: it reappears, with some elaboration, in Chapter xxvii of The Mayor:

There was a gusty high warm wind; isolated rain drops starred the window panes at remote distances; the sunlight would flap out like a quickly opened fan, throw the pattern of the window upon the floor of the room in a milky colourless shine, and withdraw as suddenly as it had appeared.
(MS, 272)

¹ In "A name in Hardy," TLS, 20 Nov. 1943, p. 559. Cf. the entry under 3 Nov. 1873 in Hardy's first notebook: "A sunset: a brazen sun, bristling with a thousand spines which stuck into and tormented my eyes," with its re-appearance, almost unadapted, in the second of two fragments of the first draft of Madding Crowd: "The yellow sun, bristling with a thousand spines of light, which stuck into and tormented his eyes ..." (f. 106d^v). Both notebook and MS. are now in DCM. Incidentally the fate of this notebook entry provides a good example of Hardy's characteristic economy with material: although the scene in which the notebook entry appears was discarded in the reworking of the first draft of Madding Crowd, the lines themselves were salvaged, and they appear, adapted once again, in ch. xx of the familiar version of the novel, where they form part of the description of the sheep-shearing in the great barn:

Here the shearers knelt, the sun slanting in upon their bleached shirts, tanned arms, and the polished shears they flourished, causing these to bristle with a thousand rays strong enough to blind a weak-eyed man. (p. 165)
(In her edition of Thomas Hardy's Notebooks [London, 1955], p. 43, Evelyn Hardy in fact misquotes the notebook entry cited above, reading "struck" for "stuck.")

It seems reasonable to assume that the chapter containing, and chapters following, the passage just quoted, postdate the brief diary note from which the sentence is derived. We can infer then that by 4 December 1884 Hardy had written, at the outside, twenty-six chapters (slightly less than two-thirds) of The Mayor, and that composition must have progressed with greater rapidity in the latter part of the novel since nineteen chapters, at least, appear to have been written between December '84 and April '85. The interruptions which attended the composition of The Mayor (see notebook entry quoted on f.10) are of interest not only for the frequency of their occurrence but for the illustration they afford of a characteristic element of Hardy's work--namely his adaptation of the scenes and events in his immediate environment to provide setting and occasionally incident for his novels.

As Blue Eyes owes its Cornish setting to Hardy's residence in St. Juliot for much of the novel's composition, and the "Knollsea" scenes in the second half of Ethelberta, to his stay in Swanage during the autumn and winter of 1875-6, so the immediate and almost exclusive background of The Mayor arises out of Hardy's intimate knowledge of and residence within the county town of Dorchester, to

which he and his wife Emma had moved several months before work on the novel began. Throughout the period of the novel's composition, Hardy was occupied with arrangements for the building of his house Max Gate, begun in October 1883; and, greatly interested by the discovery of Romano-British urns and skeletons made during the digging of the well and foundations of the house, he presented an account of these remains in a paper read at the Dorchester Meeting of the Dorset Field Club on 13 May 1884.¹ Between mid-June and early July of the same year, Hardy and his wife were in London, carrying out social engagements; in August he accompanied his brother Henry on a trip to the Channel Isles, where they visited Guernsey, Jersey, and Sark; while in March of 1885, five weeks before the completion of the novel, Hardy accepted an invitation for a week-end visit to Eggesford House, the home of Lady Portsmouth, where, "...though the library was placed at his disposal, and entry forbidden, that his labours should not be interrupted, very little work indeed was done while he stayed there ..." (Life, p. 170).

¹ Viz. "Some Romano-British Relics Found at Max Gate, Dorchester." The text of this paper, reported in the Dorset County Chronicle on 15 May 1884, p. 5, was omitted from the Proceedings of the Club in 1884 and remained unpublished until the Proceedings of 1890. (Reprinted in Orel, pp. 191-195.)

The transference of details from Hardy's paper to the Field Club into the text of The Mayor¹ suggests that the archeological discoveries at Max Gate may have been partly responsible for the great emphasis which the author places on the ancient character of the town of Casterbridge, whose historical features, like the three elliptical graves of the very threshold of Hardy's new home, afford a powerful expression of the continuity between past and present. And the visit to the Channel Isles undoubtedly provided the source of the Jersey setting for Henchard's liaison with Lucetta Le Sueur.

a. MS. and serial texts

The Mayor was completed nearly nine months before publication and was in type by 20 October 1885.² The novel was first printed serially in twenty weekly instalments from 2 January to 15 May 1886, in the Graphic (London)

¹ See Appendix III below.

² In a letter to Hardy, dated 20 Oct. 1885, Arthur Locker, editor of the Graphic, wrote thus: "I find that a complete set of proofs have already been sent to Harper by us and they were also told that there was an illustration for every three slips...." (Letter in DCM.)

and in Harper's Weekly (New York).¹ For each instalment, the artist Robert Barnes provided an illustration. The reason for the unusual time lapse between the completion of the novel and its commencement in serial form is to be found in a letter which Hardy wrote to Frederick Macmillan (27 November 1885) over the serialization of the Woodlanders in Macmillan's Magazine. He refers thus to The Mayor: "...a story long ago promised to the Graphic makes its appearance there in January, ending in May. I had hoped it would have come earlier, but the illustrations caused a delay...."²

Now the extant portions of the MS. present the text of the novel as it first appeared in serial form. The MS. itself is heavily revised; one sheet only (f. 218) is completely free from alteration, while on several leaves the quantity of added material almost equals that of the writing prior to revision (for example, ff. 130, 161, 220). The changes in MS. illustrate in detail various categories of revision which an inspection of later texts of The Mayor, together with a survey of the results of other

¹ Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 840-849 of The Graphic: An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper, and Vol. XXX, Nos. 1515-34 of Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization.

² Letter in the Macmillan Papers, MS. 54923, in the BM.

textual studies of Hardy's fiction,¹ prove to be major trends in the novelist's creative method. The corrected MS. presents the most radical phase in the development of the novel, and thus marks the stage of composition from which the greatest number of revisions in the following discussion will be drawn.

Collation of the MS. with the two serial texts provides ample illustration of Hardy's concern with textual revision. The discrepancies between MS., Harper's, and Graphic texts indicate that changes in proof were made at two different periods: the first series of revisions was entered on proofs which the Graphic editor had sent to Harpers by October 1885, and on which the American serial text was based. Hardy then supplied the Graphic with a further series of revisions which postdate the letter

¹ Esp. John Paterson, The Making of the Return of the Native (California, 1960)--hereafter cited as the Making.

from Arthur Locker,¹ and from these further revised proofs the Graphic text was established. Harper's Weekly, therefore, presents the text of The Mayor at a stage of development between the MS. and the Graphic.

The disparity between the MS. and Harper's text reveals the scrutiny with which Hardy revised the first set of proof-sheets. Revisions for the serial number over 300, and range over all but one² of the novel's forty-five chapters. Single words, whole sentences, and occasionally entire passages receive alteration; and while in comparison

¹ Locker, loc. cit. He writes: "Please answer these questions: Hay bonds or hay bands
wynd pipe or wind pipe
Whittlebone or Whittle (slip 51)

Can your date 184- in ch. iii be right because in the prologue you say the middle of the century which I take to be about 1845 and eighteen years added to this would bring us to 1860 something."
While the readings "hay bonds," "wyndpipes," "Whittlebone," and "184-" appeared on the proofs supplied to Harpers (all four readings occur in the American serial text), Hardy presumably added the corrections on the second set of proofs, for the Graphic text contains the later of each of these readings:
hay bonds (H, 134), hay bands (G, 242); wynd pipes (H, 54), wind pipes (G, 101); Whittlebone (H, 263), "Whittle (G, 477); 184- (H, 21), 186- (G, 41).

² Viz. ch. vi which is entirely absent from the MS.

with later revisions the import of these changes is mainly local, and effects no significant alteration in the main structure of the novel, the proof-sheet revisions present in miniature a fair sample of the major trends in MS. and in subsequent revision of the novel.

In contrast, a comparison of the American serial text with its English counterpart shows that Hardy concerned himself with only minor changes on the second set of proof-sheets, for while the Harper's text contains over 120 variant readings, few are of any substantial importance.¹ Much of the variation is accidental, for example, the alteration of capitals--"nature" (H, 39) for "Nature" (G, 70); "Bluebeardy" (H, 85) for "bluebeardy" (G, 161)--and frequent changes in spelling--"laborer" (H, 5), "slyly" (H, 6), "gayety" (H, 54), "inclosure" (H, 76)--to conform with American practice.

Further differences between the two magazine texts may be mentioned: in the Harper's serialization, instalments 2, 6, 10, 12, 17, and 18 differ slightly in length from those in the Graphic; and from instalments 12, 16, 19, and

¹ Moreover the Graphic text includes all the alterations made on the first set of proofs. When reviewing a text Hardy frequently altered a previous revision, occasionally reverting to the original reading. This practice, however, is not in evidence in the pre-publication revisions of 1885.

20, the Barnes illustrations are not reproduced. Of greater significance, from four instalments in the Harper's text--namely, 7, 12, 18, and 19--several passages have been excised. These passages differ considerably in importance, ranging from minor stretches of dialogue to important passages of authorial analysis and comment. Examples in the first category include the omission from instalment 12 of a brief exchange between Henchard and his waggoner, the contraction of a conversation between Henchard and Constable Stubberd, and of one between Farfrae and Lucetta (H, 183; G, 319). Examples in the second category are seen in the exclusion from instalment 7 of four paragraphs preceding the final sentence of Chapter xvii, one of which contains an explicit statement of the causal relation between character and event ("...Character is Fate, said Novalis, and Farfrae's character was just the reverse of Henchard's ..." [H, 103; G, 191]); and the exclusion from instalment 18 of an authorial comment on Henchard's great sensitivity to music ("...If he could have summoned music to his aid ..." [H, 279; G, 509])--both key passages in the interpretation of the Mayor's temperament.

Although MS. evidence for the material excised from the Harper's text is only partially complete, and while two

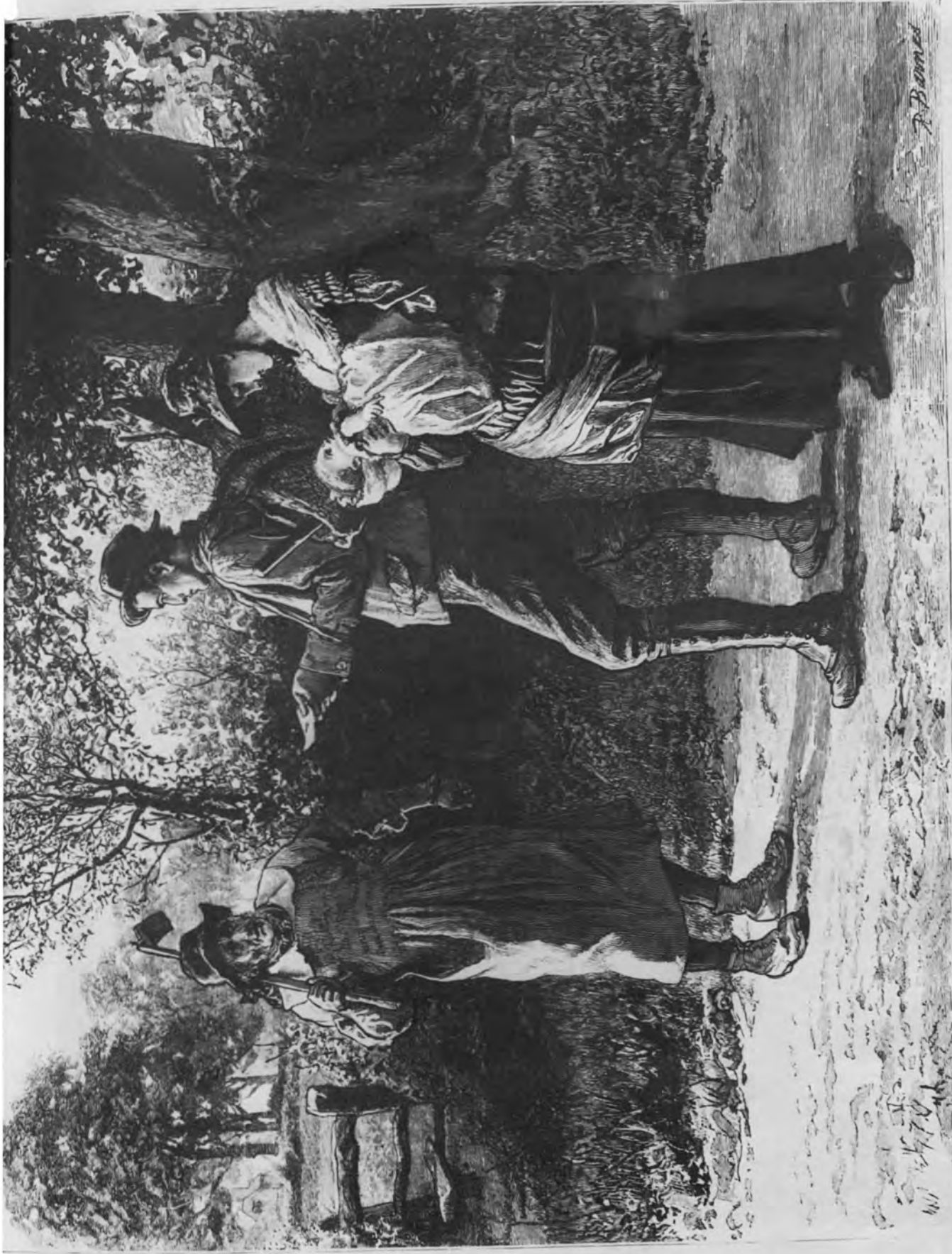
of the deleted passages do in fact represent MS. additions, there is no evidence from either foliation or absence of revision on the MS. leaves to suggest that the excised material could have been added to the MS. after the dispatch of the Harper's proofs. A more reasonable explanation for the omissions seems to lie in the problem of shortage of space in the American magazine. Two factors suggest this: in every one of the abridged instalments, excisions occur in the closing chapter of each issue; while the Barnes illustration is either omitted altogether (as in instalments 12 and 19), or printed on a considerably smaller scale than customary in Harpers' reproduction of the illustrations (as in instalment 18).¹

b. First edition

The Mayor was first published in book form by Smith, Elder and Co., on 10 May 1886. It was issued in two volumes at 21s. in an edition of 758 copies.² The novel was also published in America by Henry Holt and Co., in one

¹ The American serial reproductions of Barnes's illustrations, all of which are noticeably inferior to those in the Graphic, are frequently reduced in size. (Facsimiles of the illustrations for instalments 1 and 5 of the Graphic text are reproduced overleaf.)

² Purdy, p. 53.



(FROM THE GRAPHIC, p. 17)

DRAWN BY ROBERT BARNES

"'Hay-trussing—?' said the turnip-boer, who had already begun shaking his head. 'O no.'"



DRAWN BY ROBERT BARNES

(FROM THE GRAPHIC
p. 133)

"I don't drink now—I haven't since that night."

volume on 22 May 1886. The absence of copyright protection for foreign books in America led Holt to issue The Mayor in two series: his Leisure Hour Series at one dollar, and his Leisure Moment Series in a thirty cent paperback copy. The novel was nevertheless pirated by no fewer than ten publishing firms.¹ For the American first edition Hardy, we are told, "supplied many but not all of his textual revisions."²

Changes made in the reworking of the serial text for the first edition form the most extensive and significant alterations in the post-MS. development of the novel. Well over 700 variant readings are apparent, the variants ranging from changes in single words to the omission of entire scenes. While revisions of many different categories are evident, the most fundamental changes concern plot and characterization. Substantial areas of the novel are rewritten, and much material deleted. In particular, Chapters xii, xviii, xxxiv, xxxv, xliii, xlv, and xlv contain major revisions.³

¹ Weber, Hardy in America, p. 37.

² Purdy, p. 53. While the Holt edition thus represents a stage in development between the Graphic and the Smith, Elder edition, I have been unable to obtain any copy of the American text, and hence variant readings between the American and English first editions of the novel have not been considered.

³ Chapter numbers in Vol. II of the first edition run from i to xxii, corresponding respectively with numbers xxiv to xlv of all other texts; for the sake of simplicity, however, the familiar numbering will be retained in all chapter references to the first edition.

In the disparity between serial and first edition, this stage in the evolution of The Mayor bears comparison with the textual histories of Tess and Jude, the early versions of which also underwent radical revision.¹ Yet while the serial form of both Tess and Jude differs from that of the first edition, the later text represents basically a return to an earlier and unbawdlerized version,² whereas the disparity in the corresponding texts of The Mayor constitutes not merely a reversion to an earlier stage, but rather a major critical reassessment.

Smith, Elder and Co. appear to have been doubtful of the novel's success from the beginning. The biography alleges that "...Hardy had some difficulty in getting it [The Mayor] issued in volume-form, James Payn, the

¹ See Mary Ellen Chase, Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel (Minneapolis, 1927).

² Or more correctly in the case of Tess, "less bowdlerized," for the text of the first edition, while representing primarily a return to the final form of the MS., nevertheless retains traces of Hardy's acquiescence to censorship, since the final MS. form itself (i.e. that intended for book form rather than for serial publication) presents in fact a qualified text, cancellations in which suggest radical revision (due in part to editorial pressure) during the course of composition. See J. Laird, "The Manuscript of Hardy's Tess of the D'Urbervilles and What It Tells Us," AUMLA, No. 25 (1966), pp. 68-82.

publishers' reader, having reported ...that the lack of gentry among the characters made it uninteresting"¹ Yet this explanation seems unsatisfactory, for as W. E. Rutland points out, Payn's objection "would have applied with equal cogency to every one of the books which had given Hardy his reputation"² A more probable explanation may lie in the very substance of the novel itself: that is to say, the reluctance of Smith, Elder to accept The Mayor may have been due less to their anticipation of the social snobbery of the late-Victorian reader than to an assessment of the likely reception of a work in which any approach to a facile view of human experience is so firmly rejected. For in its relentless punishment of a protagonist who does not profit from his mistakes (at least in the traditional manner of Bildungsromanen) and whose sufferings go unrewarded, the novel refuses emphatically to oversimplify or to yield to sentimentality.³

¹ Life, p. 180.

² William R. Rutland, Thomas Hardy: A Study of his Writings and their Background (Oxford, 1938), p. 198.

³ Unlike the Native where, in deference to popular taste, Hardy engineered a happy ending by marrying Thomasin Yeobright to Diggory Venn, and thus altered the original conception of the story. (See footnote to Vol. IV of Wessex Edition, 473.)

Critical reception of the novel was on the whole favourable, although as Lerner and Holmstrom point out: "Everyone at the time preferred Far From the Madding Crowd, and even those who enjoyed The Mayor do not always seem to have responded to its peculiar greatness."¹ Aspects of the novel to which reviewers gave most attention reflected stock criticisms of Hardy's fiction: setting, rustic dialogue, and character were praised: "...Hardy shows himself once more up to his old mark in scenes and conversations. His people talk again the strong, pithy, homely stuff which no other living novelist can reproduce as well ...,"² while the Saturday Review wrote that "His strongest point ...is his capacity for portraying [sic] the average peasant ...," the same reviewer concluding nonetheless that "the worst feature of the book is, that it does not contain a single character capable of arousing a passing interest in his or her welfare."³ In addition, the improbability of the wife-selling episode was criticized:

¹ Laurence Lerner and John Holmstrom, ed. Thomas Hardy and his Readers (London, 1968), p. 54.

² Guardian, 28 July 1886, p. 1115.

³ Saturday Review, 29 May 1886, p. 757. (Reprinted in Lerner and Holmstrom, Thomas Hardy, pp. 49-51.)

...The story ...[is] too improbable. It is fiction stranger than truth; for, even at the comparatively distant date ...and the remote region ...when and where the scenes were laid, it is impossible to believe that the public sale by a husband of his wife and child to a sailor, in a crowded booth at a village fair, could have attracted such slight attention¹

--an interesting objection in view of the factual source of the incident.²

Not unexpectedly, the novel offended against both conventional optimism and conventional prudery, and was thus attacked from a philosophical as well as from a moral standpoint. It was regarded as cheerless and oppressive, and the realism resented:

The Mayor of Casterbridge is worth reading, though it is not a pleasant book....[the protagonist] is almost painfully real and living: too human both in the good and the evil of his character to be ever quite outside the reader's natural sympathy, and yet so entirely without a hint of the ideal in his composition that he never touches one's deeper sympathies at all....it seems to us that the humour [in this novel] is a trifle less genial --or shall we say ^{more}grim?--than it is used to be. Altogether the book leaves a most dreary impression. Its outlook is narrow, its tone is prosaic and its last word is elaborately pessimistic.³

Moreover the subtitle A Story of a Man of Character was questioned: "...the words on the title page rather mislead.

¹ Saturday Review, loc. cit.

² See Appendix III below.

³ Guardian, loc. cit.

One looks for the picture of a man of much more constancy of purpose, and much less tragic mobility of mood" ¹

The predominant attitude in contemporary criticism of The Mayor--that of acclaim tempered by narrow moral assumptions--is epitomized in the Athenaeum review which included in its moderately appreciative report on the book the supremely obtuse comment that

It [The Mayor] will not be so popular as the Trumpet Major, nor does it deserve to be, recounting as it does the tragedy (if it may be so called) of a self-willed instead of an unselfish hero. ²

In spite of the generally favourable reviews, The Mayor was not commercially successful. Smith, Elder had issued the novel in an edition of 758 copies, and by December 1886, only 650 copies had been bound. ³ The following January the publishers remaindered 108 quires and 37 copies in cloth to Sampson Low (Hardy's publishers by this time), for £7 7s. ⁴

¹ Spectator, 5 June 1886, p. 752. (Reprinted in Lerner and Holmstrom, Thomas Hardy, pp. 51-53.)

² 29 May 1886, p. 711.

³ These figures compare unfavourably with some of Hardy's other novels: Madding Crowd and Tess were both issued in first editions of 1,000 copies, and unlike The Mayor, nearly all copies had been sold less than two months after issue. See Purdy, pp. 17-19 (Madding Crowd), 73-74 (Tess).

⁴ Purdy, p. 53.

c. Second edition

In 1887 the publication rights of The Mayor passed to Sampson Low, the London-based publishers for Harpers, and the company issued early in the same year a new one-volume edition of the novel. Constantly concerned to improve his work, and despite other heavy commitments at this time (he was just then completing work on the Woodlanders),¹ Hardy took advantage of the new type-setting and provided Sampson Low with a further series of revisions for the text of the novel.

The second edition contains nearly a hundred variant readings, and the principle of economy, in particular the removal of superfluous plot material--so pervasive in the rewriting of the serial text--again predominates in

¹ Although I have been unable to trace the precise date of the publication of the second edition of The Mayor, historical evidence makes it fairly reasonable to assume that work on the text must have coincided with the final revision on the Woodlanders (i.e. Jan.-Mar. 1887). Several factors suggest this: although serial publication of the Woodlanders began in May 1886, the novel was not completed until Feb. 1887, and was first published in Mar. of that year; revision for the second edition of The Mayor presumably began after Jan. 1887, when publication rights first passed to Sampson Low, and must have been completed by the middle of Mar., since Hardy and his wife left Dorchester for a month's holiday in Italy on 14 Mar. (the day before the book form publication of the Woodlanders). The book must have been issued shortly after their return, since the registration copy in the BM bears the stamp "19 My '87," while that of the Woodlanders is dated "7 My '87."

the preparation of the 1887 edition which established the text of The Mayor as it remained for the next eight years.

d. Uniform edition

The publication rights of Hardy's earlier novels, in the hands of Sampson Low and Co., expired in June 1894, and these rights passed to Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., who had been publishing Hardy's work since the appearance in 1891 of A Group of Noble Dames.

Hardy now began the preparation of the first uniform and complete edition of his works.¹ For this he carefully revised the texts of all the novels and wrote a preface for each volume. The pressure of work must have been considerable, for Osgood, McIlvaine issued one volume each month, completing the sixteen-volume edition--the Wessex Novels Edition--in September 1896. The Mayor, for which Macbeth Raeburn supplied a frontispiece etching "The High Street, Casterbridge," was issued as Volume III of the Edition at 6s. in June 1895. Hardy also arranged

¹ When Sampson Low published their edition of The Mayor in 1887, they also printed in uniform bindings reissues of six of Hardy's other novels. This series, though incomplete, may be said to constitute the first collected edition of Hardy's work, though it was not designated as such. See Weber, Hardy of Wessex: His Life and Literary Career (rev. edn., New York, 1965), p. 154.

for the publication of the Uniform Edition in America with Harpers, who published the Osgood, McIlvaine Edition with an altered title-page¹ between 1895-97.

The revisions carried out on The Mayor in 1895 rank next in importance to those made for the first edition. Approximately 450 variant readings are evident and every chapter save one² shows alteration. The plot was further improved, and material which Hardy had excised from Chapters xliv and xlv of the serial, restored.

It is possible to make a clear distinction in the revision of 1895 between changes which are peculiar to the text of The Mayor, and changes which this work shares with other novels revised for the Osgood Edition. Major amendments in the second group include a franker treatment of sexual relationship, as well as a strengthening of the Wessex setting through increased emphasis on topographical detail and on the provincial element in dialogue. The preface which Hardy wrote for the novel in February 1895 is brief, and like so many of the other prefaces for the Wessex novels, reveals little of the author's

¹ Purdy, p. 281.

² Viz. ch. x. Except for one very minor revision at the serial stage, and another in 1886, this is the only chapter in The Mayor to remain unaltered throughout the novel's published textual history.

aesthetic intention, being concerned chiefly with surface details. This is evident, for example, in the second paragraph, where Hardy recounts the realistic basis of his narrative:

The incidents narrated arise mainly out of three events, which chanced to range themselves in the order and at or about the intervals of time here given, in the real history of the town called Casterbridge and the neighbouring country. They were the sale of a wife by her husband, the uncertain harvests which immediately preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the visit of a Royal personage to the aforesaid part of England.¹

e. Wessex edition

The publishing rights of Osgood, McIlvaine and Co. expired in 1902, and Hardy's dissatisfaction with the firm's organization since its transference to Harpers in 1897 led him to seek new publishers: he chose the firm of Macmillan and Co.²

Between 1912-14 Macmillans undertook a new and definitive

¹ Cf. the Author's Notes which Conrad supplied for the first Collected Edition of his novels, in many of which the author, surveying his fiction in retrospect, refers less to the aesthetic purpose behind his works than to their factual origins.

² In a letter to Frederick Macmillan (18 Mar. 1902) Hardy writes: "The unexpected vicissitudes of the firm, owing to which it befalls that my publisher here has become only a subordinate member of a New York house, make it necessary--from obvious considerations of convenience--that I transfer the English edition of the books to a publisher whose headquarters are London." (Letter in DCM.)

edition of Hardy's novels, and for this--the Wessex Edition--Hardy substantially revised his prose fiction for the last time. The Mayor, with a photogravure frontispiece entitled "Looking up the High Street of Casterbridge," was issued as Volume V of the Edition in June 1912. Harpers of New York, who had imported plates from Macmillans, published twenty-one volumes (The Mayor included) of the Wessex Edition in 1915, calling it the Autograph Edition.¹

For the definitive text of The Mayor, Hardy supplied over 140 alterations, slightly revised the 1895 preface, and added several footnotes containing historical information. These revisions, which range over forty-two chapters, continue the major trends apparent in the preparation for the Osgood text, though they are by no means as significant.

f. Mellstock edition

In 1919-20 Macmillan published an édition de luxe of Hardy's work. The Mellstock Edition, as it was called, was limited to 500 copies, and according to Purdy, is of "little textual importance."² The edition, for which Hardy

¹ Purdy, p. 286.

² Except for Blue Eyes, the Mellstock text of which contains a number of topographical changes. See Purdy, pp. 12-13.

submitted "five pages of corrections and additions" in June 1919, was printed from the plates of the Wessex Edition,¹ The Mayor being issued as Volumes IX and X in 1920. Collation of the 1912 and 1920 texts reveals twenty-two variants, and of the five which are substantive, only three appear to be authoritative.²

Subsequent texts of The Mayor published by Macmillan are based on the definitive text of 1912 and they include: the Library edition, first published in 1950, renamed Greenwood edition in 1964, and last reprinted in 1968; the Pocket edition, first published in 1906, reset in 1950, and last reprinted in 1961; and the Paperback edition, first issued in St. Martin's Library in 1958, reprinted in Pocket Papermacs in 1965, and last reprinted in 1969. These sub-editions of the Wessex text incorporate most, though not all, of the revisions supplied for the Mellstock edition of 1920.

As the above summary has tried to suggest, the textual development of The Mayor from MS. to definitive edition presents a long and complex history. When Hardy began

¹ Purdy, p. 288.

² The slight revisions supplied for Vols. IX and X of the Mellstock Edition, and the variant readings between Mellstock and subsequent impressions of the Wessex text are included in Appendix II below.

writing the novel he was in his forty-fourth year and nearing the climax of his career as a novelist; when he made the final revisions on the text, he was nearly seventy-two, and, having abandoned fiction-writing as a career, had turned his attention exclusively to the writing of poetry.

The history of The Mayor, then, spans twenty-eight years, and the number of evolutionary stages for textual examination is substantial. They may be summarized as follows: first, the two stages of radical development, consisting of the cancellations and additions within the MS. itself, and the rewriting of the serial text for the first edition; of slightly less importance but still showing considerable development are the revisions made for the uniform text in 1895; less significant alterations are those made on the proof-sheets submitted to Harpers in 1885, and those for the definitive edition of 1912; finally, of minimal importance are the changes between the serial texts of Harper's Weekly and the Graphic.

A textual study which has at its disposal the quantity of material offered by The Mayor should, it is hoped, reveal something of the novelist's conception of his novel and, in a more general sense, throw light on his creative method.

CHAPTER II

THE MANUSCRIPT

a. Physical Composition

The MS. of The Mayor, bound in three-quarters dark green morocco, was presented to the Dorset County Museum in November 1911 when Hardy, through the supervision of Sir Sydney Cockerell, was distributing his MSS. among various public collections. Captain J. E. Acland, the curator of the Museum, had expressed a wish to have one of Hardy's MSS.,¹ and in a letter dated 10 November 1911, Hardy, with characteristic modesty, wrote to Acland: "I am honoured by your wish to have one of my manuscripts for the Museum. I have not quite liked to offer what might not be worth offering to anybody, and I have valued them so little in the past that I have lost many. It is my friends mainly who are now responsible for presenting one here and there. As 'The Mayor of Casterbridge' is so very local I have kept that one back, and shall be pleased to hand it over to the Museum...."²

¹ Life, p. 357.

² Letter in DCM.

The MS. of the novel is now only partly complete. It is written on 374 sheets of ruled paper measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ " x $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". The sheets are numbered 1-479 in Hardy's hand, but five are fragmentary (ff. 97, 106, 215, 319, 396); 108 are missing altogether; and there are three supplementary sheets (ff. ³113a, 116a-b) not included in the foliation. The missing leaves are generally in sequences of two to eight, although a number of scattered leaves are also absent. The missing leaves occur most frequently in the first twelve chapters of the novel. Only eleven lines of Chapter ii survive, and Chapter vi is entirely absent. Of the novel's forty-five chapters, eighteen only are complete. Excluding ff. 97 and 319 which have obviously been torn unintentionally, the presence of several fragmentary leaves is presumably explained by Hardy's practice of cutting away cancelled material.¹

Although offered as printers' copy,² the MS. has many deletions, interlinear substitutions, and interpolations,

¹ Purdy (p. 88) refers to this procedure in connection with Jude.

² The use of the MS. by the Graphic printers is indicated by the presence of pencilled square brackets and by the signatures "Alb," "Hickman," "Fred," and others (evidently those of the compositors), which occur at regular intervals throughout the text. (See, e.g., ff. 4, 164, 182.)

and there^{are} additions on the verso of thirty-eight leaves. There is, moreover, a marked disparity in the distribution of revisions throughout the text; for while a large area of the MS. may be classed as fair copy, other portions present the text in various stages of development.

With admitted simplification, these stages can be divided into three sections:

- i) ff. 1-225 (Chs. i-xxii).
- ii) ff. 226-418 (Chs. xxiii-xl).
- iii) ff. 419-479 (Chs. xli-xlv).

The first and last sections generally contain the most heavily revised areas of the MS., while the intermediate section presents the least revised portion of the text.

While the paper on which the MS. is written is of the same type throughout--a ruled page of twenty-one lines--examination of the physical state of the leaves reveals that two quite separate stocks of the same type of paper were used during the course of composition. The paper in one stock (Stock A) is of poorer quality and condition than that in the other stock: the leaves are generally more soiled, and many are foxed and damp-stained. The paper in this stock is azure in colour and the faint lines are pale blue and clearly defined. In the second stock

(Stock B) the paper is of superior quality: the leaves are thicker in texture and whiter in colour, with faint lines generally less conspicuous than those in the first stock. The paper in Stock B is almost invariably in better condition, the leaves much less soiled, and showing only occasional foxing and damp-staining.

Now a general correspondence is evident between the discrepancy in paper-stock and the division of the MS. text into areas distinguished by their density of revision. The greater part of Sections I and III (the areas of heaviest revision) are written on leaves from Stock A, while that of Section II (the area of least revision) is written on leaves from Stock B. There are, however, notable exceptions in the first half of the MS. which suggest a correlation not only between paper-stock and stage of composition, but also between paper-stock and period of composition. For in Section I, Chapter xii (ff. 110-116a) contains paper from both stocks; and an inspection of the revisions here reveals that the chapter has been partly rewritten, and that the material on leaves belonging to paper-stock B (namely, ff. 110, 111, 113, 116, 116a) appears to have been written well after the first half of the story (that is, during the composition of Section II

of the MS.). In Section II itself, ff. 214-215 are written on paper from Stock A and appear from the revision they contain to be survivals from a previously discarded chapter. Further evidence for the correlation (in the first half of the text) between paper-stock and period of composition is to be found in the surviving traces, through a minor portion of the text, of a cancelled system of foliation--a feature discussed later in this chapter.

One other preliminary factor to be considered in any textual study of Hardy's work is the similarity between Hardy's handwriting and that of his first wife Emma.¹ The differences between the two scripts are small enough almost to escape notice at a precursory reading. It is well known that Emma often acted as transcriber for the fair copies of her husband's MSS. (large sections of the Native and the Woodlanders, for instance, appear in her hand), and it has been suggested that Emma, who herself entertained literary aspirations, may possibly have entered

¹ This problem is mentioned (with use of inadequate criteria for distinguishing the scripts) in Weber's article "The Manuscript of Hardy's Two on a Tower," PBSA, XL (1946), 1-21, and more satisfactorily, by Dale Kramer in "A Query Concerning Handwriting in Hardy's Manuscripts," PBSA, LVII (1963), 357-360.

on her husband's MSS., not only his revisions, but her own as well.¹ While this conjecture is of course impossible to prove, the extent of Emma's contribution at least deserves consideration.

Fortunately the MS. of The Mayor appears to be almost entirely in Hardy's hand.² The script of the interlinear elements of the text is slightly more difficult to identify, since Hardy's style of writing in this area tends to differ somewhat from his usual hand. Assuming, however, that Emma was simply transcribing and not creating revisions, the identification of the handwriting is not of great importance.

b. Evidence for assessing fairness of copy and stage of composition

The absence of material earlier than the present MS. of The Mayor makes it impossible to establish with any confidence the closeness of the roughest drafts in the MS. to the period of inception. Unlike Dickens, George Eliot, and Joyce, who left in note-form tentative plans of the

¹ Kramer, "A Query Concerning Handwriting," p. 358.

² The only exceptions I have noted are those found in the cancelled writing on the verso of ff. 112, 116a, 172, 335, 413 (1st 1½ lines); in the surviving fragment of the first line of f. 349, and the folio number and first line of ff. 94 and 331, all of which appear to be in Emma Hardy's hand. A photocopy sample of Emma's handwriting appears overleaf.

structure of certain of their novels (thus offering valuable information on their methods of composition),¹ Hardy almost invariably destroyed the first experimental plans of his work, and hence the earliest surviving drafts of his novels are usually the MSS. offered to the printers. However the limited evidence that is available of Hardy's earliest working plans suggests that the apparently tentative nature of many of the heavily altered or cancelled passages in the MS. must undoubtedly have been preceded by much preparatory work.

The source of this evidence is twofold: first, the MS. of the sketches "A Few Crusted Characters,"² which Hardy entitled "Wessex Folk" and described as a "First Rough Draft," and second, two surviving fragments of the "First Draft" of Madding Crowd (now in the Dorset County Museum). According to Purdy, the "Wessex Folk" MS. is "a very rough hurried first draft (in places hardly more than notes)" and it has "notes and alterations on the verso of many

¹ See John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson, Dickens at Work (London, 1957), Jerome Beaty, Middlemarch from Notebook to Novel (Urbana, 1960), and A. Walton Litz, The Art of James Joyce (New York, 1964).

² The sketches form one of a collection of nine stories first published in book-form by Osgood, McIlvaine in 1894, under the title Life's Little Ironies. The MS. is now in the Bliss collection.

leaves and at the end a good many trial names."¹ The surviving leaves of the first draft of Madding Crowd, while showing Hardy's work at a more advanced stage of composition than the "Wessex Folk" MS., nevertheless displays the same features of experiment and denotation suggested in Purdy's description. The second of the two fragments forms part of an unnumbered chapter² to which Hardy later supplied the note "Details of sheep-rot--omitted from MS. when revised." This fragment is composed of eleven leaves (numbered 106a-k) of heavily revised material. The tentative nature of the writing, evident throughout, is seen in the placing of queries after words: The ~~fattin~~g wethers (?) about to be fatted had no bell. (f. 106h)₃

¹ Purdy, p. 84.

² Although the chapter was later cancelled, elements of a descriptive passage on f. 106f were incorporated into the description of the Hollow in ch. xliv of the familiar text of Madding Crowd. The fragment is headed simply "Chapter," a factor which, together with the surviving lines of material (later cancelled) on ff. 106 and 155^v of The Mayor MS., headed by a similarly unspecified "Chapter," suggests that Hardy's practice was to number his chapters some considerable time after composition.

³ In quotation from the Hardy MSS. discussed in this chapter the following method will be used: deletions will be placed within angular brackets (< >), and where the reading of a cancellation is doubtful, the word in question will be followed by a query enclosed in square brackets ([?]); where illegible, it will be replaced by a blank (——); interlinear additions which represent the final form of the

and in the offer of several alternatives for a descriptive adjective:

steaming
the fulsome firmament above
noxious
vapoury (f. 106e)

Of greater interest still is the fragmentary sentence on f. 106f, completion of which is indicated by suspension points and a brief note (simply a phrase from Hamlet)¹ incorporating the idea to be expanded:

the presence of the fiery mist was caused by the effect of the hot sun's rays upon the swamp that afternoon ... "god kissing carrion" etc. its colour, of course, by the reflection and refraction of the sun's rays. † (f. 106f)

The addendum to this note (indicated at the end of the sentence by the mark †) appears on the verso of f. 106e, and consists of a partially constructed sentence comprising only those aspects of the description salient in the author's mind; namely, the unpleasing anthropomorphic features of the objects described--a characteristic

MS. text will be underlined in red. All wording, spelling, and interior punctuation will correspond with the original, even where unconventional (e.g., Hardy frequently omitted quotation marks enclosing dialogue). In quotations which contain corrections not pertinent to the argument (esp. name-changes and minor syntactical revision), the final MS. form will be given.

¹ Taken from II.ii. 181. All references to Shakespeare's plays in this thesis are to the Arden Edition.

element in Hardy's handling of natural scenery. Blanks are left for material as yet unformulated:

desc. these fungi thus. Then there was the —— with its bloody skin and —— spotsThere was also (f. 106e)

Immediately above this note further details of the fungi (written in pencil and later erased) have been added:

"clammy tops, crowns, oozing gills--splotches red as arterial blood." The fragment contains many similar pencillings, a method of composition which Hardy confined not only to early draft, for there are frequent traces throughout the Mayor MS. of interlinear pencillings, usually comprising words or phrases later overwritten in ink.

Indeed the remaining traces of a now erased pencilled note in Chapter xii of the MS. presents the single instance of revision in The Mayor to show the incompleteness of the working draft. This occurs between lines 12 and 13 on f. 114, where Hardy has added a summary of material to be expanded: Henchard has just told Farfrae of his recent involvement with Lucetta, and the note suggests that he is to set the seal on the episode with an emphatic, if melodramatic, gesture, for the erasure reads:

there' is an end of her and here goes her picture.
Burns it flame creeps up face etc.

The incident, however, does not appear in the final form of the MS., either because Hardy may not after all have expanded the note, or because he omitted it when reworking the chapter, most of which was rewritten before the completion of the MS. With this one exception, virtually no material in the Mayor MS. presents Hardy's work at so preliminary a stage as that of the first draft of Madding Crowd.

While the MS. of The Mayor presents a far from homogeneous text--that is to say, a study of its revisions reveals several different phases in the composition of the novel--Hardy's particular methods of revision frequently make it difficult to distinguish between fair copy and earlier draft. There are of course numerous leaves on which fair copy is readily detected: the relative absence of revision on ff. 212, 261, and 269, for instance, together with factors of line-spacing (as on ff. 42 and 120) and foliation (f. 116a) suggests that rewriting has taken place. Yet if absence of revision implies fair copy, the very frequency with which Hardy reviewed his material makes density of revision an unreliable criterion for assessing the stage of composition. There are numerous leaves in the MS. which, if intended as fair copy, are yet difficult

to detect as such, from the extent of later emendation, as well as from changes made during the act of copying.

This point is of particular relevance to those areas of the text which generally receive the greatest amount of revision; namely, dialogue (that of rustic characters in particular) and passages of description. The text of many such passages, while sufficiently polished to have originally represented fair copy (prior, that is, to revision), nevertheless contains several layers of emendation, as for example, ff. 49, 73, 174,¹ 371, 445, and 473. Hardy appears then to have rewritten pages of fair copy only when the extent of subsequent revision made this imperative.

Evidence that Hardy subjected his work to revision immediately after and sometimes during the act of composition (or perhaps more accurately, during the act of copying) is provided by the cancelled material on the verso of a number of sheets which contain the discarded beginnings of several leaves.² Hardy's practice seems to have been to invert and use as fair copy the verso of a previously discarded leaf if the cancelled material did extend beyond nine or ten lines. Several of these pages

¹ A facsimile of f. 174 is reproduced overleaf.

² Viz. the verso of ff. 112, 116a, 128, 155, 172, 244, 261, 327, 335, 384, 413, and 454.

174
 for weights - two for my right eye & two for my left," she said.
 And when you've used 'em, & my eyes don't open no more, bury
 the pennies, good souls, & don't ye go spending 'em, ^{for I should} ~~but~~ ~~be on~~
 n't like it. ~~passances for some poor laminger.~~ And open the windows as soon
 as I am carried out, & make it as cheerful as you can for my
 Elizabeth Jane."

"Ah, poor heart!"

"Well, & Martha did it, & buried the ounce pennies in the garden;
 But ~~if~~ ^{how} ye'll believe words, that man Christopher Conroy went & dug 'em
 up, & spent 'em at the King o' P^{us} Provision - ^{he said} "Hail's ^{dear} ~~dear~~ ~~to~~ ~~not~~ ~~a~~ ~~good~~
 deprivin' life of fourpence? He's not of such
 a good report that we should honour him to that extent," says he."
 "It was a cannibal deed," ^{shaking their heads} ~~deprecatin' her hastiness.~~

"Gad, then, I don't quite ^{won't} ~~has~~ it," said Solomon Longways. "I say
 it to-day, & tis a Sunday morning, & I would not ~~both~~ ^{be}. I don't see
 harm in it. Pray we all ^{the} ~~handfuls~~ ^{of} one mixture, be dead & be
 living? Why, folks go to dust, & they grow & grow up in the shape
 o' ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~such~~ ^{such} like, & climb the church tower that they climbed in
 the flesh, & so there's no such terrible difference. Why should
 death deprivin' life of fourpence? I say ^{was} ~~there's~~ ^{no} ~~treason~~ ⁱⁿ ~~it~~."

"Well, poor soul; she's helpless to hinder that or anything now," ^{annexed} ~~and~~ ^{all}
^{shining} ~~her~~ ^{keys} ~~will~~ ^{be} ~~look~~ ^{from} ~~her~~ ^{eyes}, & her ^{eyes} ~~eyes~~ ^{opened}, & things
 'a didn't wish seen, anybody ^{will} ~~can~~ ^{see}; & her ^{little} ~~eyes~~ ^{eyes} ~~will~~ ^{all} ~~be~~ ^{nothing}!"

The closing page of Chapter xviii of the Mayor MS.
 A typical example of Hardy's careful revision of
 passages of rustic dialogue

contain corrections even when the material extends to no more than a sentence in length. Three illustrations of this practice may be cited:

"Then the romance of the sower is gone for ever," s^d 243

"Yes--yes....It must be so!" ^{Donald returned} <Farfrae murmured>, his gaze fixing itself <going> far away, and his mind following as usual. (MS, 244^v)

They sat ^{stiffly} in a <stiff> row, like the people in certain early 260
devotional paintings, Lucetta ^{being} opposite them. (MS, 261^v)

People thus ^{waited and} watched the far-off London highway, to the 383
ringing of bells, till a man stationed at the turn of
the road was seen to give a signal. (MS, 384^v)

While it would be a gross simplification to suggest that the corrections in a heavily revised MS. like The Mayor could be divided into discrete chronological units, the interlinear position, style of writing, pen-thickness, and ink-colour in which many of the changes are made do, however, make it possible to detect what appear to be specific groups of revision. In particular two separate groupings may be distinguished: first, those revisions written with a very fine-nibbed pen and in black ink (the colour used throughout the MS.); second, those revisions

written in a greyish purple ink and with a pen-thickness similar to that used throughout the MS.

These revision groupings are worth noting, not only for the information they yield on the probable stage of composition at which certain amendments were made, but also for the illustration they afford of the frequency and thoroughness of Hardy's revision; for their distribution in the text suggests that Hardy reviewed his material after completing about two-thirds of the novel, as well as subjecting it to a more extensive revision after completion of the entire work.

The fine pen revisions register numerous kinds of change, both stylistic and substantive, as well as a number of name-changes, in particular, the amendment of the Scotsman's surname from the earlier "Stansbie" to the final form "Farfrae." Moreover, several additions on leaf verso are written in fine pen.¹ The revisions in grey ink in Section I most frequently register the name-changes "Alan" to "Donald" (for the Scotsman), and "Giles" to "James" (earlier forms of Henchard's first name), whereas in Section II they register various kinds of change. Both

¹ Viz. the verso of ff. 46, 81, 456.

groups of revision represent a fairly late stage in the novel's composition, since many from each group are in fact corrections of already revised material:

He's homespun
A simple ~~old~~ man ...

'Tis barren ignorance that leads to such words. ^ A never
was fit for good company ... (MS, 76)

[fine-pen revision underlined in red]

the square ~~cloth~~ of hedged fields (MS, 269)
tables
surfaces

[grey ink revision underlined in red]

When a number of revisions from one or other of these groups appear regularly over a stretch of text, it would seem reasonable to assume that they form a series of revisions entered over one specific period. Yet there is evidence to suggest that these revision groupings can be subdivided: while certain of the revisions in fine pen have clearly been made before Chapter xlii at the latest, other revisions in a similar pen have obviously been entered after completion of the novel. Evidence for this appears in the series of changes made for the names of Henchard and Farfrae. Henchard's first name is recorded as "Giles" until Chapter xlii where it then appears as "James," remaining in that form for the rest of the MS. Thus all fine pen revisions in the final section of the MS. amending "James" to "Michael" must have been entered after

completion of the novel. The Scotsman's surname appears as "Stansbie" until Chapter xxiii¹ where it is then recorded as "Farfrae." Now in an addition on the verso of f. 160, the unrevised "Farfrae" appears with "G. Henchard," a concurrence which indicates, then, that a further group of fine pen revisions (namely those including the alteration "Farfrae") must have been entered during the period of the earliest phase of Henchard's first name: that is, before Chapter xlii.

When supported by factors of foliation and revision, evidence of name-change can prove a valuable criterion in identifying different phases of the MS.'s history, and in this connection one series of changes in particular may be mentioned. These concern the revisions made in the naming of Donald Farfrae.

It would appear that the Scotsman was first called "Alan Stansbie," later "Alan Farfrae," and finally "Donald Farfrae." This order of change is suggested, though not conclusively so, on the one hand by the presence, on several leaves, of the unrevised "Alan" with the amendment "Farfrae," and on the other hand by the

¹ Exceptions to this are discussed on ff. 54-56 below.

appearance of the revision "Donald" in an ink colouring used for the series of alterations which seem to post-date those of the "Farfrae" group. With the exception of six leaves, the name "Alan Stansbie" together with the interlinear substitutions "Donald" and "Farfrae" appears throughout the text until Chapter xxiii (f. 233) where for the first time the name "Donald Farfrae" appears unrevised, and is maintained in that form for the rest of the text.

Exceptions to the appearance of the Scotsman's name as "Alan Stansbie" in leaves prior to Chapter xxiii are to be found on three scattered leaves between Chapters viii and ix. and on three leaves in Chapter xii, where the name appears unrevised in its final form. Its presence on ff. 110, 113, and 116 in Chapter xii is easily explained, since the foliation, paper-stock, and series of alterations suggest that the leaves in question were written at a later date than the rest of the chapter.¹ The appearance, unrevised, of the final form of the surname between Chapters viii and ix presents a greater difficulty. Chapter vi, in which the Scotsman is first introduced into the

¹ Evidence for this assumption is discussed in the following section of the chapter. See ff. 68-69 below.

novel, is entirely absent from the MS.; mention of him simply as "the Scotch gentleman" (f. 61), or as "the young Scotchman" (f. 64), occurs in Chapter vii; and he makes his first appearance in Chapter viii, where his name is recorded as "Alan" (f. 72). His surname first occurs on f. 73, then on ff. 77 and 81, and on all three occasions the name appears unrevised as "Farfrae." These represent the only occurrences of the surname until f. 95 where it is recorded as "Stansbie," remaining in that form (ch. xii excepted) until Chapter xxiii.

The appearance of the surname in its final form at this stage in the text would seem, initially, to suggest either that "Farfrae" was the name that Hardy first thought of, later discarded, and finally returned to halfway through the MS., or that the pages on which the name appears were written at a later date than the surrounding leaves. Yet nothing in the foliation, paper stock, or other revisions indicates later composition; and while the possibility of a return to a previously discarded name presents a more likely alternative, the very physical appearance of the name on ff. 73, 77, and 81 makes this doubtful. On all three leaves the name has been written with a fine nibbed pen, conspicuously different from the surrounding writing, and corresponding to the series of

revisions in a similar fine writing made at a later stage of the novel's composition.

There seem to be two possible explanations: either that Hardy was unable to decide on a suitable surname at this stage of composition and simply left a blank space which he filled in on subsequent revision, or alternatively, that a surname was entered tentatively in pencil and later erased when the name "Farfrae" had been finally established. The suggestion of tentative pencilling is strengthened by the presence, mentioned earlier, of occasional traces throughout the MS. of portions of the text which first appear in pencil and are later overwritten in ink. Erasure of a previous entry in ink is not likely, since there is no indication that the surface of the paper has been disturbed--a feature present elsewhere in the MS. where erasure of writing in ink has been made.¹

e.g., the following words, which have been written over a previous erasure: "trusser," "hay trusser" (f. 17), "browsing" (f. 130), "a very fugue of sounds" (f. 428). It seems worth mentioning at this point that the original name of the Scotsman ("Stansbie") and that of the Mayor himself ("Giles Henchard") both appear to have been drawn from John Hutchins' The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, 3rd edn., 4 vols. (London, 1861-75)---a work with which Hardy was thoroughly acquainted, and a copy of which he kept in his library. The point may be illustrated as follows:

i) The name Stansbie seems to have been derived from that of a prominent figure in the civic history of 17th century Dorchester. Included in a list of civic offices held in

c. Discrepancy between system of foliation and order of composition

i) Chapters i-x

The first ten chapters of the MS. contain leaves from the earliest traceable phase of the novel's history. None of these chapters are complete, most are fragmentary, and one is missing altogether. The surviving leaves of Chapter i contain some of the heaviest revision in the MS., and an inspection of the cancellations on these sheets reveals not only the existence of an earlier text embedded in the first twenty leaves of the MS., but also a marked discrepancy between the system of the foliation of the

the town of Dorchester and recorded in Vol. II of the History, the name Philip Stansbie appears on three occasions: twice as bailiff for the years 1650 and 1660, and, of greater interest, as Mayor for the year 1657 (Hutchins, II, 353-354).

ii) The name Henchard may well have been derived from that of Trenchard, an ancient and important family in the history of Dorset. A detailed history of this family appears in the section on the parish of Litchet Maltravers (Hutchins, III). The first name Giles (Henchard's original name) is featured several times on the Trenchard family pedigree, and the suggested link between the two surnames is considerably strengthened when we learn from the Eistory that the origin of the name Trenchard is reputedly that of the "Dano-Norman Dreng-hard or Drenc-hard, i.e. Strenuus Miles, vel Potator" (Hutchins, III, 325). Hardy's familiarity with both the name and its derivation is apparent in the naming of another of his characters; in "The Lady Penelope" (a short story written two or three years after The Mayor, and first printed in Longman's Magazine, Jan. 1890), the pedigree of the heroine's first husband is based on that of Sir George Trenchard, the actual name appearing in its earlier form (i.e. Drenghard), and the origin of which Hardy explains by quoting the Latin tag supplied by Hutchins.

leaves and the order of their composition. While the plot was subjected to a major reorganization before the first leaves of the present MS. were written, sheets from an earlier phase of the novel's history have been retained and adapted to fit the later conception. While the existence of this earlier text is most apparent in Chapter i, the salvaging and subsequent adaptation of leaves from an earlier text results in the presence, until well into the twenty-second chapter of the MS., of traces of an earlier draft of the novel.

The surviving traces of the earlier text suggest that a fundamental reappraisal of the relationships between the major characters occurred shortly after composition began, while the remnants of the earlier plot suggest a development divergent from that of the definitive version. The main features of the earlier text, however, are not in evidence until f. 14 of the MS. The first five leaves present the Henchard family situation as it appears in the definitive form--that of a young couple with their only child. The most significant revisions in these opening leaves concern the husband's trade, for deletions indicate that Henchard was first depicted as a mechanic:

At his back he carried by a looped strap a rush basket
 from which protruded at one end the crutch of a hay-knife,
 of tools, and from a little side pocket down his thigh
 a wimble for hay bonds being also visible in the aperture
 gleamed the brass joint of a two-foot rule (MS, 2)

His ...walk was the walk of the ~~mechanic~~ ^{skilled countryman} ... (MS, 2)

"Any trade doing here?" he asked "Anything in the
 hay trussing
 building line?" (MS, 5)

Not until ff. 14-20 do the cancellations reveal that
 the "mechanic" of the opening leaves is itself a replace-
 ment of earlier attempts at representing the protagonist's
 craft. Inspection of the revisions here indicates that
 ff. 14-20 antedate ff. 1-5 and are survivals from an
 earlier phase of the novel's composition. Originally
 numbered 12-18, the figures have been altered to read
 14-20 to fit the reorganized opening of the chapter.
 Deletions made over Henchard's trade are much heavier than
 before and reveal that he was first visualized as a wood-
 man, and then more specifically, as a sawyer. "Woodman"
 has in several places been altered to "workman," but there
 are other instances of more elaborate revision:

"Set it higher, auctioneer," said the ~~woodman~~ ^{stone mason} ~~sawyer~~
~~trusser~~ (MS, 15)

"...the bargain's complete," said the ~~woodman~~ ^{trusser}
~~stone mason~~ (MS, 17)

Traces of the earlier plot are now apparent, and they reveal that the Henchard family was originally composed not of one daughter but of two; while Susan, on being sold to the sailor, was to take one child with her, the second remaining with the husband:

"...She shall take one of the girls, ^{if she wants to,} her favourite one,
and go her ways. I'll take ^{my tools} ~~mine~~ and go my ways...." (MS, 14)

"... 'Twill be better for me and the child both.
~~Take care of the girl. I'll take care of this one~~ (MS, 17)

Seizing the sailor's arm ^{with her right hand, and} ~~and dragging on the smaller girl~~
mounting the little girl on her left
^ she went out. (MS, 17)

Moreover, Henchard and his wife were originally conceived as older than they appear in the present text. They had been married for five years, with one daughter at least old enough to offer her mother advice:

~~"Don't mother!" whispered the girl who sat on the woman's side. "Father don't know what he's saying."~~ (MS, 14)

while Susan tells her husband:

"I've lived with thee ^{a couple of} ~~five~~ years ..." (MS, 17)

While all references to a single child on ff. 14-20 form interlinear additions which frequently replace previous references to two children:

provided she can have the child
 "...she is willing to go." (MS, 17)

she shall have the child and
 "Very well--then the bargain's complete." said the trusser. (MS, 17)

The sailor looked at the woman, and smiled. "Come along!"
kindly. "The little one too--the more the merrier!"
 he said. She paused for an instant, with a close glance
took up the child and
 at him. Then dropping her eyes again ... she followed him ... (MS, 17)

"... 'Twill be better for me and the child both,
 <Take care of the girl. I'll take care of this one>" (MS, 17)¹

no such replacement is necessary in the opening leaves
 of the MS:

...a young man and woman, the latter carrying a child,
 were approaching the large village of Weydon-Priors on foot. (MS, 1)

...the woman walked the highway alone, save for the
 child she bore. (MS, 3)

If any word at all was uttered by the little group it
 was an occasional whisper of the woman to the child--a
 little girl in short clothes and blue boots of knitted yarn ... (MS, 3)

All but the first eleven lines of Chapter ii are missing,
 and the surviving fragment breaks off at a critical point
 in the development of the plot. Henchard has just woken
 the morning after selling his wife, and the page ends with

¹ A facsimile of f. 17 of the MS. appears overleaf.

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resentment rising at her suggestion. "I take the money; the sailor takes you. That's plain enough." ^{It has been done elsewhere} ~~but Jimmy Clay got his wife, didn't he, for thirty shillings? And was it done at Southampton the year before last? And why not here?~~

"'Tis quite on the ^{Handly} understandy that the young woman is willing, said the sailor. "I would not hurt her feelings for the world."

"Nor I," said her husband. "But she is willing ^{provided she can have the child.} She said so only the other day when I talked o't."

"That you mean?" said the sailor to her.

"I do," said she, after glancing at her husband's ^{face} ~~face~~ ^{and seeing no repentance} ~~face~~ ^{trusser} ~~face~~.

"Very well," ~~then~~ ^{the bargain's complete.} said the ~~trusser~~ ~~trusser~~.

He took the sailor's note & deliberately folded it, & with the shillings put it in a high remote pocket with an air of finality.

The sailor looked at the woman, & smiled. "Come along," he ^{kindly} ~~said~~ ^{the little one too - the more the merrier!} ~~said~~ ^{She paused for an instant, with a close glance at him -} ~~said~~ ^{then dropping her eyes again, & saying nothing, she followed him as he made towards the door. On reaching it she turned, & pulling off her wedding ring flung it across the room in the ~~trusser's~~ ^{trusser's} ~~face~~ ^{face}.}

"~~Oh!~~" she said, "I've lived with thee ^{a couple of} ~~for~~ years & had nothing but temper. Now I'm no more to you; I'll try my luck elsewhere ^{as I will be better for me & the child both.} ~~So good-bye.~~"

Saying the sailor's arm ^{with his right hand, & moulding the hole just on his left} ~~she went out~~ ^{of the tent, sobbing bitterly, & apparently without a thought that she was not strictly bound to go with the man who had paid for her}.

A page from Chapter i of the Mayor MS. The fairly heavy revision reveals traces of an earlier phase of the plot, including evidence of the two children originally ascribed to the Henchard family (ll. 20, 21), and the alteration of the husband's trade from "woodman," "sawyer," and "stone-mason," to "hay trusser" (ll. 10, 17). The cancelled number in the top right-hand corner indicates an earlier system of foliation

the now cancelled lines:

...a rustling on his left hand caused him to turn. The girl on the bench was just opening her eyes. He rose
(MS, 20)

At this point in the MS. further revelation of the course of the original plot is precluded by the sequence of missing leaves (ff. 21-28), and with the next grouping of leaves, the plot appears to have reached the stage of development apparent in the opening leaves. The instability of the author's notion of Henchard's craft is now less evident, for Elizabeth Jane asks her mother:

"He was a hay trusser ~~stone mason~~, wasn't he, when you last heard of him?
(MS, 29)

In the absence of appropriate reference within the text, however, one cannot assert with complete confidence that Hardy had at this stage dispensed with the idea of two daughters, since it is quite possible that "woodman" may have been replaced by "stone mason" (ff. 15, 17, 19) before the cancellation of the opening of Chapter i of the earlier text. That is to say, it is not possible to state conclusively whether ff. 29-32 were written before or after ff. 1-5 of the present MS.

Further deletions in Chapters iv, v, and x indicate that Newson's role³ in the earlier text was not meant to extend beyond the first chapter. The sailor's death, which, in

anticipation of his reappearance later in the novel, is described rather vaguely in the final form of the MS., was originally made quite explicit:

The sailor was now ~~dead and buried~~ ^{lost to them}... (MS, 35)

Father ~~died~~ ^{was lost} last spring. (MS, 96)

This assumption is confirmed by further deletions which reveal that until f. 96 at least, the Henchard of the earlier text was the real father of the now adult Elizabeth:

~~Elizabeth Jane's father, and the elder woman's~~ ^{Susan Henchard's} husband, in law at least, sat there ... (MS, 45)

Elizabeth ~~s last view of him having been before her~~ ^{encumbered with no recollections as her} mother was ~~recollection~~... (MS, 45)

Elizabeth Jane now entered, and stood before ~~her father~~ ^{the master of the premises} (MS, 94)

"I was ~~thirteen~~ ^{twelve} when we came here from Canada." (MS, 96)

By such conversation he discovered the circumstances which had enveloped his wife and ^{her} child in ... total obscurity ... (MS, 96)

In the evolution of Henchard's trade from woodman, through mechanic, and finally to hay-trusser, the resemblance between the earliest and the last trade makes it

tempting to see in the final choice of hay-trusser a reversion to a craft which, in identifying the protagonist more closely with physical nature, provides a more fitting complement to the character of a man of elementary passions.¹ It is also tempting to see the changes made over Elizabeth's parentage and the expansion of the role of Newson serving the function not only of gratifying the reader's "love of the uncommon in human experience,"² but also of reinforcing the persistence of an ironic fate, or perhaps more accurately, of reinforcing the expression of character in terms of that fate, since it is largely through Henchard's manipulation of the truth of Elizabeth's parentage--one more instance of his playing with chance --that the tragic outcome of Newson's reappearance is determined.

However since all surviving traces of the earliest phase

¹ Hardy used both earlier versions of Henchard's trade for the occupations of central figures in two later novels: in the Woodlanders, published in 1887 (though according to the Life /p. 102/, originally conceived as early as 1874), George Melbury is a timber merchant, and Giles Winterbourne, though actually in the "apple and cider trade," is closely connected with the timber business through his association with Melbury; while the eponymous hero of Jude (1896) is a stone-mason.

² "The real, if unavowed, purpose of fiction is to give pleasure by gratifying the love of the uncommon in human experience, mental or corporeal." (Note made in July 1881 and included in the Life, p. 150.)

of the plot are confined to the opening chapters of the MS., and since the information offered on the likely direction of the plot is insufficient to establish with any certainty an affinity between the character and fate intended for the Henchard of the earlier version with that of the protagonist in the final MS. text, any attempt to assess the author's motives for reorganizing the plot must in the end be unprofitable.

ii) Chapters xii, xviii, and xxii.

Further traces of an earlier text appear with the introduction and development of the Henchard--Lucetta theme in Chapters xii, xviii, and xxii. Since these chapters present material drawn from different phases of the novel's history they are, not unexpectedly, written on sheets from two different paper stocks, with material from the earlier text heavily revised to comply with that of the later version.

The Henchard--Lucetta theme is first introduced in Chapter xii. In the final form of the MS. text this chapter contains a conversation between Henchard and Farfrae, in which the Mayor discloses past incidents in his life--the sale of his first wife and child more than twenty

years ago, and his recent marriage with Lucetta Le Sueur, undertaken in gratitude to her for having saved his life in an accident in Jersey. Lucetta is expected to arrive in Casterbridge the following evening; an event which Farfrae agrees to forestall by meeting her boat at Budmouth Harbour with a letter from Henchard explaining the unexpected return of the wife he believed dead, and the consequent annulment of his more recent marriage.

The chapter presents a fairly complex synthesis of material. Alterations reveal that the leaves in their final form were revised on no less than three different occasions, and hence the surviving pages, several of which have been renumbered, present a patchwork from two different paper stocks.

The opening leaves of the chapter are missing, and the last page (f. 106) before the sequence of missing leaves (ff. 107-109) has been cut just above the opening lines of what would have been Chapter xii (such cutting being indicative of the removal of cancelled material). The final numbering of the surviving leaves in this chapter is 110-116a, with 115 missing. All leaves before Chapter xii, and with three exceptions, the seventy-six leaves following, are written on paper from Stock A. Of the leaves in Chapter xii, two (112, 114) are from Stock A and the remainder (110, 111, 113, 116, 116a,), from Stock B.

Deletions and additions on the surviving leaves reveal several stages of composition, and the suggested order of their composition is : 112, 114, 110, 111, 113, 116, 116a. The evidence for assuming this order is offered as an illustration of the different layers of revision within the MS., and the consequent difficulty in assessing fair copy.

Folios 112 and 114 are survivals from an earlier phase of writing. These were originally consecutive leaves: 112 was previously numbered 113, and the now cancelled line at the end of the leaf is completed on 114:

...it turns out she is not your wife, the first (MS, 112)
being alive; so ye cannot see her ... (MS, 114)

Further, Farfrae's name appears as "Alan" on f. 112, which assigns it ^{to} the earlier period of composition, as the appearance of "Farfrae" unrevised on ff. 110, 113, and 116 assigns them to a later period.

At the second stage of composition the remaining leaves--110, 111, 113, 116, and 116a--were written. All occurrences of Farfrae's name appear on these leaves unrevised in its final form. Folio 110 has obviously been written after the leaves assigned to stage one, since it includes, or rather reiterates, Henchard's disclosure of of his first wife's return, information which also appears

on (the chronologically earlier) f. 112:

No wife or daughter could I hear of ...till this very day. And now--they have come back. (MS, 110)

This morning--this very morning ...my first wife, my real wife, returned to me. (MS, 112)

Folio 112 must by this time have been discarded, for ff. 111 and 113 were originally consecutive: 113 was previously numbered 112, and the now cancelled sentence at the foot of one leaf is completed at the top of the next:

No: somebody must meet her, and let her know all: so that she goes back by (MS, 111)

the same packet which returns at once. (MS, 113)

The last five lines of f. 113 are left blank, the leaf having been written to precede the already composed 114.

The third stage of composition includes the reintroduction of the presumably discarded f. 112, and the deletions and substitutions made on f. 111 to adapt the later written leaf to the earlier. The reason for resurrecting this leaf may well have been the author's wish to maintain the strict tone of propriety in Henchard's attitude towards his relationship with Lucetta, for the leaf contains a speech by Henchard in which full acceptance of his responsibility for the outcome of events, and a concern with the ethical aspects of his position, strike the predominant note:

"Now see what misery a man may lay up for himself! Even after that wrongdoing at the fair ... if I had never taken the second false step at Jersey, all might now be well. For don't you suppose I complain of losing the younger ... woman I last married: I do no such thing: I willingly bear all that ... but I complain of the trickery of things, whereby a perfectly fair course is made impossible. I must injure one of them, and it is the second. Honour where honour is due--my first duty is to Susan--there's no doubt about that." (MS, 112)

and further on:

But these two women--I feel I should like to treat them as honestly as a man can in such a case. (MS, 112)

The mark X at the beginning of the sentence "That account of my escape at Jersey I didn't quite complete," on f. 111, denotes a textual addition which has been written in pencil on the verso of f. 110. This recounts Henchard's accident in Jersey and subsequent rescue by Lucetta, and was presumably added when Hardy, on revising the amalgamated version, realized that the account of Henchard's escape existed by this time only on sheets either destroyed or containing inadaptable material.

While the deletions on the leaves in Chapter xii appear to be remnants of an earlier phase of the introduction of the Henchard-Lucetta motif, there are cancellations on sheets incorporated in two later chapters (namely, xviii and xxii) which appear to antedate the earliest traceable stages of composition present in Chapter xii. Like the earlier chapter, Chapters xviii and xxii show evidence of the adaptation of material from different phases of the

novel's composition.

A cancelled system of foliation at the top left hand corner of the leaf, beginning at f. 125 and, with several exceptions, extending through to f. 215, offers valuable evidence for identifying within this area of the MS. a still earlier phase of the Henchard-Lucetta theme. Of equal importance, the cancelled foliation confirms the assumption made earlier, that leaves from paper stock A (up to f. 215 at least) differ in date from those in Stock B; for the leaves from which the cancelled foliation is absent are without exception those drawn from Stock B. The correlation between the earlier system of foliation and that of the final MS. form is represented in the table overleaf:

<u>Leaves Missing</u> numbers refer to present foliation	<u>Earlier Foliation</u> top left hand corner	<u>Present Foliation</u> top right hand corner	<u>Paper Stock</u> 'A' unless otherwise stated	<u>Comments</u>
162-163	125-161	same		
	164-165	same		
	---	166		'B' written at a later date, hence no l.h. foliation
	166-170	167-171		
	170a	172		added later, but before l.h. foli- ation abandoned
	171-172	173-174		
175-180	179	181		

<u>Leaves Missing</u>	<u>Earlier Foliation</u>	<u>Present Foliation</u>	<u>Paper Stock</u>	<u>Comments</u>
	---	182	'B'	Written at a later date, hence no l.h. foliation
185	180-181	183-184		
187-188	183	186		
191-192	186-187	189-190		
195-197	190-191	193-194		
201-204	195-197	198-200		
	202-207	205-210		
	-----	211-212		
213	211-212	214-215		

'B'
 written at a later date, hence no l.h. foliation

The Henchard-Lucetta theme, introduced in the largely rewritten Chapter xii, is resumed in Chapter xviii (which begins on f. 165). Marks of alteration and adaptation are evident in the opening leaves of the chapter, and the suggested order of composition is: 165 (lines 1-15), 167, 165 (lines 16-20), 166.

Folio 165 is composed of portions of two separate leaves joined together. This is obviously not a once complete leaf torn and then mended, since the faint lines of the lower half (the last five lines of the leaf) differ in colour from those of the top half, though both are of the same paper stock. Moreover the cancelled system of foliation reveals that the following leaf (166) has been inserted at a later date, and that f. 167 originally followed f. 165 (top portion). Folio 165 has been cut shortly after the beginning of the reported content of Lucetta's letter to Henchard:

She said that she perceived full well how impossible it would be for any further communications to proceed between them, now that his re-marriage had taken place.
 <"But Giles," she> [cut] (MS, 165)

In the affixed lines and in the leaf following, which present the text of Lucetta's letter, the writer refers to "our ill-advised marriage" (165) and requests the return of letters written to Henchard "immediately after

being sent back to Jersey when I had come to join you" (166). This accords with the text presented in Chapter xii where even the earliest composed sheets of the chapter refer to Henchard's marriage with the woman from Jersey. Yet f. 167, which has many deletions and alterations, contains traces of a still earlier phase of the plot, revealing that the relationship between the two was originally conceived in terms conspicuously different from those in the final form of the MS. Whereas the strictest propriety in the relations between the two is observed in the text offered to the Graphic, the survival of the earlier text on f. 167 suggests that the relationship was originally a predominantly sexual one and that no marriage had taken place:

"Poor thing--six years of shilly-shallying with me--engagement as she calls it! Upon my heart and life, if ever I were left in a position to take another wife she ought in justice to be you--she ought to be you!"
(MS, 167)

while further correction in the same paragraph--

better ^{you} ~~she~~ had ^{saved} ~~seen~~ the devil ^{'s life than mine!} ~~than me~~ (MS, 167)

--suggests that the life-saving episode, which eventually leads to Henchard's marriage with Lucetta, belongs to a later stage in the reorganization of the sub-plot.

Further traces of the earlier text appear in Chapter xxii.

Opening on f. 211, the chapter is included in that area of the MS. written on leaves from paper stock B. Survivals from the earlier text are evident on ff. 214-215, both of which are drawn from paper-stock A, the latter half of f. 215 having been cut, presumably because the material it contained was no longer adaptable to the later text. Further traces of the sexual nature of Henchard's relationship with Lucetta are apparent:

She was in a very coming-on disposition; ^{for marriage} of that there could be no doubt. But what else could a poor woman be who had given ^{herself to him so unluckily at first} ~~the freshest years of her life to him?~~ (MS, 214)

The original tone of their relationship, which the re-writing noticeably suppresses, is nicely illustrated in the following alteration:

"The artful little ^{woman} ~~wench~~," he said smiling ... (MS, 214)

The rearrangement of material in chapters of the MS. dealing with the introduction and development of the Henchard-Lucetta theme points to a fundamental reorganization of this aspect of the plot some time after its original composition. It is not possible to decide at what stage in the MS.'s history this occurred, but cancellations on several scattered leaves suggest that the major revision of Chapter xii, where the Henchard-Lucetta

theme is first introduced, was probably not undertaken until well over half the novel was completed. The evidence for this assumption may be summarized as follows. In Chapter xii, it will be remembered, Farfrae agrees to meet Lucetta at Budmouth with the explanatory letter from Henchard:

No--somebody must meet her, and let her know all; so that she may go back by the packet which returns as soon as the other arrives....will you do me the good turn of going for me?

"Yes--I will," said Farfrae ... (MS, 112-113)

Now the verso of f. 112 carries several heavily cancelled lines which comprise material from the earliest traceable phase of the sub-plot, and suggests that the extent of Farfrae's participation in forestalling Lucetta's arrival was originally much smaller than it appears in the final MS. form. The deletions, which are in Emma Hardy's hand, are practically illegible, but the leaf seems originally to have been numbered 121 [?] and reads as follows:

In about forty minutes they were on the Quay in Budmouth Harbour. There was but a _____ here and the man who took down Miss Le Sueur's personal luggage neither _____suspected who had brought her. Henchard leaving her there. Henchard drove away and stabled his horse, after which he returned on foot to the Quay.

While the evidence here, as in the opening leaves of the MS., is too slight to make conjecture on the possible course of the earlier form of the plot a profitable task,

these lines seem to indicate that at one stage in the narrative Lucetta had in fact arrived from Jersey and was escorted from Casterbridge not by Farfrae, but by Henchard himself. The assumption is confirmed still further by deletions in Chapter xviii which suggest that Farfrae's assistance in the original form of Chapter xii corresponded fairly closely with the text of the first edition. For the cancelled fragment of Lucetta's letter on f. 167--

"which I poured out to you the sentiments of a soul as warm as ever lodged in woman's heart!" Especially send the one in which I wrote what I regret--if it is not destroyed."

--is followed by a parenthetical explanation:

(This referred to the letter on which he Henchard had consulted Stansbie.) (MS, 167)

while the following deletion appears later in the chapter:

Farfrae took the bundle of Lucetta's letters
 guessed ~~they~~ were the letters property of the lady Henchard had spoken of
become involved with
~~in their friendly days~~... (MS, 170)

The original conception of the Henchard-Lucetta relationship revealed in the fragments of the earlier text thus bears a marked similarity to the version of their relationship "rewritten" for the first edition in 1886, in which, it will be seen later, Hardy simplified the plot

by removing, among other elements, the ramification of Henchard's marriage with Lucetta. Nevertheless one feature of the original conception--the sexual element in the relationship--remained suppressed until the Osgood edition of 1895.

The absence of any historical evidence either from letters between Hardy and the editor of the Graphic or from information included in the Life, makes it impossible to identify with complete assurance the immediate cause of the changes in this area of the plot; the inducement however, was undoubtedly deference to the prudery of the magazine reading public. In the light of previous objections from family magazine editors to his candid treatment of relations between the sexes,¹ Hardy may have subjected his original story to close scrutiny and in

¹ In 1874 when Hardy was writing Madding Crowd for serialization in the Cornhill, Leslie Stephen wrote to him that the seduction of Fanny Robin would "require to be treated in a gingerly fashion," and asked Hardy to "excuse this wretched shred of concession to popular stupidity" Three years later when Hardy submitted portion of the MS. of the Native, Stephen refused to accept the story for the Cornhill without first seeing the entire novel, because "though he liked the opening, he feared that the relations between Eustacia, Wildeve, and Thomasin might develop into something 'dangerous' for a family magazine" Both letters are quoted in F. W. Maitland, Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen (London, 1906)--a work to which Hardy contributed material on Stephen as editor (pp. 270-278).

anticipation of difficulties ahead, have doctored the sexual element, on his own initiative. A more likely possibility is that the changes were made as a direct result of editorial pressure from the Graphic. The general appearance of the revisions on several leaves in Chapter xii suggests a hasty and at times rather perfunctory rearrangement of material. In particular, the pencilled addition on the verso of f. 100, though apparently a fairly rough draft,¹ nevertheless presents with very little alteration the text as it appeared in the Graphic. Certainly the general quality of the changes made here, as the next chapter should make clear, suggest the motive to have been one of expediency rather than of critical reappraisal.

¹ Cancellations within the line indicating changes made during the act of copying, viz.:

"For many years <I've been in the> it has been my custom to go to Jersey <every now and then> in the way of business." (MS, 110^v)

CHAPTER III

- a. PLOT
- b. CHARACTERIZATION OF HENCHARD, SUSAN, AND FARFRAE

I propose in the following five chapters to examine the textual development of The Mayor under a number of subject categories, and to discuss the revisions within each category in chronological order of composition. The sheer wealth of material provided by seven discrete phases of revision makes a clear presentation of the novel's evolution a formidable task, and it is hoped that the method chosen here will offer the least cumbersome means of examining the author's developing intentions.

The arrangement of material by subject rather than by a chronological ordering of the different phases of change is briefly explained. As indicated in Chapter I, a major feature of the textual history of The Mayor is that of the general continuity in type of revision between successive stages of composition. A purely chronological arrangement would seem as a result to have two disadvantages. First, such a method would preclude sequential study of the major patterns of development; and second, since the degree of revision generally diminishes with

each phase of rewriting, a strictly chronological study would entail a lengthy account of the two areas of radical change--the alterations in MS., and those made for the first edition--but would reduce the presentation of each ensuing phase largely to a catalogue of isolated examples of earlier trends; to a collection, in other words, of miscellaneous revisions accompanied by an inordinate degree of cross-reference.

The arrangement of material by subject presents its own difficulties, of course. For while the majority of revisions from initial to final text do seem to fall into general patterns of development, other groups of changes tend rather to occur in temporal clusters--an aspect of revision to which, it may be felt, arrangement by subject does not give sufficient attention; hence my attempt in Chapter I to outline as fully as practicable the distinctive features of each phase of composition.

A further difficulty concerns the appropriate placing of those revisions which do not fit neatly into the subject categories selected for examination. These include revisions which seem to require discussion under two or even more headings--and which, if oversimplification is to be avoided, will make a certain amount of cross-

reference between chapters inevitable. Also included here are a number of changes which seem out of place in any of the general subject areas; and since a separate chapter devoted to miscellaneous revisions of successive stages would not be practicable, rather than exclude such alterations completely, I have tended to place them in categories which, if less than apposite, seem to be the least inappropriate.

Three further points on the method chosen for examining the textual evolution of The Mayor should perhaps be made. First, owing to the abundance of material available, the discussion in the following chapters will be concerned with a selected number of substantive revisions only. I have however not ignored the revisions omitted from the discussion: where relevant these have been identified and briefly outlined, and I have tried not to exclude any revision which I consider to be of importance. Second, while the revisions included in the discussion have generally been assigned to discrete groups of changes--for such patterns seem to appear both within a single phase and through successive phases of composition--I have tried to resist the temptation of marshalling all revisions into orderly compartments. Recurrence in revision is, after all, not necessarily an indication of importance,

and it is evident at most stages of rewriting that a single instance of one type of change has often greater significance than repeated instances of another. Finally, a general point on the method of subject classification: although for convenience' sake I have isolated constituents of theme, plot, character, imagery, and so on, in examining the different aspects of Hardy's art, I am fully aware that such abstractions are essentially artificial. The notion that concept can ever be successfully detached from technique is unsound; and when stress is placed on the one at the expense of the other, the text is in danger of suffering distortion.

Mindful, then, of the limitations of creating these artificial categories, the first area of textual revision to be examined concerns the organization of plot and the portrayal of character. This may be considered a reasonable starting point, since it is chiefly through the shaping of physical event that character in The Mayor is examined, and chiefly through the creation of character itself that the author communicates his experience and his moral vision.

a. Plot

The fairly extensive degree of alteration carried out on the plot of The Mayor at MS. level is continued in

subsequent phases of revision, and the action of the novel undergoes significant change during the course of its published textual history. In common with Tess and Jude, the major changes in the plot of The Mayor occur between the serial and the first book form edition (1886). Unlike those two novels however--the actions of which remain virtually unaltered after the first edition--important plot changes in The Mayor continue to be made up to the uniform edition of 1895.

The chief reason for the revision of plot immediately after serial issue appears to be the same in the case of all three novels: the restoration of material previously considered unsuitable for household reading. Since The Mayor was written directly for magazine publication, the original text had of necessity to cater for a fairly specialized section of the reading public. The Graphic only occasionally featured the works of serious artists,¹ for it was essentially a family magazine, with

¹ e.g., from Dec. 1881 to June 1882 the Graphic featured Trollope's Marion Fay; more representative of the magazine's standard of fiction, however, were the works of Trollope's sister-in-law, Frances Eleanor, four of whose novels were serialized in the Graphic in the mid-1880's. Typical of the magazine's output at this time were works like From Post to Finish: A Racing Romance by Hawley Smart (July-Dec. 1884), and A Life's Burden, a melodrama by G. Noel Leslie (July 1886).

readers whose tastes in fiction were in the main indiscriminate, and whose opinions on conduct--especially sexual conduct--were readily identified and narrowly confined. As a result, the sensational and the conventional formed the staple of the magazine's literary produce.¹ While the serial version of The Mayor far exceeded the demands of the Graphic readers, those demands still had to be satisfied, and their very satisfaction--as both MS. and serial texts make clear--frequently proved hostile to the best interests of the novel.

For convenience, changes in the plot of the serial version of The Mayor will be considered in three sections:

i) revisions which involve the author's handling of sexual relationship; the most important of these occur in Chapter xii, although alterations made here necessitate

¹ The rigid editorial policy of the magazine and the type of reader for which it catered is well illustrated in a letter which Arthur Locker wrote to Hardy on receipt of the MS. of A Group of Noble Dames. Locker severely criticized the tone of the stories, considering them "not at all suitable to the more delicate imaginations of young girls." He continued: "Many fathers are accustomed to read or have read to their family-circles the stories in the Graphic and I cannot think they would approve for this purpose a series of tales almost every one of which turns upon ...those relations between the sexes over which conventionality is accustomed (wisely or unwisely) to draw a veil." The editor concluded: "...I think it very unfortunate that they [the stories] should have been written for a paper with the peculiar clientele of the Graphic and I am sure we should not be justified in printing them as they stand." (Letter of 25 June 1890; in DCM.)

several minor adjustments in later chapters.

ii) Revisions which make for greater simplicity by modifying or eliminating various incidents in the narrative; such changes are apparent in Chapters xviii, xxxiv, and xxxv.

iii) Revisions which entail a major reorganization of the action in the last three chapters of the novel.

In carrying out the first two groups of changes Hardy was clearly concerned to repair a plot which, from the early stages of composition, had been damaged in the interest of the magazine for which it was written. The removal of sensational and conventional elements which had catered expressly for the Graphic reader represent the author's final decisions, and the course of the narrative in Chapters xii, xviii, xxxiv, and xxxv as rewritten for the first edition is substantially the same as that of the definitive edition of 1912. With the third group of changes however--also, it seems, carried out in the interest of structural improvement--the decisions made in 1886 are of a temporary nature only; for they were later reversed in the preparation of the uniform edition of 1895, when the MS.-serial version of the final chapters was restored. My intention in the first part of this chapter is to offer a brief summary of each group

of changes and then to consider the reasons for, and significance of, such revision.

The first major area of change, then, concerns the relationship of Henchard and Lucetta. In the chief scene in Chapter xii Henchard confesses to Farfrae past incidents in his life--the disposal of his family and his recent involvement with Lucetta. Both the history and the outcome of the affair with the woman from Jersey differ markedly in the two texts. As MS. revisions discussed in Chapter II have suggested, the outline of the affair as it appeared in the Graphic was something of a makeshift, replacing an earlier and apparently very different course of events. According to the serial, Lucetta has had a "foolish liking" for Henchard for over five years; and after she has saved his life dramatically in an accident in Jersey:

"I fell out of a boat in the harbour and struck my head in falling. If somebody had not helped me instantly I should have been drowned." (G, 134)¹

¹ In the citation of material from the various texts of The Mayor, the following method will be used: for MS. and all subsequent texts, brief quotations and comparisons (i.e. those generally of one sentence or less) will be incorporated into the text, and the later reading underlined in red; extended parallels between MS. and printed texts, and between two or more printed texts will be set in reduced type; and for MS. quotations requiring special emphasis, or containing heavy revision, extracts will be separated from the context and the MS. form reproduced according to the format used in the last chapter.

the Mayor, despite personal indifference, offers to marry the woman in "a moment of gratitude and excitement" (G, 134). He regrets his rashness almost immediately after the marriage; and Lucetta's imminent arrival in Casterbridge, which signals disaster in view of the recent appearance there of Susan and Elizabeth Jane, is forestalled by Farfrae, who agrees to meet her boat at Budmouth harbour, with an explanatory letter from Henchard:

Farfrae ...descended to the cabin-entrance, and in a moment or two a white hand and arm were stretched out from behind a red curtain that hung across the doorway. He murmured "Mrs Henchard?" The owner of the hand said "Yes," and he placed the letter within her fingers, which were quickly withdrawn. (G, 135)

The account has all the appearance of hasty and perfunctory improvisation: the motivation for Henchard's marriage is weak, and the account of his subsequent change of heart, unconvincing:

"Three days after [the marriage in Jersey] I came home here to get the house ready for her, and await her coming. But, from the moment I landed, I felt I had acted rashly. It was not that I dreamed of Susan living; but I felt I did not care for this young woman, much as she might like me. Odd as it may seem to you, I've always liked Susan in my heart, and like her best now...." (G, 134)

while the tempo of events is hustled: Henchard's accident took place that summer; he has been married to Lucetta only a fortnight, repenting the action three days later;

Lucetta's appearance in Casterbridge is expected the following evening, but later forestalled in the nick of time by Farfrae's journey to Budmouth. The chief features of the whole episode--implausibility, melodrama, suspense--illustrate the sacrifice both to credibility and to art which magazine publication forced upon Hardy. The refusal to permit anything approaching an honest treatment of sexual relationship produced the spurious marriage (bigamy was apparently more acceptable than adultery to the magazine subscriber), while the reader's demand for the sensational was gratified, at further expense to the plot, with the introduction of needlessly complicated situations: the recently-married woman's arrival in Casterbridge coinciding with the reappearance of Henchard's first wife; and the scene of Farfrae's encounter with the wronged younger woman.

In the text of the first edition this chapter is reduced to less than half its original length, and the situation considerably simplified. The motive for Henchard's feeling of obligation towards Lucetta is less thrilling; no marriage has taken place, and no impending arrival from Jersey is awaited. We now read that Henchard first met the young woman at a boarding-house on the island, where he was staying when ill and sunk in "one of

those gloomy fits I sometimes suffer from, on account o' the loneliness of my domestic life ..." (86, I, 145).

Lucetta, who appears to have been equally lonely at the time, nurses Henchard, and despite the Mayor's lack of encouragement, conceives a "foolish liking" for him. As a result of their presence together in the same house, "...there arose a terrible scandal"--quite unjustifiably, it seems: "...I solemnly declare that I did her no wrong" (86, I, 146). Lucetta's affection for Henchard persists after he has left Jersey; and the Mayor, believing his first wife Susan to be dead, feels bound in conscience to marry the young woman, but is prevented from honouring his proposal by the reappearance of Susan and her daughter. The irrelevant episode of Farfrae's near meeting with Lucetta is cancelled, and instead Henchard enlists Farfrae's help in composing a letter which will inform Lucetta of the circumstances now making marriage between *them* impossible. The letter is posted later the same evening.

With the removal of much excrescent detail, the plot gains in simplicity and credibility, and the 1886 version of this episode represents the final form of the text, with one important exception: in both Graphic and 1886 texts the terms of the relationship between the two are quite irreproachable. Not until the Osgood edition of 1895 is there any mention of an illicit affair. In this

text we now read for the first time that the sense of obligation which urged Henchard to offer marriage to Lucetta springs from a source quite different from that in earlier texts. No longer based on a desire to restore a reputation unjustifiably damaged:

"...I solemnly declare that I did her no wrong." (87, 109)

it springs instead from a desire to repair a reputation that has, not surprisingly, become tarnished:

"...we got naturally intimate. I won't go into particulars of what our relations were. It is enough to say that we honestly meant to marry. There arose a scandal (0, 94)

Where, moreover, Henchard had originally told Farfrae:

"'...I didn't encourage any such thing ...'" (87, 109),

he now remarks: "'...I wasn't worth it ...'" (0, 93).

Similar revision appears later in the narrative: in Chapter xxii of all earlier texts Henchard responds to Lucetta's refusal to grant him an interview at High Place Hall, with a single comment: "'That's rather like giving herself airs!'" (87, 203); in the Osgood version he now adds, "'And considering what we--" (0, 179); and where in Chapter xxxii he had previously referred to Lucetta as "my intended wife" (87, 306), he now describes her quite unequivocally as "my what-you-may-call wife" (0, 278).

By the time of the uniform edition of 1895, Hardy was addressing a much broader class of reader--one less restricted in literary taste, and no longer united as the magazine readers had professed to be, by a common (and rigid) code of values. And so, freed from the constraint imposed by the peculiar demands of serial publication and by the pudency of the general reader, Hardy's revisions for Chapter xii of the Osgood edition bring the final version of the Henchard-Lucetta relationship fairly close to its original conception; for the account of the affair, as it appears in the uniform text, corresponds for the first time with the relationship which deletions in MS. indicate to have originally existed between the two.

The improvement in character delineation is considerable: the conduct of Henchard and Lucetta in Jersey--that of a man and woman of passionate and self-destructive temperaments, acting in disregard of consequences--is now wholly consistent with the conduct which characterizes both throughout the action of the novel. Since, moreover, the events of the past from which Lucetta tries to escape and which finally cause her death are now associated,

not with the abused innocence of all earlier texts, but instead with a genuine indiscretion--"'...what had happened was no fault of mine,'" Henchard had originally remarked (87, 327), but "'...what had happened was what I could not cure,'" in 1895 (0, 296)--Lucetta, in the Osgood version, appears much less the luckless victim of Chance, than the architect of her own misfortune.

The next group of changes in the serial text continues the reduction of incidents creating excitement and suspense, initiated in Chapter xii. Now the MS. of The Mayor was completed, it will be remembered, about nine months before serialization began in the Graphic; and while of unquestionable advantage to a writer of serial fiction, the unusually lengthy time lapse between composition and publication appears to have been detrimental to at least one aspect of the work; namely, the frequency with which incidents were introduced into the narrative. For Hardy, well aware of the importance of maintaining the reader's interest by providing an effective close for each weekly instalment, and yet unable, presumably, to predict the length of any of the instalments, was obliged to introduce arousing and suspenseful episodes at regular--often too regular--

intervals throughout the narrative.¹ As a result, the serial text of The Mayor (and, despite extensive cancellations in 1886, much of the final text) is studded throughout with a sequence of minor climaxes. Almost every third chapter contains some exciting incident, and nearly as many close with a curtain-line designed to arouse curiosity.²

In reworking the text in 1886 Hardy was concerned to remove the grosser of these sensational episodes, and

¹ A practice to which Hardy referred in one of his few recorded comments on The Mayor:

It was a story which Hardy fancied he had damaged more recklessly as an artistic whole, in the interest of the newspaper in which it appeared serially, than perhaps any other of his novels, his aiming to get an incident into almost every week's part causing him in his own judgment to add events to the narrative somewhat too freely." (Life, p. 179)

A further disadvantage of the time lapse between composition and publication emerges in the letter which Hardy sent to W. D. Howells on 9 Nov. 1886 (see above, Chapter I, f. 10). Writing of the first edition of The Mayor, Hardy remarks:

I ought to have improved it much--for the greater part was finished in 1884--a year and half nearly before publication. But I could not get thoroughly into it after the interval.

² As a result the Graphic editor, who generally included two chapters in each instalment, had little difficulty in closing the instalments at an interesting point. The conclusion of all but four of the twenty weekly instalments coincided with a chapter-ending, and of the instalments which ended with an incomplete chapter--viz. Nos. 2, 6, 12, 18--only the first failed to close with a dramatic incident; a fair indication of the regularity of such incidents. (A table showing the division of the novel into twenty weekly instalments in Harper's Weekly and the Graphic appears in Appendix VI below.)

revisions vary from minor cuts in detail to the excision of fairly lengthy scenes. Attention in this chapter will be limited to the more extensive cancellations, all of which serve to simplify events surrounding the relationship of Henchard and Lucetta. Revision of this kind is particularly evident in Chapters xviii, xxxiv, and xxxv.¹

In the early part of Chapter xviii, the serial text records a casual meeting between Susan Henchard and Lucetta, the latter having appeared unexpectedly in Casterbridge. Susan remains ignorant of her companion's identity during the meeting, and the incident is witnessed throughout by a "thunderstruck" Henchard, who is left wondering "if Lucetta had aimed to see his wife, or whether the conjuncture were an accident" (G, 218). The whole episode is eliminated from the book form.

Further differences between the two texts appear in the episode of Lucetta's letters later in the same chapter. Lucetta has written to Henchard requesting the return of letters which she sent him after their affair

¹ I have excluded from the discussion the only other sensational episode to undergo major excision in the reworking of the Graphic text; namely, the incident of the escaped bull (ch. xxix), in which the narrative description of Elizabeth and Lucetta's encounter with the escaped animal is reduced to less than a quarter of its original length.

in Jersey. In the serial the episode is stretched to a tedious length: Henchard gives the letters to Elizabeth to deliver to Lucetta as the latter passes through Casterbridge on the Bristol coach; while waiting for Lucetta, Elizabeth meets Farfrae who offers to deliver the packet for her; and when Lucetta does not appear, Farfrae hands over the letters to the driver of the coach. He in turn, having failed to meet Lucetta, returns the packet to Farfrae a fortnight later; the Scotsman noting meanwhile that the bundle "had evidently been investigated" (G, 218). Conjecture on the means by which Lucetta's secret will eventually be disclosed is thus aroused needlessly early in the narrative; and the wholly contrived nature of the episode--whose purpose is simply to create suspense by placing the letters in Farfrae's possession--is left unconcealed when, early in the scene, Hardy provides Elizabeth with a conspicuously weak motive for handing the letters to the Scotsman:

Though there was no positive reason for so doing, she could not help telling him why she was waiting there. (G, 218)

In the text of 1886 the entire incident, mercifully, is condensed to four sentences: Henchard himself goes to meet Lucetta, but she fails to appear; and he returns

home, the letters still in his possession.

Still more space is expended on Lucetta's letters later in the narrative. In Chapter xxxiv of the Graphic text Henchard is asked by Lucetta for the letters she has not yet received, and he tells her that he gave them to Elizabeth to return to her. Both he and Lucetta in turn visit the girl, and each discovers the letters to be in Farfrae's possession. The episode is cancelled in 1886 where, after Lucetta's enquiry, Henchard remembers that the packet must have been left in the safe of his former house.

Finally, as a result of Henchard's grim joke in reading aloud the incriminating letters to Farfrae, Lucetta asks to see the ex-Mayor, and the pair meet one evening at the Ring (ch. xxxv). In the serial version the incident is ruthlessly protracted. Lucetta's preparations for the meeting are lurid and crudely deceptive:

To heighten her natural attractions had hitherto been the unvarying endeavour of her adult life But now she systematically proceeded to impair the natural presentation. In two hours she had produced upon her ...features the aspect of a countenance withering, ageing, sickly--a head of hair with a few incipient grey threads; in brief, prematurely wrecked by extreme sorrow. The chemist up the street, who eked out a meagre drug trade by scented soaps, cosmetics, and disfiguring ointments of various kinds, was three or four times requisitioned for this proceeding....

It was with a shudder, almost with a terror, that she beheld in the glass what she had done. It seemed

too real. If her dear husband should meet her he would surely believe that this was her true aspect, and that her hitherto charming lineaments had been the counterfeit of art. (G, 422)

In the 1886 text these preparations occupy less space, and Lucetta's wan appearance is due as much to natural circumstances as to calculated effects:

To heighten her natural attractions had hitherto been the unvarying endeavour of her adult life But now she neglected this, and even proceeded to impair the natural presentation. She had not slept all the previous night, and this had produced upon her ...features the aspect of a countenance ageing prematurely from extreme sorrow. She selected--as much from want of spirit as design--her poorest, plainest, and longest discarded attire. (86, II, 160-161)

The delineation of Henchard, too, undergoes refinement: according to the serial, his discomfiture on meeting Lucetta springs from the woman's haggard appearance; and his pity, from "the perception that she was no longer attractive" (G, 422). In the revised text, however, the terms of his compunction are far less crude, for his unease is now due to the place of meeting and to Lucetta's

unusual plainness of ...dress, her attitude of hope and appeal [which], so strongly revived in his soul the memory of another ill-used woman who had stood there ...that he was unmanned, and his heart smote him for having attempted reprisals on one of a sex so weak. (86, II, 162)

Further differences occur at the end of the chapter. In the serial text Farfrae appears unexpectedly before

the pair in the Ring:

A head and shoulders suddenly broke above the western summit of the amphitheatre "Hist!" said Henchard. Lucetta pulled down her veil. . . . (G, 422)

and after an exchange of dialogue between Henchard and Farfrae, the three walk back to the town together, Lucetta fortunately unrecognized by her husband:

. . . Henchard drawing Lucetta's arm through his own to lend a delusive aspect to the rendezvous he had been surprised in, and keeping her on the outside. . . . (G, 422)

This melodramatic and ironical sequence of events--from which the magazine reader would no doubt expect consequences--concludes with Farfrae's fatuous comment:

"Well, Lucetta, I've got a bit of news for ye I think poor Henchard is going to console himself by speculating in a wife once more. I met him courting just now." (G, 422)

In the 1886 text the encounter with Farfrae is omitted completely, and the chapter closes with Henchard's promise to return Lucetta's letters.

In the serial version of the episodes outlined above, the red herrings of suspense, melodrama, and heavily ironical situation are thus laid across the course of a plot already crammed with dramatic incident. The meetings between Susan and Lucetta, and later between Farfrae and Elizabeth in Chapter xviii; between Henchard, Farfrae, and Lucetta in Chapter xxxv; the near-encounter

of Farfrae and Lucetta in Chapter xii; and the grossly complicated progress of Lucetta's letters--incidents serving only to impede the narrative--represent, in their display of the sensational and in their arousal of the reader's curiosity, the novelist's surrender to popular taste; and reveal the extent to which publication in a magazine with the calibre of the Graphic forced Hardy --albeit temporarily--to sacrifice his artistic principles; a sacrifice demanded by the same editor--and at much greater cost--with the serialization of Tess five years later.

The final group of changes in the plot of the serial text concerns the rewriting of the last three chapters. In Chapter xliii the alterations made for the first edition are permanent; while the revisions carried out on Chapters xliv and xlv contain decisions which the author later reversed when preparing the Osgood edition in 1895. The permanent changes will be considered first.

Between Chapter xliii of the serial and 1886 text there are important differences both in Henchard's motive for leaving Casterbridge and Elizabeth Jane, and in the events following that departure. In the earlier version Henchard's desire to leave the town is motivated solely by his sense of alienation at the thought of Elizabeth

and Farfrae's impending marriage. After Elizabeth has said goodbye to her step-father she meets Farfrae, and together they return to his house, where Elizabeth finds Newson awaiting her. The reader of the Graphic is then informed for the first time that Elizabeth, while still living with Henchard, and with Farfrae's connivance, has been meeting Newson in secret for some weeks.

Events in the first edition are somewhat different. Henchard's decision to leave Casterbridge springs, not simply from his sense of alienation, but directly from his espial of Newson at Mai Dun castle. When, moreover, Elizabeth has left Henchard and returns to Farfrae's house she is, up to that point, unaware of Newson's presence in Casterbridge, and is now reunited with him after a separation of six years. The 1886 version of this chapter is thus substantially the same as that of the definitive Wessex text of 1912.

With the change in Henchard's motive for leaving Casterbridge, greater stress is now laid on the man's intense need for affection--an aspect of his personality which, it will be seen, receives special emphasis in the revision of 1886. While previously Henchard had left the town solely because he felt unwanted:

...the daily necessity of facing mankind, and of them particularly Elizabeth Jane, became more than he could endure. He determined to get out of the way of those who did not want him, and hide his head for ever. (G, 511)

in the later version his need for Elizabeth is so great that he is prepared to stay, in spite of his deeply injured pride, and his consciousness of being unloved:

...for the girl's sake, he might put up with anything; even from Farfrae; even snubbings and masterful tongue-scourgings. The privilege of being in the house she occupied would almost outweigh the personal humiliation. (86, II, 276-277)

and he is forced to leave only when convinced that the reappearance of Newson will cause Elizabeth to despise her step-father:

[Newson/ would tell Elizabeth] not only of his paternity, but of the ruse by which he had been once sent away. Elizabeth's strict nature would cause her for the first time to despise her stepfather, would root out his image as that of an arch deceiver, and Newson would reign in her heart in his stead.... The question of his remaining in Casterbridge was for ever disposed of by this closing in of Newson on the scene. Henchard was not the man to stand the certainty of condemnation on a matter so near his heart. (86, II, 278-279)

The second alteration in Chapter xliii--the circumstances of the reunion between Elizabeth and Newson--is also characteristic of the rewriting of the Graphic text; for the cancellation of the extremely unlikely situation of the open and guileless Elizabeth living affectionately with her self-avowed parent, while meeting her real father in secret, continues the practice of removing from the serial plot, features marked with a high degree of improbability. In the serial text the disclosure of frequent meetings between father and

daughter had resolved the element of suspense created in the preceding chapter over the motive for Elizabeth's long and regular walks on the Budmouth Road; for the girl had told Farfrae: "'I have chosen this road latterly. I have a reason for it'" (G, 510)--one which she had nevertheless refrained from confessing. In revising the scene for the first edition, however, it will be noticed that the motive which Hardy now provides for Elizabeth's long walks gains only slightly in plausibility over the earlier text, for we now read: "'My reason ... is that I wish to get a glimpse of the sea every day!... She could not herself account for it fully [i.e. her attraction to the sea], not knowing the secret possibly to be that ... her blood was a sailor's'" (86, II, 269).

Alterations carried out on the final two chapters of the novel represent perhaps the most significant changes between serial and first edition. These changes are temporary, however, appearing in the 1886 and 1887 editions only. In the serial version of Chapter xliv Henchard, having left Casterbridge, returns to his old trade of hay-trussing, at a farm some fifty miles from the town. Here he receives news of Elizabeth and Farfrae's forthcoming wedding, and in his overwhelming need for the girl's affection, decides to risk Farfrae's

displeasure and return to Casterbridge to see his step-daughter. The chapter concludes with his re-appearance at the wedding, his meeting with, and rejection by, Elizabeth, and his second and final departure from the town.

In the text of 1886 these events are radically altered. Henchard, despite the tools he carries with him, does not return to work after leaving the town but, having visited the village of Weydon-Priors, simply wanders back in the direction of Casterbridge, in a mood of great world-weariness, reflecting on the "contrarious inconsistencies" of life (86, II, 295) and "survey[ing] mankind":

"Here and everywhere are folk dying before their time like frosted leaves, though wanted by the world, the country, and their own families, as badly as can be; while I, an outcast and an incumbrance, wanted by nobody, I live on, and can't die if I try."
(86, II, 297)

The entire episode of his return to his step-daughter, meeting with her, and final departure, is cancelled; Henchard's performance in the novel is now complete, and the chapter closes with an authorial account of the wedding festivities of Elizabeth and Farfrae:

Had he been able to extend his vision through the night shades as far as Casterbridge that evening, Henchard would have seen that the door of his old house was wide open, that the hall was lighted

extravagantly, and that people were going up
and down the stairs.... (86, II, 297)

These revisions necessitate a minor change in the final chapter. Whereas in the serial Elizabeth is moved to seek Henchard and make her peace with him, after discovering that the caged bird found in her garden must have been a wedding gift and token of repentance from him, in the later text her decision to look for her step-father results simply from her recurrent thoughts of him since living in his former home: "In exploring her new domain during the first week of residence ... Elizabeth ...had been reminded often of her stepfather, whose house this of hers had formerly been" (86, II, 301-302).

In both chapters outlined above, the MS-serial version, and not that of the first edition, represents the final form of the text, for Hardy reinstated the earlier version of the narrative in the Osgood text of 1895. Some light is thrown on the reason for thus restoring the serial account by Hardy himself, when he referred to the revision in his Preface to the Osgood edition:

The present edition ...contains nearly a chapter which has never yet appeared in any English copy, though it was printed in the serial issue of the tale, and in the American edition. The restoration was made at the instance of some good judges across the Atlantic, who strongly represented that the home edition suffered from the omission. (O, v-vi)

Now an explanation of this statement as well as some information on Hardy's motive for having deleted the material is provided by the research of Professor Carl J. Weber, who has identified the "good judges across the Atlantic" as two American women, Rebekah Owen and her sister Catherine, with whom Hardy first became acquainted in 1892.¹

During a visit to England (Summer 1892) Rebekah Owen bought a copy of the second English edition of The Mayor, and on discovering that the text of this edition differed from that of her own American copy, asked Hardy about the discrepancy. Hardy--according to Weber--explained that "he had had an idea ...that it weakened the story to have Henchard go away twice, and so, after the serial version ...had finished its run in the magazine, he revised the text for the first English edition in book form." Weber continues: "...Rebekah Owen was not satisfied with Hardy's explanation. She argued with him that Henchard's going away twice does not weaken the story ...and she said that her sister Catherine agreed with her conviction that the earlier form of the story was better than the revised version." During a

¹ See Weber, Hardy of Wessex, pp. 152-153.

visit to Max Gate in August of the following year, Rebekah Owen again referred to the conclusion of the novel, telling Hardy that "her American friend Miss Drisler, a very learned lady in New York, agreed with her in thinking that the earlier version of the text was better than the one now printed in the London editions.... 'Mr Hardy promised me,' so Rebekah Owen wrote later in her copy of The Mayor, 'he would restore in a new edition' the excisions in the penultimate chapter.¹

If we are to accept the evidence advanced in the papers of Rebekah Owen--and Hardy's acknowledgement in the Preface of 1895 seems to support the truth of her claim--the novelist would seem to have omitted the episode of Henchard's return to, and second departure from, Casterbridge because he considered the repetition of incident weakened the impact of Henchard's first departure and final tragic defeat. And yet comparison of the last

¹ All quotations in the above paragraph are taken from Weber's Hardy and the Lady from Madison Square (Maine, 1952), pp. 64-66, 86. This book contains an account of Rebekah Owen's acquaintance with Hardy, and of the Boswellian services she imposed upon herself. A devoted admirer of Hardy, Rebekah Owen amassed a large quantity of material by and about the novelist. Almost the entire collection, including innumerable records, letters, scrap-books, and annotations, was eventually acquired by Colby College Library, and thus provided Weber with the material for his book. Among the Owen collection of Hardy's works was a copy of the second (English) edition of The Mayor, inside which appeared Rebekah Owen's record of the incident mentioned above.

chapters of the serial text with those of the first edition suggests that the material which Hardy considered expendible in 1886, far from impairing the structural unity of the novel, forms instead an integral part of that structure; that the events which occur between the two departures from Casterbridge and the occasion of the second departure itself contribute significantly to the final meaning of the novel.

The effect on the 1886 text of cancelling the greater part of the penultimate chapter may briefly be considered. To begin with, the effect of the revisions on the figure of Henchard. In the opening scene of the serial version of Chapter xlv, the pathos inherent in the image of the once socially prominent and materially prosperous man returning, in his self-imposed exile and in stoical endurance of misfortune, to the trade of his early manhood, invests the figure of Henchard with a dignity which the motiveless wandering and meditating of the man in the 1886 text wholly denies. Moreover, the episode of the return itself provides a successful illustration of several important aspects of Henchard's predicament. His decision to go back to Elizabeth Jane, involving as it does, the extreme humbling of his pride, reveals not only the depth of Henchard's need for affection and for renewing contact with the community from

which he has become severed, but--of equal importance--reveals his own recognition of that need. Similarly, his death, when at last alienated from all human ties, illustrates Henchard's realization that without love, life has no value. And it is this recognition, occasioned by the repulse from Elizabeth, no less than the acceptance of moral responsibility for past actions--the spirit informing his first departure--that finally gives meaning to Henchard's suffering and death.

Three further aspects of Henchard's return may be mentioned. First, the humility which recognition of his dependence on Elizabeth has taught Henchard is seen in the concern he shows for the girl's feelings when preparing for their reunion. He buys new clothing so that "...in appearance at least he would not now offend her ..." (G, 539), and on arriving at Farfrae's home he enters at the back rather than at the front of the house, since "...to enter, footsore, laden, and poorly-dressed ...was to bring needless humiliation upon her he loved ..." (G, 539). Further, the morbid sensitivity to which he is now subject is apparent in his extreme nervousness before the meeting:

He passed the remainder of the day in a curious high-strung condition, unable to do much but think of the approaching meeting with her, and sadly satirise himself for his emotions thereon (G, 539)

and when he reaches the scene of the wedding-party:

Solitude and sadness had so emolliated Henchard that he now feared circumstances he would formerly have scorned, and he began to wish that he had not taken upon himself to arrive at such a juncture. (G, 539)

--all instances of a behaviour which illustrates the change that past sufferings have worked in Henchard's personality, and hence "denaturalized"¹ him; a feature which is further reinforced in the revision of the scene for the uniform edition.

It seems appropriate here to mention one other aspect of the 1895 revision of this episode: this is the prominence with which Henchard's desire to explain and ask forgiveness for his earlier deceit now features in his decision to go back to Elizabeth; for in restoring the episode to the Osgood text Hardy added the following sentence to the passage (presented in oratio obliqua) of Henchard's thoughts on returning to Casterbridge:

To make one more attempt to be near her; to go back; to see her, to plead his cause before her, to ask forgiveness for his fraud, to endeavour strenuously to hold his own in her love; it was worth the risk of repulse, ay, of life itself." (O, 390)

That Henchard's plan, if carried out, would have reinstated him in the girl's affection is suggested by the

¹ "...the solicitus timor of his love--the dependence upon Elizabeth's regard into which he had declined (or, in another sense, to which he had advanced)--denaturalized him." (W, 351)

change of heart which Elizabeth shows on discovering her step-father's token of repentance.¹ And so in both serial and uniform texts the response which Henchard makes to Elizabeth's words of reproach at their meeting:

Henchard's lips half parted to begin an explanation. But he shut them up like a vice, and uttered not a sound. (O, 396)

offers a final--and crucial--illustration of the protagonist's persistent refusal to defend his past actions, and so allow misunderstanding to destroy his chance of happiness.²

The second effect of the cancellations in 1886 is to remove from the text of the first edition two most effective examples of implicit authorial commentary on

¹"He had not expressed to her any regrets or excuses for what he had done in the past; but it was a part of his nature to extenuate nothing, and live on as one of his own worst accusers. She went out, looked at the cage, buried the starved little singer, and from that hour her heart softened towards the self-alienated man." (W, 379-380)

² Revision of a similar kind had already appeared at the MS. stage of composition, where a full sentence has been added to the account of the hay-loft wrestling between Henchard and Farfrae (ch. xxxviii). In the original MS. form the description had ended thus: "Farfrae regarded him [Henchard] in silence; then went to the hatch and descended through it till lost to view." After revision it continues: "Henchard would fain have recalled him; but his tongue failed in its task, and the young man's steps died on his ear" (MS, 396).

events in the narrative. The first, which offers an instance of that formal patterning frequently used by Hardy to draw moral conclusions on the behaviour of his characters, derives from the scene of Henchard's appearance at Elizabeth Jane's wedding-party. The response which Elizabeth makes to Henchard's predicament in this scene invites a clear comparison with the response made by Abel Whittle in the following chapter. Despite her step-father's claims of genuine affection and close acquaintance, Elizabeth responds to his intense suffering with severe lack of compassion:

"...how can I [Love you any more] when I know you have deceived me so--bitterly deceived me?...how can I do anything but hate a man who has served me like this!" (G, 539)

while Whittle, whose relation to the ex-Mayor is only that of a labourer whom Henchard has treated roughly, responds with deep humanity, following the hay-trusser as he leaves Casterbridge

"Because ...I see things be bad with ye, and ye wer [sic] kind-like to mother if ye wer rough to me, and I would fain be kind-like to you." (G, 542)

The deeply ironical contrast of the insensibility of the genteel Elizabeth with the spontaneous charity of the rude Whittle offers a final illustration of that incongruity (as Hardy saw it) between those whose actions

are informed by civilized, or social, values, and those whose actions are informed by natural, or human, values-- a theme implicit throughout the novel, and one which Hardy was to develop more fully in subsequent works.

Further oblique commentary which the omission of Henchard's return removes from the text of 1886 is embodied in the incident of the caged goldfinch which Henchard buys as a wedding gift for his step-daughter; an incident which operates satisfactorily on a non-realistic, as well as a realistic level; for in the pathetic image of the caged bird--removed from its natural element and dying of starvation--is reflected not only the miserable end of Henchard himself, but also the death of his hope for a happy reunion with Elizabeth;¹ a

¹ F. B. Pinion, A Critical Commentary on Thomas Hardy's The Mayor of Casterbridge (London, 1966), p. 33, suggests that "the germ for the goldfinch scene" is to be found in Lear V.iii.9-11:

We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage:
When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness.

It is interesting to note that the caged bird as a symbol of the human condition recurs in a comment which Hardy made on 28 May 1885, less than six weeks after the completion of The Mayor MS. While staying in London Hardy wrote thus on life in the city:

The people in this tragedy laugh, sing, smoke, toss off wines, etc., make love to girls in drawing-rooms and areas; and yet are playing their parts in the tragedy just the same. Some wear jewels and feathers, some wear rags. All are caged birds; the only difference lies in the size of the cage. This too is part of the tragedy." (Life, p. 171)

comparison which, in the MS.-serial text at least, achieves its effect without significantly diminishing the stature of the protagonist.¹

In regarding the whole episode of Henchard's return and second departure as expendible--damaging, even, to the unity of the narrative--Hardy gravely misinterpreted both the quality of the incident and its effect on the reader, and his decision in 1886 to omit the scenes from the penultimate chapter of the novel may be considered the author's most serious misjudgment in the textual history of The Mayor.

Comparison of the final chapters of the serial text with those of the first edition reveals once again the careful economy so characteristic of Hardy's methods of revision. In reworking this area of the plot in 1886, Hardy salvaged as much as possible of the earlier version by redistributing the order of several passages in the final chapters of the Graphic text. For example, the description of Henchard's spying at the prehistoric fort is transferred from Chapter xlii of the serial to Chapter xliii of the first edition, where the object of

¹ However a tendency to sentimentalize the episode of the goldfinch is apparent in subsequent revision of the text. See Chapter VI, ff. 365-6 below.

Henchard's gaze becomes, not Elizabeth and Farfrae, but Newson, and thus provides Henchard with his motive for departure. Further, the passage in Chapter xlv of the serial in which Henchard, now exiled from Casterbridge, considers returning to Elizabeth, and muses on his probable treatment in her home ("He proceeded to draw a picture ...") is transferred to the preceding chapter (i.e. xliii) in the 1886 text where Henchard, still in Casterbridge, imagines his future in the event of Elizabeth's marriage. The 1886 placing of both of these passages represents the final form of the text. A third redistribution of passages occurs in 1895 with the restoration of the scenes of Henchard's return and second departure where, as we have seen, Hardy reinstated part, but not all, of the plot of the serial version. One permanent effect--of interest rather than importance--which this process of reconstruction wrought on the final text of The Mayor seems worth noting.

With his long experience as a serial novelist Hardy was, by the time of the Osgood edition, well-practised in the drudgery of reassembling mutilated novels, and he performed the task of rearranging the material in the final chapters of The Mayor with the minimum of rewriting and with very little inconsistency. The somewhat complex

juggling of material, first in 1886 and again in 1895, did however result in an occasional repetition of phrase and sentence within the final chapters; a feature that has remained uncorrected in the definitive version.

Three instances of this occasional duplicating of material are given below, all quotations being taken from the Wessex edition:

- a) xliii, 357 But what if he were mistaken in his views, and there was no necessity that his own absolute separation from her should be involved in the incident of her marriage?
- xliv, 370 What if he had been mistaken in his views; if there had been no necessity that his own absolute separation from her he loved should be involved in these untoward incidents?

The first of these sentences originally appeared in Chapter xliv of the serial text, where it introduced a passage presenting the thoughts of Henchard who, now fifty miles from Casterbridge, questions the wisdom of his motive for having left his step-daughter. In 1886 both sentence and passage were transposed to the preceding chapter, where they form part of the description of Henchard's sense of alienation at the prospect of Elizabeth's impending marriage. In restoring the incident of Henchard's return, in the Osgood text, Hardy retained the introductory sentence in its original position in

Chapter xlv; hence the repetition in the final form of the text.

b) xliii, 358 The face was Newson's. Henchard dropped the glass, and for some seconds made no other movement.

xliv, 376 That happy facewas Newson's Henchard pushed to the door, and for some seconds made no other movement.

The passage beginning "That happy face ..." in the second quotation first appeared in the scene of Henchard's discovery of Newson at Elizabeth's wedding celebrations (ch. xlv) of the serial). In the 1886 version, however, Henchard's first discovery of Newson takes place, not at the wedding, but in the prehistoric fort scene in the previous chapter; and in composing this incident for the first edition, Hardy salvaged the two sentences from the otherwise discarded wedding scene. As with the preceding example, the sentences were retained in their original position in the restoration of the earlier text in 1895.

c) xliii, 365 Thus they conversed; and there was nobody to set before Elizabeth any extenuation of the absent one's deceit. Even had he been present Henchard might scarce have pleaded it, so little did he value himself

xliv, 377 How should he, there and then, set before her with any effect the palliatives of his great faults Among the many hindrances to such a pleading not the least was this, that he did not sufficiently value himself

The passage beginning "How should he, there and then . . ." in the second quotation occurs in Chapter xlv of the serial text, where it follows Elizabeth's rejection of Henchard at her wedding-party. In 1886 the substance of the passage is transferred to the close of Chapter xliii, where it immediately follows the girl's "revulsion of feeling" on discovering her step-father's deception of Newson. The repetition in the definitive edition occurs when the reinstatement of Henchard's return to Elizabeth restores the passage to its original position in Chapter xlv.

b. Characterization

Changes in the concept and presentation of character range, throughout the novel's several phases of revision, from minor adjustment to radical transformation. Predictably, alterations in this area of the novel are most numerous in the two phases of major development: alterations within the MS., where changes in character-image generally establish the pattern for future revision, and the rewriting of the serial text in 1886; one of the chief features here being the removal of material which, in catering directly for the magazine reader, had led to distortion in the presentation of several of the leading

characters in the novel. My chief concern in the remainder of this chapter will be with revisions relating to the two principal male figures in The Mayor--Henchard and his antagonist Farfrae--and the relationship between the pair.

Henchard

i) Revision in MS

Examination of the alterations and additions in the presentation of Henchard reveals that, while the author's image of his protagonist undergoes considerable refinement, his conception of the Mayor remains basically unchanged throughout the novel's successive stages of revision.¹ From its inception the image of Henchard is that of a complex and divided personality, and the major tendency in revision is largely one of reinforcing, through dramatic presentation and through authorial analysis, certain aspects of a personality in whose delineation MS. and familiar Wessex texts are almost wholly

¹ Suggested at the earliest stage of composition by the very physical appearance of the MS., where revisions concerning Henchard appear most frequently as additions and far less often as deletions, thus implying elaboration rather than change in original concept.

consistent. For this reason the importance of such revision, frequent as it is at all stages--the MS. in particular--should not be exaggerated.

Hardy defined the central concern of The Mayor when he wrote in the Preface of 1895 that "The story is more particularly a study of one man's deeds and character than, perhaps, any other of those included in my little Exhibition of Wessex life" (O, vi); for the novel is primarily a study of one man's personality; a study of a man of passionate and contradictory temperament, whose central flaw is a self-destructiveness which impels him repeatedly to separate himself from and remain independent of others when his greatest need is really for human affection; and who, thus acting persistently against his own interest, eventually destroys himself.

In the first group of MS. revisions dealing with Henchard, the author seems concerned to invest the figure of the protagonist with a greater degree of humanity. The "cool surface detachment"¹ with which Hardy had so carefully regarded Henchard throughout the narrative may well have caused him, on re-examining the text, to feel that he had placed insufficient emphasis on the man's fundamental decency, for nearly all the changes in this group

¹ Lerner and Holmstrom, Thomas Hardy, p. 54.

seem designed to enlist the reader's compassion. This is achieved mainly by reinforcing the deep and persistent sense of guilt borne by Henchard for his perverse behaviour, and by stressing the degree of provocation behind several of his most culpable actions.

A strong sense of pathos is evoked in nearly all revisions which accentuate Henchard's consciousness of shame for past actions. In the scene of his reunion with Susan in Chapter xi, for example, the husband's first words to his long-lost wife had originally read:

"If I had known you were living, Susan!" (MS, 102)

but in the final MS. form the dialogue is extended, and Henchard's words of self-reproach are now prefaced with those expressing a more acute sense of guilt:

"I don't drink," he said in a low, halting, apologetic voice. "You hear, Susan?--I don't drink now--I haven't since that night." Those were his first words. (MS, 101^v)

A similar change is made a few lines later when the husband's reference to his "shady|drinking past" becomes, after revision, his "shady, headstrong, disgraceful life as a young man" (MS, 104). With this second amendment, however, a judicious glance at the Graphic readership may well have produced the increased severity of Henchard's own judgment of his past crime.

The self-recrimination which invariably follows Henchard's rash actions receives further emphasis in the conversation with Farfrae shortly after the scene of Henchard's bullying of Abel Whittle (ch. xv). The Mayor has interpreted as a slight the Scotsman's public rebuke of his employer's treatment of the young workman; and realizing later that his brusque behaviour toward Farfrae has been unjust, Henchard's reaction is at first instinctive and immediate:

The cloud lifted from Henchard's brow, and as Alan finished [speaking], the corn-merchant shook him by the hand.

In the corrected text, however, this sense of relief is tempered, characteristically, with shame:

The cloud lifted from Henchard's brow, and as Alan finished, the corn-merchant turned to him, regarding his breast rather than his face. (MS, 145)

The remorse felt by Henchard for his behaviour toward both Susan and Farfrae is matched, in later chapters, with a consciousness of guilt for his past treatment of Elizabeth Jane. This is several times reinforced in the scene in which Elizabeth offers to come and live again with her step-father (ch. xli). "'I would have agreed to come this morning, but you did not ask me,'" she tells him; and while in the earlier MS. form Henchard had reacted to her invitation with eager gratitude:

"May you come to me?" he cried. "If you only will!"
 subsequent revision of the text informs his response
 with a self-accusation that renders him incredulous of
 the girl's offer:

"May you come to me?" he cried bitterly. "Elizabeth,
 don't mock me! If you only would come!" (MS, 432)

And where he had previously continued:

"And you will forgive all my roughness in former days?"

he now says:

"How will you forgive all my roughness in former days?"
 (MS, 432)

adding in disbelief:

"You cannot!" ¹ (MS, 432)

Self-condemnation is again dominant in the emended
 form of Henchard's final words before parting from

¹The situation here of the incredulous Henchard and the all-forgiving Elizabeth seems to me somewhat reminiscent of the relationship between father and daughter in the scene of reunion in Lear IV.vii. Indeed the emendation quoted above suggests that in revising the text, at least, Hardy may well have had the play in mind. Cf. the addition: "'Elizabeth, don't mock me!'" with Lear's similarly unbelieving "'Pray, do not mock me!'" and the amendment "Thus she assured him" (MS, 432) with Lear's earlier cry: "'Would I were assured of my condition!'" A further parallel may be seen in the metaphoric changing of clothes assumed by both men: earlier in Lear IV.vii, Cordelia had asked of her father: "'Is he arrayed?'" and had received the reply: "'Ay Madam ...we put fresh garments on him!'" ; in Chapter xli of The Mayor, the passage following the reunion of Elizabeth and her step-father begins, it may be remembered: "Then Henchard shaved ...and put on clean linen and combed his hair and was as a man resuscitated thenceforward" (MS, 432).

Elizabeth (ch. xliiii): "'...think of me when you are living as the wife of the foremost man in the town, and not altogether forget me,'" he had begged the girl in the original text; but "'...think of me when you are living as the wife of the foremost man in the town, and don't let my sins cause ye to quite forget ..." in the final form (MS, 447-448). Revision of this kind is not confined to dialogue and action; it is also present in narrative comment. Thus Hardy elaborates the "business-like determination" with which Henchard conscientiously undertakes his courtship of Susan (ch. xliii) by adding that the Mayor

seemed to have schooled himself into a course of strict mechanical rightness towards this woman of prior claim, at any expense to the later one, and to his own sentiments. (MS, 116b, 116a^v)

--a further underscoring of Henchard's persistent pre-occupation with penance.

Next among the revisions designed to humanize the figure of the Mayor are several additions which serve to increase the reader's understanding of Henchard's behaviour, by drawing attention to the motive behind, and stimulus for, several of his most outrageous actions. One example of this type of revision appears in Chapter xxvii, where Henchard forces Lucetta to agree to marry him. In its original version the situation is recorded as follows:

"...unless you give me your promise this very night to be my legal wife, before a witness, I'll disclose all--in common fairness to other men!"

A look of resignation settled upon her. Without another word she rang the bell, and directed that Elizabeth Jane should be fetched from her room....

(MS, 282)

On revising the scene Hardy inserted between the last two sentences several lines of analysis in which Henchard's brutal inclemency towards the woman is explained in terms of his intense jealousy of Farfrae. The lines, added on the verso of f. 281, read thus:

...had Lucetta's heart been given to any other man in the world than Farfrae he would probably have had pity upon her at that moment. But the supplanter was the upstart (as Henchard called him) who had mounted into prominence upon his shoulders, and he could bring himself to show no mercy. (MS, 281^v)

Deep resentment of the younger man's success is again implied as the instigation for Henchard's bullying of the choir in the psalm-singing episode at the Three Mariners (ch. xxxiii). In the original MS. Henchard had chosen the words for his psalm-tune after leafing through the pages of a psalter:

"Now then," he added, after turning over the leaves awhile. "Psalm the hundred-and-ninth, to the tune of Wiltshire."

Hardy then cancelled the lines and, continuing the scene, provided Henchard with a more immediate stimulus for his vindictive choice; for in the amended version the corn-merchant, leafing through the psalter, chances to look

out of the inn-window and sees among the passers-by:

...Mr Councillor Farfrae, with Lucetta upon his arm, the observed and imitated of all the smaller tradesmen's womankind. Henchard's mouth changed a little, and he continued to turn over the leaves.

"Now then," he said. "Psalm the hundred-and-ninth"
(MS, 332)

Thus incited to his choice of psalm by the galling reminder of the young Scotsman's civic and romantic achievements, Henchard's act becomes less one of calculated malice, than one of impulsive anger--a mood in which his harshest actions are most often committed.

The third occasion on which emphasis is placed upon the degree of provocation behind the protagonist's inhumane behaviour occurs in Chapter xxxviii, where Farfrae's brusque treatment of Henchard during the royal visit leads the former Mayor to an attempt on the life of the younger man.

The point at which Henchard retires from the scene of his collision with Farfrae and reflects on his rough handling receives several minor adjustments which intensify his sense of outrage and injured pride, and so reflect more clearly the mental state which incites him to murder. Thus he is described in the earlier form as "regarding the spot on the lappel [~~sic~~] of his coat where Farfrae's hand had rested," but in the revised text as "regarding with a stare of abstraction the spot

on the lappel of his coat ..." (MS, 388); and where a later sentence now begins: "While pausing in this half-stupefied state the conversation of Lucetta with the other ladies reached his ears ...," it had originally begun with a quite neutral description: "While standing thus the conversation of Lucetta ..." (MS, 388). Two further alterations elaborate Henchard's own thoughts on his treatment: "'...how angry he [Farfrae] looked. I took it like a lam [sic]," he had said in the earlier form, but: "'...how angry he looked. He drove me back as if I were a bull breaking fence.... I took it like a lamb ..." in the final version (MS, 389). The same consciousness of deep insult is stressed a few lines later where, recounting past injuries he has suffered at the hands of Farfrae, Henchard had earlier concluded: ...it had been reserved for this day--that he should be shaken at the collar by him in the face of the whole town.

but after revision:

...the crowning degradation had been reserved for this day--that he should be shaken at the collar by him as a vagabond in the face of the whole town. (MS, 389)

Finally among this group of amendments are a handful of minor additions which suggest a basic kindness in Henchard's treatment of others, and offer proof of his integrity. The earliest of these occurs at the close of Henchard's first meeting with Elizabeth Jane (ch. x).

In the unrevised text we read simply that Henchard "showed her out of the office, and through the outer room . . .," but in the final form: "It was with a gentle delicacy of manner surprising to Elizabeth that he showed her out of the office . . ." (MS, 95). Similarly, in the scene of his reunion with Susan in the following chapter, what Henchard had merely "said" in reply to his wife's offer to leave Casterbridge--"'Now, now: we don't want to hear that'"--in the original text, he "said gently" in the revised version (MS, 105). Later in the scene, having enquired about his wife's lodgings and offered her money for superior rooms, Henchard continues. in the final MS. form: "'And are you comfortable at the inn'" (MS, 105)--a mark of concern which, no less than the two earlier additions, seems inspired by feelings of compunction.

The protagonist's basic decency is further reinforced in several amendments to the scene of moonlight harvesting, where Henchard overhears Farfrae's proposal of marriage to Lucetta (ch. xxvii). In the earlier form of the MS. Henchard's eavesdropping appears to have been intentional, but in subsequent revision of the scene the sheer inadvertency of his position is stressed. While standing at the edge of the cornfield Henchard sees

Farfrae and Lucetta approaching, and where, according to the original text; he "thereupon stepped into the hollow of the nearest shock and sat down," according to the revised form: "A meeting promised to be awkward, and he therefore stepped into the hollow of the nearest shock ..." (MS, 278)--additions which remove any ambiguity that may previously ^{have} attended the action. Similar revision appears on the following leaf. After the conversation in which Lucetta asks Farfrae if he would be willing to leave Casterbridge after their marriage, the earlier MS. had continued: "Henchard did not hear the reply; he might have done so, but he did not care to"; after correction it reads: "Henchard did not hear the reply; he might have done so and much more, but he did not care to play the eavesdropper" (MS, 279). The motive for his refusal to listen further thus changes from one implying mere distaste for the tenor of the conversation, to the more laudable one of concern to rid himself at the first opportunity of his position of unwitting voyeur upon a private encounter.

In the next group of MS. changes--all of which occur in the final chapters of the text--Hardy seems concerned to accentuate the terrible isolation, spiritual as well as physical, which Henchard experiences toward the end

of his life. Evidence of this is seen in Chapter xli when shortly after the death of Lucetta, Elizabeth asks her step-father: "'You are very lonely, are you not?'" While Henchard had previously replied, "'Ay, child--to a degree that you know nothing of,'" a slight innovation in the revised text lays stress on his literal isolation, for he now continues: "'You are the only one who has been near me for weeks'" (MS, 427).

A sense of physical separation is again reinforced in the scene of Henchard's reappearance at Elizabeth's wedding celebrations (ch. xliv). When Henchard returns to Casterbridge, the only other person to see him before his rejection by Elizabeth is Farfrae's housekeeper. In the earlier MS. version the figure Henchard had met in the kitchen of his former house had been a familiar one, for she was described as "...the same elderly woman who had acted as housekeeper during the illness of his wife Susan, and in the months after her death." In the corrected text, however, these lines are cancelled, and the woman described simply as "a total stranger" (MS, 465); a substitution which deepens the solitariness of Henchard's final ordeal.

Emphasis on Henchard's awareness of his spiritual isolation is made in several alterations to Chapters xliii

and xliv. His consciousness of being outcaste, both socially and morally, from his fellow men had already received powerful expression in the text prior to revision, through his words of identification with the prototype of outcasts: "'I--Cain--go alone as I deserve-- a fugitive and a vagabond.'" Now in the final MS. form, the reference to "a fugitive and a vagabond" (Gen.iv.4) is rephrased as "an outcast and a vagabond" (MS, 449); and several pages later, where Henchard had previously described himself as "a blot, and a stain, and an encumbrance upon the ground," he considers himself, in the revised text, as "an outcast, and an encumbrance, wanted by nobody ..." (MS, 458). In both amendments the substitution of words expressing simply self-disgust for those implying repulse from others heightens Henchard's sense of separation from the community.

Linked with the above innovations are a handful of additions scattered over the second half of the MS. Individually these appear very minor indeed, yet their cumulative effect is to increase the reader's awareness of Henchard's alienation. Of these, four examples may be cited: thus the description of the former Mayor as he gazes on the heap of hay which his rival Farfrae's wagoner has overturned, acquires the following amendment:

Henchard walked away from the door ...and stood

by his hay in a ^{lonely} reverie ... (MS, 276)

and as he reflects on his need for Elizabeth's affection:

--the new-sprung hope of his loneliness
...the regard he had lately acquired for Elizabeth... (MS, 424)

and later when he walks along the river, intent on suicide:

Henchard ...struck into this path ^{of solitude}... (MS, 429)

and finally Elizabeth's remark to the solitary man:

"Father--I will not leave you ^{alone like this} ~~again~~!" (MS, 432)

Of the remaining MS. revisions dealing with Henchard, by far the greatest number are concerned with reinforcing certain aspects of his relationship with Elizabeth Jane. A brief addition to the hay-trusser's petulant outburst after his wife's departure with the sailor (ch. i) reveals Hardy's concern, at the outset, to underline the intensely possessive nature of Henchard's affection. In the original form of the MS. the trusser had referred only to his wife: "'Be hanged if I'll go after her! ... Let her go. If she's up to such vagaries she must suffer for 'em!'", but in the emended form his speech is expanded, and he now continues: "'She'd no business to take the maid--'tis my maid; and if it were the doing again

she shouldn't have her!" (MS, 19)--a logical extension of which attitude, regarding kin primarily as property, had earlier led him to commit his wife to public auction.

The equally proprietary nature of Henchard's affection for the second Elizabeth--evident throughout the narrative--receives further attention in the reworking of the scene following Newson's reappearance at Jopp's cottage (ch. xli). Where previously we had read that Henchard's newly-acquired regard for his step-daughter had been stimulated by the unexpected coming of Newson to a passionate desire to retain despair at the foresight of her loss ...

in the final MS. form that regard now becomes:

stimulated by the unexpected coming of Newson to a greedy exclusiveness in relation to her ... (MS, 424)

--an amendment in which Henchard's characteristic inability to share affection is also stressed. The same desire for possession is restated later in the scene, when Elizabeth remarks on a strange dream she has just had. "'What was your dream?'" Henchard asks the girl, responding in the original text, by "taking her hand affectionately," but in the later form, by "taking her hand with anxious proprietorship" (MS, 426).

This great need both to give and to receive affection, which springs from the intense loneliness that Henchard's

self-sought independence has brought, underlies the keen desire he shows to establish kinship with Elizabeth. Henchard's sensitivity over his status as a parent is reinforced early in MS. revision. In Chapter x, for example, Elizabeth informs Henchard of the supposed loss of Newson, remarking, "'Father was lost last spring.'" After this sentence Hardy then added: "Henchard winced," and lest the point be overlooked, he continued in a later hand: "at the word 'father,' thus applied" (MS, 96). In his fierce desire to "possess" love, Henchard misinterprets his need for affection as a need for kinship, and when public recognition of his claim to Elizabeth is denied him, he rejects his step-daughter. It is only when the death or estrangement of all his closest ties have completely alienated him from society that Henchard is finally able to recognize the true nature of his need; that it is a need, not for the ties of kin, but simply for companionship--and to recognize that it is possible to love what is not exclusively one's own.¹

¹ The moment of recognition occurs shortly before the death of Lucetta, when Henchard asks his step-daughter for news of the sick woman: "...in the midst of his gloom she [Elizabeth] seemed to him as a pin-point of light. He had liked the look of her face as she answered him There had been affection in it, and above all things what he desired now, was affection from anything that was good and pure. She was not his own; yet, for the first time, he had a faint dream that he might get to like her as his own,--if she would only continue to love him." (W, 331)

Several changes in MS. illustrate the depth of Henchard's craving for affection. This is evident, for example, in his eager response--in the latter part of the text--to any display of kindness by Elizabeth; a feature which is of course fully established from the earliest phase of the MS. Thus in Chapter xxxii we read of Elizabeth's visit to her step-father during his illness: "The effect [on Henchard], either of her ministrations or of her mere presence, was a rapid recovery. He soon was well enough to go out; and now things seemed to wear a new colour in his eyes" (MS, 326).

The regenerative power which the girl's "mere presence" has over Henchard is further exemplified on two occasions in revision. In Chapter xxxi it is implied as the motive force behind the fine integrity shown by Henchard in offering all his possessions to his debtors at the bankruptcy hearing. In its unrevised form his action is introduced as follows:

His examination had closed, and the creditors were leaving. Then Henchard, turning his face from the window ...called their attention for a moment more.... "Gentlemen," he said, "over and above the assets that we've been talking about, and that appear on the balance-sheet, there be these...."

But on subsequent revision a short interpolation is made:

His examination had closed, and the creditors were leaving. The appearance of Elizabeth threw him into a reverie; till turning his face from the window ...

he called their attention for a moment more....
 "Gentlemen," he said ... (MS, 313)

A similar change is made in the scene of Henchard's reunion with Elizabeth (ch. xli). Having discovered her step-father's attempted suicide, Elizabeth offers to go and live with him, and after the two have arranged their plans for reunion, the text had originally continued:

Then Henchard shaved, and put on clean linen, and combed his hair.

On re-examining the scene, however, Hardy underscores the redemptive influence of Henchard's step-daughter, and the sentence now reads:

Then Henchard shaved for the first time during many days, and put on clean linen, and combed his hair; and was as a man resuscitated thenceforward.
 (MS, 432)

In the final group of revisions concerning the relationship with Elizabeth, emphasis is placed on the extent to which Henchard's eventual recognition of his dependence on the girl's affection forces him to discipline his nature. The humiliation he is prepared to undergo in order to satisfy his need for Elizabeth is underlined in several minor additions which stress Henchard's willingness to subdue even his pride--till now the mainspring of his action.

The first of these amendments appears in the early

part of Chapter xlii which records briefly the period following the death of Lucetta, when Elizabeth and her step-father again share a home. We read in the early MS. text that: "For Elizabeth Jane's sake ... [Henchard] had accepted the small seed business which some of the Town-Council, headed by Farfrae, had purchased, to afford him a new opening" Now the cost to Henchard of thus submitting to patronage from the long-estranged Farfrae is reinforced in subsequent revision, for in their final form the lines now read: "For Elizabeth Jane's sake ... [he] had fettered his pride sufficiently to accept the small seed business which some of Town-Council, headed by Farfrae ..." (MS, 434). And where the text had previously continued: "Had he been only personally concerned Henchard, would, in all probability, have declined assistance brought about by the man whom he had so fiercely assailed," the emended version is more emphatic: "Had he been only personally concerned Henchard, without doubt, would have declined assistance even remotely brought about by the man whom he had so fiercely assailed" (MS, 434).

A similar change appears in the following chapter when Henchard, now exiled from Casterbridge, decides to return to Elizabeth Jane. Imagining his future with the girl, the once imperious Mayor pictures himself as "an

inoffensive old man," "living ...about the back rooms of a house in which his step-daughter was mistress ..." (MS, 460), and where, prior to revision, his thoughts had continued: "Yet, for the girl's sake, he could put up with anything ...," a minor insertion in the corrected text intensifies his sense of humiliation: "It was terrible to his pride to descend so low: and yet, for the girl's sake, he might put up with anything ..." (MS, 460).

Three further innovations in the MS. deserve mention: their chief effect seems to be to illustrate the great self-loathing which Henchard feels for his emotional dependence on someone who does not belong to him--a feature stressed repeatedly in the penultimate chapter of the MS. Thus an addition on f. 457 describes him in his isolation, as "sneering at himself for his weakness" in thinking continually of Elizabeth; while lines on the verso of the preceding leaf further depict this mood of bitter self-mockery: "...he would say of himself, 'O you fool--All this about a daughter who is no daughter of thine!'" (MS, 456^V). The point is enforced once again when Hardy adds to the description of Henchard's nervous preparation for his reunion with Elizabeth the comment that the man "sadly satirize/d himself for his emotions thereon, as a Samson shorn" (MS, 463).

ii) Revision in 1886

Revisions for the first edition add no new features to this personality, but continue instead to underline its most characteristic qualities, in particular the depressive aspect of Henchard's temperament. This trend is much in evidence in the reappraisal of Henchard's relationship with Lucetta. In the serial text, as we have seen, Henchard's involvement with the young woman stems directly from his gratitude to her for having saved his life in an accident:

"I fell out of a boat in the harbour and struck my head in falling.... The person who saved me was a woman ...who has had a foolish liking for me more than five years So when I found that I owed my life to her, in a moment of gratitude and excitement I offered to marry her. (G, 134)

In the rewritten text, however, it is no longer the workings of Chance, but rather the peculiarities of Henchard's own temperament--namely, depression resulting from a sense of isolation--that render him susceptible to Lucetta's sympathy. For, addressing Farfrae "gloomily" (86, I, 145) rather than with the "desperate awkwardness" of the earlier text (G, 134), Henchard's tale of his accident in Jersey is now replaced by an account of an illness, during which, he tells the Scotsman:

"...I sank into one of those gloomy fits I sometimes suffer from, on account o' the loneliness of my domestic life, when the world seems to have

the blackness of hell, and, like Job, I could curse the day that gave me birth.... While in this state I was taken pity on by a woman (86, I, 145)

The darker side of Henchard's temperament is again reinforced in the revised version of his meeting with Lucetta at the Ring (ch. xxxv). In the Graphic account Hardy had stressed the effect upon Henchard of the elaborate artifice of Lucetta's appearance:

His manner as he came down was one of cynical carelessness, but when he reached a distance of two or three yards only she saw a change. He was evidently shocked and, put away his cynical half-smile His old feeling of supercilious pity for womankind was brought out by the perception that she was no longer attractive. A poor, withered, worn-out woman was such very small deer to hunt that he felt ashamed ... (G, 422)

but in the corrected text, the compunction which Henchard feels for having tormented Lucetta is due less to her haggard appearance, than to his own guilt-stricken memories of the past: the woman's presence in the Ring, "the unusual plainness of her dress," and "her attitude of hope and appeal" (86, II, 167¹) are now uncomfortably reminiscent of his encounter with the ill-used Susan in the same place several years before:

...in appointing this spot, and this hour, for the rendezvous, Lucetta had unwittingly backed up her entreaty by the strongest argument she could have used outside words, with this man of moods, glooms and superstitions.... (86, I, 162)

Henchard's tendency to morbidity is further accentuated in two minor adjustments to Chapter xliii. The first of these appears in the description of the man's growing fear of himself as an unwanted burden on others. "...This moody view of himself took deeper and deeper hold of Henchard, till the daily necessity of facing mankind, and of them particularly Elizabeth Jane, became more than he could endure," we had read in the serial (G, 511). In 1886, however, a brief interpolation is made, and the sentence now continues: "His health declined; he became morbidly sensitive. He wished he could escape those who did not want him ..." (86, II, 276). Similar revision occurs several pages later in the account of Henchard's departure from Casterbridge. Comparing Henchard's present appearance with that of the young hay-trusser in the novel's opening pages, the narrator of the serial text had written:

...the serious addition to his years had considerably lessened the spring of his stride, and imparted to his shoulders ...a perceptible bend. (G, 511)

In the later text a slight correction appears, and the change in Henchard's physical appearance is now attributed not simply to his increased age, but also to his emotional condition:

...the serious addition to his years had considerably lessened the spring of his stride ...while his state of hopelessness had weakened him, and imparted to his shoulders ...a perceptible bend. (86, II, 283)

In thus illustrating the physical effect which mental conflict has produced in Henchard, both changes develop the MS. trend of underlining the denaturalization of the protagonist.

Also continued in post-MS. revision is the pattern of intensifying Henchard's profound loneliness. His sense of isolation had already been reinforced in the Graphic proof revisions ¹ where his comment on hearing Farfrae's singing at the Three Mariners (ch. viii) received slight adjustment. "'To be sure, to be sure, how that fellow does draw me!'" Henchard had said in the final MS. form (MS, 79), but "'I suppose 'tis because I'm so lonely'" he now continues in the serial version (G, 102); while in the first edition, as we have seen, he refers to the "loneliness" of his "domestic life" (86, I, 145).

¹ Since corrected proof-sheets of the magazine version have not survived, all changes cited in the following chapters as "revisions in proof" are tentative only, having been inferred from a comparison between the final MS. text and that of the Graphic. Certain substantive differences between MS. and serial which seem very probably to represent non-authorial changes--viz. compositors' errors--are included in Appendix II below.

It is a measure of that loneliness that Henchard's reaction to Farfrae is so charged with emotion, and in the text of 1886 several alterations underscore the element of emotional need behind Henchard's attempt to persuade the Scotsman to stay and work with him (ch. ix). In the serial the corn-merchant's parting handshake with Farfrae, who is about to leave Casterbridge to try his fortune elsewhere, displays, we are told, "the gaucheries of one whose wishes are defeated" (G, 102), but in the first edition, "the inelegance of one whose feelings are nipped and wishes defeated" (86, I, 117). And where his final words to Farfrae had previously concluded: "'Come, bide with me--and name your own terms. I'll agree to 'em willingly and 'ithout a word of gainsaying!'" (G, 102), they continue in the corrected text: "'for, hang it, Farfrae, I like thee well!'" (86, I, 118).

The Mayor's susceptibility to the comparative stranger receives further attention in the reworking of Chapter xii: Henchard's disclosure of the events of his past life is now prefaced with the narrative comment that he was plainly under that strange influence which sometimes prompts men to confide to the new-found friend what they will not tell to the old. (86, I, 143)

while his words to Farfrae at the close of the scene now continue:

"I feel it a great relief, Farfrae, to tell some friend of this! You see now that the Mayor of Casterbridge is not so thriving in his mind as it seems he might be from the state of his pocket."
(86,I, 149)

Both the "strange influence" which compels Henchard to confide in an acquaintance of only a few hours, and the "great relief" which he feels after the disclosure, exemplify the compulsive need for friendship which Henchard's great loneliness has created.

Two further alterations in the preparation of the first edition continue the MS. pattern of underlining Henchard's preoccupation with his ownership of Elizabeth Jane--evidence of that dangerous tendency to regard people as property, whom he is blindly unable to love unless recognizably his own. Both amendments occur in Chapter xx, and both represent Henchard's thoughts on the girl whose real parentage he has recently discovered. Thus while he had earlier shown "a positive distaste for her [Elizabeth's] presence" (G, 242), his feeling in the emended text is now described as "a positive distaste for the presence of this girl not his own" (86, I, 252); and where formerly Henchard had regretted his refusal to allow Farfrae to pay his addresses to "this girl" (G, 242), he now regrets his action in relation to "this girl who did not belong to him" (86,I,258).

A further addition in the text of 1886 seems worth noting: this appears in the account of Henchard's conduct shortly after his bankruptcy and subsequent fall from public esteem (ch.xxxii), and the effect is to reinforce the integrity which had several times been stressed in MS. revision. Where we had read in the serial: "...one day, with better views of Farfrae than he [Henchard] had held for some time, he stoically went down to Farfrae's yard and asked to be taken on as a journeyman hay-trusser" (G, 375), we read in the later text: "...one day, with better views of Farfrae than he had held for some time, and a sense that honest work was not a thing to be ashamed of, he stoically went down to Farfrae's yard ..." (86, II, 120). The emphasis thus placed on the resurgence of a basic integrity in Henchard offers an interesting contrast with the man's earlier display of snobbery on discovering his step-daughter's "honest work" as waitress in the Three Mariners, on the night of her arrival in Casterbridge.¹

The final revisions in this section concern a number of excisions from Henchard's dialogue, the general effect

¹ "...such was Henchard's haughty spirit that the simple thrifty deed was regarded as little less than a social catastrophe by him." (W, 154)

of which is to increase the bluntness characteristic of the Mayor's response to others. The tendency to prune Henchard's language is already apparent in earlier revision: in the original MS. version of Chapter i, for example, the hay-trusser, angrily insisting on his seriousness in offering his wife for auction, had cited other precedents for the action:

"I take the money: the sailor takes you. That's plain enough. Why, Jimmy Clay sold his wife, didn't he, for thirty shillings? And wasn't it done at Southampton the year before last?

but in the revised text his speech is shortened, and the crude simplicity of his argument, accordingly underlined:

"I take the money: the sailor takes you. That's plain enough. It has been done elsewhere--and why not here? (MS, 17)

Similar revision is made in the proof-sheet corrections of Chapter xxii, where the Mayor's glowering response to the inquiry--"'Do we speak together?'"--from his rival Farfrae is reduced from the earlier "'I don't recognize you!'" (MS, 221) to an appropriately terse "'No!'" (G, 270).

Contractions of this kind are again evident in the reworking of the serial text, the most extensive of which occur in the scene of Elizabeth and Susan's first view of the Mayor as he presides at the civic dinner in the King's Arms Hotel (ch. v). In the familiar version of

the text, the mature Henchard's first words in the narrative are introduced thus:

The evening being calm, and the windows still open, these [after-dinner] orations could be distinctly heard. Henchard's voice arose above the rest; he was telling a story of his hay-dealing experiences, in which he had outwitted a sharper who had been bent upon outwitting him. (86, I, 65)

The text then continues with an account of the dissident voices at the celebration ("'This is all very well; but how about the bad bread?'" [86, I, 65]) and the Mayor's reply--his first recorded words as a middle-aged figure of civic dignity:

"Well, I admit that the wheat turned out badly," he said. "But I was taken in in buying it as much as the bakers who bought it o' me."Henchard's face darkened. There was temper under the thin bland surface--the temper which, artificially intensified, had banished a wife nearly a score of years before. (86, I, 66)

In their present form these lines provide a fitting re-entry for the protagonist: they reveal straightaway several characteristic traits--a marked candour, a willingness to admit error, and a sternness of manner which fully justifies the picture built up through narrative description and rustic comment earlier in the chapter; while the allusion to Henchard's fierce temper reveals, despite the man's apparent transformation, the persistence of qualities dominant in the young labourer of the novel's

opening pages. In addition, the substance of Henchard's speech--the hazards of the corn-trade--focuses immediately on one of the major themes of the novel.

By contrast, the re-entrance of the protagonist in Chapter v of the serial seems singularly inappropriate; for the Mayor's first words relate in tedious detail the story of the "sharper who had been bent upon out-witting him" (86, I, 65). The text of this tale is given in full below:

...Henchard's voice arose above the rest; he was telling a story of his hay-dealing experiences.

"'You may have the rick for eighty pound,' he says to me, 'or you may leave it alone.' 'Seventy-seven pound ten,' says I (rising another fifty shillings, for I wanted the hay). 'No' says he. 'Very well,' says I. 'But think it over. I'll stand word till my waggons come back along this way at three o'clock, and no longer.' I left him for a time--a bitter cold day 'twas--and who should I meet but George Stalker, and I told him what I was after. 'Why,' says he, 'the rick isn't worth forty pound--a's tipped with straw to begin wi'--and the heart o'en is as black as the chimney back.' Then I was in a terrible way: I teaved--I stamped up and down. I thought it over, and went back to my man. 'Now, seventy-seven pound ten is fair money,' says I (showing anxious), 'and I stand word to't as firm as a church till the waggons come back.' 'Eighty,' says he. 'But,' says I, 'Can't ye take the other, and let's have done o't? I'm afraid there's going to be a deep snow.' And so earnest-like I kept pricking him up to stand out for his price, looking covetous at the rick, and as if I were loth to let it go, and snow likely to set in. Ah, a trimming frost 'twas that day!--and being teetotaller I felt it too. Well, by long and by late the waggons loomed in sight, and I shook in my shoes lest this should bring him to say yes. But no--'Eighty pound,' says he; 'that's my figure!' The waggons came abreast. 'Good afternoon,' says I, hopping up into the nearest, and

as soon as we'd moved off I said to my man, 'Now, whip up the horses, and if you hear anybody holloa ever so loud, mind you don't turn your head.' He did holloa, and run after; but we didn't stop; not we; and I never felt so happy in my days as I did when I got home that night, clean out of the deal, bad as I wanted hay. Well--three weeks after that, when the snow was over the hedges, and a truss of hay was a'most worth its weight in gold, I found that that villain Georgy Stalker had got the rick for seventy pound, sold it in market for a hundred and twenty, and that there wasn't, as he knew all the time, a finer quantity bit o' stuff in the whole county round. Haw-haw-haw!"

(G, 69-70)

Both the triviality of the story and the garrulity of its narrator provide a most unseemly entrance for a figure whom both narrative and rustic allusion have proclaimed as dignified and formidable. In the gossipy manner of its discourse and the strongly provincial element in its vocabulary and syntax, Henchard's dialogue fails to set him sufficiently apart from the rest of the rustic speakers; and the impact of his defiant aloofness when forced to comment on the townsmen's bad bread is accordingly undermined. One further point seems worth noting; namely, the contrasting endings of the tale in earlier and later versions: in the serial the Mayor is outwitted by the sharper; in the first edition it is the sharper who is outwitted by the Mayor--a reversal which enforces a neatly ironical contrast between the shrewdness of the corn-merchant in the fictional situation, and his unfortunate error of judgment in the present situation.

iii) Revision in 1895-1912

All changes involving Henchard in the final two phases of composition complete patterns of revision established earlier. In the Osgood text of 1895 the figure receives five minor adjustments, three of which continue to underline the extent to which mental suffering has forced a change--moral no less than emotional--in the personality of the protagonist. His morbid sensitivity, for example, is emphasized at the beginning of Chapter xliiii, where he imagines his future with Elizabeth in the event of the girl's marriage. In all earlier texts Henchard had regarded himself, in the eyes of Elizabeth and Farfrae, as "a lion in the path whom they would be heartily glad to get out of the way" (87, 408), but in the edition of 1895 the image is replaced, and Henchard now pictures himself as "an irksome obstacle whom they would be heartily glad to get out of the way" (0, 374-375). In its earlier form, this figure provides a typical example of the many natural images used throughout the novel to define Henchard's personality, and is thus characteristic of the narrator's estimate of the protagonist; on revision, however, the image exchanges a strictly objective, for a more subjective viewpoint, the later reading

reflecting far more closely Henchard's own nervous opinion. The same sensitivity is again underscored in a minor alteration in the following chapter: "'...an outcast and an encumbrance, wanted by nobody ...'" Henchard had called himself in the second edition (87,422); "and despised by all ..." he now adds in the Osgood text (0, 388).

The second change in Henchard to which the revision of 1895 draws attention is that of the newly-acquired humility which recognition of his dependence on Elizabeth's affection has brought. The new consideration which he now shows for others had already received emphasis in the text of the first edition, with a minor addition to the scene of parting between Henchard and his step-daughter (ch. xliii). Imagining Henchard's motive for leaving Casterbridge to be due entirely to her own attachment to Farfrae, Elizabeth remarks sorrowfully that she had not expected his disapproval. "'I approve of anything you desire to do, Izzy ...'" the stoical Henchard had said in the serial form (G, 511); continuing, with great self-effacement, in 1886: "If I did not approve, it would be no matter" (86, II, 281). In the uniform text this unselfishness is further accentuated in the scene of Henchard's return to Casterbridge

for Elizabeth's wedding. Acutely aware of the incongruity between his sombre personality and the gay event, Henchard decides not to appear in the town until evening; and as the carrier's van bringing him to Casterbridge pauses on the top of Yalbury Hill, the serial states simply that "not wishing to arrive in Casterbridge till evening he [Henchard] alighted here ..." (G, 539). In the 1895 version, however, the reader is once more reminded of the selfless motive for Henchard's late appearance: "...in pursuance of his plan of not showing himself in Casterbridge street till evening, lest he should mortify Farfrae and his bride, he alighted here ..." (O, 392).

The last two revisions concerning Henchard in the Osgood text complete the process seen earlier of ennobling the figure of the protagonist. The strain of integrity which revision in both MS. and 1886 texts had sought to underline is further reinforced in two minor additions to the scene of Henchard's bankruptcy hearing (ch. xxxii), the aim of both being to accentuate the innate generosity of the former Mayor. While all earlier versions of the account of events leading to the bankruptcy had referred to "the heavy failure of a debtor whom he [Henchard]

had trusted implicitly" (87, 293), the account in the Osgood text refers instead to "the heavy failure of a debtor whom he had trusted generously" (O, 263). With the second amendment, the generosity shown by Henchard in offering all his possessions at the hearing is more forcibly stated with a slight extension of his words to his creditors. Where previously Henchard had offered his gold watch and the contents of his money-bag, with the words "'There, now you have all ...'" (87, 294), the gesture is accompanied in the 1895 text with the words "'There, now you have all I've got in the world ...'" (O, 264).

Only two changes of any note concerning Henchard appear in the final phase of the text, and the purpose of both is to preface instances of the protagonist's outrageous behaviour with a reminder of the man's propensity (after the lapse of his oath of abstinence) for consoling himself with liquor.

In the scene of Henchard's greeting of the royal visitor (ch. xxxvii), we read in all texts up to 1912 that "He [Henchard] had unrolled his private flag, and removing his hat he advanced to the side of the slowing vehicle ..." (O, 321). In its final form this sentence receives a slight alteration: "He had unrolled his private flag, and removing his hat he staggered to the side ..." (W, 306).

The hay-loft encounter between Henchard and Farfrae early in the following chapter receives similar correction. When Farfrae asks the reason for Henchard's presence in the loft, the younger man speaks, in all earlier texts, "in a tone which had just severity enough in it to show that he remembered the untoward event of the forenoon" (O, 328); in the final text, however, the sentence continues: "and his conviction that Henchard had been drinking" (W, 313).

Now revision of this kind had appeared before--once in MS. and again in the edition of 1886. In the MS. version of the scene in which Henchard is shortly to bully a terrified choir into singing the hundred-and-ninth psalm, the author adds to his description of Henchard's appearance in the Three Mariners, the comment that "The flush upon his face proclaimed at once that the vow of twenty years had lapsed, and the era of recklessness begun anew" (G, 397);¹ while in the reworking of the Graphic text, revision in a similar vein is made in Chapter xxxiv, where Henchard prepares his vindictive

¹ The quotation is taken from the serial text, for although an interpolation is indicated by the mark * and [opposite page] on f. 331, the preceding leaf is in fact missing. In the absence of MS. evidence it is thus not possible to assign the amendment in its present form to a period more precisely defined than that between the final MS. text and the first set of serial proof revisions.

plan of revealing to Farfrae his own past intimacy with Lucetta. The serial text had stated that "It was quite late when he Henchard fulfilled his promise. A curl of sardonic humour hung upon his lip as he approached the house ..." (G, 398), but in the edition of 1886, a brief amendment offers some explanation for the enormity of Henchard's plan, the corrected lines now reading: "It was quite late when he fulfilled his promise. He had primed himself with grog, as he did very frequently now, and a curl of sardonic humour hung ~~upon~~ his lip ..." (86, II, 151).

In thus emphasizing Henchard's appetite for liquor, these revisions seem to reinforce the moral decline which Henchard undergoes in the latter part of the narrative. Further, by underlining--immediately before three major instances of the protagonist's vicious behaviour towards Farfrae, the extent to which resort to drink aggravates the irrational element in Henchard's temperament--all four revisions mitigate to some extent the sheer enormity of those actions, and may thus be seen as a culmination of the tendency evident in most earlier stages of revision of humanizing the personality and actions of the central figure.

Susan Henchard

The figure of Henchard's wife Susan receives only minimal adjustment after the MS. stage of composition, and the image of the meek, passive, and simple wife familiar to readers of the definitive edition of The Mayor is almost wholly consistent with the image in the final MS. text. A number of revisions within the MS. itself, however, reveal that the author's original conception of the character underwent some slight change in the reworking of the early chapters of the novel.

One group of cancellations in the opening leaves of the MS. suggests that the mild and defenceless woman was originally cast in a less vulnerable mould. In the final MS. text Susan's general air of passive acquiescence is partially explained in the introductory analysis on f. 4:

...she had the hard, half-apatetic expression of one who deems anything possible at the hands of Time and Chance, except perhaps fair play.

Now in its present form this sentence appears to have been the result of much revision: earlier lines have been deleted, others completely erased, and faint traces in pencil of alternative phrasing are still visible. These cancellations indicate that the apathy which, in the final form of the MS. springs from Susan's recognition

of a cosmic injustice, sprang originally from a quite different source--that of inherent self-centredness, for the sentence had previously read:

...she had a hard, pained, half-apatetic expression to which anything is possible in the way of action provided it cost small effort. (MS, 4)

Moreover, above the phrase "hard, half-apatetic expression" can just be deciphered the tentative pencilled words "a hard apathetic nescience," which seem to suggest the author had originally regarded Susan's simplicity as a dullness amounting almost to wilful ignorance.

Further deletions on ff. 14-20 (the earliest surviving phase of the MS.) support the notion of this earlier less sympathetic figure. When Henchard asks his wife in the furmity tent if she will agree to go with the sailor, the woman responds, in the final MS. form, by bowing her head "with absolute indifference," but in the earlier form she had responded with "a contemptuous smile askance" (MS, 15); and while in its present form, Susan's departure with Newson is recorded thus:

Seizing the sailor's arm with her right hand, and mounting the little girl on her left she went out of the tent ...

her action had originally been expressed in somewhat harsher terms:

Seizing the sailor's arm and dragging on the smaller girl she went out of the tent. (MS, 17)

The same trend is apparent in an addition to the following line, which now describes Susan as "sobbing bitterly" when she leaves her husband (MS, 17). In recasting Susan's earlier ignorance as mere simplicity, and transforming her anger into bleak misery, the above revisions soften considerably the outline of the original conception, and the pathos of the woman's situation is thus greatly intensified. This pathos, incidentally, is further reinforced in a minor alteration on the Graphic proof-sheets: in the conversation which follows Susan's departure with the sailor, one of the rustic bystanders had previously commented: "'Well, the woman will be better offFor sea-faring naters be very good naters to rub along wi' ...'" (MS, 19); in the serial, however, the remark on the woman's plight is slightly revised and we now read that "...seafaring naters be very good shelter for shorn lambs ...'" (G, 18).

One further amendment on f. 17 of the MS. reveals the narrator's concern to stress the complete innocence with which Susan commits her act of bigamy. In its earlier form the MS. records her departure simply as "she went out of the tent," but after revision, the sentence continues: "and apparently without a thought that she was not strictly bound to go with the man who had paid for her" (MS, 17)--an addition which disturbs the carefully

unobtrusive narration of events in the opening chapter, and may well have been added to reassure the over-sensitive magazine reader, for it was cancelled altogether in the preparation of the Osgood text (O, 13).

Allied to the above revision may be mentioned several minor changes later in the narrative, whose effect is to invest the figure of Henchard's wife with a greater concern for the morality of her action in exchanging one husband for another. Alteration on the extant leaves of Chapter iv suggest that Susan's eventual realization of the lack of validity in her position as Newson's wife may have been improvised when the original plot was reorganized, for the final sentence on f. 35 had at one time read:

The sailor was now dead and buried: her staunch, religious adherence to him as her husband, in every moral sense was following page missing

but the lines are later revised as:

The sailor was now lost to them: and Susan's staunch, religious adherence to him as her husband, till her views had been disturbed by enlightenment, was (MS, 35)

This argument is strengthened if the notion that Newson's role was not originally meant to extend beyond the first chapter is correct, for in the later version of the story, Susan's discomfiture at her status provides a convenient motive for the temporary disposal of Newson. The absence of the following two leaves--ff. 36 and 37--

would reduce this argument to mere conjecture if subsequent revision of a conversation between husband and wife in Chapter xi did not also confirm the later introduction of Susan's awakened conscience. In the emended version of the scene of reunion, Hardy now informs with a consciousness of past simplicity the woman's distressed and apologetic explanation of her long silence. Previously she had told Henchard: "'I fancied there was something binding in the transaction ...,'" but she now says: "'I foolishly believed there was something solemn and binding in the transaction ...'" (MS, 103); and while their conversation had originally continued:

Susan:7 "Had he not died I should never have come."

Henchard:7 "Tut-tut!"

Susan:7 "'Twould have been very wicked--if I had not thought like that!"

a brief interpolation appears in the revised text: Henchard's exclamation is followed by the remark, "'How could you be so simple!'" and Susan's reply now becomes: "'I don't know, yet itwould have been very wicked ...'" (MS, 103).

On f. 105, moreover, the cancellation of a partly completed sentence--"'Now I think I mus [sic]"--suggests that the lines immediately following were added as an afterthought:

"I like the idea of repeating our marriage," said Mrs Henchard after a pause. "It seems the only right course, after all this. Now I think I must go back to Elizabeth Jane" (MS, 105)

Post-MS. revision of this character is slight. The spirit of greater generosity in which Hardy reshaped the figure in the early leaves of the MS. is again manifest in the rewriting of the serial text. Thus the narrator of the Graphic had referred to the woman's "almost vacuous simplicity" for believing in Newson's right to his purchase (G, 42), but he refers in 1886 merely to her "simplicity" (86, I, 43); while at the same time the ungracious comment made by Mrs Cuxsom on Susan's physical appearance--"'...her skin hanging upon her like a chitterling upon a turning-stick'" (G, 162)--disappears altogether. (86, I, 159).

Further changes in the first edition register a slight upgrading in the social status of Henchard's wife. Not only does her speech become less provincial--instead of "winders" (G, 218) she now says "windows" (86, I, 228), for "bide" (G, 42) says "stay" (86, I, 38), and replaces "be folded" (G, 218) with "are folded" (86, I, 228)--but she also acquires the trappings of gentility, when the narrative remark describing Susan and her daughter as "comfortably installed" in the house which the Mayor provides for them shortly after their arrival in Casterbridge

(G, 161), is revised in the later text as "comfortably installed, with a white-aproned servant and all complete ..." (86, I, 151).

It may be noted here that the social elevation of all the major characters (excluding Farfrae) forms a typical feature of the 1886 revision. Thus the provincial element is reduced in the speech not only of Henchard's wife, but also in that of Elizabeth Jane, Richard Newson, and Henchard himself. Further changes promote Lucetta from the daughter of a tradesman to that of a member of the professional classes (86, I, 146); while Newson, reappearing after an absence of many years, now acquires the rank of captain (86, II, 286). By investing his characters with a number of specifically middle-class traits, Hardy's aim would seem to be that of providing the leading figures in The Mayor with some mark of distinction from the rest of the peasant community of Casterbridge.

Farfrae

i) Revision in MS.

With the first group of changes relating to Donald Farfrae--"the second character"¹ in the novel--a certain

¹ Thus Hardy describes him in the Preface of 1895.

instability in the author's attitude is revealed in the early leaves of the MS. This is evident in the apparent uncertainty on the degree of gravity with which to invest the figure of the Scotsman. A tendency to humourlessness, for example, is accentuated on two occasions in the scene of Farfrae's meeting with Elizabeth Jane at Durnover Barton (ch. xiv). "'Ah--it's Miss Newson,'" says Farfrae on first seeing Elizabeth, and an interlinear addition then describes him as "showing himself a little disconcerted" (MS, 132); again, on the following leaf, when the Scotsman asks the girl: "'...what can I do to amuse you till the rain is over? If it were a little later in the day I'd sing a song,'" the author adds as an afterthought: "This was the first approach to humour that Stansbie had indulged in" (MS, 133). On later revision of the scene, however, Hardy considered the amendments unsatisfactory, for he cancelled both.

Further corrections indicate the author's subsequent decision to invest the figure less with an absence of humour, than with a marked tendency to oversolemnity. One such amendment appears in the scene of Farfrae's singing at the Three Mariners (ch. viii). In its earlier form the MS. records the enthusiasm of the inmates for the Scotsman's ballad-singing as follows: "By this time

he had completely taken possession of ...~~their~~ hearts They began to view him through a golden haze which the tone of his mind seemed to raise around him" (MS, 74-75). But in the final form of the scene, their fervour becomes somewhat tempered through a brief amendment added on the verso of f. 74: "Notwithstanding an occasional oddity which awoke their sense of the ludicrous for a moment, they began to view him" A similar change had been made several lines earlier where the Scotsman's reply to Solomon Longways' request that he continue his ballad appears in the original text as : "'That's all of it,' said the singer bowing," but in the revised form, first as: "'That's all of it,' said the singer gaily," and finally as: "'That's all of it,' said the singer apologetically " (MS, 74)--the last choice striking the most appropriate accent for the earnest young man.

While traces of a conspicuous lack of humour were removed from the figure at an early stage in revision, the Scotsman, even in the final form of the text, retains a certain narrowness of outlook; a feature to which Hardy drew attention on revising Chapter xliii of the MS. In response to Newson's suggestion for grog at the wedding celebrations, the Scotsman had previously replied: "'Oh,

we shan't want much of that,'" but after revision, his disapproval is intensified: "'Oh, none--we shan't want much of that--Oh no'" (MS, 452). Where, similarly, he had earlier responded to Newson's request by shaking his head with "passionless concern," the gesture is later rephrased as "passionless gravity," having first been altered to "passionless finality" (MS, 452). This final reading, incidentally, undergoes yet further change before achieving its final form: it is altered to "respectable gravity" in serial proof (G, 511), and then to "appalled gravity" in the uniform edition (O, 382)--a trifling correction, certainly, but offered here as an example of author's persistent search for an apt definition of behaviour; a feature typical of the changes concerning Farfrae.

In the next group of revisions Hardy seems concerned to strengthen "that curious mixture of romance and thrift" (ch. xxxviii)--the two aspects of which Farfrae's personality is chiefly composed. Both qualities are regarded as national in origin, and indeed it is evident from its inception that the figure of Farfrae as a Northerner is largely compounded of a number of stock characteristics.

When Hardy wrote in the Preface to the Osgood edition that "the Scotchman of the tale is represented not as he would appear to other Scotchmen, but as he would appear to people of outer regions" (O, vi), he was speaking specifically of Farfrae's language; yet his somewhat whimsical defence is equally applicable to characterization, for Farfrae, in traditional style, is shrewd, thrifty, and sentimental.¹

The Scotsman's concern with money, for instance, receives attention in several revisions. When Farfrae considers investing in a marriage partner (ch. xxiii), the MS. records the following amendment:

thrifty

Then who so pleasing, [^]and satisfactory in every way
as Elizabeth Jane? (MS, 227)

and as he watches the hiring of an old shepherd:

and perhaps he'll not be very expensive

"I want a young carter. [^]I'll take the old man too--yes ...
(MS, 232)

and when later he says to Lucetta:

¹ Hardy's somewhat ironical view of the Scotsman is seen in the renaming of the character in MS. "Farfrae," it will be remembered, replaces the earlier "Stansbie," and thus suggests the rather shallow nostalgia of the exile. Cf. the MS. change from "Dawson" to "Newson" (ff. 29, 30)--a distinct improvement for the sailor whose major intrusions upon the action are those of a complete stranger.

thriving

"You are a ^{woman of means--}~~lady~~^alady; and I am a struggling hay and corn dealer
(MS, 233)

The air of romance which Farfrae's country seems to evoke is twice reinforced in the final MS. text. Thus in the revised version of Chapter xliii the young man's conversation with Elizabeth Jane is conducted with a "Scotsman's pondering, world-not-realized--gaze at her" (MS, 441); and where previously he had alluded with "some sadness" to the subject of his late wife, he speaks, in the emended text, with "the pathos of one of his native ballads" (MS, 441).

The Scotsman's sentimentality is particularly evident in his attitude towards music. Much of the interest which Farfrae inspires in others derives from his skill as a singer of romantic songs and a dancer of reels and flings. The mild nostalgia which prompts him to sing touching and pathetic songs, for instance, is misinterpreted by the captive audience at the Three Mariners, who mistake it for the expression of a deeply felt emotion. Now in the scene of encounter between Farfrae and Elizabeth at Durnover Granary, the insertion of an additional leaf (f. 133a) extends the conversation between the two, and so provides Farfrae with an opportunity to define his real attitude towards singing. In its original version

the dialogue between the pair had concluded with

Farfrae's words:

"Well, now, what can I do to amuse you till the rain is over? If it were a little later in the day I'd sing a song."

and Elizabeth's reply:

"Thank you, indeed. But I fear I must go, rain or no."
(MS, 133)

In the emended text, however, it is Elizabeth, not Farfrae, who introduces the subject of singing:

"You are anxious to get back to Scotland, I suppose, Mr Farfrae?" she inquired.

Oh no, Miss Newson--why would I be?

I only supposed you might be--from the song you sang at the King of Prussia¹ --about Scotland and home, I

¹ So called until the Osgood edition, when the inn was renamed the Three Mariners. In the same text the titles of several other buildings and natural features of the Casterbridge setting also undergo change. In accordance with the practice generally adopted here of reproducing quotations in their exact form, the earlier reading of such names will be retained in extracts from texts prior to the 1895 edition; but for the sake of clarity, the familiar titles of the definitive edition will be used in all references within context to buildings, natural features, etc. I have listed below, the earlier forms of titles appearing in quotations from texts prior to the uniform edition, cited in the following chapters.

MS-1887

King of Prussia Inn
Golden Crown Hotel
Stag Hotel
High Street Hall
Horewood
Dummerford
White Hart Vale

1895

Three Mariners Inn
King's Arms Hotel
Antelope Hotel
High Place Hall
Yalbury Wood
Durnover
Blackmoor Vale

mean--which you seemed to feel so deep down in your heart; so that we all felt for you." (MS, 133a)

Replying to this, Farfrae leaves no doubt as to the transitory and sentimental quality of that emotion:

"Ah yes--I did sing there--I did But Miss Newson ...it's like you feel a song for a few minutes, and your eyes be quite tearful: then you finish it, and for all you felt you don't mind it or think of it for a long while. Oh no--I don't want to go back! Yet I'll sing the song to you wi' pleasure whenever you like--I could sing it now, and not mind at all?" (MS, 133a)

A minor addition at the close of this scene, which further associates the image of Farfrae with music, deserves mention. After their conversation has ended and Elizabeth has left the granary, the Scotsman walks slowly after her. According to the original form of the MS., Farfrae follows the girl "...looking thoughtfully at her diminishing figure," but according to the final form: "...looking thoughtfully at her diminishing figure, and whistling in undertones, 'As I came down through Cannobie'" (MS, 134)--an amendment which invests with an air of lightheartedness a figure in which earlier revision had seemed to augur a narrow and humourless disposition.

ii) Revision in 1886

The most significant changes in the presentation of Farfrae at the next major phase of revision involve the

removal of dialogue and narrative comment which had revealed in the Scotsman a distinctly puritanical attitude towards the past events of Henchard's life. Revision of this kind first appears in Chapter xii. In the 1886 version of this chapter Farfrae's response to the Mayor's disclosures is primarily one of helpful sympathy, and he replies to Henchard's request for help in explaining to Lucetta the outcome of recent events, with a simple "I will" (86, I, 148). In the serial text, however, the younger man's parochial concern with the morality of Henchard's past actions had been dominant-- his agreement to help with the problem of Lucetta was less spontaneous:

"Yes--I will," said Farfrae, after a moment's thought.
(G, 135)

and he had then enquired anxiously:

"Did ye ever tell her [Lucetta] of the other wife's history?" (G, 135)

After Henchard's assurance that she had been so informed, the text had originally continued:

Farfrae seemed relieved to hear that Henchard had acted openly towards the unfortunate second woman: it rehabilitated him in his good opinion at once.
(G, 135)

Henchard again alludes to the affair later in the narrative, and remarking that his recent offer of marriage

has been refused, the Mayor asks the younger man his opinion of the woman. In the first edition Farfrae's reply is recorded thus:

"Well, ye owe her nothing more now," said Farfrae heartily. (86, II, 29)

whereas in the serial his remark had been prefaced with a cautious comment:

"I think it shows no great sense of propriety in her--indeed, it shows very little" (G, 317)

Such cancellations may seem at first to be a continuation of those earlier MS. decisions which had aimed at informing the figure of the Scotsman with a less sombre personality; indeed, the tendency to check Farfrae's propensity for moralizing is already apparent within the MS. itself, where a partially complete, and later deleted, sentence on f. 356 reveals that Farfrae's advice to Henchard to destroy the letters from the woman of his past (ch. xxxiv) had originally continued:

"And though she was fickle the second time, you must remember your error caused the (MS, 356)

In spite of this, however, it seems reasonable to attribute the cancellations in 1886 less to a genuine change in conception of character, than to the subsequent freedom from a restraint imposed by magazine publication; whose demand for such routine disapproval of misconduct

had in fact led to a distortion in character. For while the priggish response shown by Farfrae in the serial towards Henchard's unethical behaviour is conspicuously in harmony with the very attitude to be expected from the Graphic reader, the philosophic and wholly unmoralizing attitude of the Scotsman in the later text is much more consistent with Farfrae's cheerful acceptance of fate, and willingness to accommodate self to circumstance.

iii) Revision in 1887-1912

Changes concerning the Scotsman in subsequent reworking of the text are slight and appear generally to continue patterns of revision established earlier. Thus the "double strand in Farfrae's thread of life" (ch. xxiii) is further reinforced, and as with earlier revision, the "romantic" element is firmly subordinated to the "commercial." In the preparation of the second edition, for example, Farfrae's money-consciousness is stressed on two occasions. In Chapter xvi his plan for an entertainment on the day of public rejoicing, "to which admission might be charged," had originally met with Henchard's scornful remark:

"Charge admission at so much a head--who is going to pay anything a head!" (MS, 147)

Now the Scotsman's characteristic closeness with money

had already been reinforced in the first edition, when Henchard's comment received the following innovation:

"Charge admission at so much a head--just like him!--who is going to pay anything a head!" (86, I, 196)

and with further revision in 1887 the origin of Farfrae's meanness becomes clear:

"Charge admission at so much a head--just like a Scotsman!--who is going to pay anything a head?" (87, 141)

This side of Farfrae's nature receives further emphasis in the final chapter of the novel. Having searched unsuccessfully for Elizabeth's step-father, the Scotsman, in all previous texts, had advised his wife to abandon the search, since further travelling "would reduce them to the necessity of camping out for the night" (86, II, 305); in the text of 1887 he now adds ungraciously: "and that will make a hole in a sovereign ..." (87, 427).

Further minor adjustments are made in the preparation of the uniform edition. First, the remaining traces of overt moralizing on Henchard's past conduct are removed. To the Mayor's claim--"'I have kept my oath for eighteen years I have risen to what you see me now'" (87, 108)--the younger man had previously remarked: "'And it's not a small counterbalance to the immoral years that ye've done so much since!'" (87, 108); in the Osgood text his reply is shortened to a typically acquiescent "Ay!" (0,92).

The remaining revisions in 1895 continue to stress the national traits in Farfrae's character. Thus his native enthusiasm for dancing is underlined when the "exuberant movement" he displays in dancing at his wedding-party (87, 423) now becomes an "exuberant Scotch movement" (0, 395); and his tendency to oversolemnity, reinforced when the "occasional oddity" which the inmates of the Three Mariners had observed in the fervour of his singing (87, 75) is rephrased as the more explicit "occasional odd gravity" (0, 63). A final revision deepens the strong vein of sentimentality which informs Farfrae's attitude toward the country of his birth. In Chapter xliv of all previous texts the onlookers at Elizabeth's wedding-party had heard the bridegroom "giving expression to a song of his native country" (87, 423). In the Osgood edition, however, this becomes "a song of his dear native country, that he loved so well as never to have revisited it" (0, 393)--the tone of which revision marks something of a departure from the strict impartiality characteristic of the narrative voice of The Mayor.

iv) Revision in dialogue

By far the greatest number of changes relating to Farfrae at all stages of revision concern changes in dialogue.

Hardy's early attempts at representing Farfrae's speech reveal an obvious unfamiliarity with the Scottish idiom--surprising perhaps in an avowed admirer of Scott--and this leads at times to a speech so patently artificial as to cause the reader of early editions of The Mayor to doubt the author's wisdom in casting the figure of Henchard's antagonist as a Northerner. Hardy appears to have been dissatisfied from the start with his presentation of Farfrae's language, for passages of Scots dialogue receive heavy revision throughout the MS.

The author stylized both idiom and spelling in his attempt to create a regional speech for Farfrae, and both features receive attention in revision. As regards pronunciation, changes in MS. generally reinforce the trend in the original text of suggesting vowel and consonantal peculiarities by substituting "a" for "o", as in "wark" for "work" (MS, 141); "e" for "o", as in "cannet" for "cannot" (MS, 346); and by using a double for a single "r" to suggest a trill, as in "prrofits" (MS, 229) and "murrdered" (MS, 345). As regards idiom, a survey of Farfrae's language in the MS. text reveals Hardy's attempt to suggest regional speech through the recurrent use of a number of idiosyncratic grammatical constructions; the two least convincing of these being

the two most frequently employed; namely, the use of a conjunction (often accompanied by a clumsily constructed interrogative verb) to introduce an interrogative sentence--"But is it that I have come to the wrong house?" (MS, 226), "and is it that you are lonely?" (MS, 228), "and is it that ye are here?" (MS, 475)---and second, the use of "like" generally to replace "likely", as in "Something to think over when we are alone, it's like to be" (MS, 234). Both arrangements, unfortunately, are as evident in revision as in the original text. Thus Farfrae's question on f. 441--"You like walking this way, Miss Henchard?"--receives the amendment: "And is it not so?" As regards the second construction, "you feel a song" is afterwards changed to "it's like you feel a song" (MS, 133a), "I'm going to leave you soon" to "It's like that I'm going to leave you soon" (MS, 156), and "The person is not coming" becomes "The person is not like to be coming" (MS, 133).

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Farfrae's language in MS., both before and after emendation, is, with very few exceptions, the conspicuous absence of any elements--either of lexis or of syntax--that can be regarded as distinctively Scottish; as a result, the reader of the MS. version, offered no information on Farfrae's

country of origin other than his speech, might well be unable to identify the speaker as Scottish.

One feature of the Scottish tongue which seems particularly to have impressed Hardy is that of intonation. The author's desire to communicate to the reader the generally greater range of voice characteristic of Northern intonation is evident in the somewhat repetitive phrases used to describe Farfrae's speech. Thus in the additional leaf (f. 133a) which extends the conversation between Elizabeth and Farfrae at Durnover Granary, we read that the Scotsman's voice "musically undulated between two semitones." Similar revision appears elsewhere in the MS.:

"I never found out who it was that sent us ...on a fool's errand that day," said Alan [^] in his undulating tones (MS, 157)

--and is it not so? (uttered in his undulatory accents)
"You like walking this way, Miss Henchard" [^] (MS, 441)

The attempt to suggest intonation is apparent in even the most trifling revision; namely, in accidental changes, where Hardy tries on several occasions to indicate a rise in pitch by replacing an exclamation point with a query, in punctuating an affirmative statement:

"Take a seat. I've almost done, and it makes
na difference at all<!>?" (MS, 64)

"But no<!>?" said Donald Farfrae gazing round
into their faces ... (MS, 73)

The three phases of revision following MS. composition register some slight improvements in Farfrae's dialogue. On the Graphic proofs, for instance, "I won't" (MS, 345) is replaced by "I couldna" (G, 398), "anybody" (MS, 343) by "anyfolk" (G, 398), and "a little envy" (MS, 346) by "a wee bit envy" (G, 398); while in the rewriting of the serial text "you'll catch your death" (G, 189) becomes "you'll hae your death" (86, I, 188). However, Hardy's persistent lack of confidence in his rendering of Scots pronunciation is well-seen in the inconsistency of his method of revision, for in the three phases of rewriting up to 1887, changes in spelling show simultaneously a reversal and a continuation of decisions made earlier. And so while revisions in 1886 reinforce the trend in the Graphic proofs of removing the double "rr's" frequently added in MS. emendation-- "farrmers" (G, 270) reverts to "farmers" (86, I, 302), and "trrue" (G, 374) to "true" (86, II, 116)--the first edition nevertheless includes the changes "world" (G, 70) to "warrld" (86, I, 84), and "advertisement" (G, 70) to "advarrtisment" (86, I, 84).

Despite the fairly extensive revision of Scots language (texts from MS. to second edition register nearly one hundred changes), the problem of providing Farfrae's speech with a convincing regional timbre remains unresolved until the text of 1895, in the preparation of which Hardy sought the help of a Scots friend in improving the language of Farfrae. This Hardy acknowledges in the Osgood Preface where he alludes, not surprisingly, to previous "objections ...raised to the Scotch language of Mr Farfrae," and states that "...this new edition of the book has had the accidental advantage of a critical overlooking by a professor of the tongue in question--one of undoubted authority ..." (O, vi). The professor was Sir George Douglas, and the criticisms he offered were responsible for a marked improvement in Farfrae's speech.¹

¹ Rutland, Thomas Hardy, p. 206, writes: "On the subject of Farfrae, there are in Mrs Hardy's possession a number of letters from a Scotch friend of Hardy's, Sir George Douglas, in reply to letters from Hardy about Farfrae's expressions." Rutland may be mistaken, however, when he states later that Douglas made a list "from the serial version in the Graphic, of phrases which he did not think it likely a Scotsman would use," for the actual copy used by Hardy in preparing the text for the Osgood edition (viz. Sampson Low's Half-Crown edition) is now in the possession of Professor Purdy, who writes: "'The Scotch language of Mr Farfrae' has been corrected, sometimes with comment, in a different hand, which I take to be Sir George Douglas's ..." (Purdy, p. 54, n.1.)

In the 1895 Preface--at least one third of which comprises Hardy's somewhat lightweight defence of his rendering of the Scots tongue--the author refers only to the problem of pronunciation: "...the Scotchman of the tale is represented not as he would appear to other Scotchmen, but as he would appear to people of outer regions. Moreover, no attempt is made herein to reproduce his entire pronunciation phonetically, any more than that of the Wessex speakers" (O, vi). Yet, as Hardy's successful creation of a language for his own "Wessex speakers" suggests, the problem of representing regional speech is resolved not simply through the application of a thin veneer of vernacular spelling, but rather through the rendering of idiom; and the chief criticism of Farfrae's language up to the time of the uniform edition would be that its idiom was simply not Scottish.

With the publication of the Osgood text this deficiency is largely remedied. Revisions in 1895 include several improvements in spelling: previous eccentricities are removed, as when "me parrpose" (87, 219) becomes "ma pairrpose" (O, 193); the vowel sound [ɜ̃]¹ is generally replaced by the diphthong [ɛə] as in "airly" (early) and

¹ The symbols used here are those of the narrow form of the phonetic alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

"maircy" (mercy), while $\overline{I\partial}$ is superseded by $\overline{I\partial}$ as in "heereabout." Yet it is in the presentation of a convincing idiom that the greatest improvements are to be found. Changes import into the text an increased amount of genuinely Scottish vocabulary and syntax. Thus "you know better than all this " (87, 137) is replaced by "a man o' your position should ken better" (0, 119), "thence" (87, 75) by "frae there" (0, 64), and "amiss" (87, 359) by "wrang" (0, 328); "it will be healthier" (87, 303) is altered to "it will be a deal healthier" (0, 272), and "there can be no more words" (87, 68) to "we need na say any more " (0, 57), while "And are ye not right to-day?" (87, 138) becomes "You're no' yoursel' the day?" (0, 121).

There is, moreover, a substantial improvement in that area of Farfrae's speech which is not specifically regional; Hardy's obvious difficulty in providing a convincing language for his character having resulted in a number of stilted and contrived expressions. Thus "Surely there's destiny in it ?" (87, 89) now becomes "It's Providence!" (0, 76), and "not surely?" (87, 74) becomes "not that surely?" (0, 62); "I didn't expect such as this" (87, 89) is replaced by "I never expected this" (0, 76), and "Such is the course of things" (87, 302) by "It's the way o' the warrld" (0, 272). Whether Douglas' influence

extended over the non-regional, as well as the regional, aspects of Farfrae's speech is of course impossible to determine. In view, however, of the general improvement--both in the direction of increased simplicity and in colloquial expression--which marks the revision of practically all dialogue in the 1895 text, it seems reasonable to attribute the authorship of the last mentioned group of changes in Farfrae's language exclusively to Hardy.

In the final revision of 1912 Farfrae's language receives less than a dozen minor adjustments, most of which register changes in pronunciation, and continue the improvements instituted in the Osgood edition.

c. The Henchard-Farfrae Relationship: A Literary Analogue

Since The Mayor is the first of the Wessex novels in which the action is dominated by a single figure, it is frequently pointed out that in structure the work represents a departure from the earlier novels, where Hardy's practice had been to focus attention on a number of dramatic relationships, and thus to examine the interaction of the group. Although the figure of Michael Henchard is undeniably the imaginative centre of The Mayor, the author still employs a small number of closely

interrelated figures; and it is through Henchard's relation to these--chiefly Farfrae, Elizabeth Jane, and Lucetta--that his impact is realized; and in the contrasts and parallels in temperament, outlook, and action, which these characters provide, that the meaning of the novel finally lies.

Now Donald Farfrae, more than any other figure in the novel, acts as the instrument through which Henchard's "deeds and character" effect his downfall. In personality, behaviour, and hence--in this novel at least--in fortune, the figure of the Scotsman is contrasted throughout with the protagonist. Cautious, prudent, and thrifty, where Henchard is rash, unwise, and extravagant; and sentimental where Henchard is passionate, Farfrae's reasoned acceptance of his experiences and willingness to adjust self to circumstance are directly opposed to Henchard's self-assertive and defiant approach to life, his desire to control his destiny, and to make rather than to accept conditions.

Having through jealousy and suspicion alienated the young man for whom he at first felt strong affection, Henchard engages in a struggle with the Scotsman which spans the action of the novel and which ends with the defeat, on a personal as well as on a social level, of

the older man. Beginning as rivalry in trade, their opposition extends to rivalry in love, and Farfrae supplants Henchard successively as leading merchant, civic dignitary, husband of the older man's mistress, and finally, as possessor of his step-daughter's affections; on nearly every occasion the young man inheriting his role at the very moment Henchard values it most highly.

The struggle between the two men is of course more than personal in significance. In its social aspect, Henchard and Farfrae's contrasting methods and values in trade reflect the larger social tensions which the industrialization of agriculture imposed on the rural communities of nineteenth-century England, with the eventual displacement of the older order by the new. While this theme is an important one, it is clearly subordinate to the human aspect of the combat: the presentation of a conflict between two personalities--the one, conservative and inflexible; the other, progressive and adaptable--whose different responses to experience determine their chances of survival. The rivalry between Henchard and Farfrae may thus be seen as a re-enactment of one of the most ancient literary themes--the conflict between generations.

Now for the shaping of this theme. Hardy, according to

Professor Julian Moynahan,¹ owed much to the Old Testament account of the conflict between Saul and David (1 Samuel). In a closely reasoned and persuasive article, Moynahan argues for the existence of extensive parallels, in both character and incident, between the relationship of Henchard and Farfrae and that of the legendary king and his companion. My intention in the remainder of this chapter is largely to consider the extent to which textual revision of The Mayor appears to confirm Moynahan's thesis.

It may be well at this point to mention a few of the resemblances between the novel and the biblical narrative, which Moynahan develops in detail. As regards similarities in character, personal qualities which Henchard shares with King Saul include an impressive physical stature, moodiness, generosity, a tendency to impulsive action, and a great susceptibility to music. Farfrae, like the young David, has a nature both shrewd and romantic, is of pleasing appearance and slight in build, and the possessor of great musical skill; the last quality proving the medium through which the older man is attracted to the younger. In both narratives, moreover,

¹ In "The Mayor of Casterbridge and the Old Testament's First Book of Samuel: A Study of Some Literary Relationships," PMLA, LXXI (Mar. 1956), 118-130.

the younger man enters the scene as a stranger and makes the acquaintance of the elder through claiming ability to solve a difficulty with which the latter is beset--in Henchard's case, the damaged corn sold to the townsfolk; in Saul's, the challenge offered by Goliath. Again, in both stories, the deep affection of the older man for the younger is destroyed by the former's jealousy of his companion's popularity and success; the elder's suspicion turning to hatred, and finally to an attempt to slay his rival, who later succeeds to the older man's former position of power.

Certainly it is indicative of the extent to which the Henchard-Farfrae relationship reflects that of Saul and David that emphasis in textual revision is placed repeatedly on aspects of the relations between the two men prominent in the biblical analogue. As we have seen, revisions through several phases accentuate Henchard's depression, and his loneliness; his generosity, and his impulsive affection for the younger man. Other qualities common to Henchard and King Saul, and stressed in revision, include great sensitivity to music, and a tendency to superstition. The former quality--frequently evident in the narrative--is strongly reinforced in Chapter xli

of the final MS. text, where the scene of Henchard's intended suicide receives an important amendment. This comprises an authorial comment on the power which music exercises over Henchard--a power, it seems, strong enough to prevent him from taking his own life.

Fully aware of the threat which Newson's sudden re-appearance has imposed on his relationship with Elizabeth, Henchard has sunk into a mood of extreme depression, and, regarding the prospect of a life without affection from any source ^{as} [unbearable, decides to destroy himself. The first sentence on f. 428 of the original MS. form ends with Henchard's recognition that "...all had gone from him, one after one, either by his fault or by his misfortune" and the next begins with his reflection, "The whole land ahead of him was as darkness itself" Between these two sentences Hardy later inserted the following paragraph:

In place of them he had no interest, hobby, or desire. If he could have summoned music to his aid his existence might even have been borne; for with Henchard music was of regal power. The merest trumpet or organ tone was enough to move him, and high harmonies transubstantiated him. But fate had ordained that he should be unable to call up this auxiliary at will. (MS, 427^v)

Now Saul, as we know, was equally responsive to the power of music. As Henchard was first drawn to Farfrae

by the young man's skill in singing, so Saul first felt affection for David when the youth was summoned to provide his king with music (1 Samuel xvi.21); and through the MS. addition quoted above which reinforces the "regal power" of music over the unhappy Henchard, the one-time Mayor is further linked with the Israelite king, who on many occasions "summoned music to his aid" in the person of David, whose harp-playing alone could dispel the melancholia to which Saul was subject:

And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, and an evil spirit from God troubleth thee.

Let our lord now command his servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on an harp; and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well....

And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp, and played with his hand; so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him. (1 Sam. xvi.15-16, 23)

Revisions which underscore the belief in superstition to which Henchard yields "in time of moody depression" (ch. xxvii) appear in the texts of both MS. and first edition. We learn in the MS. version of Chapter xxvi, for instance, that Henchard's commercial campaign against Farfrae is based on his own prediction of a bad harvest. Seeking assurance for this prediction, Henchard decides to consult a weather-prophet, and thus we read on f. 265: "...before acting he [Henchard] wished--what so many have

wished--that he could know for certain what was at present only strong probability" (MS, 265); a point which Hardy seemed concerned to underline, for on revising the chapter he inserted an additional comment: "He was superstitious--as such headstrong natures often are ..." (MS, 265). A similar amendment is made in the 1886 revision of Henchard's encounter with Lucetta at the Ring when, as we have seen, the protagonist is described as a "man of moods, glooms and superstitions" (86, II, 162). (Evidence of Saul's superstitious nature is illustrated in 1 Samuel xxviii.3-25 where, despite his public disapproval of sorcery--he had campaigned to free the land from wizards--the King nevertheless consults the Witch of Endor on the eve of the battle of Gilboa.)

As for qualities which liken Farfrae to the young David, several revisions in MS., as we have seen, underline the Scotsman's musical accomplishment; while a further group of changes stress the slimness of Farfrae's build; their effect being to enforce the contrast already established between the younger man's slight figure and the physical strength of the Mayor:

He Farfrae was years younger than the Mayor ... fair, fresh, and ^{slenderly}~~boyishly~~ handsome. (MS, 225)

Henchard would lay his arm familiarly on his manager's bearing so heavily that his slight figure bent under the weight shoulder, as if Farfrae were a younger brother. (MS, 128)

The poor opinion ... [which Henchard] entertained the slim Farfrae's girt of Stansbie's physical stature (MS, 129)

While Henchard's description of himself as "six foot one and a half" out of his shoes (ch. vii) bears comparison with the biblical reference to Saul: "...from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people" (1 Sam.ix.3), a further correspondence seems worth noting; namely, the physical description which the elder man in each story applies to the younger. While watching the young David march against Goliath, Saul asks his captain "whose son the stripling is" (1 Sam.xvii.36); a description which is echoed in Chapter xxxviii of The Mayor when Henchard, incensed by the public rebuke administered by Farfrae during the royal visit, confronts the younger man in the hay-loft, and upbraids him as a "forward stripling" (W, 313).

Now in view of Hardy's thorough familiarity with both the Old and the New Testament--evident not only in the pervasive appearance throughout his work of biblical quotation and allusion,¹ but also in the extent to which the

¹ The Mayor itself is particularly rich in biblical references, forty-five of which are listed in Appendix V below.

Bible influenced his very style of writing--it might seem reasonable to assume the similarities between the Bible episode and The Mayor represent a subconscious, rather than a conscious influence. There are, however, certain factors from external sources as well as from textual revision itself, to suggest that the paralleling of the two incidents may indeed represent the conscious design of the author.

First, evidence in Hardy's personal writings reveals that he continued to read the Bible for its literary merit long after his abandonment of orthodox religious faith; and that he regarded biblical narratives as models for prose fiction. A diary entry dated Easter Sunday 1885 (that is to say, twelve days before the completion of the novel)¹ reveals Hardy's interest, during this period, in the "Evidences of art in Bible narratives":

They are written with a watchful attention (though disguised) as to their effect on their reader. Their so-called simplicity is, in fact, the simplicity of the highest cunning. And one is lead to inquire, when even in these latter days artistic development and arrangement are the qualities least appreciated by readers, who was there likely to appreciate the art in these chronicles at that day?

Looking round on a well-selected shelf of fiction or history, how few stories of any length does one recognize as well told from beginning to end! The first half of this story, the last half of that, the middle of another.... The modern art of narration is yet in

¹ Easter Sunday 1885 occurred on 5 April, while The Mayor, it may be remembered, was completed on 17th of the same month.

its infancy.

But in these Bible lives and adventures there is the spherical completeness of perfect art. And our first, and second, feeling that they must be true because they are so impressive, becomes, as a third feeling, modified to, "Are they so very true, after all? Is not the fact of their being so convincing an argument, not for their actuality, but for the actuality of a consummate artist who was no more content with what Nature offered than Sophocles and Pheidias were content?"¹

Of greater significance still, are remarks made by Hardy in his reminiscences of Leslie Stephen, which state explicitly that the story of Saul and David impressed him with its skilful depiction of character. Referring to a conversation which took place in 1873, Hardy writes as follows:

Somehow we launched upon the subject of David and Saul. One of the ladies /both Mrs Stephen and Miss Thackeray were present/ said that her best idea of Saul's character had been gained from Browning's poem of that name. I spoke to the effect that the Bible account would take a deal of beating, and that I wondered why the clergy did not argue the necessity of plenary inspiration from the marvellous artistic cunning with which so many Bible personages, like those of Saul and David, were developed, though in a comparatively unliterary age.²

¹ Quoted in the Life, p. 170. Further references to the Bible as narrative art appear in Hardy's essay "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" (reprinted in Orel, pp. 110-125), and in his contribution to the symposium, "Fine Passages in Verse and Prose; Selected by Living Men of Letters," Fortnightly Review, Aug. 1887, pp. 304-306 (Orel, pp. 106-109).

² See Maitland, Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen, p. 274.

Second, evidence within textual revision itself seems to indicate the author's conscious debt to the ancient narrative. For examination of earlier texts of The Mayor reveals that the single two statements of comparison (one explicit, the other implicit) between the fictional narrative and the Bible legend to appear in the novel are not present in the original MS., but enter the text during separate phases of revision.

The first--and direct--comparison appears in 1886, and occurs in the episode of Henchard's surreptitious visit to the weather-prophet, Fall, in Chapter xxvi. Seeking the prophet's advice on the weather for the coming harvest, Henchard is amazed to find that his visit has been anticipated by Fall, who has even set a place at his supper-table for him: "...[The prophet] threw open the door and disclosed the supper table, at which appeared a second chair, knife and fork, plate, and mug ..." (G, 318). In reworking the text for the first edition, Hardy reinforces Henchard's sense of surprise by adding that "Henchard felt like Saul at his reception by Samuel ..." (86, II, 42)--a reference to the incident in 1 Samuel ix, where the young Saul seeks the prophet Samuel's advice on his father's lost asses, and is astonished to find that Samuel, whom he has never seen

before, not only recognizes him, but insists on escorting the young man to a banquet prepared in his honour. The episode in the novel, as Moynahan points out,¹ shows even stronger resemblance to the incident of Saul's visit to the Witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii 3-25). In both narratives the men visit the prophet by night; both try to avoid recognition by disguising themselves; and both are invited by the prophet to a meal.

The second comparison between the two stories enters the text in the final revision of 1912. This is to be found in the physical description with which Farfrae is first introduced (ch. vi); the greater part of which Hardy drew from the description of David in 1 Samuel xvi and xvii. In all published texts of The Mayor up to 1912, Farfrae is described as

...a young man of remarkably pleasant aspect
 He was fair and ruddy, bright-eyed, and slight in build....
 (O, 44)

If this is reminiscent of the first description of the young David in 1 Samuel xvi.12:

Now he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to.

the source of Hardy's description becomes unmistakable, when the opening of the second sentence is rephrased in

¹ Moynahan, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

the Wessex edition:

He was ruddy and of a fair countenance ... (W, 42)

this being, in fact, a direct quotation from the second--and only other--biblical description of David:

...he was but a youth, and ruddy, and of a fair countenance. (1 Sam. xvi.42)

It does not seem unreasonable, then, in view of the resemblances between the struggle of Henchard and Farfrae and that of King Saul and his companion, cited above, to suggest that the earlier version provided a source for the theme of conflict in Hardy's contemporary tale. Yet the legend, as Moynahan suggests, offers something more than mere source material: it represents rather "a kind of framing action" for the relations between the two men. Through its association with the ancient legend, the significance of the conflict between the Wessex merchant and his rival is greatly enlarged, and Hardy is thus enabled to stress, in a contemporary and localized struggle, "a permanently possible, endlessly recurrent relationship between successive generations."¹

¹ Moynahan, op. cit., p. 129.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERIZATION OF ELIZABETH JANE, LUCETTA, AND MINOR
RUSTIC FIGURESElizabeth Jane

i) Revision in MS.

The downward course of Henchard's career, which forms the central concern of the novel, is offset throughout by the rising fortunes, not only of the Mayor's rival, Donald Farfrae, but also of his step-daughter Elizabeth Jane. As the young Scotsman's steady promotion to mercantile and civic eminence invites comparison with the gradual loss of material prosperity and public esteem suffered by Henchard, so the gradual development in mind and personality of Elizabeth invites comparison with the protagonist's own inner deterioration. Hardy's interest in The Mayor is thus with themes of growth and development, as well as with those of degeneration and decay.

From its initial conception, the image of Elizabeth is that of a girl whose "young mind ... [is] struggling for enlargement" (MS, 35), and one of Hardy's major interests in the novel is to portray the gradual unfolding

of the girl's mind, and the eventual fulfilment of her constant desire "to see, to hear, and to understand" (MS, 35). This he achieves through confronting an initially untried and sheltered girl with a series of experiences from which she emerges with a restrained and measured approach to life, and with a recognition that a modest degree of happiness is possible for those willing to accept and adjust to the "limited opportunities" of an essentially ironical universe. From one standpoint, then, The Mayor may be seen as a portrait of the education of Henchard's step-daughter.

Elizabeth Jane's own particular role in the presentation of the narrative provides the reader with a privileged position for viewing this picture of mental development; for it is through the consciousness of Elizabeth, more than any other character, that much of the novel's action is filtered. Observing events through her eyes, the reader is thus well-placed to gauge the girl's changing and developing response to the situations with which she is confronted.

Surveying as she does, many of the novel's crucial events from the "crystalline sphere of a straightforward mind," and finally emerging from her experiences with a philosophic attitude acclaimed elsewhere in Hardy's writings--personal as well as fictional¹--Elizabeth Jane,

¹ Discussed in Chapter VI below.

in the latter part of the novel at least, may generally be regarded as a reliable interpreter of events, whose reactions frequently reflect those of the narrator, and frequently condition those of the reader.

Now the figure of Elizabeth is the only one of the novel's four or five major characters to undergo any really extensive transformation. In the definitive version of The Mayor Hardy presents, through both critical analysis and dramatic action, a generally consistent and convincing portrait of a girl whose behaviour is for the most part sensible, cautious, and loyal; and whose perception of events is humane, shrewd, and informed throughout by a deep respect for conventional virtue. By contrast, the MS. text offers a much less coherent picture. To begin with, there is occasionally a marked discrepancy between the main drift of analysis and the dramatic presentation of Elizabeth. As befits her role of shrewd observer, narrative assertions about the girl most frequently praise her perceptive and enquiring mind; yet the Elizabeth of the MS. text not infrequently displays the attitudes and behaviour of an ingénue with a strictly limited response to circumstance. A further discrepancy is evident within the two categories of comment and action, for both are at times internally

inconsistent. In the first case, the non-dramatic presentation of Elizabeth, in attempting to analyze a figure which itself combines incompatible elements--the obtuse as well as the clear-sighted--is at times self-contradictory. Thus while the narrator comments on Elizabeth's mental discernment, occasional references are also made to her simplicity and naïveté. As regards dramatic presentation, Elizabeth's conduct on several occasions in the final chapters of the novel appears greatly at variance with her most characteristic behaviour. Thus the substantial picture of honesty and freedom from guile is contradicted by the revelation of her stealthy meetings with Newson; while the convincing portrait of a forgiving and charitable nature is undermined, first by the girl's heartless reaction to Henchard's deception, and then by her callously insensitive rejection of him at her wedding.

The major pattern in revision concerning Elizabeth Jane--begun in MS., seen most fully in the reworking of the serial text, and extending through all phases of the novel's history--is twofold: it consists on the one hand, of the gradual removal from both analyzed and dramatic portrait, of elements suggesting naïveté and want of education in the girl's outlook and behaviour,

with their replacement by those implying perceptiveness, sensitivity, and studiousness; and consists on the other hand, of a softening process whereby the behaviour of Henchard's step-daughter in the final chapters of the novel is gradually informed with a greater degree of humanity than that evinced in the original MS. text.

While the major reconstruction of Elizabeth is not undertaken until the rewriting of the Graphic text, the figure nevertheless receives considerable attention in MS. revision. The lack of cohesion in the early image of the girl is particularly evident in MS. alterations which illustrate the author's tendency to reinforce markedly incompatible elements in Elizabeth's personality; for emendation accentuates both the discerning and the naïve in Henchard's step-daughter. The former quality, for instance, is underlined in the reappraisal of Chapter xvii when, shortly after the dance in the pavilion and the subsequent rupture between Henchard and Farfrae, Elizabeth reasons on the depth of the Scotsman's affection for her. In the text prior to revision, Elizabeth's thoughts on the subject had concluded thus:

"...would a man who cared one whit for her have set up in opposition to Mr Henchard? Would he not have tried

to please the corn-factor on her account?" and the next paragraph had begun: "Henchard was incensed beyond measure when he heard what Stansbie had done" (MS, 159). Hardy then cancelled this sentence, and continuing instead the theme of the preceding paragraph, inserted a short half-humorous scene, whose chief effect is to illustrate Elizabeth's shrewd appraisal of character, and sensible, robust acceptance of the vicissitudes of life.

Deciding that it must after all have been "a passing impulse only which had led him [Farfrae] to address her so softly" (MS, 159), Elizabeth then dresses up in the clothes she had worn on the evening of the dance, and looking at her reflection in the mirror, confirms her opinion that her appearance on that occasion had been "precisely of such a kind as to inspire [a] ...fleeting regard, and no more:--'just enough to make him silly, and not enough to keep him so,'--she said luminously ..."

(MS, 159). The addition continues:

Hence, when she felt her heart going out to him she would say to herself, "No, no, Elizabeth Jane-- such dreams be not for you!" She tried to prevent herself from seeing him, and thinking of him; succeeding fairly well in the former attempt, in the latter not so completely. (MS, 160)

In contrast to this image of perspicacity, however, are several revisions which serve to intensify Elizabeth's

artlessness. This is apparent not only in narrative description--in Chapter xiv her "half-unconscious, perhaps pardonable, disappointment" at Farfrae's lack of interest in her is revised as a "half-unconscious, simple-minded, perhaps pardonable disappointment" (MS, 129), and in Chapter xxv the "wise little remarks" she makes in conversation with Lucetta and Farfrae are later qualified as "wise, homely little remarks" (MS, 249)--but also in the dramatic action, as in the scene of Elizabeth's first meeting with Lucetta (ch. xx). In the original MS. form the elder woman's invitation to Elizabeth to come and live with her had met with an eager response: "'Oh yes! ... I would do anything to be independent; for then perhaps my father might get to love me'" (MS, 199). The simplicity suggested by this rather shallow interpretation of Henchard's hostility is more fully exemplified when the dialogue is expanded in the corrected text:

"But--ah!"

"What?"

"I am no scholar. And a companion to you, dear madam, must be a scholar.

"Oh--not necessarily."

"Not? Will it do if one can't kerp and talk the up-country way? It makes me sorry, but I can't help using work-folk words sometimes, when I don't mean to.

"Never mind--I shall like to know them."

And--oh, I know I shan't do!"--she cried with a distressful laugh. I can't write ladies-hand. And of course you want someone who can do that?"

"Well no."

What--not necessary to write ladies'-hand?" cried the joyous Elizabeth Jane.... (MS, 198^v)

--a conversation in which Elizabeth reveals a childlike and guileless deference to Lucetta's comparatively sophisticated manner. Emphasis on this aspect of Elizabeth's personality is not, however, a typical feature of MS. revision; the major trend at this stage of composition being to confirm the image of a sensitive and generally intelligent girl.

Hardy's concern to invest the figure of Elizabeth with greater reserves of sensibility is apparent at several points in the text. The first of these occurs in the interpolated scene cited above in which Elizabeth decides, with reluctance, that Farfrae's attentions towards her are not serious. In its earlier form, the MS. had depicted the girl's brisk acceptance of disappointment:

Elizabeth thought that by this time he [Farfrae] had discovered how plain and homely was the informing spirit of that pretty outside.

Hence, when she felt her heart going out to him she would say to herself, "No, no, Elizabeth Jane--such dreams be not for you!"

In the corrected text, however, the emotional state which

accompanies this decision is now briefly defined:

Elizabeth thought, in a much lower key, that by this time he had discovered how plain and homely was the informing spirit of that pretty outside.

Hence, when she felt her heart going out to him she would say to herself with a mock pleasantry that carried an ache in it, "No, no, Elizabeth Jane-- such dreams be not for you!" (MS, 159-160)

With a trace of ironic humour now apparent in the girl's act of renunciation, the figure of Henchard's step-daughter gains considerably in emotional depth.

Similar revision appears later in the narrative. In Chapter xxv, for example, we read of the girl's response to Henchard and Farfrae's enslavement by Lucetta. Now according to the original text, the pain which Elizabeth experiences from the complete lack of attention shown toward her by the two men becomes "well-nigh dissipated by its humorous intensity," but a slight adjustment in the revised form suggests that despite her stoicism, Elizabeth is less able than before to dismiss her sense of hurt, for the pain which she now experiences is only "at times half-dissipated by her sense of its humorousness" (MS, 256). And several lines later, where Elizabeth's cheerful acceptance of life's ironies had previously enabled her to view with "equanimity the now cancelled days when Donald had been her undeclared lover," the girl in the emended text views with only "an approach to equanimity the now cancelled days ..." (MS, 256-257).

Finally, with two brief innovations in the closing chapter of the MS., Elizabeth's response to the news of Henchard's death achieves greater complexity. In its earlier form the girl's reaction to the will had been immediate and one of simple regret:

"What are we to do?" said Donald, when he had handed the paper to her.

"Carry out his wishes," she answered. "Oh Donald, I would not have minded so much if it had not been for that last parting!..."

but in the emended form she reveals both a greater depth of feeling for Henchard and a more reflective response to the will itself:

"What are we to do?" said Donald, when he had handed the paper to her.

She could not answer distinctly. "Oh Donald," she said at last. "What bitterness lies there! I would not have minded so much ... (MS, 477)

--an intuitive comment which is fully in keeping with Elizabeth's role of perceptive observer, and which provides an adequate expression of the reader's own response to the tragedy.

The effect of the remaining corrections in MS. is to accentuate the image of a conscientious and self-disciplined girl. While their influence at MS. level is mainly local, these changes establish major patterns of future revision, and hence a few instances seem worth noting. Elizabeth's sedulous nature, for example, is first reinforced in revisions which illustrate her desire for

self-improvement. In conversation with her step-father (ch. xxi) the girl broaches the question of leaving home to live with Lucetta. "'I have heard of a chance of a place as companion and housekeeper to a lady,'" she had told Henchard in the original version; but "'I have heard of a chance of a place in a household where I can earn my living, and have advantages of study ...'" she now says in the corrected form (MS, 205). That Elizabeth has obviously made use of the opportunity to study is made clear later in the narrative, when a minor adjustment in rustic dialogue affirms the town's general impression of her as a scholar. In his conversation with Mrs Stannidge at the Three Mariners, Christopher Coney had previously referred to Elizabeth as "a young woman that's her own mistress and well-liked," but after revision, he describes her as "a young perusing woman, that's her own mistress ..." (MS, 445).

A further change reinforces the strict respect for conventional propriety which forms so important an element in Elizabeth's outlook and behaviour. Thus in the earlier MS. text she had quashed her incipient interest in Farfrae because it seemed "as gratuitous as it was unwise," but in the emended text, because it was "one-sided, unmaidenly, and unwise" (MS, 193). Finally a minor addition in the scene of Elizabeth's parting from

Henchard (ch. xliii) underlines the note of austerity in the girl's "strict nature": "'I am sorry you have decided to leave Casterbridge.... For it is probable--possible that--I may marry Mr Farfrae some little time hence, and I should like you to stay and approve of the step, at least,'" she tells him; and according to the emended version, the tone of the remark is one of "disciplined firmness" (MS, 447).

One minor revision concerning Elizabeth appears in the corrected serial proofs. This occurs in the early part of Chapter xiv, where a brief alteration in the narrative description of the girl's developing mind and beauty offers further evidence of her typically prudent behaviour, and serves at the same time to correct a minor inconsistency in the MS. text. While we read in the first paragraph of f. 124 that "The reasonableness of almost everything that Elizabeth Jane did was nowhere more conspicuous than in ... the question of clothes," we read in the next paragraph that Elizabeth, whose recent acquirement of new possessions includes a pair of galoshes, one day discovers a pair of her old pattens in the shoe-house and, "Quite sure that she would never again lapse into such a state of stupidity she split them up and burnt them that day" (MS, 125). The

inconsistency is removed in the revised text where Elizabeth's rashness is replaced by a more characteristic caution, for according to the Graphic: "...she would fain have split them up and burnt them that day, but withheld her hand" (G, 162). (The entire passage, incidentally, is eliminated in the preparation of the first edition [86, I, 164].)

ii) Revision in 1886

In the rewriting of the serial text the figure of Elizabeth Jane is subject to major reconsideration. The numerous alterations and additions involving the girl's presentation affect dialogue, incident, narrative, description, and comment. Besides minor, though significant, substitutions in descriptive words and phrases, much old material is deleted and new added.

Many of the revisions at this stage of composition are concerned to remove evidence of Elizabeth's simplicity, and to place greater emphasis on her powers of perception. The excision of much of the cumbersome episode of Henchard's attempt to return Lucetta's letters (ch. xviii) removes from the narrative a fairly typical illustration of the impassive and undiscerning girl of the serial text. In the now cancelled area of

the episode Henchard had sealed the packet of letters, and on the day appointed by Lucetta for receiving them, had placed them in the hands of Elizabeth. This he considered the most expedient means of conveyance, knowing the girl to be

one who could execute such a commission without curiosity or troublesome questioning. (G, 218)

Further traces of simplicity disappear with the contraction of the escaped bull episode in Chapter xxix. Having been chased by the animal into a nearby barn, Elizabeth scrambles onto a clover stack, Lucetta remaining beneath until rescued by Henchard. The older woman then enquires about the girl's safety, and in its present version, the text continues: "'Here am I!' cried ...

[Elizabeth] cheerfully; and without waiting for the ladder to be placed she slid down the face of the clover-stack to the floor" (86, II, 81). In the serial she had then said to Lucetta:

"I thought you were up there! But thank God, 'tis all right now. He always protects us when we don't expect Him to." (G, 342)

--a naïvely pious remark which is deleted from the first edition.

Similar revision had been made some time earlier, with the reconstruction of a conversation between Elizabeth

and Lucetta (ch. xxii). Learning that Lucetta's accession to the local aristocracy is of comparatively recent date, the Elizabeth Jane of the serial version responds with extreme artlessness, betraying ignorance of even unexceptional accomplishments, and naïveté in her conception of gentility:

"How did you know the way to dress so well" ...
 [Elizabeth] murmured, "if you have not been a lady long?"

"I went to Paris to the largest Magasin, and said, 'Make me fashionable,' holding out some bank-notes. They half-stripped me, and put on me what they chose.... I told them to send several more dresses of that same size, and so it was done."

"But how did you tell them to do this in a foreign land?"

"Oh, I speak their language."

"Then you are a lady. And it's humility that made you say otherwise," cried Elizabeth Jane, recovering from the disappointment engendered by the news that wealth and luxury were as new to Miss Templeman as to herself.
 (G, 270)

In the later text these lines are cancelled, and in the revised form of the conversation, Elizabeth displays far greater intelligence, anxiously concerned with self-cultivation, and modestly belittling her own achievements:

Elizabeth's mind ran on acquirements to an almost morbid degree. "You speak French and Italian fluently, no doubt," she said. "I have not been able to get beyond a wretched bit of Latin yet."...
 (86, I, 288)

A further group of changes in 1886 continues the MS. pattern of increasing Elizabeth's intuitiveness. Thus

in the early part of Chapter xiv we read of the gradual development which takes place in the girl after her mother's remarriage, and where the narrator had previously remarked: "Knowledge, learning, accomplishment; those, alas, she had not ..." (G, 162), a minor insertion in the later text makes clear that the girl is deficient only in acquirements, the revised sentence now reading: "Knowledge--the result of great natural insight--she did not lack; learning, accomplishments--those, alas, she had not ..." (86, I, 162). A few lines later, when praising Elizabeth's restraint in buying fine clothes despite her recent access to money, the narrator commends the policy of keeping "in the rear of opportunity in matters of indulgence," and where in the Graphic he had added simply: "This uninstructed girl did it" (G, 162), in the text of 1886 his remark is generously elaborated: "This unsophisticated girl did it by an innate perceptiveness that was almost genius" (86, I, 163). A somewhat similar change is made in Chapter xviii, where the narrative description of Elizabeth musing at the bedside of her sick mother now contains the flattering epithet "subtle-souled" (86, I, 225).

Consistent with the change from "uninstructed" to

"unsophisticated," the figure of Elizabeth now acquires a certain measure of cultivation. Completely absent from the later text is the narrative comment (ch. xx) on Elizabeth's being "imperfectly educated, much as she had practised with her book in the solitude of her chamber ..." (G, 241); while the reference to the impression made by Lucetta's comparatively sophisticated manner on the "simple girl's mind" (G, 242) is reworded in the 1886 text as "the studious girl's mind" (86, I, 266). Additional remarks reinforce this intellectual curiosity, for we now learn that Elizabeth "read/s7 omnivorously" (86, I, 246), and that, responsive to the richly historical past in which Casterbridge is steeped, she has undertaken the "study of Latin, incited by the Roman characteristics of the town she lived in" (86, I, 252).

Revision with a similar function appears in Chapter xv, where Elizabeth, in a mood of strong self-disparagement, deplores her own lack of accomplishment: "'...what an ignorant girl I am '" she cries in the serial (G, 163), but "'...what an unfinished girl ...'" in the revised version (86, I, 182); and where previously she had complained, "'I can't play the piano'" (G, 163), in the later text she laments the lack of a more select (and fashionable) acquirement, complaining instead, "'I can't talk

Italian'" (86, I, 182). Finally, when sketching her plan for self-improvement she had originally said:

"'Better sell all this finery 'a b'lieve, and buy myself a copy-book, and a dictionary, and a grammar of my native tongue!'" (G, 163), the items substituted in the 1886 text reveal an altogether more comprehensive view, informed even with a slightly wry humour: "'Better sell all this finery and buy myself grammar-books and dictionaries, and a history of all the philosophies!'" (86, I, 182).

The desire for a grammar of her "native tongue" is indeed no longer necessary, for the edition of 1886 marks the last appearance of a number of revisions which aim to remove the occasional traces of provincialism from Elizabeth's speech. This trend had been apparent from the earliest stage of composition where, for example, Hardy had altered "furmity-stuff" to "refreshments" (MS, 32) and "I baint" to the slightly less provincial "I be not" (MS, 46); the syntax of the last quotation being further standardized on the Graphic proof-sheets where it is changed to "I am not" (G, 43). Final traces of the countrified in Elizabeth's speech disappear with the revision of 1886: "work-folk" (G, 242) is replaced by "rural" (86, I, 262) and "do he seem" (G, 43) by "does he seem" (86, I, 60); "if he say" (G, 102) becomes

"if he says" (86, I, 109) and "'a b'lieve" is discarded altogether (86, I, 182).

It may be noted here that of the two single occasions on which Elizabeth does retain her provincial speech, the 1886 version of each receives minor alterations whose effect is to stress the keener intelligence now ascribed to the girl.

Both instances occur in Chapter xx, and both concern Elizabeth's reaction to her step-father's wrath at her occasional use of dialect words. In a short scene at the beginning of the chapter Elizabeth uses the expression "bide where you be," and while in the serial text she had responded to Henchard's anger at this provincialism with abject apology: "'I meant "Stay where you are," father,' she said, in a low, humble voice. 'I ought to have known'" (G, 241); in the corrected text, her answer--though still humble--suggests less a meek acknowledgement of her own deficiencies, than an implicit awareness of the unreasonableness of Henchard's conduct: "'I meant "Stay where you are," father I ought to have been more careful'" (86, I, 246). Similarly, in the scene of Elizabeth's first meeting with Lucetta, the girl describes the recent disagreement between herself and her father, and where in the Graphic her words

seemed to suggest an uncritical acceptance of Henchard's opinion of her vulgarity: "'...I said I was leery; and it's low he says, and was angry with me'" (G, 242), in the revised text that opinion no longer obtrudes, for she now says simply, "'...I said I was leery; and he was angry with me'" (86, I, 260), a remark from which Lucetta may draw her own conclusions.

The general improvement which the revisions of the first edition effect on the mind and personality of "our poor only heroine" extends also to her physical appearance. The narrator had earlier referred to Elizabeth as a "poor girl" (G, 241), but he now talks of the "fair girl" (86, I, 246), and writes of the "tears that would occasionally glide down her peachy cheeks ..." as she struggles with her studies (86, I, 253) where he had previously written simply of the "tears that would occasionally come ..." (G, 242). Similar revision appears a few pages later, in the scene of Elizabeth's first glimpse of the attractive Lucetta in Durnover churchyard, which the narrator of the later text makes an occasion for a comparison between the two women; for we now read that: "'...Elizabeth could now have been writ handsome, while the young lady was simply pretty'" (86, I, 255).

The final group of revisions in the 1886 treatment of Elizabeth Jane serve to remove from the figure of the Graphic text certain marked inconsistencies in behaviour apparent in the final chapters of the novel.

During the course of the tale ample evidence has been offered of the girl's honest and open nature. Indeed two minor deletions within the MS. itself illustrate the author's recognition that any suggestion of feminine guile would have been completely hostile to the image of Henchard's step-daughter:

The moment he [Henchard] came into the ...room, Elizabeth Jane ^{advanced with open confidence to him} ~~slid softly round the table to him~~ and took him by the arm ... (MS, 186)

Her grey thoughtful eyes revealed an arch^{ness} ~~ness~~ ^{gaiety} sometimes ... (MS, 123)

Now this typical candour is forcibly contradicted when we learn in Chapter xliii of the serial text that Elizabeth has been deceiving Henchard through secret meetings with Newson, while yet living with her step-father.

With the reorganization of the plot in 1886 this uncharacteristic and unconvincing behaviour is removed, and Elizabeth's meeting with Newson shortly after her parting from Henchard marks the first encounter between father and daughter for a number of years.

Further alterations in the same chapter mark the beginning of a series of revisions--continued in later editions--which render the behaviour of Elizabeth in the final pages of the novel more consistent with the forgiving, sensitive, and charitable girl of earlier chapters. These changes are made on three occasions: in the scene of Elizabeth's farewell to Henchard; in her reaction to the discovery of his deception of Newson (ch. xliiii); and in her repulse of Henchard at her wedding-party (ch. xliv). Revision in 1886 is concerned primarily with the first two of these incidents; that in 1895 and 1912, with the last.

In the scene of Henchard's announcement of his plan to leave Casterbridge, and in his subsequent parting from Elizabeth, the girl in the serial version had displayed no more than a lukewarm regret at her step-father's departure, whereas in the later text she appears much more deeply affected at his going--a change in attitude largely explained by the alteration in plot, for in the serial, it will be remembered, the girl's reunion with her real father occurs before, and not as in later texts after, her parting from Henchard.

"'I am going to leave Casterbridge, Elizabeth Jane,'" Henchard tells his step-daughter--a remark to which the

girl in the Graphic account makes no immediate reply (G, 511); in 1886, however, her dismay is spontaneous: "'Leave Casterbridge!' she cried, 'and leave--me?'" (86, II, 280). Again, on realizing that Henchard's decision to go must be linked with her own attachment to Farfrae, the girl in the serial had merely "coloured uncomfortably" (G, 511), whereas in the revised version she "looked down, and her tears fell silently" (86, II, 280). Her genuine distress is further underlined in 1886 with a minor addition later in the scene: "'It is because of Donald!' she sobbed" (86, II, 282); and where previously she had shown "her independence ...by mastering this shyness, and speaking out" (G, 511), she now shows "her devotion to Farfrae ...by mastering her emotion and speaking out" (86, II, 280)--an alteration which suggests not only a more affectionate nature, but also a disciplined control of deeper feelings. That control is again evident when she replies to Henchard, not with the "disciplined firmness" of the earlier text (G, 511), but instead with a "difficult firmness" (86, II, 280), and her tone becomes less imperious when the reference to her forthcoming marriage--"'...I should like you to stay and approve of the step, at least" (G, 511)--is replaced by the more deferential: "'...I did not know

that you disapproved of the step!" (86, II, 280).

The whole tenor of Elizabeth's attitude in Chapter xliii of the Graphic text is epitomized in an authorial remark which comments on the girl's unsuccessful attempt to persuade Henchard to stay:

...it must be confessed that there was a leaven of half-heartedness in her deprecations ... (G, 511)

This is of course omitted from the text of the first edition.

In the scene of parting itself, revision in 1886 again focuses on Elizabeth's greater depth of feeling. Her response to Henchard's plea that he be remembered is recorded in the serial simply as "She promised" (G, 511), but in the text of 1886^{as} "She promised mechanically, in her agitation" (86, II, 282); and where formerly she had parted from Henchard with "unfeigned regret" (G, 511), she now parts with "unfeigned wonder and sorrow" (86, II, 283). Also worth noting is a sentence in the earlier text which, referring implicitly to her secret meetings with Newson, had described Elizabeth as "...keeping him [Henchard] back a minute or two, as if she had something to explain, but finally letting him go without explaining it" (G, 511). In the first edition this is now compressed: "...keeping him back a minute or two

before finally letting him go" (86, II, 283)--a neat salvaging of now superfluous material to suggest reserves of feeling completely absent from the figure in the earlier edition.

The softening process is again at work later in the chapter, with Newson's disclosure to Elizabeth and Farfrae of Henchard's deception two years earlier. In both Graphic and 1886 versions Elizabeth is shocked at the discovery and, condemning her step-father's conduct, withdraws her affection from him. The tone of her disapproval, however, is significantly different in the two texts. In reply to Newson's comment--"'... 'twas a good joke, and well carried out, and I give the man credit for 't!'" (G, 511)--the girl in the serial version had displayed an almost childish petulance; her response to the tortured Henchard's deceit was obtuse, and she showed little reluctance to dismiss all thought of him:

"A joke?--O no--what a bad man!" she cried. "Then he kept you from me, father, all those months, when you might have been here? I never heard of such a thing! ...That's enough. He's a bad man. I can forget him now." (G, 511)

In the revised text, however, the naïve judgment ("He's a bad man") is deleted, and Elizabeth withdraws her affection more reluctantly, acting, not as earlier from feelings of indignation, but rather from a sense of

propriety:

"A joke?--Oh, no!" she cried. "Then he kept you from me, father, all those months, when you might have been here? Elizabeth sighed. "I said I would never forget him. But, oh! I think I ought to forget him now!" (86, II, 290)

And where in the serial text her final words on the subject revealed a distinct note of personal animus:

"I can never forgive him, and I'm glad he's gone." (G, 511)

the omission of this sentence in 1886 modifies considerably the harshness of her rejection; though her behaviour even now shows a deep lack of charity and a failure in understanding:

"After weaning me from you these five years by saying he was my father, he should not have done this." (86,II,291)

--Elizabeth's rejection is now based on her disapproval of misconduct and on her conception of duty towards Newson.

A minor insertion in the final chapter completes the 1886 presentation of Elizabeth's increased sensibility. The early part of Chapter xlv records the girl's change of heart towards her step-father, and her decision to seek him out. According to the serial, Elizabeth is moved to seek Henchard that she "might make her peace with him"(G, 539), but in the first edition a brief interpolation suggests a more profound awareness of the

misery of Henchard's self-imposed exile, for the lines now register her desire to "try to do something to make his life less that of an outcast, and more tolerable to him" (86, II, 302).

With the rewriting of the Graphic text many anomalies in the MS.-serial image of Elizabeth are thus removed, and the 1886 edition presents for the first time a substantially coherent and convincing portrait, in which dramatic action generally vindicates the claims of analysis.

iii) Revision in 1887-1912

Changes involving Elizabeth in subsequent texts tend generally to reinforce patterns established earlier. By removing further traces of the countrified and unpolished in the girl's behaviour, revisions in 1887 are concerned almost exclusively with increasing Elizabeth's stature. Thus the second edition omits from the opening of Chapter xv a passage of tedious and repetitive discursion upon the girl's lack of impact on the Casterbridge community, which had contained references to her "homespun simplicity" (86, I, 179), and to her being "too honest to be a woman of correct education" (86, I, 180). In similar vein her "wise, homely little remarks" to Lucetta

and Farfrae (86, II, 18) are now elevated to "wise little remarks" (87, 235) [a reversion, it will be noticed, to the final MS. reading⁷; while traces of the subservient are removed from her conversation with Lucetta in the churchyard: "'a companion to you, dear madam ...'" (86, I, 262) becoming simply "'a companion to you ...'" (87, 188).

The figure undergoes further adjustment in the Osgood text in 1895. In Chapter xxx, for example, Elizabeth's strict adherence to the narrow, conventional notion of propriety is accentuated in her response to the news of Lucetta's clandestine marriage with Farfrae. The narrowness of Elizabeth's judgment was already well established in the earliest phase of the conversation, when she told Lucetta: "'I think when anyone gets coupled up with a man in the past so unfortunately as you have done [with Henchard⁷, she ought to become his wife'" (MS, 307); and had been further reinforced with a chilling adjunct in 1886: "'...she ought to become his wife, if she can, even if she were innocent'" (86, II, 96). This pattern is now completed with a minor amendment to the scene in the uniform edition. In all earlier texts, Elizabeth's response to Lucetta's predicament had elicited the narrative

comment that "Her [Elizabeth's] craving for correctness of environment was, indeed, almost vicious" (87,289); but in their final form the lines refer instead to "Her craving for correctness of procedure ..." (0, 258); a revision which shifts the focus of Elizabeth's concern from mere circumstance to ethical conduct.

With the final revision of The Mayor in 1912 Elizabeth's conscientious efforts at self-improvement are once more brought to the attention of the reader, with the rephrasing of the girl's dry response to Lucetta's oblique confession of past romantic entanglements (ch. xxx). In all texts prior to the Wessex edition, Elizabeth had commented:

"Oh yes--I remember; the story of your friend
The two lovers--the old and the new: how she wanted to marry the second, but felt she ought to marry the first; so that the good she would have done she did not, and the evil that she would not, that she did--exactly like the Apostle Paul." (0, 257)

In the 1912 text, although the maxim remains substantially the same, Elizabeth no longer cites the Scriptures as her authority, but making use of her recently-acquired learning, quotes pedantically from Ovid, the latter half of her reply now reading:

"...so that she neglected the better course to follow the evil, like the poet Ovid I've just been construing: 'Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.'" (W, 247)

The remaining revisions in the final stage of composition

complete the process of informing Elizabeth's treatment of Henchard with a greater degree of compassion. With the reorganization of the serial plot, the scene of Elizabeth's rebuff of Henchard at her wedding-party had of course been omitted from the first edition; and with the reinstatement in the 1895 text of the scene as it had appeared in the Graphic, Elizabeth's attitude appeared unduly harsh in comparison with the generally more humane outlook attributed to the figure in the revision of 1886. Thus the softening process which had featured so prominently in the rewriting of the serial version is resumed in the preparation of the uniform text, where the heartlessness of Elizabeth's rejection of her step-father is considerably muted. "'O--it is--Mr Henchard!' she said, starting coldly back" in the Graphic account (G, 539), but simply "'Oh--it is--Mr Henchard!' she said, starting back" in the 1895 version (O, 395). Again, when the grief-stricken Henchard seizes her hand and begs for forgiveness, the downright callousness of the girl's reaction in the earlier text--"She flushed up, and pulled her hand away" (G, 539)--disappears with the later rephrasing: "She flushed up, and gently drew her hand away" (O, 396)--a reaction which, if equally unrelenting, is at least informed with some

vestige of compassion; and where previously she had rebuked Henchard for his dishonesty towards her:

"...when he [Newson] came to see me, [you] cruelly sent him away with an account of my death. Oh, how can I do anything but hate a man who has served me like this!" (G, 539)

her reproach, in the later text, is as much for the cruelty of his deception of Newson, as of herself, and hence the severity of her rebuff is considerably mitigated:

"...when he, my warm-hearted real father, came to find me, [you] cruelly sent him away with a wicked invention of my death, which nearly broke his heart. Oh how can I love, or do anything more for, a man who has served us like this!" (O, 396)

With the revision for the definitive edition in 1912, Elizabeth's parting words undergo one final change.

The vindictiveness apparent in the Graphic reading:

"...how can I do anything but hate a man who has served me like this!" (G, 539)

had already been withdrawn from the Osgood version:

"...how can I love, or do anything more for, a man who has served us like this!" (O, 396)

and now in their final form, the words are invested with still greater leniency:

"...how can I love as I once did a man who has served us like this!" (W, 376)

Two minor insertions in the final chapter--one in 1895, the other in 1912--complete the humanizing process.

In all earlier texts Elizabeth's response to Henchard's will had been recorded thus: "'O Donald!' she said at last, 'what bitterness lies there! ...'" (87, 430), but in the Osgood text a minor amendment reinforces her sense of grief: "'O Donald!' she said at last through her tears, 'what bitterness lies there! ...'" (O, 404). Similarly, her final remorseful comment on the will receives slight adjustment in the Wessex text: "'Oh I would not have minded so much if it had not been for that last parting! ...'" she had said in the Osgood edition (O, 405), but "'O I would not have minded so much if it had not been for my unkindness at that last parting! ..." in the definitive version (W, 384)-- Elizabeth thus acknowledging for the first time the injustice of her treatment of Henchard.

By a series of fairly extensive revisions Hardy thus transforms the inchoate figure of the MS.-serial text into the generally convincing portrait of the definitive edition. Certain anomalies remain, however, and the "discerning silent witch" and "subtle-souled" girl can still reveal a simplicity incongruous with her characteristically sensible and perceptive behaviour. Hence Elizabeth's alert and enquiring mind is curiously dormant in her totally unquestioning acceptance of her

mother and Henchard's past relations and somewhat hasty marriage:

Her conjectures on that past never went further than faint ones based on things casually heard and seen--mere guesses that Henchard and her mother might have been lovers in their younger days ... (W, 104-105)

while her shrewd understanding of Henchard's nature--enabling her, early in the narrative, to anticipate the rupture with Farfrae--is conspicuously absent in the girl's superficial interpretation of the Mayor's rough treatment of her after her mother's death: "'It is because he does not think I am respectable,'" she tells Lucetta (W, 195). Finally, when we read after the account which Elizabeth offers Lucetta of her own quite respectable history,¹ that "Contrary to the girl's expectation her new friend was not shocked" (W, 157), and also of the disconcerting degree to which Elizabeth allows herself to be impressed by the "refined" Lucetta's wealth and social position, it is clear that traces of the ingenuous and countrified figure of earlier editions of The Mayor remain. The problem, then, of unifying the inadequately realized portrait of the MS.-serial text--a combination of naïveté, limited understanding, and uncritical acceptance of circumstance, on the one hand;

¹ Elizabeth is unaware of her illegitimate birth at this point in the narrative.

and discernment, intelligence, and lively curiosity, on the other--is thus never fully resolved.¹

Lucetta

i) Revision in MS.

The task of assessing the extent to which the demands of serial publication created a distortion in character-image--seen earlier in the foisting on to Farfrae of a series of narrow moral attitudes--is central to any discussion of MS. revisions relating to Lucetta; for here a distinction is to be made between changes which subsequent revision proves to have been the result of expediency, and changes which are artistic in direction. Revisions in the first group are confined to the MS., while those of the second are reinforced in later phases of rewriting.

Included in the first category are those changes which

¹ For a brief discussion of the discrepancy between narrative assertion and dramatic execution in Hardy's presentation of Elizabeth in the definitive version, see R. B. Heilman, "Hardy's Mayor and the Problem of Intention," Criticism, V (Summer, 1963), 199-213, esp. 204-205. The discrepancy, according to Heilman, is due to a lapse into sentimentality on the part of Hardy: "In ascribing an incredible diversity of qualities to Elizabeth, Hardy betrayed an unconscious longing for a "dream girl"--a prize package of beauty, brains, craftsmanship, and a cool, selfless hand for every fevered brow" (p. 205).

deliberately heighten the sensational and melodramatic elements of the plot--for instance, the elaboration of Lucetta's histrionic preparations for her meeting with Henchard at the Ring (ch. xxxv):

In two hours she had produced upon her naturally pretty though slightly worn features the aspect of a counten-

--a head of hair with a few incipient grey threads
 ance withering, ageing, sickly; in brief, prematurely wrecked by extreme sorrow. (MS, 358-359)

--a minor addition which gratifies the magazine reader's taste for the sensational at further expense to Lucetta's integrity. Also included in this category are the numerous changes which produce in the final MS. form a bowdlerized version of the author's original conception of the Henchard-Lucetta relationship. The most important of these alterations have already been outlined in Chapters II and III: they entail, it may be remembered, the rewriting of large areas of Chapters xii, xviii, and xxii; and remain in the text until the Osgood edition of 1895.

MS. revisions in the second category--namely, those which register a genuine change in conception of character--are fewer in number. In one such group Hardy seems concerned to present the figure of Lucetta in a generally more sympathetic light than that encompassing the original conception. This is achieved mainly through removing

the occasional traces of craft from Lucetta's personality, and through investing her with a genuine desire for propriety in her relations with Henchard--both types of changes, it will be seen, prominent in later revision. Thus several minor adjustments in Chapter xii remove from the earlier text a strong suggestion of opportunism once present in the woman's decision to marry Henchard. Cancellations on f. 113 reveal that Lucetta had originally contracted the marriage fully aware of Henchard's past actions, including the sale of his first wife Susan. In reply to Farfrae's question: "'Did ye ever tell her [Lucetta] of the other wife's history?'" the Mayor's words had previously read:

"Every word. Oh yes, I wouldn't have married again without letting the woman know that.

After revision, however, they become:

"Every word, except the sale. Oh yes, dammy, I wouldn't have married again without letting the woman know that I had no proof of Susan's death. (MS, 113)

The same trend is apparent on the following leaf, where Henchard tells Farfrae:

Luckily, owing to the ^{recent death of her parent} ~~possibility~~ of things, she insisted upon the wedding being ^{quiet} ~~private~~; and now she profits by her ^{modesty} ~~foresight~~.

(MS, 114)

In a further series of alterations, emphasis is placed on the sense of duty (as opposed simply to feelings of sentiment) which brings Lucetta to Casterbridge to marry Henchard--a feature which had been absent in the earliest surviving phase of the relationship between the two. In the original draft of Chapter xxii, the tone of Henchard's thoughts on reading a letter sent by Lucetta shortly after her arrival, hardly suggests that moral concern has inspired her appearance in the town:

She was in a very coming-on disposition: of that there could be no doubt. But what else could a poor woman be who had given the freshest years of her life to him? On the whole he did not blame her.

"The artful little wench!" he said smiling ... (MS, 214)

In the revised version of this chapter, however, Lucetta's concern for propriety is firmly established, for, in referring to the recent death of Susan, she now writes to Henchard: "'As soon as I knew she was no more it was brought home to me very forcibly by my conscience that we ought to repair our former mistake as soon as we decently could'" (MS, 211-212). The same compunction is exemplified in two further amendments to the chapter. Having considerably modified the tone of Henchard's musing on Lucetta's recent arrival, Hardy now adds to the drift of the Mayor's thoughts the remark that:

"There was no doubt that conscience no less than affection had brought her here" (MS, 214); and later as Lucetta awaits Henchard's first visit to High Place Hall, the point at which "she arranged herself picture-esquely in the chair" is prefaced, in the emended form, with her reflection that: "Sentimentally she did not much care to see him, his delays had wearied her; but it was necessary ..." (MS, 224). A final underlining appears in the scene during which Lucetta is forced by Henchard to accept his marriage proposal (ch.xxvii). Having discovered Farfrae to be her lover, Henchard enquires: "'Why did you come here to find me, then?'" and where earlier Lucetta had replied: "'I thought I ought to re-marry you since you were free,'" she now says in the final form: "'I thought I ought to re-marry you for conscience' sake, since you were free, even though I--did not like you so well'" (MS, 281).

While the heavy emphasis thus placed on Lucetta's desire for propriety may reasonably be attributed to Hardy's policy of satisfying the demands of the Graphic editor, the pattern of subsequent revision (especially in the text of 1886) suggests strongly that more than mere expediency is involved here. In the light of her subsequent impulsive marriage to Farfrae, the stress which

MS. revision places on the dutiful rather than the sentimental motive for Lucetta's appearance in Casterbridge, underscores forcibly the extent to which passion is allowed to dominate reason in her nature.

In thus emphasizing one of the salient features of Lucetta's temperament, these revisions may be said not only to develop the human aspect of her character, but also to strengthen the formal aspect of her role; for the pattern of Lucetta's behaviour from the time of her first appearance in Casterbridge provides both a parallel and a contrast with the behaviour of two other major figures in the novel. In the discrepancy between her conscientious wish to repair the mistakes of her past, and the mastery of passionate impulse over avowed duty, the somewhat melodramatic and simpler terms of Lucetta's experience echo and universalize the genuinely tragic struggle and defeat of the protagonist. Moreover, the miserable end which Lucetta has to a considerable degree courted, through a wilful flouting of conscience, stands in direct contrast to the modest happiness and fulfilment accorded at the conclusion to Elizabeth Jane in whom a sense of duty and respect for conventional propriety have persistently determined behaviour.

The next group of amendments have the effect of raising

Lucetta's socio-economic status, and thus establish a trend much evident in later reworking of the text.

Through these revisions Lucetta gradually exchanges a background originally indistinguishable from the rest of the urbo-rural community of Casterbridge, for one in which her social antecedents and accession to wealth set her apart from the rest of the town's inhabitants.

This elevation in status is first apparent in Chapter xii.

In the earlier draft of his conversation with Farfrae, Henchard speaks of the "younger and handsomer woman" he has recently married, but in the emended version the description is expanded, and Henchard now continues:

"'...she's of a good old family, if poor; and she's a good scholar, and well-bred'" (MS, 111^V); while a further amendment furnishes her with a wealthy relative: "

"'...she did always brag about her rich uncle, and how much he could leave her'" (MS, 114). Similarly, in the final MS. text Lucetta is represented as the daughter of a fruit-merchant (MS, 110^V), but in the corrected serial proofs her father's trade becomes the more generalized "merchant" (G, 134); while her rich "merchant" uncle now acquires the status of "banker" (G, 217).

By thus investing Lucetta Templeman with the trappings of gentility, Hardy provides one of the major characters

in the novel with a mark of distinction--as well as a measure of isolation--from the general citizens of Casterbridge. An equally cogent reason for this social elevation will become apparent with its reinforcement in the next major phase of revision.

The effect of the final group of MS. changes involving Lucetta is to reinforce a cluster of rather ambiguous features accompanying the figure from the earliest stage of composition. Their object may be described as religious, for through them, Lucetta becomes associated with both satanic and divine supernature.

It seems appropriate at this point to refer to the well-known article by Professor J. O. Bailey¹ which argues for the appearance in several of Hardy's novels, of certain figures each possessing a number of traditionally Satanic traits and who, intruding upon the course of the novel's action, act as disruptive forces in the lives of the other characters. All of these invaders, according to Bailey, are "presented in a background of suggestions that they are preternatural."²

¹ Viz. "Hardy's 'Mephistophelian Visitants'," PMLA, LXI (Dec. 1946), 1146-84.

² Bailey, op. cit., p. 1146.

These diabolic overtones include the possession of a sceptical and intelligent mind, a frequently scheming and untruthful disposition, a tendency for dramatic appearances and departures (often accompanied by lurid lights), and a great fondness for games of chance. Further Satanic traits which Bailey ascribes to his visitants are drawn from Hardy's own description in Greenwood Tree, of Elizabeth Endorfield, a woman whose reputation as a witch was founded on

the following items of character. She was shrewd and penetrating; her house stood in a lonely place; she never went to church; she wore a red cloak; she always retained her bonnet indoors; and she had a pointed chin. Thus far her attributes were distinctly Satanic; and those who looked no further called her, in plain terms, a witch. (p. 166)

Hardy's description is of course heavily ironical-- Elizabeth Endorfield, though a "Deep Body" (Greenwood Tree, p. 167), is certainly no witch, but simply a woman of shrewd if somewhat unscrupulous common sense. Yet several of her attributes do suggest the unusual, even perhaps the faintly sinister: the isolated house provides her with a mark of distinction from the rest of the community, while the avoidance of conventional worship, and the colour red are both traditionally associated with diabolism.

Now while Bailey's conclusions are at times open to question,¹ his article contains much valuable and stimulating criticism, and consideration of Lucetta Templeman in terms of the criteria by which Bailey identifies his infernal invaders seems genuinely helpful in explaining certain revisions surrounding the character at the MS. level of composition, and thus helps to throw further light on her role in the narrative.

A number of factors suggest that the role of "Mephistophelian visitant" in The Mayor, which Bailey assigns to two characters--Farfrae and Newson--may be more appropriately assigned to Lucetta: that she possesses many of the attributes cited above is evident in early texts of The Mayor, both before and after emendation. As regards evidence prior to revision, at least two or three features from Hardy's catalogue of Satanic traits may be attributed to Lucetta. First, the location of her

¹ Probably the earliest treatment of the novelist's use of diabolism as a structural device, Bailey's article holds an important place in the history of Hardy criticism. However the somewhat rigid definition which Bailey gives to the term "Mephistophelian" forces him to exclude from his discussion several of the strongest supports for his thesis, as for example, Aeneas Manston of Remedies, who receives no mention at all; and Mop Ollamoor ("The Fiddler of the Reels"), and Mrs Jethway (Blue Eyes), both of whom Bailey consigns to footnote references, for not possessing "enough of the Mephistophelian traits to be in exactly the same class as Mrs Endorfield ..." (Bailey, p. 1147).

house: in the familiar form of the text, it will be remembered, High Place Hall is situated within view of the Market Place, but several cancellations in the MS. (all of which appear on leaves from the earliest phase of the sub-plot) reveal that Lucetta's house, like that of Elizabeth Endorfield, originally "stood in a lonely place"--it was in fact an isolated building set in several acres of parkland:

The Hall, with its grey facade and parapet
 <Little-Park, with its grounds of six or eight acres>
 was the only residence of its sort, so near the centre
 of the town. <within the walls>
 (MS, 200)

one they call High-Street Hall, the
old stone one overlooking the Market
 The house I am going to is the one in the Park
 (MS, 199)

Towards the park it gazed cheerfully; towards the town it wore a taciturn aspect, some of the windows being blocked up on that side. (MS, 200^v)

Second, the colour red, which, as Bailey points out, accompanies such visitants as Troy and Diggory Venn, is also the colour with which Lucetta is most frequently associated;¹ while her "acquaintance with the Scriptures," we are told, is "somewhat limited" (MS, 243). A scheming

¹ For this point I am indebted to the article "The Halo over Lucetta Templeman," English Literature in Transition, XI, No. 2 (1968), 81-86, by Dr. Ruth Faurot, who herself acknowledges the German critic, Dieter Riesner, as her source of information. I have listed below all

disposition, moreover, is all too readily attributed to Lucetta in the MS:-serial text; and the scene of her first meeting with Elizabeth Jane at High Place Hall (ch. xxii) clearly establishes the young woman's obvious enjoyment of card games:¹

In front of the sofa was a small table, with a pack of cards scattered upon it faces upward.... "Let me try to enliven you by some wonderful tricks I have learnt, to kill time [Lucetta tells Elizabeth]. Sit there and don't move." She gathered up the pack of cards, pulled the table in front of her, and began to deal them rapidly, telling Elizabeth Jane to choose some. "Well, have you chosen?" she asked, flinging down the last card. "No," stammered Elizabeth, arousing herself from a reverie.... Miss Templeman looked at Elizabeth Jane with interest, and laid down the cards. "Ah! you are another sort than that," she said. "I'll lie here while you sit by me; and we'll talk."
(G, 270) [MS. evidence missing]

As regards evidence from textual revision, several additions in Chapters xx and xxii of the MS. seem to suggest an element of the uncanny--even the unholy--in the appearance and behaviour of Lucetta. These occur in

instances associating Lucetta with the colour red, found in the MS. text:

"...a white hand and arm were stretched out from behind a red curtain ..." (f. 116); "...a lady, closely veiled, of graceful figure, wearing a Paisley shawl with a red centre" (f. 168); "[Elizabeth saw the gowns spread out on the bed, one of a deep cherry colour, the other lighter ...] It was finally decided by Miss Templeman that she would be the cherry-coloured person at all hazards" (f. 239); "...she's got on a puce silk, and white stockings, and coloured shoes" (f. 402).

¹ The devil's fondness for playing cards is of course proverbial: "Cards are the devil's books."

the first and third of the meetings with Elizabeth Jane in the ancient churchyard at Durnover. At the first encounter Elizabeth enters the churchyard and, book in hand, approaches her mother's grave. Describing the scene in the earlier MS. form, Hardy had written that Elizabeth

saw ahead of her a solitary dark figure, in the centre of the gravel walk This figure, too, was reading It might have been her wraith or double ...

In the later version, however, a short interpolation is made, and the strange likeness between the two women deliberately heightened:

...This figure, too was reading It was in mourning like herself, was about her age and size, and might have been her wraith or double ... (MS, 194)

while lines added on the verso of f. 193 ascribe a distinctly snake-like quality to the stranger's walk:

Her gait, too, had a flexuousness about it, which seemed to avoid angularity of movement less from choice than from predisposition. (MS, 193^v)

MS. evidence for the remainder of the scene is missing, but the element of the mysterious is further increased when we read in the Graphic text that on leaving Susan Henchard's tomb, the stranger "vanished behind the corner of the wall" (G, 242).

At Elizabeth's third encounter with the dark figure,

the suggestion of the preternatural is again underlined in several amendments. Indeed in the first of these the diabolism which the stranger's appearance has so far only implied, now receives explicit reference. In the original text Elizabeth's first thoughts on seeing Lucetta had begun:

Here in a churchyard old as civilization, was a woman of curious fascinations, never seen elsewhere ...

in the emended version they now read:

Here in a churchyard old as civilization, in the worst of weathers, was a strange woman of curious fascinations never seen elsewhere: there might be some devilry about her presence. (MS, 206)

The same quality is perhaps also implied in a small adjustment on the following leaf. While the woman's greeting had originally been described thus:

"Well?" said the lady, a little of the whiteness of her teeth appearing with the word, "have you decided?"

in the corrected text it becomes:

"Well?" said the lady, a little of the whiteness through the black fleece that protected her face of her teeth appearing with the word, "have you decided?" (MS, 207)

The insertion "the worst of weathers" in the revision recently cited deserves mention, for it accompanies two other additions--one at the beginning, the other at the close, of the scene--which stress the special inclemency

of the weather during the meeting of Elizabeth and her new acquaintance. Consistent with a remark earlier in the scene that "a drizzling rain fell" (MS, 206), the following amendment now appears in the description of Elizabeth's feeling of unease at the presence of the stranger:

to the church tower, on whose summit the rope of Elizabeth Jane went on [^] <skirted the church corner,>
a flag-staff rattled in the wind; and thus she
<and> came to the wall. (MS, 206)

Similar revision occurs as the two women leave the churchyard, Lucetta pausing for a moment to glance at the gates of the adjoining corn-yard:

...nothing was visible there save the ricks, and the hump-backed barn cushioned with moss, and the granary,
where the smacking of the rope against the flag-staff
still went on
 rising against the church tower behind. [^] (MS, 208)

The reason for this emendation is not altogether clear; the repetition seems to me to produce a somewhat ominous effect: an explanation for its presence may indeed lie in Hardy's desire to stress the preternatural in Lucetta's appearance, for the power of raising winds and creating stormy weather is of course attributed to witches and wizards in countless mythologies.

It does not seem too fanciful, then, to suggest that the figure of Lucetta in the original as well as in the

revised form of the MS., is endowed with a number of features reasonably suggestive of diabolism. As a woman whose sophisticated and corrupt standards intrude upon and disturb the values of Casterbridge, and temporarily confound the lives of Henchard, Farfrae, and Elizabeth Jane, Lucetta may be seen from one standpoint to assume an expressly demonic role in the action of The Mayor.

In direct contrast to this, however, other revisions in the MS. seem to indicate the author's intention of investing Lucetta with specifically divine attributes; for Hardy elaborates his picture of Lucetta at the tea-table with her two rival suitors (ch. xxvi) as follows:

They sat stiffly side by side at the ^{darkening} table, like ^{some Tuscan} ^{supping} ^{forming the third figure} ~~an early~~ painting of the two disciples ^{at} Emmaus.

Lucetta ^{forming the third figure} was opposite them.

(MS, 260)

The Christ image implied here is made explicit in subsequent revision: in the corrected serial proofs, "the third figure" becomes "the third and chief figure" (G, 318), and in the text of 1912, "the third and haloed figure" (W, 208). Furthermore, the description of the

clear-sighted Elizabeth Jane, watching and assessing the behaviour of the group before her, had referred, in all previous texts, to the girl's observing "from afar all things ..." (O, 217), but in the definitive edition this is revised to read: "...all from afar, like the evangelist who had to write it down ..." (W, 208).

Now the notion of Lucetta as the Messiah, and Henchard and Farfrae, her two disciples, accords well with the rather sardonic note characteristic of Hardy's irony--an irony which emerges more fully when we compare details of this scene with the corresponding situation in the Bible. The action of Henchard and Farfrae who, having both chosen the same slice of bread from a plateful offered them by their hostess, tug at the slice until it comes apart (a proleptic symbol of the fate of Lucetta herself, whose death results from her alliance with the two men) seems to suggest a tragicomic parody of the Emmaus supper in Luke xxiv.30, during which, we are told, Christ broke bread (symbolically associated after the Last Supper, with the sacrifice of his own body) and offered it to his two disciples.

The image may of course have no more than local significance, and the comparison which Lucetta's appearance invites with that of the Redeemer may function simply as an ironic comment on her actual relation with Henchard and Farfrae, which is more nearly that of a temptress. It is possible, nevertheless, that the scene has wider implications; that the image suggests a further facet to Lucetta's role in The Mayor. That is to say, Hardy may have envisaged in the figure of Lucetta not only the mephistophelian temptress, but also the unwitting Saviour--the sacrificial victim whose death procures the salvation of others; for as Dr. Ruth Faurot points out: "to implement the Christ role of Lucetta suggested by the halo, Hardy uses the events surrounding the death of Lucetta" whose "real death ...releases Farfrae to a better marriage and restores Elizabeth Jane to her rightful love," and whose "death in effigy ...redeem[s] Henchard from suicidal despair."¹ For the dummies in the skimmington-ride, which have caused Lucetta's death, in fact save the superstitious Henchard from self-destruction when he sees his "actual double" floating in Ten Hatches Hole-- "'That performance of theirs killed her but kept me alive'" (ch. xli).

¹ R. Faurot, op. cit., p. 84.

ii) Revision in 1886

The most extensive revisions in the presentation of Lucetta occur in the rewriting of the serial text. The aim behind many of the seemingly diverse changes at this stage appears to be that of providing, through dramatic action and authorial comment, a fuller analysis of temperament, and of revealing the extent to which that temperament makes Lucetta the architect of her own misfortunes. How far these changes represent a restoration rather than a development in concept is of course difficult to determine: at any rate the revisions lead to a marked improvement both in delineation of character and in the structure of the novel.

The first group of changes in 1886 continue the MS. trend of underlining Lucetta's slavery to emotion. With the elimination of the clumsily contrived marriage to Henchard, Lucetta exchanges the role of wronged wife for that of abandoned victim of an inconsequent, though as yet morally impeccable, passion. This change in status is several times reinforced in the revised text. Thus in one of the letters written some time after Henchard's departure from Jersey, Lucetta reproaches the corn-merchant for his treatment of her, describing herself,

in the serial text, as "A wife whose husband has vanished into thin air" (G, 399), but in the text as it now stands, she considers herself as "A creature too unconventionally devoted to you ..." (86, II, 153). Similar revision appears in Chapter xxv. where, speaking of their affair in Jersey, Lucetta now refers to her past relation with the Mayor as " ...the indulging in a foolish girl's passion ...with too little regard for appearances ..." (86, II, 23).

A minor addition at the close of the same scene, in which Henchard upbraids Lucetta for her capricious behaviour, deserves mention. In the serial Henchard had left Lucetta's room in silence, giving her only "an intent look" (G, 294), but in the later text his feelings are explicit: "'You come to live in Casterbridge entirely on my account Yet now you are here you won't have anything to say to my offer!'" (86, II, 25). This addition underlines what appears to be Lucetta's most typical--and fatal--pattern of behaviour; for in recklessly flouting conventional propriety in the hope of finding emotional fulfilment, Lucetta's refusal to accept Henchard's offer of marriage, because of her attachment to Farfrae, echoes closely the very behaviour which had led to the scandal of her earlier life in Jersey.

Evidence of the next group of revisions concerning Lucetta is first apparent in Chapter xxii, during the scene in which Elizabeth Jane arrives at High Place Hall and finds Lucetta reclining, characteristically, on a sofa in her drawing-room. Where previously the girl's first view had been that of "a dark-haired, large-eyed, handsome woman" (G, 270), a brief interpolation is made in the later text, and Elizabeth now views "a dark-haired, large-eyed, pretty woman, of unmistakably French extraction on one side or the other" (86, I, 285). Now although Lucetta appears from the earliest traceable phase of the subplot to have originated from Jersey, no reference is made in either MS. or serial to any specifically foreign element in her personality. With the rewriting of the Graphic text, however, a number of amendments--in Chapters xxii and xxv, and characteristic of this phase of revision only--deliberately heighten the French element in Lucetta's composition.

First, several minor adjustments in which Lucetta's volatile nature, her coquetry, and her frivolity, are regarded--as were the qualities of thrift and romance in the personality of Farfrae--as national in origin. The volatile aspect of Lucetta's nature had in fact received attention elsewhere in the first edition: in

the revised version of Henchard's conversation with Farfrae (ch. xii) the Mayor describes Lucetta for the first time as a "giddy girl" (86, I, 147); while Lucetta herself, discussing her past life, confesses to Elizabeth that in her youth she had been "quite flighty and unsettled" (86, I, 287). And now with a minor addition to Chapter xxv, that volatility is attributed specifically to her French inheritance, for the narrator comments on her sudden attachment to Farfrae: "...with native lightness of heart [she] took kindly to what fate offered" (86, II, 26).

Further slight revision of this kind underlines a certain levity in Lucetta's attitude. Her somewhat affected use of French words is first apparent in Chapter xxii: "Miss Le Sueur had been the name under which he [Henchard] had known and married Lucetta" the narrator of the serial had explained (G, 269); "or 'Lucette' as she had called herself at that time" he now adds in the first edition (86, I, 281). This affectation is again evident in the rather coy banter of her first letter from High Place Hall: she now writes "mon ami" (86, I, 279) where previously she had addressed the Mayor as "Michael" (G, 269), and refers to the indiscretion in the past,

not as the "mistake" of the earlier text (G, 269), but rather more casually as her "étourderie" (86, I, 279); and in a further letter to Henchard, her decision "to be tenant of High Street Hall" (G, 270) is prefaced in the later text with her wish "to settle among the gentil-hommerie of Casterbridge" (86, I, 282).

The 1886 text incorporates two further additions in this group: in her first conversation with Elizabeth at High Place Hall, Lucetta inadvertently discloses the place of her birth (a minor indiscretion, since "there were obvious reasons why Jersey should drop out of her life"). In the revised text her characteristic eagerness to avoid identification with the young woman of Henchard's past is accentuated with a short extension of the narrative:

Not the least amusing of her safeguards was her resolute avoidance of a French word, if one by accident came to her tongue more readily than its English equivalent. She shirked it with the suddenness of the weak Apostle at the accusation, "Thy speech bewrayeth thee!" (86, I, 289)

The other addition appears in the scene of Henchard's first visit to High Place Hall (ch. xxv). Impatient at her reluctance to accept his marriage proposal, Henchard had originally told Lucetta: "'...let us be quick and legalise your state by going through the service again

as soon as we can ...'" (G, 294). With the rewriting of the Graphic text, however, the incidents of their relationship are considerably altered, and Hardy uses the amended form of the conversation to stress Lucetta's desire to forget her nationality:

Henchard:] "I ...think you ought to accept me--for
your own good name's sake. What is known
in your native Jersey may get known here."
Lucetta:] "How you keep on about Jersey. I am
English." (86, II, 23)

In thus underlining the innate Frenchness of Lucetta, these revisions perform several functions: they invest the figure of Henchard's former mistress with an air of superficial glamour; they reinforce the alien quality in her personality, reminding the reader that Lucetta is an intruder from another community, unable to belong or adapt to the Casterbridge way of life;¹ and finally, they may be said to illustrate her rejection of reality, for in the "resolute avoidance" of her native tongue,

¹ Cf. Felice Charmond (from Hardy's next novel, the Woodlanders)--a character whom Lucetta in many ways anticipates. In addition to their common French inheritance, both women are coquettes, with bored, languid, and romantic natures; both possess sufficient wealth to indulge their taste for indolence; and the death of both may be attributed directly to the consequences of a past, irregular love-affair. Both women, moreover, enact the role of sophisticated intruder into a small rural community.

and refusal to acknowledge her heredity may be seen Lucetta's futile desire to escape from her past, and to evade rather than meet the responsibilities which her behaviour in Jersey has incurred.

The remaining revisions in 1886 continue patterns already established in MS.: these include changes which temper the harsher aspects of Lucetta's behaviour, and changes in which her social status is slightly upgraded. One minor adjustment in the first group appears in Chapter xxii, when the element of calculation in Lucetta's invitation to Elizabeth to live at High Place Hall is somewhat reduced by the slight qualification of her remark to Henchard. "'Do you see, Michael, why I have done it?--why, to give you an excuse for coming here as if solely to visit her ...'" she had written in the earlier text (G, 270), but "'Do you see ...partly why I have done it? ...'" she now writes in the later edition, where the adverb "solely," with its implied craft, disappears altogether (86, I, 283).

Revisions of greater significance are made in the scene of Lucetta's encounter with Henchard at the Ring. The gross cunning in the serial version of Lucetta's cosmetic preparations for the meeting is virtually eliminated,

when the description is reduced in 1886 to less than half its original length; and the earlier figure of duplicity is now invested with some degree of pathos. In the later text, for example, she is described typically as a "suppliant" (86, II, 163), and her attitude defined as one of "hope and appeal" (86, II, 162); while previously she had decided to employ "artifice" to prevent Henchard from revealing her past (G, 421), she now employs "persuasion" (86, II, 160); and where, on closing her appeal to Henchard she had originally cried: "'If ever tears, artifice, hypocrisy, have served the weak to fight the strong, let them do so now!'" (G, 422), the tone of her entreaty is somewhat refined in the corrected version: "'If ever tears and pleadings have served the weak ...'" (86, II, 160). Likewise, Lucetta's plea that "neither my husband nor any other man will regard me with interest long" had been followed, in the serial, with the narrative comment that

The half truth in this strengthened the power
of her simulation. (G, 422)

but in the later text the remark is deleted, for we are now to assume that Lucetta has spoken in accents of genuine distress.

A small, but significant insertion at the close of the scene

also deserves mention. This occurs in a passage which presents Henchard's thoughts of self-recrimination for having tormented Lucetta. In the serial Henchard's sense of guilt had been due exclusively to Lucetta's pitiful physical appearance, but in the corrected text a further reason prompts his remorse:

...that thoughtless want of foresight which had led to all her trouble remained with poor Lucetta still; she had come to meet him here in this compromising way without perceiving the risk. Such a woman was very small deer to hunt ... (86, II, 163)

The opening lines of the extract are worth noting, for not only do they lend ~~more~~ further pathos to Lucetta's image, but they also give expression to one of the novel's major themes: the organic connection between "character" and "fate," which the careers of all the major figures in The Mayor serve to illustrate.

With the final group of revisions in 1886, Lucetta's social status continues to rise. Thus in Chapter xii, where Henchard had earlier referred to Lucetta simply as "a woman" (G, 135), he now talks of her as "a woman-- a young lady I should call her" (86, I, 145-146); while her father, having evolved from fruit-merchant to merchant in the Graphic proof revisions, is now described as "some harum-scarum military officer who had got into

difficulties, and had his pay sequestered" (86, I, 146).

In addition to offering a partial explanation of Lucetta's inherent instability--"As a girl I lived about in garrison-towns and elsewhere with my father, till I was quite flighty and unsettled'" (86, I, 287)--this revision, which promotes Lucetta to a rank socially above the other leading members of the community, enables Hardy to illustrate the extent to which her involvement, first with Henchard and later with Farfrae, arises from her sense of isolation. For as the daughter of a professional man, Lucetta's alliance with both men involves, presumably, an element of social abasement.

Revision elsewhere in 1886 had already explained the motive force behind Lucetta's affair with Henchard, for in the later text, the Mayor's account of his involvement in Jersey now includes the remark that "Lucetta's father was dead now, and her mother, too, and she was as lonely as I'" (86, I, 146). That the same feeling prompts her attachment to Farfrae is made clear in the remaining revisions of 1886, whose chief effect is to draw attention to Lucetta's new social position. Thus the close of the scene of her first meeting with Farfrae (ch. xxiii) now acquires a full paragraph of authorial analysis:

Lucetta as a young girl would hardly have looked at a tradesman. But her ups-and-downs, capped by her indiscretions in relation to Henchard, had made her uncritical as to station. In her poverty she had met with repulse from the society to which she had belonged, and she had no great zest for renewing an attempt upon it now. Her heart longed for some ark into which it could fly and be at rest. Rough or smooth she did not care, so long as it was warm. (86, I, 310-311)

and as she watches the Scotsman's figure retreating from the window of her house, her heart, which had formerly pleaded "that he might be allowed to come again" (G, 271), now pleads with "her sense of his unfitness that he might be allowed to come again" (86, I, 311).

The same point is again enforced in the scene of Lucetta's refusal to accept Henchard's marriage proposal (ch. xxv). "'I won't be a slave to the past--I'll love where I choose!'" she cries after Henchard's departure (G, 294); a remark followed, in the text of the first edition, by a brief paragraph of comment:

Yet having decided to break away from Henchard, one might have supposed her capable of aiming higher than Farfrae. But Lucetta reasoned nothing; she feared hard words from the people with whom she had been earlier associated; she had no relatives left; and ... [now] took kindly to what fate offered. (86, II, 25-26)

In the presentation of a woman, willing despite her concern with social appearances, to marry beneath her rank, the revisions in 1886 which promote Lucetta from the daughter of a shopkeeper to that of a member of the

professional classes, enable Hardy not only to accentuate Lucetta's loneliness and desire for affection; but also provide him with an opportunity for restating implicitly a theme suggested elsewhere in the text-- that of the vanity of class distinctions, and their triviality in a concern as crucial as that of the search for happiness.¹

iii) Revision in 1887-1912

All post-1886 revisions concerning Lucetta continue trends already established, and with the exception of the Osgood text, the changes are of minimal significance. In the preparation of the second edition, for instance, Lucetta's socio-economic status is further improved with two minor adjustments in Chapter xxii. In the first, her financial independence is now clearly established: on learning the name of the new occupant of High Place Hall, Henchard had originally commented: "'Lucetta is governess or housekeeper there, I suppose'" (86, I, 280);

¹ In his satirical description of the guests at the Mayoral dinner (ch. vi), the narrator had commented: "The Corporation, private residents, and major and minor tradesmen had, in fact, gone in for comforting beverages to such an extent that they had quite forgotten, not only the Mayor, but all those vast political, religious, and social differences which they felt necessary to maintain in the daytime, and which separated them like iron grills." (W, 45)

but in the 1887 edition he merely remarks: "'Lucetta is related to her, I suppose'" (87, 200). The second alteration increases the extent of Lucetta's recently-acquired wealth: in earlier texts she had succeeded only to "comparative fortune" (86, I, 293), but in 1887 the qualifying adjective is now removed (87, 209). Minor corrections in a similar vein continue up to the final stage of revision.

With the preparation of the Osgood text in 1895, the major changes involving Lucetta deal of course with the tone of her relationship with Henchard; the sexual element in their affair is announced for the first time, the implications of which have already been discussed in Chapter III.

Minor Rustic Figures

i) Traditional functions of role: revision in MS.-1912

The final group of revisions in this section concern the minor rustic figures. These are essentially background characters, and accordingly it is with the functional aspects of characterization that the revisions are primarily concerned. Despite the thoroughgoing changes attending passages of rustic dialogue and action at all

stages of rewriting, the major trend from MS. onwards is largely one of refinement and elaboration.

Now it is clear from a comparison of the rustic figures in The Mayor with those in the other Wessex novels, that Hardy's treatment of the Casterbridge peasantry-- as regards both concept and role--presents a continuation as well as a departure from the method adopted in earlier works; a factor which is evident from the earliest phase of composition, since neither in delineation nor in function are the rustic characters in The Mayor subject to any major reconsideration.

The figures in this novel continue of course to perform the functions ascribed to their earlier counterparts. These include the role of establishing a convincing social medium within which the major characters move; of providing scenes of humour and pathos; of conveying information essential to the understanding of the plot; and of providing, through their essentially limited comments, a kind of chorus to the main action of the novel.

Several of these functions receive attention in MS. revision. In Chapter xxxvi, for example, the dialogue of the customers in Peter's Finger, the inn of Mixen Lane, receives a number of corrections which greatly refine the rustics' role of providing a convincing social

context for the interplay of the main characters. The prime function of the scene is the disclosure to the inhabitants of the Casterbridge underworld--and to the furmity-woman in particular--of a past relationship between Henchard and Lucetta, which Jopp is enabled to make, from the letters entrusted to him by the former Mayor. In the earlier form of the MS., a brief exchange of dialogue between the poacher Charl and an ex-game-keeper, Joe, precedes the introduction of the scene's main objective--the furmity-woman's enquiry about the parcel in Jopp's possession; and the subsequent revelation to all present, of its contents:

"Dost mind how you could chuck a trout ashore with a bramble, and not ruffle the stream, Charl?" the keeper was saying. "Twas at that I caught 'ee once, if you can mind?" (MS, 372)

In addition, Jopp's first words are in strict conformity with his function in the scene:

"Ah--therein [i.e. the parcel of letters] lies a grand secret," said Jopp. "It is the passion of love. To think that a woman should love one man so well, and hate another so unmercifully." (MS, 373)

while the furmity-woman herself is rather baldly introduced:

Among the rest, too, was the furmity woman, who had lately settled in this quarter. (MS, 372)

Several notable changes are made in revision. To begin with, the introductory dialogue between Charl and Joe is

considerably expanded, with the insertion of an anecdote, which itself receives amendment:

"...the worst larry for me was that pheasant business at Horewood. Thy wife swore false that time Joe-- Oh, by Gad she did--there's no denying it."

"How was that? <I've forgot all about it>" ^{asked Jopp.}

"Why--^{Joe}<you> collared me, and we rolled down together, close to ^{his}<thy> ^{Hearing the noise} garden hedge. ^{his wife} ^Out <she> ran ^with the oven-pyle, and it being dark under the trees she couldn't see which was uppermost. 'Where beest thee, Joe, under or top?' she screeched. 'Oh--under, by Gad!' says he. She then began to rap down upon my poor back and ribs with the pyle till we'd roll over again. 'Where beest now, dear Joe, under or top?' she'd scream again. By George, 'twas through her I was took! And then when we got up in hall she sware that the cock pheasant was one of her own rearing, when 'twas not your bird at all Joe; 'twas Squire Brown's bird--that's whose 'twas--one that we'd picked off as we passed his wood, an hour afore. It did hurt my feelings to be so wronged!Ah well--'tis over now." (MS, 371^V)

As the corrections indicate, the conversation had previously formed an exchange between poacher and game-keeper, but on revision, Hardy extended the number of speakers, and through his participation in the conversation, Jopp is now introduced before his strictly functional role prescribes. The presence of the furmity-woman, moreover, had originally been disclosed authorially, but in the emended form her inclusion in the general company--of vital importance to the plot--is announced in a more incidental fashion, with dialogue preceding narrative:

"...I might have had ye [Charl] days afore that" sd. the keeper. "I was within a few yards of 'ee dozens of times, with a sight more of birds than that poor one."

"Yes--'tis not our greatest doings that the world gets wind of" said the furmity-woman, who, lately settled in this purlieu, sat among the rest. (MS, 372)

In both the amendments quoted above, the expansion of dialogue and more casual introduction of functional character adds depth and credibility to the community depicted in the novel--a community of which the local peasantry forms a major part, and within which the interaction of the principal characters must be seen, if a convincing picture of human relationships is to be achieved. It should perhaps be mentioned here that the expansion of rustic dialogue cited above is an altogether exceptional occurrence in the novel's textual history: indeed, as cancellations later in this chapter indicate, contraction in dialogue forms a far more typical feature of revision.

Another function traditionally ascribed to Hardy's rustic figures--that of providing humour--also receives attention in MS. revision. In the comico-pathetic scenes, rustic humour is heightened chiefly through additions to rustic speech:

"'Tis recorded in history that we rebelled against the king one or two hundred year ago^v in the time of the Romans, and that lots of us was hanged on Gallows-Hill, and quartered, and our different joints /sic/ sent about the country like butcher's meat ... (MS, 73, 72^v)

"'Hearing a illegal noise I went down the street at on the night of the fifth instinct, Hannah Dominy twenty five minutes past eleven, b.m.[^] (MS, 285)

Gover'ment
"...so we pushed our[^] staves up this water-pipe." (MS, 405)

Narrative description is also elaborated:

Charl shook his head to the zero of[^] childlike ignorance. (MS, 406)

Mrs Stannidge, having[^] rolled into the large parlour said that it was a wonder such one evening a man as Mr Farfrae ...should stoop so low ... (MS, 445)

Rustic humour is further reinforced in subsequent phases of revision, with minor amendments to the dialogue in the magistrate's court (ch. xxviii). Before pronouncing sentence, Henchard asks the furmity-woman if she has anything to say, and in the emended MS. form, the seeming irrelevance of her reply--"'Twenty years ago I was selling of furmity in a tent at Weydon Fair'"--is commented upon by a sarcastic clerk of the court: "'Twenty years ago--well, that's beginning at the beginning!'" (MS, 287). In the revised Graphic proofs the remark, we are told,

was made "not without satire" (G, 342); while in the first edition the impact of the aside is strengthened when it is prefaced with the clerk's remark: "'...suppose you go back to the Creation ...?'" (86, II, 70). Further change appears in the Osgood text, when Constable Stubberd's coyness in reporting the furmity-woman's abusive language is intensified: "'I have floored fellows a dee sight finer-looking than thee, dee me if I haint ...'" (87, 270) now becoming: "'I have floored fellows a dee sight finer-looking than a dee fool like thee, you son of a bee, dee me if I haint ...'" (O, 241).

ii) Additional functions of role: revision in MS.-1912

The differences which separate the rustics in this novel from their earlier counterparts are evident both in delineation and in function. In his presentation of the local peasantry in The Mayor, Hardy now adds to the deliberately idealized earlier portraits a new dimension--that of social realism. In this novel, Hardy's protagonists move for the first time within a social context which registers the unglamorous aspects of rural life, and which breeds peasants whose acceptance of their lot is cynical and rebellious in comparison with the philosophical acquiescence of both good and bad fortune which

typified the choir in Greenwood Tree, the farmworkers in Madding Crowd, and the turf-cutters in the Native. The general tenor of life for the denizens of Mixen Lane, with its theft, prostitution, murder, and disease, foreshadows that of the peasantry in Hardy's later novels-- the heavy drinking of the inmates at Rolliver's Inn, and the stark indigence of the life of the farm labourers at Flintcomb-Ash in Tess; the snide sensuality of Arabella and her female companions in Jude.

This new, tougher attitude of a populace in whom the exigencies of earning a living has bred a coarse materialism, and lack of concern for anything beyond their immediate needs is several times reinforced in MS. revision. It is apparent, for example, in the exchange of remarks which follows the departure of the hay-trusser's wife and her new owner (ch. i). "'He [Newson] came in about five minutes ago And then 'a stepped back, and then 'a looked in again'" the furmity-woman had commented in the earlier MS. text. In the revised form, however, the woman's total response to the violent scene that has just taken place is aptly summarized when her words continue: "'I'm not a penny the better for him'" (MS, 19).

The same narrowly confined attitude is underlined in revision of the choric discussion of the events following

the death of Susan Henchard (ch. xviii). We read in the original MS. text, of Christopher Coney's theft of the coins used to weight the eyelids of the dead woman, and how, contrary to her wishes--"And when you've used 'em, and my eyes don't open no more, bury the pennies, good souls, and don't ye go spending 'em, for I shouldn't like it'" (MS, 174)--Coney has spent the coins on liquor. On revising the conclusion of this chapter, Hardy couches the rustic speakers' dialogue in a metaphoric idiom which clearly reflects the speakers' concern with money. Thus Coney adds to his own defence of the sacriligious act: "Why should death deprive life of fourpence?" (MS, 174); and where Solomon Longways had previously supported Coney's action with the words: "'... 'tis a Sunday morning, and I wouldn't tell a lie. I don't see harm in it,'" he now says: "'... 'tis a Sunday morning, and I wouldn't speak wrongfully for a silver sixpence at such a time ...'" (MS, 174). Further changes are made on the Graphic proofs: in reply to the comment that Coney's action was "rather a cannibal deed," Longways had originally defended Coney's theft, with an unsophisticated and rather macabre remark:

"Baint we all handfuls of one mixture, the dead and the living--say? Why, folks go to dust, and they grow and grow up in the shape of ivy-thrum and such-like, and climb the church tower that they climbed in

the flesh, and so there's no such terrible difference.... (MS, 174)

In the Graphic text, however, his defence no longer consists in a simple reflective comment on natural process, but reveals instead an attitude of harsh materialism in which religious principles are firmly subordinated to worldly needs:

"To respect the dead is sound doxology; and I wouldn't sell skellintons--leasewise respectable skellintons--to be varnished for natomies, except I were out o' work. But money is scarce, and throats be dry.... (G, 218)

Coney's theft is symptomatic of the general debasement which now informs the tenor of rustic life; a debasement which is further accentuated in the Osgood revision of the scene of Farfrae's ballad-singing at the Three Mariners (ch. viii). Here the disenchanted Coney tells the Scotsman: "'...we be bruckle folk here--the best o' us hardly honest sometimes, what with hard winters, and so many mouths to fill, and Goda'mighty sending his little taties so terrible small to fill 'em with'" (87, 73)--a remark which meets with Farfrae's ingenuous reply:

"'...the best of ye hardly honest--not surely? None of ye has been stealing what didn't belong to him?'" (87, 74). Now in all earlier texts, this response was quickly countered by Longways' exclamation: "'No, no. God forbid! That's only his random way o' speaking '" (87,74),

but in 1895 a brief interpolation is made: "'Lord! no! no!' said Solomon Longways, smiling grimly...." (O, 62)--a gesture now confirming the misdeeds which Coney's words had implied.

Moral decadence is again enhanced in the revisions concerning the misconduct which brings the furmity-woman before the magistrate's court. In a series of alterations, begun in MS., and continued until the final edition, the woman's offence is gradually converted from one of drunkenness--a merely civic disobedience--to the more degrading and sacriligious act of defiling the church wall. In the original MS. text Constable Stubberd had referred to her crime as one of "staggering and smelling very disorderly," but in the revised version, a note of blasphemy is introduced with the rephrasing "swearing and staggering very disorderly against the church wall ...as if 'twere no more than a pot-house" (MS, 276); and further intensified in the serial proof revisions when "very disorderly" becomes "in a horrible profane manner" (G, 319). In the final two phases of revision, a more debased act is suggested: in 1895, Stubberd's description of "swearing and staggering" (87, 260) is recast as "swearing and committing a nuisance" (O, 232), while the description of "disorderly female and vagabond" (87, 269) becomes

"disorderly female and nuisance" (O, 240); where, moreover, the site of the woman's misconduct had previously been described as near "the church ...of all wrong places in the world for shouts and rolling" (87,269), this is now expressed as "the church ...of all the horrible places in the world ..." (O, 240). With the final edition of 1912, the nature of the woman's crime is unmistakable: in all previous texts Stubberd had told the court: "'...when I approached to draw near, she insulted me'" (O, 241). In the Wessex text, however, he is more explicit: "'...when I approached to draw near she committed the nuisance, and insulted me'" (W, 231).

A further contrast between the rustics of The Mayor and those of earlier works is to be seen in the marked degree of economy which characterizes Hardy's handling of the Casterbridge peasantry. This new technique may be explained with reference to the structural difference between The Mayor and the earlier Wessex novels; for the focussing of interest on a single figure rather than on the members of a closely interrelated group, results in the relatively muted portrayal of the remaining characters in the novel. Not only do the rustic figures in The Mayor occupy less space than that previously accorded them, but, by a slight extension of their role, they are now

related more closely to the central interest of the novel. Their traditional functions of providing chorus, social background, and comedy, had previously been achieved primarily, though not exclusively, through the medium of dialogue, and their direct intervention in the action of the novel had been infrequent, and for the most part, inadvertent.¹ In The Mayor, however, the role of the rustic characters becomes more immediately dramatic; that is to say, they exert a more marked influence on the plot. Thus Nance Mockridge's disclosure of Elizabeth Jane's service as waitress in the Three Mariners, through injuring Henchard's social pride, further intensifies the Mayor's antagonism towards his step-daughter; while the furmity-woman's court-room

¹ Instances in earlier novels of rustic action directly influencing the course of the plot prove, almost without exception, to be actions whose unfortunate consequences are quite unintentional. For example, Joseph Poorgrass' visit to the Buck's Head, in Madding Crowd, is responsible for the late arrival in Weatherbury of Fanny Robin's coffin, and the resultant delay in burial provides an opportunity for Bathsheba, who opens the coffin, to confirm her suspicions of the dead girl's relations with Troy. In the Native, Christian Cantle's gambling with the guineas entrusted to him by Mrs Yeobright leads to a misunderstanding between Eustacia and her mother-in-law; while Johnny Nunsuch's reported conversation with Mrs Yeobright precipitates the rupture between Clym and his wife; and finally, Charley's kindling of a bonfire on the second Guy Fawkes' Night acts unwittingly as a signal between Eustacia and Wildeve.

revelation later completes the damage to his reputation; and finally, the derelicts of Peter's Finger, acting on Jopp's information, organize the skimmington-ride which causes the death of Lucetta--all actions, it may be noted, of calculated malice.

The curbing of any tendency (one fully indulged in both Madding Crowd and the Native) to overdevelop the role of the rustic figures, and the strict economy which controls the occasions of their appearance, is apparent in revision of both MS. and first edition. In the scene of Elizabeth's first view of her step-father (ch. v) the girl asks Solomon Longways if the Mayor employs a great number of men. "'Many? Why, my good maid, he's the powerfullest member of the town council ...'" Longways replies (MS, 49), and in a speech of several lines comments on Henchard's eminent status in the community. In the original MS. form, Longways' concluding remarks had contained a sentence which Hardy excluded from the final version:

"I've been master dipper to Maister William Hood the taller-chandler these five and forty year-- that little small man you see there by the door ...!"
(MS, 49)

--a cancellation which suggests a deliberate reduction in the number of minor rustic characters; for in the final text of course no such figure appears, and Longways'

trade goes unrecorded.

Further excisions in rustic dialogue occur in the rewriting of the Graphic text, where the rustic's typical willingness to converse is checked in the reworking of the opening dialogue in Chapter i. As they approach the village of Weydon-Priors, the hay-trusser and his family meet a turnip-hoer, and in each of his replies to the husband's three questions, the hoer's speech, in its emended form, is marked by the absence of all gratuitous comment. In the 1886 text his reply to the trusser's query--"'Anything in the hay-trussing line?'" (86, I, 5)--is laconic: "Why, save the man, what wisdom's in fashion that 'a should come to Weydon for a job of that sort this time o' year?'" (86, I, 6). But in the serial he had been more talkative, adding:

"You be quite out of your bearings here if trussing is all ye can turn your hand to." (G, 17)

To the trusser's second query--"'Then is there any house to let--a little small new cottage just a builded, or such like?'" (86, I, 6)--the informant's remarks, in the 1886 version, end, as before, on a conclusive note:

"'...no, not so much as a thatched hurdle; that's the way o' Weydon-Priors'" (86, I, 6). In the Graphic, however, he had continued:

"...so that 'tis the way o' Weydon Priors, when any stranger comes among 'em with a mind to bide, to stare at him as cold as water." (G, 17)

His final words--commenting on the activity in the adjoining village--end, in the later text, on a note of nonchalance, wholly in keeping with the apathy of his previous remarks: "'...Tis Fair-Day. Though what you hear now is little more than the clatter and scurry of getting away the money o' children and fools I've been working within sound o't all day, but I didn't go up--not I. 'Twas no business of mine'" (86, I, 6). By contrast, the encounter in the serial had concluded in a more conversational key:

"...'Twas no business of mine. And now I'm for home along." (G, 17)

The stripping of all inessentials from the hoer's speech strengthens the finality of his replies, while the sheer futility of the husband's enquiries is reinforced in the syntax of the later text, where the stage directions supporting the hoer's speech assume a repetitive form: in the serial version the lines had read:

"Any trade doing here? Anything in the hay-trussing line?"

"Hay-trussing--?" said the turnip-hoer, who had already begun shaking his head....

"Then is there any house to let ...?"

"No, faith. Pulling down is more the nater of Weydon" (G, 17)

but in the first edition, they are slightly reordered:

"Any trade doing here? Anything in the hay-trussing line?"

The turnip-hoer had already begun shaking his head.

"Why, save the man"

"Then is there any house to let ...?"

The pessimist still maintained a negative:

"Pulling down is more the nater of Weydon...."

(86, I, 5-6)

It may be noted here that the generally increased reticence of the rustic character and the removal from his speech of any tendency to communicativeness, accords well with the air of isolation accompanying the hay-trusser and his family from the opening of the scene.

Further economy is practised in the text of 1886 when Mrs Cuxsom's fondness for reminiscence (finely illustrated at the ~~choric~~ gathering outside the church of Henchard's remarriage, in an earlier chapter) is curbed with the removal of an anecdote from her conversation with the inmates of Peter's Finger (ch. xxxvi). Agreeing with Nance Mockridge that the recently-disclosed relations between Henchard and Farfrae's new wife provide a good foundation for a skimmington-ride, Mrs Cuxsom's remarks in the 1886 text conclude thus: "'The last one seen in Gasterbridge must have been ten years ago, if a day'" (86, II, 178). In the serial, however, her statement had been elaborated:

"'Twer about Jane Criddle, do ye mind, that used to beat her husband with the mop-stem, a well-to-do gentleman kind of man that used to travel in the whitey-brown thread and button line, if ye can mind?" (G, 423)

iii) Revisions in dialogue

Despite the slight shift in their role, the major contribution of the rustic figures in The Mayor--as in all previous novels--is still to be found in the medium of dialogue. Hardy evidently took immense pains in achieving the skilfully stylized and imaginative speech of his rustic characters, and passages of rustic dialogue are among the most carefully and consistently revised areas, both in MS. and in subsequent texts.

The author achieved a convincing impression of Dorsetshire dialect with a relatively minor departure from standard English. The provincial idiom is represented both in syntax and in vocabulary, and while an occasional attempt is made to suggest regional pronunciation, Hardy adopts a generally orthodox spelling throughout.¹

¹ "The rule of scrupulously preserving the local idiom, together with the words which have no synonym among those in general use, while printing in the ordinary way most of those local expressions which are but a modified articulation of words in use elsewhere, is the rule I usually follow" From a letter by Hardy published in the Spectator, 15 Oct. 1891, p. 1308. (Reprinted in Orel, pp. 92-93.)

In the MS. text the general pattern of revision is to heighten the regional features of the rustic idiom: for example, "the man seems" is replaced by "the man do seem" (MS, 19), and "he wishes" by "he do command" (MS, 141); "purifying it" by "purifying of it" (MS, 153), "selling furmity" by "selling of furmity" (MS, 287), and "well-to-do" by "well-be-doing" (MS, 416); "poetical" is changed to "poetical-like" (MS, 407), and "rolling" to "wambling" (MS, 286); while "yeoman" becomes "dandy-gent" (MS, 31). The idiom itself has a richly metaphoric and proverbial content, with images and gnomic sayings reflecting both the speakers' homely interests and the rural theme of the novel. A few selected revisions should indicate the general MS. trend of increasing the figurative element in rustic speech:

I wouldn't [^]~~tell a lie~~ speaking wrongfully for a silver sixpence at such a time (MS, 174)

Why should death deprive life of fourpence? (MS, 174)

The miles I used to walk then; and now I can hardly step over a sixpence! (MS, 121)

...there's a list at bottom o' the loaf as thick as the sole of one's shoe. (MS, 49)

...I never see such [^]~~bread~~ unprincipled ... as this before. (MS, 42)

He's a simple [^]~~old~~ homespun man ... (MS, 76)

'Twas rather a cannibal [^]~~deed~~ What a unfeeling deed ... (MS, 174)

...my poor dumb brain gets as dead as a clot afore
I've said my scraggs of few[^]prayers. (MS, 139)

Casterbridge is a hoary old[^]ancient[>] place o' wickedness ... (MS, 73)

The revision of Abel Whittle's superb elegy on Henschard in the final chapter reveals most of the trends suggested above. Provincial syntax is added:

"...I looked ahead o' me, and I seed
~~^~~ saw[>] that he wambled ... (MS, 476)

the figurative element increased:

in the blue o' the
~~^~~ morning (MS, 476)

and the speech made more homely:

He's just gone--about half an hour ago, by the sun;
for ~~^~~ though[>] I've got no watch[^]. to my name (MS, 475)

In the preparation of the first and second editions, the provincial content of rustic dialogue--in common with the dialogue of all major characters, except Farfrae--is deliberately reduced. Some forty changes in this category appear over the two editions. In 1886 "sarves" (G, 18) is replaced by "serves" (86, I, 22), "wuss" (G, 242) by "worse" (86, I, 251), and "swear'd" (G, 422) by "swore" (86, II, 175); "chimbley" (G, 477) is altered to "chimney" (86, II, 215), "chaws high" (G, 422) to "stands high" (86, II, 176), while "we ha'n't seen nothing" (G, 478) becomes "we haven't seen anything" (86, II, 222). In 1887

"hev" (86, I, 64) is changed to "has" (87, 51); "growed" (86, I, 64) to "grown" (87, 51); and "been shook" (86, I, 64) becomes "been shaken" (87, 50). This trend, however, is generally counteracted in the revisions for the Osgood and Wessex texts, for not only are several of the 1886-7 decisions reversed--"strongly of" (O, 127), for example, returns to "strong o'" (W, 122)--but the provincial element is again heightened. The two editions contain approximately sixty revisions of this kind, some fifty of which appear in the Osgood text, and ten, in the Wessex. Thus "with him" (87, 353) becomes "wi' en" (O, 322), and "woman" (87, 354) becomes "oman" (O, 322); "man of letters" (87, 430) is replaced by "man o' letters" (O, 404), "mask" (O, 336) by "falseface" (W, 320), and "afore ye" (O, 312) by "afore 'ee" (W, 299). In addition, the dialogue itself is generally simplified: "eclipsed ye quite" (87, 147) is changed to "cut ye out quite" (O, 128), "deprive life of fourpence" (87, 164) to "rob life o' fourpence" (O, 144), and "under the same displeasure" (87, 356-357) to "under the same cold shade" (O, 326). The last mentioned features--increase in provincial element and in simplicity--is characteristic of Hardy's general handling of dialogue in 1895 and 1912.

A further trend in the revisions of rustic speech for the Osgood and Wessex editions is the attempt to suggest accent through unconventional spelling. This appears most frequently in the change of consonants: thus "fokes" (87, 8) is replaced by "volk" (0, 4), "silver sixpence" (87, 164) by "zilver zixpence" (0, 144) and "seed" (87, 429) by "zeed" (0, 403). Vowel sound is also suggested: "sang" (87, 353) being changed to "zung" (0, 322), and "I don't see harm in it" (87, 164) to "I don't see noo harm in it" (0, 144). The attempt to suggest pronunciation through stylized spelling forms is not, however, a marked feature of the revision of rustic dialogue; indeed the trend is peculiar to the texts of 1895 and 1912; and virtually all remaining examples of unconventional spelling for registering provincial accent are present in the text from the time of the final MS. form.¹

¹Viz., "nater" for "nature" (f. 5), "clane" for "clean" (f. 18), "feller," "winder," "yaller" respectively, for "fellow" (f. 74), "window" (f. 173), "yellow" (f. 120); "sperrit" for "spirit" (f. 19), "pudden" for "pudding" (f. 42), "wownded" for "wounded" (f. 73), "a'mighty" for "almighty" (f. 73), and "a'most" for "almost" (f. 49); "ballet" and "diment" respectively, for "ballad" (f. 74) and "diamond" (f. 144); "chiney" for "china" (f. 76), "skellinton" for "skeleton" (f. 120), "pillow" for "pillar" (f. 445), "jints" for "joints" (f. 72^v), "Henchet" for "Henchard" (f. 475). MS. evidence for "holler" (hollow) is absent.

As the above summary has indicated, rustic dialogue in The Mayor continues to receive attention in all post-MS. phases of composition. The effect, however, is largely one of gloss, for the most characteristic features of the rustic idiom are fully established at MS. level, where many of the principal passages of rustic dialogue appear in very nearly their final form.

CHAPTER V

SETTING: SOCIAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL

a. Social Setting

In The Mayor, as in all Hardy's finest work, character and setting are intimately related. The author's thorough knowledge of, and deep responsiveness towards, the region chosen for his fictional background enabled him to create for the movement of his characters an environment which is carefully detailed, highly localized, and solidly convincing.

Although The Mayor is the only one of the Wessex novels in which the main action is performed within a civic, as opposed to a rustic, setting, the background of the novel is far from urban: Casterbridge is essentially a country town, the small centre of an agricultural and pastoral community; and the town's dependence on, and fusion with, the surrounding country is as apparent in its physical appearance as in the character and occupation of its citizens.

The main action of The Mayor is set in the 1840's,¹ a

¹ Evidence for assigning the action to this period is discussed on ff. 327-333 below.

period of marked instability for British agriculture, and a time in which the rapid expansion of mechanization, with the replacement of traditional methods of farming by ones scientific and more efficient, initiated a profound social and economic change in rural England. As a writer of "realistic" fiction, and with a keen interest in social history, Hardy faithfully records the impact of mechanical advance and commercial flux upon the Casterbridge community. Yet observance of contemporary social issues forms only one element in Hardy's portrait of Casterbridge, and it is an element fully complemented by the frequent emphasis on the town's historical background. Indeed, the stress placed repeatedly on the ancient character of Casterbridge--through its architecture, its natural scenery, and its surviving customs--invests the novel's setting with an atmosphere that is ageless no less than contemporary.

In creating a social context for the action of The Mayor, Hardy employs both narrative summary and dramatic presentation. The reader's knowledge of Casterbridge is derived on the one hand from passages of description and social analysis dispersed throughout the narrative, which deal with various aspects of the town setting and community. Thus the agricultural and pastoral character of Casterbridge

is depicted in Chapters iv, ix, and xiv; and the Roman Amphitheatre, in Chapter xi; contrasting aspects of the Casterbridge Market Place are considered in Chapters xxii and xxiii; and the haunts of the town's social misfits, in the description of the two bridges (ch. xxxii), and in the picture of slum life in Mixen Lane (ch. xxxvi). As regards dramatic presentation, the community created through description and analysis acquires a more concrete existence through the frequent appearance of minor characters drawn from the various social groupings within the community. While it is on the lowest social stratum--the citizen peasantry of Casterbridge--that Hardy most fully relies for providing a convincing background to the action, several other minor figures--Benjamin Grower, Lawyer Joyce, Alderman Tubber, for instance--are drawn from the town's prosperous bourgeoisie; and it is with Hardy's presentation of citizens at the upper end of the social scale that the changes relating to minor characters in this chapter will be principally concerned.

The revisions dealing with aspects of the novel's setting outlined above fall conveniently into two distinct phases: changes in MS. composition focus mainly on the ancient and rural character of the town, while those in the texts of the first and later editions centre on the

members of the middle class segment of the community. The former group of changes will be considered first.

i) Revision in MS.

The rural character of Casterbridge is several times underscored in MS. additions to the masterly picture of the town in Chapter xiv. The theme of the opening paragraph--"Casterbridge ...was a place deposited in the block upon a cornfield ..." (f. 130)--is that of town and country inextricably entangled. Now cancellations on ff. 130-131 reveal that the lines which immediately follow this passage, and which contain a description of Durnover, the suburb at the eastern end of the town, have been extended in order to expand the theme of the preceding paragraph. In the earlier MS. form the district is introduced thus:

A street of farmers' homesteads was a quaint and curious sight. (MS, 130)

In the revised text, however, the sentence is deleted, and the description elaborated with both visual and auditory detail. In place of the previous introduction we now read:

Here wheat ricks overhung the old Roman street, and thrust their eaves against the church tower; green-thatched barns with doorways as high as the gates of Solomon's temple opened directly upon the main thoroughfare. Barns indeed were so numerous as to alternate with every half-dozen houses along the way. (MS, 130-131)

while to the street sounds of threshing and winnowing,

Hardy now adds the sound of the dairy: "...a street ruled by a mayor and corporation, yet echoing with the thump of the flail, the flutter of the winnowing-fan," the narrator had originally stated; "and the purr of the milk into the pails--a street which had nothing urban in it whatever ...," he continues in the corrected text (MS, 131). A third addition introduces a reference to the inhabitants of Durnover: "Here lived burgesses who daily walked the fallow; shepherds in an intramural squeeze" (MS, 131)--an amendment in which the mutual dependence of civic and rural is succinctly imaged.

The correction cited above in which "a street of farmers' homesteads" is transformed into "the old Roman street" deserves further mention, for it provides a typical example of the many references throughout the novel to the ancient origins of Casterbridge, and forms one of a small group of MS. changes which serve to underline the town's legacy from the historical past. Emphasis on the antiquity of Casterbridge is evident, for example, in several amendments to the scene of Elizabeth Jane's first encounter with Lucetta (ch. xx), where deletions on ff. 193-194 reveal the scene's original setting to have been one of the tree-lined avenues of Casterbridge and not, as in the familiar text, the ancient churchyard

at Durnover. The scene opens, it may be remembered, with a description of the occasional sunny days in the winter following the death of Susan Henchard. According to the earlier form of the text, Elizabeth "seized on these days as if they were jewels, and made the most of them by going into the Walks" (MS, 193); in the emended form, however, "She seized on these days for her periodical visits to the spot where her mother lay buried ..."

(MS, 193). The revision then continues with a short passage in which the place of encounter is described as the still-used burial-ground of the old Roman-British city, whose curious feature was this--its continuity as a place of sepulture. Mrs. Henchard's dust mingled with the dust of women who lay ornamented with glass hairpins and amber necklaces, and men who held in their mouths coins of Hadrian, Posthumus, and Constantine.

(G, 242)¹

¹ In the form quoted above, this amendment belongs either to the final MS. text or to the first set of corrected serial proofs. MS. evidence is not available: an addition is indicated by the mark ✕ above the final sentence on f. 193 ("She seized on these days ...") but the preceding leaf on whose verso the lines evidently appeared is missing. The quotation has therefore been taken from the serial text. It seems worth noting that the substance of this passage appears to have been lifted from Vol. II of Hutchins' History. The material is to be found in the section on the antiquities of Fordington (the Durnover of the novel), an eastern suburb of Dorchester, and site of a fine Romano-British cemetery. Page 794 of the History contains an account of excavations carried out in 1839, when workmen, engaged in lowering the hill in the High Street, exhumed the (Roman) remains of more than fifty bodies. Only those extracts relevant to the passage in

The change in location from the tree-lined avenue to the ancient burial-ground achieves several effects. The first of these concerns the description of the churchyard itself, which, with its picture of the co-existence of past times with present, Hardy makes the occasion for suggesting the essential continuity or rather unity of all human life. A further effect of the alteration concerns the figure of Lucetta. By introducing the sophisticated and rootless woman of fashion against the timeless and historical background of the Roman graveyard, Hardy establishes an incongruity between figure and setting which serves to accentuate the woman's essential foreignness and her alienation from the rural community.

The Mayor are quoted:

One of the interments was marked by peculiar circumstances. The remains were those of a young female ... beneath whose scull [sic] were found several elegantly formed glass pins Across the neck of another female was a necklace of small glass and amber beads

The description continues with an account of the findings in the graves of the male bodies:

Two coins only were discovered, one of Posthumus the other ... a coin of Constantine This one was taken from the mouth of the skeleton (Hutchins, II, 794)

The account of these findings would have had particular interest for Hardy, as both ornaments and coins were discovered by the Rev. Henry Moule, Vicar of Fordington, and father of the author's close friend, Horace. The findings of 1839 were deposited by Henry Moule in the County Museum, Dorchester, where they may still be seen.

In view, moreover, of her eventual fate, the later choice of site provides the scene of Lucetta's first appearance on the Casterbridge stage with a setting of peculiar appropriateness.

Timelessness as a feature of life in the rural community is further reinforced in a minor addition to Chapter xxiv, which contains an account of the town's newly-acquired mechanical seed-drill. "It was the new fashioned agricultural implement called a horse-drill, till then unknown, in its modern shape, in this part of the country, where the venerable seed-lip was still used for sowing . . .," the narrator had previously remarked. In the final MS. form the latter part of this sentence is expanded: "...where the venerable seed-lip was still used for sowing as in the days of the Heptarchy" (MS, 239). By thus measuring the agricultural standards of mid-nineteenth century Wessex against those of Anglo-Saxon England, the addition serves to underline the extent to which the farm-workers of Casterbridge, no less than their real-life counterparts, are the "representatives of antiquity."¹

¹ The country people of the South-west, Hardy is reported to have said, "are the representatives of antiquity. Many of these labourers about here bear corrupted Norman names; many are the descendants of the squires of the last century, and their faces even now strongly resemble the

In the final group of MS. changes relating to social setting, Hardy seems concerned to reinforce a dominant note in the voice of Casterbridge public opinion. The effect of these changes--all of which occur in the closing chapters of the MS.--is to stress the superficial and transitory effect on the greater part of the community, of the upheavals in the lives of its individual members. Thus the slightness of Lucetta's impact on society is reinforced in a minor amendment early in Chapter xlii. In the original text "Lucetta had been borne along the churchyard path; Casterbridge had for the last time turned its regard upon her and proceeded to its work as usual;" but after correction; "...Casterbridge had for the last time turned its regard upon her, before proceeding to its work as if she had never lived" (MS, 433). The same process is at work in the following chapter, where an account of the public interest in Farfrae's courtship of Elizabeth undergoes slight revision: "...Casterbridge ...looked up for a moment at the news, and withdrawing its attention, went on labouring and victualling, bringing up its children and burying its dead as before," the narrator had previously commented.

portraits in the old Manor-houses. Many are, must be, the descendants of the Romans who lived here ...for four hundred years." (Quoted in Edmund Blunden's Thomas Hardy [London, 1941], p. 78.)

In the revised version, however, the concluding phrase is elaborated, and we now read that Casterbridge "went on labouring and victualling, bringing up its children and burying its dead without caring a tittle for Farfrae's domestic plans" (MS, 446).

The essential indifference of the local community to the sufferings and passions of the protagonists, reinforced in the revisions just cited, stands in ironical contrast to the very real power which that society wields. For the response of the townsfolk to the fortunes of Farfrae, Lucetta, and Elizabeth is the response not merely of on-lookers, but rather of participants in the drama. The death of Lucetta and the subsequent freedom of Farfrae to marry Elizabeth Jane stems, after all, from the skimmington-ride organized by the derelicts of Mixen Lane; and hence the indifference of Casterbridge society is an indifference to lives which public opinion--in the form of rustic intervention--has been largely instrumental in directing.

The last revision in this group appears in the final chapter of the novel. Opening with a description of the town's reaction to the unexpected reappearance of Richard Newson, the original MS. form relates that the sailor "was stared at and honoured as became the returned Crusoe

of the hour" (MS, 469); in the emended form, however, Hardy underscores the very temporary nature of that response, by adding on the verso of f. 468 the following sentence of comment:

But whether or not because Casterbridge was difficult to excite by dramatic returns and disappearances, through having been for centuries an assize-town, in which sensational exits from the world, antipodean absences, and such like, were half-yearly occurrences, the inhabitants did not altogether lose their equanimity on his account. (MS, 468^v)

--an insertion which diminishes the general impact of Newson's return and suggests that the outlook of Casterbridge citizens has been moulded to some extent by the historical past of the town in which they live.

ii) Revision in 1886-1912

The human medium within which the central characters move receives further attention in the revision for the first edition, where Hardy introduces into the text a series of minor references to individual citizens within the Casterbridge community. Considered separately the revisions may appear trifling indeed, yet their cumulative effect is to add depth to the social setting of the tale. This is seen, for example, in two minor additions to passages of narrative description, where incidental references to local figures in the town reinforce a sense of

the living community enveloping the major characters. Thus the account which appears in the Graphic of the crowded High Street on market-day:

...every shop pitched out half its contents ... upon trestles and boxes on the kerb, extending the display each week a little further and further into the roadway, until there remained but a tortuous defile for carriages down the centre of the street ... (G, 102)

receives a small interpolation in 1886 where the latter part of the description reads as follows:

...extending the display each week a little farther and farther into the roadway, despite the expostulations of the two feeble old constables, until there remained but a tortuous defile for carriages down the centre of the street ... (86, I, 111)

--an amendment which marks the introduction of the town's two local policemen, both of whom are to reappear later in connection with the skimmington-ride, where they seem equally incapable of enforcing order.

A similar change is made several chapters later, in the description of Elizabeth Jane's nightly vigil at the bedside of her dying mother (ch. xviii). According to the serial: "...the silence in Casterbridge was broken in Elizabeth's ear only by the timepiece in the bedroom ticking frantically against the clock on the stairs ..." (G, 218); but in the later text, a third voice--that of a traditional (and by the time of Hardy's revision, historical) town figure--disrupts the silence of the girl's

solitary vigil, for we now read that "...the silence in Casterbridge--barring the rare sound of the watchman-- was broken in Elizabeth's ear only by the time-piece in the bedroom ..." (86, I, 225).

The remaining revisions in 1886 concern members of the local bourgeoisie--leading ~~merchants~~ and professional men of Casterbridge. With the introduction of a handful of minor corrections, Hardy provides a group of largely undifferentiated figures with names and professions, and through introducing cross-references to characters already briefly mentioned, gives concreteness and cohesion to a number of otherwise anonymous figures.

At the close of Chapter xxvi, for example, we read of the vast quantities of grain which Henchard buys in preparation for his commercial combat with Farfrae. While the serial states only that the corn-merchant "bought grain to an enormous extent" (G, 318), the sentence is later extended in order to register the reaction of Henchard's fellow-townsmen: "...Henchard bought grain to such an enormous extent that there was quite a talk about his purchases among his neighbours, the lawyer, the wine merchant, and the doctor ..." (86, II, 44). Now by the time of the first edition, two of these figures feature elsewhere in the tale: the wine merchant is included

among the citizens in the market-place, whom Elizabeth points out to Lucetta--"'There's Mr. Bulge--he's a wine merchant ...'" (G, 270)--while Henchard's second neighbour, the lawyer, makes his first appearance in 1886, when a revision in Chapter xvi includes him among the group of townsmen who engage Henchard in conversation outside the dancing-pavilion. For here the words of friendly criticism which one of the citizens offers the Mayor over the choice of a site for his entertainment are no longer spoken simply by an unidentified "good-natured friend" (G, 190), but instead by "the lawyer, another good-natured friend" (86, I, 205). The same trend is apparent later in the text, when Chalkfield, the Mayor whom Farfrae succeeds, is now ascribed the status of "Doctor" (86, II, 66, 147).

Further revision of this kind appears in the scene of Henchard's intrusion at the meeting of the Town Council (ch. xxxvii). After refusing the corn-merchant's request to take part in the official reception of the royal visitor, Farfrae, the presiding Mayor, glances round at his colleagues in the Chamber: "'I think I have expressed the feeling of the Council,' he said" (W, 303). Now in the serial, this remark is endorsed by a wholly anonymous group: "'Yes, yes' [were the replies] from several" (G, 449);

in the first edition, however, the impersonal body becomes individualized: "'Yes, yes,' from Dr Bath, Lawyer Long, Alderman Tubber, and several more" (86, II, 187). All three figures deserve mention. Like the lawyer in the amendment cited above, Tubber also appears in the pavilion scene earlier in the tale. Dr Bath, however, had previously received no explicit mention, although his wife appears in both MS. and serial as one of the speakers in the gossip following Henchard's interruption at the royal visit (ch. xxxvii). In the text of the first edition the minor insertion informing us that Dr Bath is a member of the Town Council is matched later in the same chapter when we learn that the doctor is also newly-married: while the Graphic had described Mrs Bath simply as "the physician's wife, a new comer to the town" (G, 450), the first edition is more informative, for we now read that she is "a new-comer to the town, through her recent marriage with the Doctor" (86, II, 193).

The third figure at the Council meeting--Lawyer Long--also deserves comment, for the character had already received brief mention in Madding Crowd, written some twelve years before The Mayor.¹ Now the reappearance in

¹ See Madding Crowd, p. 416.

one novel of characters originating in another is a consistent minor feature of Hardy's work--both poetry and prose. The final text of The Mayor contains eight such characters: six of these are drawn from earlier fiction, while the remainder (both originating in The Mayor) reappear in later works. Although in this novel all recurrent characters are essentially background figures, their roles outside The Mayor range from the centrally important to the barely differentiated.¹

Consistent with the introduction of Lawyer Long in the first edition, three other recurrent figures receive attention in the reworking of The Mayor. The first adjustment occurs in Chapter xvii of the MS., where Hardy extends the catalogue of important farmers and merchants who "had each an official stall in the corn-market room, with their names painted thereon," by adding to the original series of "'Henchard,' 'Everdene,' 'Boldwood,'"²

¹ Figures from earlier works appearing in The Mayor include Farmer Shiner and his aunt, Dame Ledlow, a relative, presumably, of Farmer Ledlow's wife (Greenwood Tree, 1872); Farmers Boldwood and Everdene, and Lawyer Long (Madding Crowd, 1874); and Darton ("Interlopers at the Knap," 1884). Those from The Mayor reappearing in subsequent works include Conjuror Fall (Tess, 1891: ch. xxi) and Solomon Longways (Dynasts, Pt. III, 1908: V.vi).

² The name "Boldwood," however, is deleted in the final MS. form. See n. 1, f.300 below.

the name of "Darton" (MS, 164). Now Charles Darton had already appeared as a prosperous landowner and major figure in "Interlopers at the Knap," a short story written at or about the time of the early composition of The Mayor.¹

Similar revision is carried out in the final two editions of the novel. The first correction appears in a passage of rustic dialogue (ch. xiii) where, in all texts up to the Osgood edition, Mrs Cuxsom's reminiscence on her youth contains a reference to a party "at Mellstock ...at old Dame Ledlow's, farmer Penny's sister ..." (87, 116). Penny, of course, features as a prominent member of the Mellstock parish choir in Greenwood Tree--not however as a farmer, but as a boot- and shoe-maker; a point which Hardy apparently forgot when writing The Mayor, but seems afterwards to have recalled, for he altered the reference, first in 1895, to "farmer Shinar's sister" (0, 101), and again in the Wessex text, where

¹ The story, which later formed one of the Wessex Tales, was first printed in The English Illustrated Magazine, May 1884.

Dame Ledlow finally becomes "Shiner's aunt" (W, 97).¹ Shiner himself is introduced in the revision of 1895 when his name is added to the already extended list of farmers at the Corn Exchange (ch. xvii). In its final form the series runs as follows: "Henchard, 'Everdene,'

¹ Both the MS. deletion of Boldwood (f. 164) and the 1895-1912 changes concerning Dame Ledlow offer evidence of Hardy's concern to avoid inconsistency in his use of recurrent characters; for both revisions seem to be connected with the relationship of the assumed chronology of The Mayor to that of the other stories from which the recurrent characters are drawn. The point may be summarized thus:

i) Although Boldwood appears in the scene of Henchard's bankruptcy, where he is described as "a silent, reserved young man" (W, 253), his name is deleted from the list of important farmers in ch. xvii of the MS. Now Boldwood, it will be remembered, features prominently in Madding Crowd, a novel whose main action takes place some twenty years after that of The Mayor [actually 1869-73, according to F. B. Pinion, in A Hardy Companion (London, 1968), p. 287]. Since Boldwood in the earlier story is described as a man of about forty (Madding Crowd, p. 104), he would almost certainly have been too young at the time of The Mayor to rank as one of the established farmers at the Casterbridge Corn Exchange, and the reference in ch. xvii is therefore deleted.

ii) As regards the change of Dame Ledlow from Shiner's "sister" to Shiner's "aunt" in Mrs Cuxsom's speech, the action of Greenwood Tree may be assumed to take place some ten to twenty years before that of The Mayor [see Preface to Greenwood Tree] and according to the earlier story, Shiner is "about thirty-five" (Greenwood Tree, p. 47). Since, however, Mrs Cuxsom is a contemporary of Solomon Longways (a man in his late sixties), her youthful reminiscence must refer to a period of at least forty years earlier, i.e. to the 1880's. At this time, of course, Shiner would have been too young to have had an elderly sister, and so in the Wessex edition of The Mayor, "old Dame Ledlow" becomes his aunt.

'Shiner,'¹ 'Darton'" (O, 138), the name of each figure representing a separate work of fiction.

The technique of employing recurrent characters seems to achieve two results. First, it is a remarkably economical method of adding depth to the social context of the novel. From their appearance in earlier works, Shiner, Boldwood, Everdene, and Darton are already familiar to the reader of The Mayor, and no further characterization is necessary to establish their existence. By thus drawing on a stock of previously created, and by now, familiar, characters, Hardy is able through the simple listing of names to evoke a whole complex of memories, which will encompass events, situations, and other figures associated with each recurrent character.

¹ In the final text of The Mayor the name reads "Shinar" in ch. xiii (W, 97), "Shiner" in ch. xvii (W, 132). Early editions of both Greenwood Tree and The Mayor record the name as "Shinar," but in the revisions of 1912 the spelling is changed to "Shiner," for so it appears throughout the Wesséx text of Greenwood Tree and in ch. xvii of The Mayor. Through an oversight--most probably authorial--the name in ch. xiii of The Mayor retains the earlier spelling. In altering the spelling of the name in 1912, Hardy's aim may possibly have been to exploit the allegorical potential of the word, "shiner" being a colloquial West country term for "someone with whom to carry on a flirtation" (Wright, English Dialect Dictionary)--an eminently suitable name for the farmer, in view of Fancy Day's confession of their encounter by the stream (Greenwood Tree, Pt. III, ch. iii.).

Since, moreover, these recurrent figures originate in narratives of a different period from that of the main action of The Mayor, their appearance in the society of Casterbridge directs the reader's attention to a time extending beyond the immediate present of the novel's action. That is to say, a sense of continuity in time of the society presented in The Mayor is suggested through the association of its members with figures from an earlier (Greenwood Tree) as well as from a later period (Madding Crowd) of time. Thus the introduction of recurrent characters achieves the further effect of extending the temporal context of the novel.

b. Topography

It may be well, before examining the changes concerning the geographical features of Casterbridge and the surrounding country, to consider briefly the relationship of the fictitious town to its actual counterpart, Dorchester.

The statement in the General Preface to the Wessex Edition that "...the portraiture of fictitiously named towns and villages was only suggested by certain real places, and wantonly wanders from inventorial descriptions of them ..." typifies Hardy's insistent claim that the

correspondence between the Wessex settings and the localities on which they were based was approximative only; and the statement may thus be seen as a corrective to the many readers and to the numerous compilers of handbooks for travellers in the Wessex country, who, encouraged no doubt by the very careful realism with which Hardy depicted both the natural and architectural features of his scenes, would persistently equate the ideal with the real.¹

With The Mayor, however, the scenery hunter is on much safer ground than in many of the other Wessex novels, for in both natural and artificial setting, Casterbridge presents a topography easier to identify than almost any in Hardy's fiction. The reason for this lies in the relative absence of the artistic licence with which Hardy frequently treated the bases of his fictional settings; a licence seen on the one hand in the transference of buildings, districts, or natural scenery, from their actual sites to those better suited to the action of the

¹ The handbook industry so irritated Hardy at one time that he considered providing the requisite information to the works himself. In a letter of 31 Mar. 1902 he wrote thus to Sir Frederick Macmillan: "So many books seem to be coming out concerning 'the Wessex of the novels and poems' ...that I fancy I shall be compelled, in self-defence as it were, to publish an annotated edn. giving a really trustworthy account of real places, scenery etc. (somewhat as Scott did)" Letter from the Macmillan Papers, MS. 54923, in the BM.

novel,¹ and seen on the other, in the creation of "composite structures"--that is, single buildings or tracts of natural scenery combining features of two or more real models.²

A comparison of the general plan of Casterbridge with that of Dorchester in the 1840's reveals a very close correlation indeed. Virtually all the local features of Dorchester--artificial as well as natural--which receive mention in the novel are described in situ. These include the tree-lined avenues which frame the town, and the arrangement of the principal streets (in both the real and the fictitious town, the arrangement is cruciform, in the traditional Roman style of town planning); the two bridges and the river with Ten Hatches Weir to the east of the town, and the archeological remains.

¹ In the Native, for example, the large hill named Rainbarrow stands at the very centre of Egdon, whereas its real counterpart lies at the western edge of the heath on which the setting of the novel is based. Similarly Bathsheba's mansion in Madding Crowd is considerably nearer to the village of Weatherbury than is Waterston House (the historical original of the mansion) to Puddletown (the Weatherbury of the novel).

² The term is used by Hermann Lea in Thomas Hardy's Wessex (London, 1913), p. xxi. Two examples of this practice may be cited: Overcombe, the home of the Garlands in Trumpet Major combines features of at least two Dorsetshire villages, viz. Sutton Poyntz and Upwey (see Lea, pp. 184, 186); while Hardy himself maintained that Little Hintock, the setting for the Woodlanders, had "features which were to be found fifty years ago in the hamlets of Hermitage, Middlemarsh, Lyons-Gate, Revels Inn, Holnest, Melbury Bubb, etc." (Life, p. 432).

Buildings which retain their original sites within the town include St. Peter's Church, the Town Hall and Corn Exchange (a single building), the Market Square in the High Street,¹ and all inns and hotels featured in the novel. Several buildings on the outskirts also remain in situ: these include Hangman's Cottage and the local gaol, the Friary Mill, and Damer's barn on the Bridport Road.

The liberties which Hardy professed to have taken when depicting the town² are evident in three areas. The first concerns the location of Lucetta's house, High-Place Hall. This building, which undergoes no less than three changes of location from MS. to final edition, seems to have been largely imaginary, although the leering

¹ F. B. Pinion, mistakenly, I think, locates the Market Place of the novel in Bull Stake or North Square, instead of in the original site at the junction of High West Street and South Street. (See his Hardy: The Mayor of Casterbridge, p. 53, and A Hardy Companion, pp. 262-263.) Several references within the text of The Mayor, however, suggest that the original site has been retained; see, for example, ch. xxii: "The farmers as a rule preferred the open carrefour for their transactions, despite its inconvenient jostlings and the danger from crossing vehicles ..." (W, 174). Further references appear on pp. 190, 350.

² "...When I consider the liberties I have taken with its [Dorchester's] ancient walls, streets, and precincts through the medium of the printing-press, I feel that I have treated its external features with the hand of freedom indeed." (From a speech made by Hardy on receiving the freedom of Dorchester, 16 Nov. 1910. Quoted in Life, p. 351.)

mask adjoining the keystone of the arched door at the rear of the house strongly resembles the real mask on the bricked-up door in the wall adjoining the front of Colliton House; a building which, in Hardy's time, was situated in Glyde Path Road, somewhat to the west of the final location of Lucetta's house.¹ Further evidence of the artistic freedom with which Hardy depicted the ancient town is to be seen in his placing together--at one time--features which, though once existent in Dorchester, were not present within the same period. Thus we read in Chapter xxvii that the thoroughfare leading from the High Street to Bull Stake was spanned by an archway (W, 219), and in Chapter xxii, that the town's museum was situated "in an old house in a back street" (W, 178). In the real town of Dorchester, however, the archway was demolished in 1848, while the museum was not transferred to the "back street" until 1851--a factor not

¹ "...In a proof copy of Dorchester (Dorset) and its Surroundings by F. R. and Sidney Heath, sold at Sotheby's, 29th May 1961, Hardy has written the following correction in his own hand with reference to Colliton House, p. 73: 'This is Lucetta's house as to character, though not as to situation.'" C. J. P. Beatty, "The Part played by Architecture in the Life and Work of Thomas Hardy, with particular reference to the Novels," unpublished Ph.D thesis (London University, 1963), f. 47, n.1.

unknown to Hardy.¹ Hence the picture which Hardy presents of Dorchester--for the most part a skilful re-production--is by no means merely "a photograph in words," and was well described by an acquaintance of the author as "a sort of essence of the town as it used to be ..." (Life, p. 351).

Changes in the topography of The Mayor are concentrated in three phases of revision: the reworking of the MS., and the alterations made for the editions of 1895 and 1912. Since changes in topography constitute a fairly dense category of revision--containing from MS. to Wessex text, well over one hundred alterations--a representative selection only (approximately three quarters) of the revisions within each phase will be given.

i) Revision in MS.

Through the frequent introduction into the MS. text of minor descriptive details of place and distance, the setting of the novel's action receives clearer definition, though it is never over-particularized. A few selected

¹ In ch. xxii of Rebekah Owen's copy of The Mayor, Hardy wrote against the sentence locating the museum: "From 1851-1871 the Museum was in Trinity Street; before that in Judge Jeffrey's lodgings in High West Street, by no means a back street as Trinity Street is." See Weber, Hardy and the Lady from Madison Square, p. 237.

examples should indicate the general trend:

a few miles from the town
In a lonely hamlet[^]...there lived a man of curious repute ...
(MS, 265)

stood behind a green slimy pond, and it
The barn[^] was closed with the exception of one of the
facing them
usual pair of doors[^]... (MS, 293)

diminish across the moor
She watched his form[^] away out of sight... (MS, 448)

He slipped and slid upon the narrow path^v
The turnpike-road became a lane, the lane a
cart-track; the cart track a bridle-path, the
bridle-path a footway, the footway overgrown.
The solitary walker slipped here and there ...
(MS, 265-6)

Reaching the end of the lane
[^]Henchard crossed the shaded avenue on the walls, slid
down the green rampart, and stood amongst the stubble.
(MS, 278)

Mrs Henchard was so pale that the boys called her "The
Ghost." Sometimes Henchard overheard this epithet when
together along the Walks--as the avenues on the walls were
they passed[^] at which his face would darken ... named
(MS, 118)

The amendment in the last quotation marks the first of
a series of revisions (continued in subsequent texts)
through which the tree-lined avenues framing the town are
more specifically defined. Thus the avenue in which
Farfrae erects his dancing-pavilion (ch. xvi) is described
in the earlier MS. form simply as "the Walk," but in the
corrected form as "the Chestnut Walk" (MS, 150); while in

the following chapter the previously unspecified "dark Walk" into which the Scotsman returns after leaving Elizabeth is more clearly located in the revised text as the "dark Bowling Walk" (MS, 157).

Several other local features of the town setting emphasized in MS. correction complete the revisions in this group:

...they passed the Golden Crown Hotel, the market house,
~~King's Arms~~ the churchyard wall,
 ascending to the upper end of the long street ...when they
 bent suddenly to the right into the Bristol Road and were out of view.
 (MS, 81)

Beneath these sycamores on the town walls from the sitting room
 could be seen the
~~tumuli~~ earth
~~hills~~ and ~~hill~~ forts of the distant uplands ~~country~~ ... (MS, 116b)

A path led from the highway to these Hatches, crossing
the second bridge over
 the stream at their head ~~there~~ by a narrow plank-bridge. (MS, 428)

ii) Revision in 1895

The most extensive revision of the novel's topography occurs in the preparation of the uniform edition in 1895. By importing into the text a substantial number of geographical details, Hardy seems concerned to reinforce the regional quality of the novel's setting. The revisions

are chiefly of three kinds. In the first and largest group, a number of existing Dorsetshire place names are introduced. Thus in his description of the "elevated green spot" chosen by Henchard for the site of his public entertainment (ch. xvi), the narrator had previously remarked that one side of the upland "sloped to a river" (87, 142), but in the later text, the description states that it "sloped to the river Froom" (0, 124). And where Farfrae, driving along the highway in the direction of Mellstock, had originally steered his gig "towards the by-road" (87, 376), he now directs it "towards Cuckoo Lane" (0, 344); while in Chapter xliii, the ancient earthwork from which Henchard spies the return of Newson is described in all earlier texts simply as a "pre-historic earthen fort" (87, 408), it is more clearly identified in the 1895 version as "the pre-historic fort called Mai Dun" (0, 375)--all three amendments representing the actual names by which river, road, and building respectively are known.

Further additions in this group concern the town avenues, already subject to revision at MS. level, and which, in the Osgood edition, become more closely identified with the real walks surrounding Dorchester. Hence the avenue of chestnuts" (87, 145) in which Farfrae holds his

entertainment (and which, from geographical evidence within the text may be located to the west of the town) is now retitled the "avenue of sycamores" (O, 126)--an alteration which avoids confusion with the avenue skirt-
ing the south side of the town, and already described in Chapter xxvi as "the chestnut walk" (87, 242)--its actual name. A similar amendment appears several pages later, when the avenue along the west side of Casterbridge, described in all previous texts as the "Old Walk" (87, 150), now reverts to the more familiar Dorchester name of "West Walk" (O, 131). One further change seems worth noting: the novel's two allusions to "White Hart Vale" (87, 135, 136) are superseded in 1895 by references to "Blackmoor Vale" (O, 117, 118). Although the former reading is in fact a genuine name for the region, the latter restores the undoubtedly more familiar title.

The same trend is apparent in the renaming of buildings within Casterbridge. Four of these exchange previously assumed names for their established titles: "St. Jude's" Church (87, 283) is replaced by "St. Peter's" (O, 253), and the "Golden Crown" Hotel (87, 45) by the "King's Arms" (O, 36); the "Stag" Hotel (87, 160) reverts to the "Antelope" (O, 140), and the "King of Prussia" Inn (87, 55) to the "Three Mariners" (O, 45). As regards the first three

alterations, the revisions in 1895 mark a complete reversal of Hardy's earlier practice; for deletions within the MS. reveal that, prior to revision, all three buildings were originally introduced under their real names.¹ It was presumably to these changes that Hardy was referring when he wrote in the Osgood Preface to The Mayor that "Some ...names, omitted or altered for reasons which no longer exist, in the original printing of both English and American editions ...have ...been replaced or inserted for the first time" (O, vi). The most important of these "reasons", we may assume with a fair degree of confidence, would have been Hardy's concern to prevent too close an identification of his fictional creations with their actual counterparts²--a practice which this group of topographical changes expressly

¹ The now cancelled MS. reading "St. Peter's" appears on f. 302; "King's Arms," on f. 83; "Antelope," on f. 167.

² Support for this assumption is to be found in a letter which Hardy wrote to Sir Sydney Cockerell in 1919, the wording in which is strongly reminiscent of the sentence in the Preface just quoted. The revisions for the Mellstock edition of Blue Eyes, Hardy explained, were undertaken in order "to correct the topography a little, the reasons that led me to disguise the spot when the book was written in 1872 no longer existing, the hand of death having taken care of that." (This refers, of course, to the death in 1912 of his first wife Emma who, as Purdy points out, formed "the last of the little group Hardy found at St. Juliot Rectory [the historical original of Endelstow House, the Swancourt mansion] in 1870." Purdy, p. 13.) Letter to Cockerell (15 July 1919) quoted in Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 286-287.

encourages in the reader of the 1895 edition.

In the second group of revisions for the Osgood text, ancient or fictitious place names are introduced to describe hitherto unspecified, or at best, vaguely located, districts and natural features. In the first two amendments Hardy's aim appears to be to underline the geographical contours of the novel's setting; for through them he locates two of the key centres in The Mayor within the district of "Wessex," the ancient name for the half-dozen counties which provide the bases of the "partly real, partly dream-country"¹ of the greater part of Hardy's fiction. In the opening sentence of all texts before 1895, the narrator refers to a young man and woman approaching "the large village of Weydon-Priors ..." (87, 1), whereas he alludes in the Osgood edition to "the large village of Weydon-Priors, in Upper Wessex ..." (0, 1); while at the close of the following chapter the hay-trusser had previously set out on a journey towards "the town of Casterbridge more than a hundred miles off" (87, 27), his objective in the uniform text is now described as "the town of Casterbridge, in a far distant part of Wessex" (0, 20)--both amendments revealing Hardy's

¹ Thus Hardy describes the region in his Preface to the Wessex edition of Madding Crowd (p.viii).

concern to suggest at the outset the larger province of which the locality of The Mayor forms part.

Of the remaining revisions which introduce fictitious place names, four examples may be cited. The road along which Henchard pursues Farfrae on the night of the skimmington-ride is described in earlier editions as "the eastern road over the moor" (87, 376); in 1895 this becomes "the eastern road over Durnover Moor" (O, 344). The "one town of any importance" along the hay-trusser's course from the pastoral farm to Casterbridge (G, 539) is now identified as the "one town, Shottsford ..." (O, 390), while the van which carries him back to Casterbridge for Elizabeth's wedding-party no longer pauses "on the top of a hill" (G, 539), but rests instead "on the top of Yalbury Hill" (O, 392). And where, in Chapter xlv, Farfrae and Elizabeth meet Abel Whittle on Egdon Heath, the region described in previous texts simply as "some woodland to the east" (87, 427), is located in the Osgood version as "some extension of the heath to the north of Anglebury ..." (O, 401).

In the third group of revisions, fictitious place names already present in the text undergo change: "Stickleford" (87, 84) is replaced by "Kingsbere" (O, 72), "Dummerford"

(87, 126) by "Durnover" (0, 109), and "Horewood" (87, 341) by "Yalbury Wood" (0, 310), while "Casterbridge Moor" (87, 50) becomes "Durnover Moor" (0, 41). Further corrections in topography introduce "Weatherbury" (0, 401), "Havenpool" (0, 352), and "Budmouth" (0, 322).

Now one feature common to all three groups of changes outlined above is the echoing, in nearly every one of the emended readings, of places and towns which feature prominently in the settings of other Wessex novels. Weatherbury, for example, provides the setting for the main action of Madding Crowd, as does Yalbury, for much of the action of Greenwood Tree; Kingsbere is the seat of the ancient d'Urbervilles, and the Vale of Blackmoor, the region of the present Durbeyfield home; while Budmouth is the scene for many episodes in the Trumpet Major--a recurrence which one might reasonably expect in a group of novels whose settings involve some degree of geographical overlap.

My intention in the remainder of this section is to suggest that the real significance of the topographical changes cited above is to be found not simply within the text of The Mayor itself, but rather in relation to those other Wessex novels whose scenes and settings these changes are designed to evoke. This assumption is confirmed by

an examination of the Wessex topography in variant texts of several of Hardy's other novels; for a comparison of texts of the first edition with those of the Osgood edition of Greenwood Tree, Madding Crowd, Native, and Trumpet Major reveals in the 1895 revision of all four novels changes in topography which correspond in kind with those for the Osgood text of The Mayor. That is to say, the heightening of the Wessex locality is not peculiar to the 1895 text of The Mayor, but instead typifies a general pattern in the author's preparation for the first uniform edition of his work.¹

Before examining the reasons behind this uniformity of revision, the way in which changes in topography for the Osgood text of The Mayor reflect a more general pattern of change may briefly be illustrated. First, the handling of fictitious place names: the substitution of "Stickleford" for "Kingsbere" in The Mayor (ch. ix) exemplifies a larger group of revisions through which miscellaneous or previously unidentified locations acquire names which reflect scenes and incidents of major importance.

¹ Indeed, according to Hardy himself, changes in topography formed the principal type of revision for the Osgood Edition of the Wessex novels. In a letter to Sir George Douglas (30 Oct. 1895), he alludes thus to the preparation of the edition: "I am making no alterations in the old stories, beyond the correction of a name, or a distance, here and there"--a casual summary of more than eighteen months' thorough and careful revision. (Extract from one of the 48 letters of Hardy to Douglas (MS. 8121) in the National Library of Scotland.)

in other Wessex novels. Thus both "Flychett" in the Native and "Lower Twifford" in Madding Crowd are revised as "Kingsbere" in the texts of 1895;¹ "Mellstock vicarage" in Greenwood Tree (II, 167) is replaced by "Durnover Mill" (O, 243), while "Snoodly-under-Drool" (I, 106) and the unnamed "level plateau with only a bank on either side" (II, 112) in Madding Crowd become respectively "Durnover" (O, 72) and "Durnover Moor" (O, 313). Similarly, "a wood" (I, 67) and "a hill" (I, 67) in Madding Crowd become alternately "Yalbury Wood" (O, 46) and "Yalbury Hill" (O, 46), while "Southerton" in the Native (III, 149) is changed to "Weatherbury" (O, 413).

The introduction of established Dorsetshire place names is also a general feature of the Osgood revision. The replacement of a "by road" with "Cuckoo Lane" in The Mayor (ch. xl) is echoed in Greenwood Tree when "the path" pursued by Dick Dewey on his way nutting (II, 89) becomes "Cuckoo Lane" (O, 193), and when in a later chapter the

¹ See Native, 1st edn., I, 105, and Osgood edn., p. 56; Madding Crowd, 1st edn., I, 106, and Osgood edn., p. 72. Quotations from 1st editions of the Wessex novels cited below refer to the following texts (references are to volume and page number):

<u>Greenwood Tree</u>	Tinsley Bros., 1872 (2 vols.)
<u>Madding Crowd</u>	Smith, Elder, 1874 (2 vols.)
<u>Native</u>	Smith, Elder, 1878 (3 vols.)
<u>Trumpet Major</u>	Smith, Elder, 1880 (3 vols.)

direction of his walk along "the river" (II, 165) is altered to "Grey's Bridge" (O, 242). Similarly, the Mellstock carollers had previously "proceeded to the lower village" on their Christmas morning round (I, 60), whereas their journey is now taken "along an embowered path beside the Froom ..." (O, 39).

Consistency in restoring the real names of buildings is also evident in the Osgood revision of the Wessex novels. The amendment which replaces the "King of Prussia" Inn with its real name the "Three Mariners" throughout The Mayor is reflected in Greenwood Tree when Michael Mail, having referred in all previous texts to the "Three Choughs" Inn at Casterbridge (I, 117), alludes instead to the "Dree Mariners" (O, 73); and in Madding Crowd, where the "Three Choughs" of the earlier edition (II, 213) is now renamed the "King's Arms" (O, 384)--a title, by the time of the Osgood revision, closely associated with The Mayor.

One further group of revisions--a reversal of the practice just mentioned--seems worth noting: when a town or area has featured prominently in one novel under a fictitious name, references in earlier novels to the place under its real name are deleted, and the fictitious title substituted. Thus an allusion in Trumpet Major (written

five years before The Mayor) to "Peter's [church],
Dorchester" (I, 215) is now revised as "Peter's, Caster-
bridge" (O, 99) and a reference to "Dorchester or Bland-
ford" (I, 83) revised as "Casterbridge or Shottsford-
Forum" (O, 39). And where later in the same novel Festus
Derriman had travelled in the direction of "Bere" (II, 230),
his journey in the Osgood version is now towards "King's-
Bere" (O, 243).

The explanation for the uniformity in topographical
revision throughout the collected edition would seem to
lie in the very occasion of that edition--entitled, it
will be remembered, the Wessex Novels. At the time of
the proposed edition, Hardy was completing his last major
novel,¹ and now reviewed collectively for the first time
the published works of the past twenty-five years. That
Hardy had from the earliest phase of composition conceived
The Mayor as one unit in a closely interrelated series of
novels is suggested in the MS., where both characters
and settings reminiscent of earlier novels are imported
into the text; and it is this very sense of continuity
between the novels which the revisions common to The Mayor
and to other volumes in the Osgood Edition aim to foster.

¹ The Osgood publication was undertaken in June 1894,
while Jude--with the exception of a few chapters--was
completed by the end of the same year. See Preface to 1st
edn. of Jude, p. v.

Through a fairly extensive network of geographical detail, the contours and features of the fictional world of Wessex become more clearly defined; while the introduction in one novel of places already familiar to the reader of the earlier fiction enables Hardy to achieve an effect similar to that scored by a technique mentioned earlier--the use of recurrent characters. The result is twofold. First, the central setting of the novel acquires a new dimension of credibility through its association with settings and scenes already known; and conversely, the recurrent settings, through their association with an entirely new set of circumstances, themselves achieve a greater measure of solidity. Further, the technique of relating the setting of one novel to those of others, through evoking actions and incidents which have occurred elsewhere, serves to widen the frontiers of the novel, and ultimately to inform the whole group of Wessex novels with a feeling of remarkable unity.

iii) Revision in 1912

Changes in topography form the major feature of the final revision of The Mayor,¹ amounting to almost one fifth of

¹ Indeed such changes may well form a major feature of the general revision for the Wessex, no less than for the earlier Osgood Edition. It is certainly evident in the revision of the Native, for J. Paterson writes of the 1912 text that "Hardy's main concern ... was to readjust the half-real, half-imaginary landscape of the novel" (Making, p. 120).

the 146 emended readings. The largest group of revisions concerns the change in location of Lucetta's house--the only major building in the narrative to undergo any adjustment, and the single one, it may be remembered, without a close historical original in Dorchester. The location of the house had been unstable from the earliest phase of the novel's history. Originally situated in several acres of parkland, and thus removed from the town centre, the house was first named "Little Park House," and later "Little Paddock House" (see MS. deletions quoted in Chapter IV). In the final MS. form the building was transferred to the High Street, placed opposite the Town Hall and Market House, and renamed "High Street Hall."¹ Here it remains until the Wessex revision when it is removed to a lane opening on to the High Street and running alongside the Town Hall, and acquires its fourth and final name, "High-Place Hall." The adjustment

¹ Traces of a tentative pencilled note (later erased) appear on the verso of f. 199 of the MS. (the page on which High Street Hall is first introduced). The lines read as follows: "Lucetta's house: Jacobs's corner. dwelling house over a shop; or a house built there like Mrs Ashley in a freak where a shop ought to have been." In thus transplanting the house, Hardy seems to have had a fairly clear idea of the actual site for the fictitious building, while yet undecided on its appearance. The note, at any rate, illustrates a general characteristic of Hardy's topographical descriptions: that however illusive their treatment, the bases are solidly real.

entails nearly a dozen alterations, three examples of which should indicate the general drift. In Chapter xx of all previous editions, Lucetta refers to her house as the stone one "overlooking the Market" (O, 165), but she describes it in the Wessex edition as "looking down the lane to the Market" (W, 158); and where previously Elizabeth and Lucetta had only to run down "to the door" of their house to reach the cross-roads in the High Street (O, 231), they now have to run down "to the street corner" (W, 220); while the "Town Hall opposite Lucetta's house" (O, 239) now becomes the "Town Hall below Lucetta's house" (W, 229).

The significance of this change is not altogether clear. As the result is to remove Lucetta's house to a more secluded position and so suggest a somewhat "superior" residence, the transference may well be a continuation of the trend, seen in earlier revision, of raising Lucetta's social status. Further, by moving the building away from the centre of life in the town, the change in location may perhaps suggest (as did the original parkland setting) the spiritual isolation of its owner. The final location would seem therefore to combine important features of the two earlier sites--seclusion from the main area of town life, yet nearness enough to command a view of its major activities.

The remaining revisions in 1912 generally continue patterns instituted in the Osgood edition. Several more Wessex names are introduced, for example, "Melchester" (W, 371) and "Yalbury Plain" (W, 328), and the definitive text also includes a small cluster of revisions through which a particular stretch of the river at the eastern end of the town receives the name "Blackwater." Two instances may be cited. The first appears in the description of the misérables who haunt the stone bridge in the lower part of the town (ch. xxxii). In all texts prior to 1912 the closing lines of the description read as follows:

Some had been known to stand and think so long with
 .../their/ fixed gaze downward, that eventually they
 had allowed their poor carcasses to follow that gaze;
 and they were discovered the next morning in the pool
 beneath out of reach of their troubles. (O, 270)

In its final version, however, the latter part of the sentence is extended:

...they were discovered the next morning out of reach
 of their troubles, either here or in the deep pool
 called Blackwater, a little higher up the river. (W, 259)

Considered in relation to the scene later in the narrative, of Henchard's wandering by the river in the mood of suicidal despair which follows his encounter with Newson, this revision seems to provide an oblique forecasting of an event which almost takes place, but which significantly

fails to do so--an assumption which revision in the later scene itself tends to confirm. According to earlier texts, the direction of Henchard's journey along the river bank was a "path leading to no place in particular" (O, 359); in the Wessex edition this is now rephrased as a "path leading only to a deep reach of the stream called Blackwater ..." (W, 342)--a place whose ominous associations the earlier amendment has already made clear.

Further revisions in 1912 continue the Osgood trend of introducing established names of local features in Dorchester. Thus the stone bridge which features so prominently in the narrative now acquires its real name when Abel Whittle, recounting his pursuit of Henchard from Casterbridge on the night of Elizabeth's wedding, tells Farfrae, not as before, "!. . . I followed en over the road . . .'" (O, 403), but instead, "'... I followed en over Grey's Bridge . . .'" (W, 383). Similar revision appears elsewhere: in Chapter xli, immediately after his meeting with Henchard at Jopp's cottage, Richard Newson walks away in the direction of Casterbridge; according to the Osgood text the sailor "was soon visible up the road" (O, 355), but in the Wessex edition he "was soon visible up the road, crossing Bull-Stake" (W, 338). And where in

their walk along the High Street, Elizabeth and Farfrae previously reached "the Town Pump" (O, 380), the site is described in the final text as "the Crossways, or Bow" (W, 361). These changes seem worth noting, for the local names which Hardy now introduces into the text had, by the time of the Osgood revision, fallen into disuse-- a factor which the author seems to have regretted.¹

Finally in this section may be mentioned the three footnotes of historical information which Hardy supplied for the Wessex text of The Mayor, and which, in common with those added to the other volumes in the 1912 edition, are concerned chiefly with recording the obliteration from the local scene of features which had provided models for the fictional settings. Two of these appear in Chapter iv. After his description of the various houses in Gasterbridge High Street, made of timber, and brickwork, and with tiled, slated, or thatched roofs, Hardy adds the note: "Most of these old houses have now been pulled down" (W, 31); while the reference several passages later to the chimes of the local church "stammering out

¹ In the Preface which he supplied in 1906 to Dorchester Antiquities, a work of his then late friend H. J. Moule, Hardy quotes a letter which Moule had written in 1902, relating an incident in which a hare had "run all up South Street, across Bull Stake, and up Pease Lane"; after which sentence Hardy inserts in parenthesis the following comment: "the Dorchester Council, with doubtful wisdom, has obliterated these historic names" (Orel, p. 71).

the Sicilian Mariners' Hymn" (W, 32-33), receives the note "These chimes, like those of other country churches, have been silenced for many years" (W, 33). The final footnote appears in Chapter ix, where Hardy attaches to the description of the High Street on market-day the comment that "The reader will scarcely need to be reminded that time and progress have obliterated from the town that suggested these descriptions many or most of the old-fashioned features here enumerated" (W, 69).

Information of this kind had appeared in earlier revision--in the corrected serial proofs, and in the text of 1895; on both of which occasions, however, the material was incorporated into the text itself. In the final MS. form the description of the slum quarter of Casterbridge appeared as follows: "Though the upper part of Dummerford was mainly composed of a curious congeries of barns and farmsteads there was a less picturesque side to the parish. This was Mixen Lane" (MS, 368); in the Graphic, however, the remark is more specific: "...This was Mixen Lane, now in great part pulled down" (G, 422). In the second amendment the Three Mariners Inn, described (ironically, as it happened) in all texts before 1895 as "This immutable house of accomodation for man and beast ..." (87, 58), is described in the Osgood text as "This ancient house of accomodation for man and beast, now unfortunately

pulled down ..." (O, 48).

All five revisions--the authorial footnotes of 1912 and the two textual amendments, where the narrator in his role of local historian intrudes briefly into the narrative--serve to underline the historicity of the novel's setting and are fully consistent with Hardy's declared aim to preserve, in his picture of life in mid-nineteenth century Wessex, "a fairly true record of a vanishing life."¹

c. Chronology of Events

i) Historical chronology

The "hand of freedom" with which Hardy treated the Dorchester setting of The Mayor is also evident in his treatment of the novel's historical background. Not only is the author deliberately vague in his dating of the novel's major events, but he shows little concern with strict accuracy in his handling of historical data. Any attempt, therefore, to assign the action of The Mayor to a clearly defined period will be unprofitable.

In the Preface of 1895 Hardy comments briefly on the historical events which inspired the novel:

The incidents narrated arise mainly out of three events, which chanced to arrange themselves in the order and at or about the intervals of time here given, in the real history of the town called Casterbridge and the neighbouring country. They were the

¹ See General Preface to the Novels and Poems, 1912.

sale of a wife by her husband, the uncertain harvests which immediately preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the visit of a Royal personage to the aforesaid part of England. (O, v)

Despite its deliberate evasiveness--"events ...at or about the intervals of time here given"--this comment provides one of the most important references for dating the action of the novel.

As regards "the sale of a wife by her husband," recent research has shown the precise date of the incident to have been that of 25 May 1826.¹ That Hardy intended the date of the sale of Susan Henchard to correspond roughly with that of her prototype is confirmed by evidence from external sources as well as from textual emendation. In a letter written to H. Temperley of Peterhouse, Cambridge on the subject of wife-sale in The Mayor, Hardy refers to "the 1820's" as "the time assumed for the incident"²--a remark which early readings of the novel's opening sentence seem to confirm. In its present form the sentence is vague:

One evening of late summer, before the nineteenth century had reached one-third of its span ... (W, 1)

and it is not possible from this to date the action more

¹ See Appendix III below.

² Letter of 28 Jan. 1922; see Appendix III, f. 500 below.

precisely than "pre-1833." Examination of earlier readings, however, yields fuller information. In the MS. and Harper's version, the sentence is even vaguer than in the Wessex text:

One evening of late summer, before the present century had reached middle-age ... (MS, 1; H, 5)

Indeed it was this very imprecision which caused the editor of the Graphic to write of the opening chapter: "...in the prologue you say the middle of the century which I take to be about 1845"¹ To correct this ambiguity, Hardy therefore provided the Graphic editor with a more precise rephrasing, and the reading supplied for the English serial version appeared in all texts up to to 1912:

One evening of late summer, before the nineteenth century had reached its thirtieth year ...
(G, 17; 87, 5; O, 1)

--an amendment which suggests strongly that the opening scene of the novel takes place some time during the 1820's. When the sentence was further revised for the

¹Letter of 20 Oct. 1885; see above, Chapter I, f.17. Incidentally, in its original MS. form, the opening sentence of The Mayor bears a considerable resemblance to that of Vanity Fair (whose author Hardy greatly admired--see Life, p. 40). Cf.:
One evening of late summer, when the present century had hardly reached its middle age ... (MS, 1)

While the present century was in its teens, and on one sunshiny morning in June ... (Vanity Fair, ch. 1, p. 1)

final edition the reason was not, as one critic implies, in order to alter the date of the action,¹ but rather to avoid stylistic inelegance: since the novel was first composed in 1884-5 and the final revision took place in 1912, historical accuracy required the substitution of the original "present century" by the "nineteenth century"; this, however, would have produced an ungainly repetition--"before the nineteenth century had reached its thirtieth year"--to avoid which Hardy was obliged to sacrifice the precision of the earlier reading for a more generalized phrase; hence the century's "thirtieth year" becomes "one-third of its span."

As regards the other two historical events mentioned in the Preface--"the uncertain harvests" preceding the repeal of the Corn Laws, and "the visit of a Royal personage" to Dorchester--the first occurred in England during the years 1842-6; the second, in July 1849.² That Hardy intended the time-setting of the novel's main action to coincide roughly with the period from which these events are drawn is confirmed by the single explicit dating reference within the text. This appears in Chapter iii,

¹ Viz. Pinion, Hardy: The Mayor of Casterbridge, pp. 56, 60.

² Ibid., p. 56: "The royal visit ... is based on that of Prince Albert in July 1849, when he passed through Dorchester to lay the foundation-stone of the Portland breakwater."

where Elizabeth Jane, travelling towards Casterbridge some months after the supposed death of Newson, draws from her pocket a mourning-card and looks at it with a sigh:

It was edged with black, and inscribed within a design resembling a mural tablet were the words, "In affectionate memory of Richard Newson, mariner, who was unfortunately lost at sea, in the month of November, 184-, aged forty-one years." (W, 22)

As well as establishing the time-setting of the main action, this date offers further evidence for assigning the sale of Susan to the period of the 1820's; for the numerous references within the text to the length of Henchard's oath of abstinence--"I have kept my oath for nineteen years," he tells Farfrae (W, 89)--indicate the exact time-lapse between the incident at Weydon-Priors and the main action of the novel.

It must be remembered, however, that the dating of events named in the Preface can offer no more than approximate guidance for identifying the period of the novel's action, for strict historical accuracy--in this novel at least--is not one of Hardy's major concerns, the data being exploited for aesthetic rather than for socio-historical purposes. Three minor examples should suffice to illustrate the point. First, we are told in Chapter xxxvii that the journey of the Royal personage through the borough of

Casterbridge "on his course further west, to inaugurate an immense engineering work ..." (W, 302), was performed by road for while "The railway had stretched out an arm towards Casterbridge at this time ... [it] had not reached it by several miles as yet ..." (W, 305). The real course of events is rather different: the railway line to Dorchester was opened in 1847; the visit of Prince Albert took place in 1849.

Second, we read in Chapter xxvi that the trade rivalry of Henschard and Farfrae occurred "in the years immediately before foreign competition had revolutionized the trade in grain ..." (W, 211)--a statement which historical evidence clearly contradicts. The year 1846 did indeed mark the abolition of the Protective Corn Laws imposed by Liverpool's Cabinet in 1815. However, there was at the time of repeal no adequate means of importing large quantities of corn from outside Europe, nor any great surplus of corn within Europe itself to flood the British market; hence the new Free Trade policy initiated by the Peel ministry did not seriously affect British agriculture for another thirty years; and not until well into the late 1870's, when development in communications led to the opening up of the prairies of North America, the Argentine, and Australia, did the "trade in grain" become "revolutionized" by "foreign competition."

Finally, while the sale of Henchard's wife takes place on 15 September--the hay-trusser's oath at the close of Chapter ii begins: "'I, Michael Henchard, on this morning of the sixteenth of September ...'" (W, 18)--the Autumn Fair at Weyhill, Hampshire (the Weydon-Priors of the novel) was traditionally held in the following month.¹ Thus while the opening of the novel is undoubtedly set sometime during the 1820's, and the main action, presumably in the 1840's, a more precise timing of events is not possible.

The choice of period for the main action of The Mayor deserves comment, for the novel is set at a time which was, for Hardy, that of the recently remembered past. Born in 1840 two miles east of Dorchester, Hardy attended day-school in the county town from the age of nine, and at sixteen became apprenticed to a local architect where he remained until leaving for London at the age of twenty-two. The time-setting of The Mayor was thus as familiar to the novelist as was its geographical setting.

Writing at a time of great sociological and ideological upheaval, Hardy looked back on the world of his youth as a time of greater peace and stability; a world in which the existence of a traditional provincial culture provided a community of ideas and values, and stability in social

¹Viz. on 10 Oct. See Hermann Lea, pp. 84, 86.

relationships; a world which was intimately known, and, unlike the confusing and uncertain present, capable of being fully possessed and understood. Yet by the 1880's, unable to withstand the encroachment of technological progress, this local culture had largely declined.

Hardy's nostalgia for the past, however, was no mere sentimental indulgence: he acknowledged the limitations of that culture, having, while still young, rejected many of its traditional assumptions; and the deep affection with which he viewed the Wessex of forty years before--the Wessex of The Mayor--is coupled with a sense of critical detachment which enabled him to record with a cool reflective irony, historical change and continuousness, and by implied contrast, to make the world of the past and that of the present comment on each other.

ii) Narrative chronology

While the historical dating of The Mayor is for the most part vague, the internal dating is detailed and precise. The action of the novel spans a period of just over twenty-three years: nineteen of these elapse between Chapters ii and iii, and the main action therefore encompasses a period of five years. Hardy gave close

attention to the chronology of events in The Mayor, and practically every scene can be allocated to a specific month or day, and frequently to a specific time of day. As befits the novel's agricultural theme and setting, the passage of time is perceived most fully through its natural cycle. Yet the rhythm of the seasons and the state of the weather do not simply provide a convenient backcloth to the sequence of events, but, as elements with which the fortunes of the community are closely bound up, feature instead as powerful causal agents in the action.

The very slight degree of internal inconsistency in the novel's time-scheme,¹ and the virtual absence of revision--even in MS.--of the narrative chronology of the tale, suggests Hardy's use of a fairly detailed time-chart during composition. MS. revision of the time-scheme is minimal. One minor oversight, for example, is corrected in Chapter xx, where, in the original form of a scene presumed to take place some time in the late autumn, Henchard refers to "this sixteenth day of December"--an inaccuracy later corrected to "this sixteenth day of October" (MS, 189). The remaining alterations in MS.

¹ See Appendix IV below.

aim chiefly at clearer definition: "Night had fallen" is later rephrased as "September night shades had fallen" (MS, 273); "The afternoon slipped on . . .," as "The Saturday afternoon slipped on . . ." (MS, 222); while elsewhere in the same chapter, the day of "the great spring fair" becomes the day of "the great Candlemas fair" (MS, 222). Finally, in Chapter xlii, Henchard, according to the earlier MS. form goes out "towards the market place," but after revision he goes out "one Saturday afternoon towards the market place" (MS, 438).

Corrections of a similar kind appear in post-MS. revision: in the serial, "it was now late" (MS, 116a) becomes "it was now past midnight" (G, 135), and in the uniform edition, "they proceeded on their way" (87, 40) is revised as "they proceeded on their way at evenfall" (O, 32); "the slight moisture resolved itself into a monotonous smiting of earth by heaven" (87, 143) as "In an hour the slight moisture resolved itself . . ." (O, 125); and where Newson had previously spoken to Farfrae of "that day that I found ye out" (87, 416), he now refers to "that day last week that I found ye out" (O, 382).

Further changes are made in the final revision of 1912, when one calendar year is added to the protagonist's age. "...I will avoid all strong liquors for the space of

twenty years to come, being a year for every year that I have lived,'" the hay-trusser had sworn in previous texts (O, 19); in the Wessex edition, however, the time-span is now increased to "twenty-one years" (W, 18). Since Hardy leaves unaltered a remark in Chapter v that Henchard's oath has still two years to run--"'... 'tis exactly two calendar years longer ...'" Solomon Longways informs a friend (W, 39)--the effect of the above revision is to extend the time-lapse between the sale at Weydon-Priors and the start of the main action from eighteen to nineteen years.

The change in Henchard's age entails the alteration of some six dating references, and with one exception, this is performed consistently throughout the text. The single exception occurs in Chapter iii, and seems itself to provide the explanation for the increase in Henchard's age. In this chapter, Elizabeth Jane is introduced for the first time, being described rather indefinitely as a "young woman about eighteen" (W, 20). Several paragraphs later, when Susan Henchard addresses the now-aged furmity-woman in the fair ground, she refers to "the sale of a wife by her husband ...eighteen years ago to-day" (W, 24). Now in all texts up to 1912 Susan's calculation is of course correct, but in the final revision the number is

left unchanged, and in the text as it now stands, Susan's memory appears to be at fault. The explanation for the discrepancy in the final revision would seem to lie in Hardy's concern to conceal the truth of Elizabeth's paternity, while at the same time presenting the relevant facts in a way that will withstand subsequent revelations.¹ A further reason may perhaps lie in the author's wish to minimize the deception practised on the reader through a deliberate mishandling of facts. For in view of the statement that Elizabeth is "about eighteen," her mother's subsequent allusion to a sale of "eighteen years ago" (correct in all texts up to 1912) is now plainly misleading, since nine or ten months at the very least must be presumed to have elapsed between the sale of Susan and the birth of the second daughter. In the final edition, therefore, Hardy corrects this mishandling of information by extending the time lapse between sale and main action. This results in fairer treatment of the reader who,

¹The same concern is evident in the rephrasing of references to the disappearance of Newson (ch. iv). Where previously the narrator had referred to "The news of his Newson's loss at sea ..." (O, 28), the comment in the Wessex text is more guarded, for he now speaks of "The vague news of his loss at sea ..." (W, 27). A similar change is made later in the chapter when the conclusive statement that "The sailor was now lost to them ..." (O, 29) is rephrased in a way that casts a strong air of uncertainty over Newson's disappearance: "The sailor, drowned or no, was probably now lost to them ..." (W, 28).

weighing Susan's calculation against Henchard's not infrequent iteration of the nineteen year time-space, is now provided with the means of establishing the truth of Elizabeth's parentage. Nevertheless, the gain is made at the expense of Susan whose miscalculation now seems incredibly inept, and testifies further to the simplicity which Henchard so despised.

3. Narrator's voice

The narrative voice of the novel, like that of Hardy's other novels, is the voice of the omniscient and unobtrusive narrator. It is also marked by a certain commentary which is not only a part of the narrator's response to the story, but also a part of the reader's response to the story.

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CHAPTER VI

AUTHORIAL COMMENTARY: a. NARRATOR'S VOICE
b. IMAGERY

My concern in this chapter will be with a number of revisions relating to two different aspects of authorial commentary in The Mayor--the explicit and direct statements on theme and character offered by the narrator of the tale; and the implicit and oblique statements provided by the novel's two major series of recurrent images.

a. Narrator's voice

The narrative voice of The Mayor, like that of Hardy's other novels, is the voice of the omniscient and undramatized narrator--the author's "second self"¹--whose narration of events is accompanied by evaluative commentary which serves to control the reader's response to the story,

¹ The term appears in Kathleen Tillotson's inaugural lecture "The Tale and the Teller," printed in Mid-Victorian Studies, by Geoffrey and Kathleen Tillotson (London, 1965), p. 15: "Writing on George Eliot in 1877, Dowden said that the form that most persists in the mind after reading her novels is not any of the characters, but one who, if not the real George Eliot, is that second self who writes her books, and lives and speaks through them.' The 'second self,' he goes on, is 'more substantial than any mere human personality,' and has 'fewer reserves'; while 'behind it, lurks well pleased the veritable historical self secure from impertinent observation and criticism.'"

guiding his interpretation and moulding his moral judgment of character and event. Now Hardy's narration of The Mayor has been praised--at the expense of his later novels--for the infrequency of its intrusive commentary.¹ The matter, however, is one of quality rather than of degree. The intrusive comments in The Mayor do not on the whole offend the reader because the opinion expressed is generally a reliable and balanced one with a close relevance to the fictional world upon which it passes judgment, and not--as is frequently the case in the late novels--simply a manifestation of an eccentric philosophy whose vision is neither mature nor realistic, and whose relevance to the created life of the novel is at best slight; at worst, non-existent. Indeed, it will be seen later, instances in The Mayor in which Hardy is criticized for intrusive commentary are almost invariably expressions of a philosophy incongruent with the quality of life experienced in the novel as a whole.

Many of the revisions concerning the narrator's voice in The Mayor (the occasional comments and passages of analysis on character and community, for example), have been discussed in previous chapters, and the major concern here will be with the more minor adjustments of distance

¹ See, e.g., R. Heilman, "Hardy's Mayor and the Problem of Intention," p. 202.

in the relationship between narrator, character, and reader. The revisions may broadly be divided into two categories--the withdrawal of the narrator's presence at various points in the action; and the occasional modulation in the tone of the narrative voice. Although changes in one or other of these categories are present in all phases of the novel's history, the three areas of greatest concentration are the MS., the reworking of the serial, and the preparation of the uniform edition in 1895.

i) Revision in MS. and serial proof

It may be well, before examining the major changes in MS., to mention a number of minor additions whose effect is to reinforce the presence of the narrator in the tale. The function of these revisions (about twenty of which appear in the MS.) is to supply factual information of various kinds. These include brief descriptions of event and setting of scene:

<The next morning began in the same way:>^

The journey to be taken by the waggons next day was a long one, into White Hart Vale, and at four o'clock lanterns were moving about the yard. (MS, 140)

as well as minor bridge sentences to smooth the transition from one scene to another, as for example, the following brief insertion in the somewhat abrupt movement from the scene of Farfrae's lighthearted humming as he passes Elizabeth

on the stairs of the Three Mariners and the tense scene in which the girl rejoins her mother in the inn bedroom (ch. viii):

"...The Queen o' Love did never move
Wi' motion more enchanting."

Here the scene and sentiment ended for the present.
^ When, soon after, the girl rejoined her mother, the latter was still in thought ... (MS, 78)

Additions in this group also include summary of a character's thoughts when such information is not easily conveyed through the dramatic action:

"Upon my heart and soul, if ever I should be left in a position to make that marriage with you a legal one I ought to do it--I ought to do it, indeed!" ^

The contingency that he had in his mind was of course the death of Mrs. Henchard. (MS, 167-168)

...a procession of five large waggons [bearing the name of Henchard] went past laden with hay up to the bedroom windows ... ^ The spectacle renewed his wife's conviction that for her daughter's sake she should strain a point to rejoin him. (MS, 82, 81^v)

The aim behind the next and larger group of MS. revisions appears to be the removal of the narrator from the foreground of the novel's action. The most important of these changes (all of which involve adjustments of point of view) concern Henchard and Elizabeth Jane.

The first change relating to Henchard appears in the scene following the bankruptcy hearing, when the former Mayor meets Joshua Jopp on the stone bridge at the eastern end of Casterbridge (ch. xxxii). Henchard's indignant response to the news of Farfrae's recent removal to the house in Corn Street meets with a philosophic reply from his one-time employé: "'Well, as somebody was sure to live there, and you couldn't, it can do ye no harm that he's the man'" (MS, 321). In the original MS. form this remark is endorsed with an explicit narrative comment:

It was quite true: it could do Henchard no harm....

but in the revised version the opinion is attributed directly to Henchard, so that the remainder of the paragraph is now representative of Henchard's consciousness:

It was quite true: he felt that it was doing him no harm. Farfrae, who had already taken the yards and stores, had acquired possession of the house for the obvious convenience of its contiguity. And yet this act of his taking up residence within those roomy chambers while he, their former tenant, lived in a cottage, galled him indescribably. (MS, 321)

Revision of a similar kind appears in Chapter xli, after the scene during which Newson, having accepted the lie which Henchard tells of the death of Elizabeth, immediately leaves Casterbridge. Following the sailor down the road, Henchard watches him board the coach and disappear from the town. In its earlier form the text

had continued thus:

Then was Elizabeth Jane to remain his by virtue of this gross invention of a moment? Perhaps not for long. Newson might converse with his fellow-travellers, some of whom might be Casterbridge people; and the trick would be discovered. This probability threw Henchard into a defensive attitude ... (MS, 425)

Now the viewpoint here seems to be authorial, although the final sentence suggests the passage may be representative of Henchard's own thoughts. With two minor corrections in the revised text the authorship becomes clear:

Was Elizabeth Jane to remain his by virtue of this ^{hardy}~~gross~~ invention of a moment? "Perhaps not for long," ^{"said he."} Newson might converse with his fellow-travellers ... (MS, 425)

With the substitution of "hardy" for "gross," Henchard's lie is now described in terms which reflect the man's unwillingness to confront the enormity of his action.

Further changes involve the presentation in oratio obliqua of Elizabeth Jane's point of view. The first paragraph on f. 77, for example, presents with considerable irony the drift of Elizabeth's thoughts as she listens to Farfrae's ballad-recital in the Three Mariners, and in its revised form this paragraph receives an additional sentence which expands the revelation of the girl's consciousness:

She admired the serious light in which he looked at serious things. He had seen no jest in ambiguities and roguery, as the Casterbridge toss-pots had done; and rightly not--

She disliked those wretched humours of Christopher Coney and his tribe; and he did not appreciate them.

there was none. ^ He seemed to feel exactly as she felt about life and its surroundings--that they were a tragical rather than a comical thing It was extraordinary how similar their views were. (MS, 77)

With its brief illustration of hauteur in the opinion of the ever respectable Elizabeth, this amendment heightens the element of comic irony implicit in the girl's gratuitous and quite mistaken identification of Farfrae's outlook with her own.

Two further alterations seem worth noting: the first appears in Chapter xiv, where Elizabeth ponders on the "curious interest" which Henchard's young manager shows toward her mother and herself:

...she decided it [this interest] might be apparent only-- a way of turning his eyes that Mr. Farfrae ~~Alan~~ had. (MS, 129)

and later in the narrative when the Scotsman tells her of his disagreement with Henchard, the girl wonders

Would Mr. Farfrae ~~Stansbie~~ stay in Casterbridge ...? (MS, 158)

Although of trifling import, both revisions are cited for the evidence they offer of Hardy's concern to reproduce in indirect speech the precise linguistic quality of his characters' thoughts (a concern noticeably absent from the revision quoted recently, in which Henchard considers the "contiguity" of his former house to the yards and stores at

its rear).

Now it has been mentioned earlier (Chapter iv, ff. 198-199 above) that Elizabeth Jane provides a filter through which many of the novel's central incidents are presented; and that while she is viewed with occasional irony in the earlier part of her career, the mature Elizabeth, having acquired a philosophical outlook remarkably similar to that endorsed by Hardy himself, may generally be regarded as a reliable interpreter of and commentator upon events in the narrative. Support for this assumption is drawn both from external sources and from textual revision of the novel itself. As regards the former, some evidence exists of a correspondence between the philosophical discoveries of Elizabeth and certain observations in Hardy's personal writings as well as in the moral vision informing his other work. We read, for example, in the final chapter of The Mayor that Elizabeth's experience of life

had been of a kind to teach her, rightly or wrongly, that the doubtful honour of a brief transit through a sorry world hardly called for effusiveness ...
(MS, 479)

Now despite the narrator's care neither to acclaim nor disclaim this opinion, just how closely the opinion represents Hardy's own is made clear in its reappearance almost ad verbatim in the Preface to the Osgood edition

of the Woodlanders (1895) where the author refers to the topic of affording

the greatest happiness to the units of human society during their brief transit through this sorry world ...
(p. v)

Indeed the attitude adopted most frequently by Elizabeth--that of a passive and resigned acceptance of life's limitations--forms a typical trait in characters elsewhere in Hardy's fiction who, willing to accept and adjust to the "limited opportunities" of circumstance, are able to survive in the Hardian world. For the mature Elizabeth's philosophy of "non-assertiveness and negative expectations"¹ bears comparison with the mature and stoical acceptance of necessary submission to a restrictive social environment, which produces the modified happiness of Bathsheba and Gabriel at the end of Madding Crowd; with the resigned endurance of disappointment borne by Clym Yeobright at the conclusion of the Native, and by Marty South in the closing pages of the Woodlanders. Such "stoic acceptance of limitation"² is also thoroughly characteristic of Hardy's late poems;

¹ R. Beckman, "A Character Typology for Hardy's Novels," ELH, XXX (Mar. 1963), 72.

² Samuel Hynes, The Pattern of Hardy's Poetry (University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 176.

indeed the outlook attributed to Elizabeth in the closing paragraph of The Mayor is clearly reflected in Hardy's posthumously published poem "He Never Expected Much":¹

Well, World, you have kept faith with me,
 Kept faith with me;
 Upon the whole you have proved to be
 Much as you said you were.
 Since as a child I used to lie
 Upon the leaze and watch the sky,
 Never, I own, expected I
 That life would all be fair.

.....

"I do not promise overmuch,
 Child; overmuch;
 Just neutral-tinted haps and such,"
 You said to minds like mine.
 Wise warning for your credit's sake!
 Which I for one failed not to take,
 And hence could stem such strain and ache
 As each year might assign. (p. 846)

As regards evidence from textual revision, several amendments within the Mayor MS. seem to affirm the link between the philosophical stance adopted by Elizabeth and that of the narrator of the tale. This is evident in a number of changes through which an observation originally offered as authorial comment is later attributed to Elizabeth herself. Thus we read in the original MS. of the town's general approval of Elizabeth's "budding beauty":

¹ Subtitled "A Consideration (A reflection) On My Eighty-Sixth Birthday," the poem is included in Winter Words, first published 1928.

It was the first time in her life that she had been so much admired--by those whose admiration was not worth having.

but we read in the revised version:

"It is the first time in my life that I have been so much admired!" she said to herself. "Though perhaps it is by those whose admiration is not worth having!" (MS, 136)

The narrator's determination not to commit himself is apparent later in the tale: in Chapter xlv, for example, the narrative description of Henchard's first glimpse of his step-daughter at her wedding-party contains the following amendment:

...the sober Elizabeth ...had long ago appraised life at ^{a moderate} ~~its true~~ value ... (MS, 466)

A similar correction is made in the final chapter where two interpolations in the novel's conclusion reveal that Elizabeth's formula for happiness originally coincided with that of the narrator. According to the earlier text:

...the finer movements of her ^[Elizabeth's] nature found scope in discovering to the narrow-lived ones around her the secret of making poverty endurable; namely which lay in the cunning enlargement by a species of microscopic treatment, to the magnitude of positive pleasure, those minute forms of satisfaction that offer themselves to everybody not in positive pain ...

after emendation, however:

...the finer movements of her nature found scope in discovering to the narrow-lived ones around her the ^(as she had learnt it) secret ^{which she deemed to consist} of making poverty endurable; ^{namely which lay} in

the cunning enlargement by a species of microscopic treatment (MS, 478)

Further support for the view of Elizabeth as a reliable spokesman for the narrator appears in revision carried out on f. 477. "What Henchard had written in the bitterness of his dying was respected to the letter by Elizabeth Jane . . .," the narrator had previously commented on Henchard's will, but "What Henchard had written in the anguish of his dying . . .," he remarks in the emended form. Now the presence of this alteration is partially explained by the slight extension of the dialogue in the preceding paragraph: in its earlier form Elizabeth's response to her step-father's will had read as follows: "'Oh Donald, I would not have minded so much if it had not been for that last parting!'" ; in the final MS. however, it reads: "'Oh Donald . . .What bitterness lies there! I would not have minded so much . . .!" (MS, 477)--an addition through which Hardy now ascribes to Elizabeth an opinion previously voiced in authorial comment.

It does not seem unreasonable, then, in view of the revisions cited above, to identify the philosophical outlook of the mature Elizabeth with that of the narrator of the tale; and since the narrator of The Mayor is clearly synonymous with the author's "second self," to equate the viewpoint finally attained by Elizabeth with that of Hardy himself.

The remaining revisions in MS. concern occasional minor adjustments in the tone of the narrator's voice. The dominant tone in the authorial voice of The Mayor is that of the dispassionate observer whose narration of events is performed with a critical yet sympathetic detachment and with a maturity of outlook achieved nowhere else in Hardy's later fiction. In the course of the novel this characteristic note of impartiality is combined with a number of component accents, and the voice heard is at times deeply compassionate; at others, openly sarcastic; a voice which is ironic as well as jocose; and which speaks sometimes with affectionate nostalgia; occasionally with unwarranted sentimentality.

One minor adjustment in tone appears in the opening paragraph of Chapter xxxi ("The retort of the furmity-woman before the magistrates had spread ..."). Recording the reaction of Casterbridge townsfolk to the news of Henchard's sale of his wife at Weydon-Priors, this passage offers a brief comment on Henchard's past career. The court-room incident, it will be remembered, marks a climacteric in Henchard's public career, the course of which from this point onward is one of rapid descent towards social and economic ruin. In its original form the passage reads as follows:

The retort of the furmity-woman before the magistrates had spread; and in four-and-twenty hours there was not a person in Casterbridge who remained unacquainted with the story of Henchard's shameful freak at Weydon Priors fair, long years before. The amends he had made in after life were lost sight of in the dramatic glare of the original act. Had the incident been well-known of old and always, it might by this time have grown to be lightly regarded, as the wild oat, but the single one, of a young man with whom the steady and mature (if somewhat headstrong) burgher of to-day had scarcely a point in common. (MS, 311)

Hardy's aim here is to focus on Henchard's past career a light which will evoke the sympathy of the reader and so condition his response to the account which immediately follows of the man's steadily declining fortunes. In the final MS. two minor corrections are made, and the effect of both is to rephrase in more extenuating tones earlier references to Henchard's crime, and so reveal beneath the surface impartiality of the narrative comment, the author's aim of moulding the reader's sympathy for his protagonist. Previously the narrator had spoken of Henchard's "shameful freak" at the fair, but in the revised version the weighted adjective, with its possibly adverse affect on the reader's sympathy, is replaced and a less censorious note introduced; for we now read of Henchard's "mad freak" at Weydom. The same process is apparent later in the paragraph where the wife-sale incident, described in the earlier text as the "wild oat" of a young man, is regarded in the later text with still greater leniency as the "rather tall wild oat" (MS, 311).

A further change in tone occurs in the following chapter where Henchard, recently bankrupt and in a mood of deep depression, meets Joshua Jopp, who tells him that Farfrae, already in possession of Henchard's business, has now acquired his former house and furniture. In its emended state the MS. records Henchard's reception of the news in the tone of cool dispassion generally reserved for the protagonist:

...having planted these wounds in the heart of his once imperious master Jopp went on his way...

In the unrevised form, however, Hardy's deep sympathy for his fictional character had forced him--momentarily--to abandon the usual tone of detachment, and the cancelled reading discloses a brief instant of open commitment:

...having planted these words in this kindly soul ...
(MS, 322)

The same trend is evident in the reworking of the Graphic text, where a minor alteration in the authorial description of Casterbridge High Street (ch. ix) reveals Hardy's concern to maintain throughout, the mode of strictly impersonal narration. In the portrait of the old town on market-day--drawn undoubtedly from Hardy's youthful memories of Dorchester--the author of all texts prior to the first edition refers with affection to the merchants who came to transact business in "these dear

old streets" (G, 102)--a personally intrusive note which is replaced in 1886 with one of more strict impartiality; for we now read instead of "these ancient streets" (86, I, 112).

A reversal of the practice just cited is apparent in the revision of the serial proofs, for here two minor corrections reveal a departure from the characteristically impersonal tone of narration. The first amendment appears at the close of the description of the misérables who haunt the stone bridge at the end of the town and pass the day staring into the river below (ch. xxxii). "Some had been known to stand and think so long with this fixed gaze downward, that eventually they had allowed their persons to follow that gaze; and they were discovered the next morning in the pool beneath out of reach of their troubles" remarks the narrator in the earlier text (MS, 320). In the serial, however, a minor alteration is made, and the strictly neutral tone of the narrative voice-- "...eventually they had allowed their persons to follow that gaze ..." is superseded by one of warm compassion for the unfortunate: "...eventually they had allowed their poor carcasses to follow that gaze ..." (G, 374).

Similar revision appears in the scene of Henchard's suicidal journey to Ten Hatches (ch. xli). Here the author's deep sympathy for the friendless and desperate man produces a slight rephrasing of the comment on

Henchard's extreme susceptibility to the power of music (a comment added, it may be remembered, as an afterthought in the MS.). According to the original text, "...fate had ordained that he [Henchard] should be unable to call up this auxiliary at will" (MS, 427^V), but after correction the latter part of the sentence, with its suggestion of imperiousness in the man's response to music, is recast so as intensify the pathos of Henchard's plight, and the narrator, in a voice of undisguised compassion, now refers to the helpless man's inability "to call up this Divine spirit in his need" (G, 509).

ii) Revision in 1886-1912

The first group of revisions in this section concern the withdrawal of the narrator's presence from the foreground of the novel. Most of these changes occur in the first three chapters of the novel and all involve the cutting away of superfluous narrative comment. The voice of the omniscient narrator in the opening chapter is restrained and unobtrusive, its main concern being to present rather than to interpret or comment upon the events of the narrative. The first excision from the serial occurs in the description of the trusser and his wife as they approach the village of Weydon-Priors. The husband, we are told, is "reading, or pretending to read, a

ballad-sheet"; his motive however is uncertain: "Whether this apparent cause were the real cause, or whether it were an assumed one to escape an intercourse that would have been irksome to him, nobody but himself could have said precisely ..." (86, I, 2-3). In its present form the text later continues:

When the outlying houses of Weydon-Priors could just be descried, the family group was met by a turnip-hoer with his hoe on his shoulder, and his dinner-bag suspended from it. The reader promptly glanced up....
(86, I, 5)

The implication in the final sentence is clear: the trusser's alert response to the passer-by belies his apparent absorption in the music sheet which, it is now obvious, simply provided an excuse to avoid conversation with his wife. The reader's suspicions, aroused several paragraphs earlier, are thus confirmed in a single brief sentence, the point gained economically and with complete absence of comment. In the serial, however, the narrator was more expansive, and reiterating what was already implicit in the narrative, had stepped forward with a cumbersome interpretation:

...the family group was met by a turnip-hoer with his implement on his shoulder, and his dinner-bag suspended therefrom. Whatever the husband's absorption in his sheet of ballads it did not render him unconscious of the labourer's approach; and as soon as they nearly confronted each other the reader promptly glanced up....

(G, 17)

Further comment is suppressed in the following chapter, where the hay-trusser, finding himself alone the morning after the sale, considers the events of the previous evening, and attributes his wife's departure with the sailor to her belief in "some sort of binding force in the transaction"--a point on which the man feels certain, the narrator of the first edition explains, knowing his wife's "freedom from levity of character, and the extreme simplicity of her intellect" (86, I, 28). At this point in the Graphic the narrator had continued with astonishing banality:

...the extreme simplicity of her intellect, which was far removed from strong, though not positively weak, as that word is usually understood in this connection.
 (G, 18-19)

--a remark whose garrulity is wholly foreign to the measured restraint of the narrative voice of the novel, and particularly irrelevant in a passage concerned exclusively with the revelation of the trusser's thoughts.

Emendation of a similar kind appears in Chapter iii, and involves the cancellation of remarks specifically directed, it would seem, at the Graphic reader. The first alteration marks the removal of an anticipatory comment designed to arouse the serial reader's curiosity. "'Why did we hinder our time by coming in here? I thought you wished to get onward?'" Elizabeth remarks as her mother

stops at Weydon Fair on their way to Casterbridge (86, I, 35). Where the text as it now stands continues as follows:

"Yes, my dear Elizabeth-Jane," explained the other.
 "But I had a fancy for looking up here." (86, I, 35)

the serial version (with a parenthetical hint of secrets yet untold) had read:

"Yes, my dear Elizabeth Jane," explained the other (somewhat equivocally, as will be seen). "But I had a fancy for looking up here." (G, 41)¹

Further excisions occur later in the same conversation. Curious to learn more about Michael Henchard, the relative they are in search of, Elizabeth asks her mother: "'I suppose he never knew me?'" In the Graphic the narrator--until now tactfully unobtrusive in the stage directions supporting the conversation between the girl and her mother--steps forward and, interrupting the flow of dialogue, poses a question:

¹ It may be unreasonable however to attribute the deletion entirely to the change in readership, for later in the same phase of revision Hardy introduces a brief comment, the exact reverse of the practice just cited: in ch. xiv Henchard remarks on the discrepancy between his adult daughter's fair hair and the dark head of the infant Elizabeth; and where in the serial his wife had replied simply with an "uneasy expression" on her face (G, 162), in the later text she responds with an "uneasy expression . . . to which the future held the key" (86, I, 166)--an enigmatic comment which places some uncertainty over Elizabeth's parentage.

Why should Mrs. Henchard have paused? She did pause for a moment, and answered, "Of course not, Elizabeth Jane. But come this way." (G, 42)

The commentator's presence is registered even more emphatically in the following line when, anxious to forestall the serial reader's censure of Susan's action, he launches a direct appeal on behalf of his character's integrity:

Let judgment be reserved on Mrs. Henchard's morals for this negative till her hard circumstances are fairly recognized.... (G, 42)

In the revised text the narrative commentary is eliminated; the author retreats into the background, and the normal distance between character and narrator is restored:

Mrs. Henchard paused for a moment, and answered uneasily, "Of course not, Elizabeth-Jane. But come this way." She moved to another part of the field. (86, I, 37)

The withdrawal of narrative comment is continued on three occasions in the preparation of the Osgood edition in 1895. The first of these appears in Chapter i: in earlier texts Susan, accompanied by the sailor, had left the furmity tent

sobbing bitterly, and apparently without a thought that she was not strictly bound to go with the man who had paid for her. (87, 19)

but the narrator of the Osgood text, no longer concerned to allay anxious fears on the purity of Susan's motive, records her only as "sobbing bitterly" (O, 13)--a cancellation

which restores to the narrator his more characteristic stance of observer rather than interpreter of events (and since the earlier comment was in fact an addition to the MS., restores the text to its original form).

A further alteration is made in the conversation between Elizabeth and her mother after the two women have overheard passers-by mention the name of Henchard (ch. iv). In 1895 and all subsequent texts, the narrator refers to Elizabeth's mother as "Mrs Newson" (O, 31), whereas in the earlier text he had referred to "Mrs Newson (as she may be called for the present)" (87, 40)--a qualification which is quite superfluous at this stage in the tale, the woman having already been so described on at least four occasions in the preceding chapter, where the first occurrence of the name is accompanied by a brief explanatory remark: "'I am not so sure of that,' said Mrs. Newson, as she now called herself ..." (87, 31).

The same process is at work in the narrative description of the dubious customers at Peter's Finger (ch. xxxvi): "...ex-poachers and ex-gamekeepers, whom squires had persecuted without a cause ...," comments the narrator of the familiar text with a neat irony which allows the reader to draw his own conclusions (O, 309-310). In all texts before the Osgood revision, however, the comedy implicit in this description had been quite destroyed and

the reader's enjoyment spoilt by the addition of a brief parenthetical comment:

...ex-poachers and ex-gamekeepers, whom squires had persecuted without a cause (in their own view) ... (87, 341)

--a good example of retrogressive revision, for the passage in MS. reveals the comment to have been an after-thought (MS, 372).¹

The next group of changes appear in Chapter xlv of the Osgood text and involve a slight reinforcement of the viewpoint from which the scene of Henchard's decision to return to Elizabeth is presented. Hearing from a passing waggoner the news of Farfrae's imminent marriage, Henchard considers returning to Casterbridge; now according to the Graphic

The remembrance would continually revive in him now that it was not Elizabeth and Farfrae who had driven him away from them, but his own haughty sense that his presence was no longer desired. What if he had been mistaken in his views?--if there had been no necessity that his own absolute separation from her should be involved in the incident of her marriage? (G, 539)

¹ A similar instance of Hardy's failure to trust the impact of authorial irony is apparent in the parenthetical comment contained in the oratio obliqua revelation of Henchard's jealous thoughts on Farfrae's mastery of Lucetta's affections (ch. xxvii):

... had Lucetta's heart been given to any other man in the world than Farfrae he would probably have had pity upon her at that moment. But the supplanter was the upstart (as Henchard called him) who had mounted into prominence upon his shoulders, and he could bring himself to show no mercy. (From lines added on the verso of f. 281.)

In the serial the paragraph immediately following contains the picture which Henchard draws of his likely treatment at the hands of Elizabeth and Farfrae in the event of his return ("He proceeded to draw a picture ..."). In the reorganization of the plot at serial level this passage, it may be remembered, was transferred to the preceding chapter, and as a result the lines charting the course of Henchard's thoughts on returning to his step-daughter are reduced to a mere two sentences. On reworking the plot in 1895 therefore, Hardy rebuilt the passage: two sentences are added, and the revised lines now offer an extended revelation of Henchard's consciousness. The first sentence presents Henchard's self-deceiving rationalization of Newson's whereabouts:

He had assumed the return of Newson, without absolute proof that the Captain meant to return; still less that Elizabeth-Jane would welcome him; and with no proof whatever that if he did return he would stay. (O, 389-390)

The second sentence, which presents a summary of the thought process through which Henchard arrives at his great decision, deepens the reader's awareness of the intensity of Henchard's love for Elizabeth:

To make one more attempt to be near her; to go back; to see her, to plead his cause before her, to ask forgiveness for his fraud, to endeavour strenuously to hold his own in her love; it was worth the risk of repulse, ay, of life itself. (O, 390)

A third and final enforcement of Henchard's viewpoint is

made several lines later when we read of his decision not to appear at the wedding-party till evening, by which time, according to the Graphic:

stiffness would have worn off, and the question of who was or was not present had become a matter of indifference. (G, 539)

In 1895 these lines are rephrased and the previous "indifference" to Henchard's reception is now visualized in terms which offer a more precise reflection of the wishful thinking of the self-condemned exile:

...when stiffness would have worn off, and a gentle wish to let bygones be bygones would exercise its sway in all hearts. (O, 390)

The remaining revisions in this section register an occasional modulation in the tone of the narrative voice. One minor instance appears in the novel's opening chapter where a distinctive note of disillusion is struck with a slight amendment in the picture of the husband and wife on their journey to Weydon-Priors. In all texts up to the uniform edition the narrator speaks in quite neutral terms of the "atmosphere of domesticity" accompanying the pair as they move along the road (87, 7); in the Osgood version he describes this instead as an "atmosphere of stale familiarity" (O, 3).¹ Two further

¹ Aside from its greater appropriacy as a description of a relationship in which affection has decayed, the amendment reveals Hardy's preoccupation during this period with the indissolubility of the prevailing marriage laws. (The Osgood revision of The Mayor, it may be noted, was undertaken within weeks of the completion of Jude.)

changes in tone occur in Chapter xliv, and both register Hardy's concern to avoid over-explicit judgment on the morality of his characters' conduct. Thus he refers in the Osgood edition to Elizabeth's illegitimate birth as "Nature's jaunty readiness to support unorthodox social principles" (O, 387), where previously he had written of her support of "bad social principles" (87, 421); and in the final Wessex text he describes the union of Susan Henchard and Richard Newson as a "tampering with social law" (W, 367), instead of the "wronging of social law" in earlier versions (O, 387).

A change in tone of voice is again apparent in several minor adjustments to the final two chapters, revealing a tendency on the part of the narrator to sentimentalize the plight of his protagonist. This is apparent, for example, in Hardy's handling of the episode of the caged goldfinch (a symbol, it was suggested earlier, of Henchard himself). The novelist's own humanitarian interests¹ had already vitiated the impartial presentation of the incident at the MS. stage of composition, with the emotive description

¹ Hardy's lifelong concern with the humane treatment of animals is, to say the least, well-documented in his writings. Reference to personal interests in the novelist's entry in Who's Who, 1916-1920, for example, is limited to a single sentence: "Member of the Council of Justice to Animals; is against blood-sport, dog-chaining, and the caging of birds."

of the bird's "wire prison" (MS, 462), and the deterioration of "poor songsters" into "poor little songsters" (MS, 470)--a trend continued in the Osgood text when "the bird's wire prison" (G, 539) is changed to "the little creature's wire prison" (O, 391) and "the bird" which Elizabeth discovers in her garden (G, 539) becomes "the starved little singer" (O, 400). Although Hardy's aim is undoubtedly to intensify the pathos of the situation, the result is simply one of sentimentalization, and the effectiveness of the goldfinch as a symbol of Henchard's defeat, accordingly undermined.

Similar revision appears in the scene of Henchard's arrival at his former house in Corn Street. In reply to his enquiry about Elizabeth, Farfrae's housekeeper, according to the serial version, "willingly volunteered to go up and inform the master and mistress of the house that he [Henchard] had come" (G, 539). In 1895, however, Hardy risks mawkishness in his concern to reinforce Henchard's pathetic self-effacement, for the housekeeper's message is now rephrased to convey Henchard's own words: "She willingly volunteered to go up and inform the master and mistress of the house that 'a humble old friend' had come" (O, 394). Even Farfrae incurs the narrator's scorn for enjoying himself while the protagonist is friendless

and near despair: arriving at his old home Henchard had originally heard the Scotsman "giving strong expression to a song of his native country" (G, 539), but in the revised text a strong note of sarcasm enters the previously neutral description, and Farfrae is impugned with insincerity, for the voice which Henchard now hears is that of a man "giving strong expression to a song of his dear native country, that he loved so well as never to have revisited it" (O, 393).

These revisions seem worth noting, for they are symptomatic of a general tendency evident in the final two chapters and present from the earliest phase of composition, whereby Hardy's compassion for the sufferings of his protagonist leads him to sentimentalize the man's situation and so undermine the distance--maintained with admirable coolness throughout the narrative--between character and narrator. The tendency is apparent both in editorial generalizations and in philosophical reflections attributed to Elizabeth Jane, both of which offer a view of life markedly incompatible with the view presented in the rest of the novel. Thus while events in the narrative have offered a convincing illustration of the causal relationship between character and fate, a narrative assertion in the penultimate chapter--"...the ingenious machinery contrived by the Gods for reducing human possibilities of

amelioration to a minimum--which arranges that wisdom to do shall come pari passu with the departure of zest for doing ..." (W, 369)--now advances the theory of hostile circumstance to explain the impossibility of Henchard's making a second start in life, despite the moral regeneration which past suffering has brought. The same concept of hostile circumstance is central to the sentiment with which the novel closes; namely, the view of life finally attained by Elizabeth Jane. For although the lives of the four major characters in The Mayor have demonstrated that a qualified happiness is possible for those willing to adjust to rather than impose conditions upon changing circumstance, we read only that the girl's experience has taught her that life is a "brief transit through a sorry world," and happiness, the "occasional episode in a general drama of pain" (W, 385, 386). Not only is this assessment inapplicable to the outcome of events in the preceding narrative, but if intended--and surely it is intended--as a general reflection on the human condition, the assessment qualifies as an example of those "querulous philosophic asides, which fall very little short of suggesting an immature distaste for the way things are,"¹ often accompanying and frequently at odds with the dramatic action of Hardy's fiction.

¹ R. Heilman, "Hardy's Mayor and the Problem of Intention," p. 207.

b. Imagery

The remaining revisions discussed in this chapter concern a number of additions to authorial commentary which is made indirectly through the figurative language of the novel. The artificiality of isolating separate constituents of narrative form is nowhere more evident than in the attempt to examine figurative language, for this category simply forms one aspect of the raw material of all other critical abstractions; hence any study of the novel's imagery will inevitably cut across all constituents of narrative form. One of the first considerations therefore in classifying Hardy's reworking of figurative language will be that of scale. While metaphor and simile appear frequently in the rhetoric of both the narrator and his characters, imagery in The Mayor also operates in a larger context--as an element of plot. (The symbolic episode of the caged goldfinch in Chapters xliv and xlv, for example), and in the setting of the novel which, throughout the action of the tale, provides a metaphoric expression of both mood and character. (Thus one of the functions of the Roman Amphitheatre, described in Chapter xi as "melancholy, impressive, lonely" is the symbolic expression it provides, with its inglorious history and finally ruined state, of Michael Henchard's own life and tragic fate.)

Further considerations involve the function and content of the novel's imagery. In The Mayor imagery has several functions: it is used for emphasizing theme and for defining character, mood, and relationship; for inducing humour and pathos, and for creating irony. The images discussed in this chapter will be arranged according to content, for it is largely by their content that the function of images in The Mayor is determined.

Three major series of recurrent images may be mentioned: the first and largest group are drawn from nature; the second, from music; and the third, from Hebraic mythology. Images from the first two groups may be described as directly thematic in function, for both physical nature and music are elements of first importance in the action of The Mayor.¹ The arrangement of images by content however is not fully satisfactory, for the groups at times overlap, with images from different series sharing similar functions. Of the three series cited above, revisions in the first two categories only will be considered here. Additions to images drawn from Hebraic mythology are fewer in number and of less significance than those drawn from nature and music, and their introduction has been noted

¹ Barbara Hardy in The Novels of George Eliot (London, 1959), p. 217, defines as thematic, "imagery which takes its colour from real events and objects whose significance is plain in the action."

elsewhere in the thesis.

Three further points should perhaps be made. First, the ratio of figurative allusions added in revision to those in the original MS. text: with admitted simplification, additions to natural imagery may be said to increase the number in the original text by approximately one quarter; additions to musical imagery, by approximately one half. Second, since the majority of revisions discussed here represent isolated examples of different aspects of the imagery in each recurrent series, it is felt that the significance of the added material will generally best be illustrated by combining the later reading with a small number of equivalent instances from the original MS. Finally it will be seen that most of the additions in figurative language are confined to the two phases of radical composition: the MS., and the preparation of the first edition.

i) Musical imagery

The importance of music on a literal level in the action of The Mayor is considerable. With varying significance, it plays a role in the lives of most of the characters in the novel. Henchard's great interest in music is apparent from the opening pages where he is pictured on the road to Weydon-Priors "reading, or pretending

to read, a ballad sheet" (W, 2); his rival Farfrae is an accomplished singer and dancer; while the responsiveness to music of many of the Casterbridge townfolk is illustrated on several occasions in which the performance of song and dance features prominently in the action-- in Farfrae's ballad-recital at the Three Mariners (ch. viii); in the display at the dancing-pavilion (ch. xvi); and in the reluctant performance of the Davidic psalm by the town choir (ch. xxxiii).

In addition to the literal presence of music in the action, The Mayor contains a number of figurative allusions to music. These range from the comparison of people and inanimate objects to musical performers or instruments--thus Casterbridge is the "bell-board on which all the adjacent hamlets and villages sounded their notes" (W, 212); the dissonant voices of complaint at the Mayoral dinner are likened to the members in the west end of a church "persistently found to sing out of time and tune with the leading spirits in the chancel" (W, 40); while Lucetta compares the town's newly-acquired horse-drill to "a sort of agricultural piano" (W, 192). Musical images are also used to define emotional state: Henchard seeks the comfort of liquor and a performance from the church choir to raise himself out of his "minor key" (W, 267), while the dispirited Longways declares himself

to be in "low key with drinking nothing but small table ninepenny this last week or two" (W, 98).

MS. revision includes a number of additions to the musical content of the novel. These include revisions which extend the literal presence of music and which from their place in the context seem to invite a symbolic interpretation; and revisions which introduce several figurative allusions, the most important of these continuing the trend apparent in the original text of illustrating mood and emotion, with particular reference to Henchard, Farfrae, and the relationship between the pair.

One occasion on which Hardy extends the literal presence of music appears in the scene of Farfrae's public entertainment in the dancing-pavilion. On entering the tent in the West Walk, Henchard, according to the earlier MS. form, discovers the Scotsman "footing a quaint little dance with Elizabeth Jane" (MS, 153). In lines added on the verso of f. 152 the scene which confronts the Mayor is elaborated: the tune to which Farfrae and Elizabeth dance is identified as "Miss McLeod of Ayr," and a brief description follows. The exuberant nature of the dance is made clear when we read in the additional lines that although Farfrae "considerately toned down his movements to suit her /Elizabeth's/ demurer gait, the pattern of

the shining little nails in the soles of his boots
became familiar to the eyes of every bystander." "The
tune," Hardy continues, "had enticed her into it"
 This amendment offers a good illustration of the power-
 ful force which music exercises over the characters in
The Mayor. Like the inmates of the Three Mariners who
 became captivated by Farfrae's ballad-singing, despite
 the "occasional odd gravity which awoke their sense of
 the ludicrous for the moment" (W, 61), Elizabeth's
 response to music is instinctive and, usurping her
 customary reserve, forces her to become the centre of
 attention by dancing with the flamboyant Scotsman. Her
 action is significant, for the brief contact between the
 pair moves Farfrae later the same evening to a half-con-
 fession of love for the girl.¹

Virtually all the remaining revisions in this section
 concern Henchard and Farfrae, and seem to have as their
 purpose a reinforcement of the emotional character of
 the two men and the emotional tone of their relationship.
 Farfrae's association with music persists throughout the

¹ As Jean R. Brooks points out in "Darwinism in Hardy's Major Novels" (unpublished dissertation, London M.A. University, 1960), Elizabeth's action provides one of many instances in Hardy's novels in which "folk music or church music ... moves a sexual emotion that precipitates a definite step in the story" (f.286).

action; an accomplished performer, his musical talent provides "a medium of sympathy"¹ between himself and the rest of the community. The recital of romantic ballads on the night of his arrival serves not only to attract his future wife--"Elizabeth Jane was fond of music; she could not help pausing to listen; and the longer she listened the more she was enraptured" (W, 58)--but also endears him to Christopher Coney and his tribe; just as his dancing in the pavilion later wins him the hearts of the women onlookers. Of greater significance Farfrae's singing, as we have seen earlier, exercises great power over Henchard, whose emotional attachment to the young man is first apparent when he overhears the ballad recital at the inn--"'To be sure, to be sure, how that fellow does draw me!'" he had remarked outside the Three Mariners (W, 64). The charm which Farfrae exercises over others is thus due in large measure to his musical skill, and in a minor amendment to the scene of his first encounter with Lucetta (MS, ch. xxiii) that charm is defined, appropriately, in musical terms:

...that Hyperborean constringency as of a well-braced
crispness and charm which had awakened
musical instrument
 the interest of Henchard, and of Elizabeth Jane, and of
 the King of Prussia's crew, at sight, made his unexpected
 presence here attractive to Lucetta. (MS, 226)

¹ Jean R. Brooks, op. cit., f. 290.

Further corrections in MS. underline the contrasting approaches to music shown by Henchard and Farfrae, and serve to illustrate both the different temperaments and emotional depths of the two men. Before an examination of these revisions is made, one brief amendment in the text of 1886 (one of the few instances of post-MS. revision in musical imagery) seems worth noting, for it offers a definition in musical terms of Henchard's concept of his relationship with Farfrae. An image of this kind had already appeared in the original MS. version of Chapter xxxviii, in the scene following the fight in the hay-loft where Henchard, filled with shame and self-reproach, recalls "that time when the curious mixture of romance and thrift in the young man's composition so commanded his heart that Farfrae could play upon him as on an instrument" (MS, 396). The simile seems particularly apt, for it combines an illustration of the friendship in terms of one its major catalysts, with an expression of the relation of each man to music itself--Farfrae's mastery of the art; Henchard's mastery by it. A comparable image appears in the reworking of Chapter xvi of the serial in 1886. According to the Graphic Henchard resists the temptation to consult Farfrae on his preparations for the day of public rejoicing lest "he, Henchard, would sink to the position of second fiddle, and be only a

spectator of his manager's talents" (G, 190). In the emended text however the metaphor is expanded and we now read of Henchard's fear lest he "would sink to the position of second fiddle, and only scrape harmonics¹ to his manager's talents" (86, I, 196); an image in which Farfrae's relation to music is again that of a performer.

As befits his temperament, Farfrae's associations with music generally occur in a cheerful context. He is frequently seen whistling or humming a tune, and obviously enjoys exploiting his musical talents. The rather superficial level on which the young man operates is illustrated early in the narrative with the pleasantly ironic choice of the song "It's hame and it's hame, hame fain would I be," on the eve of his proposed emigration. That his readiness to sing touching and pathetic songs is not accompanied by any degree of emotional involvement is fully underlined in the revision of Chapter xiv of the MS. where, it was seen earlier, the encounter between Elizabeth and Farfrae at Durnover Granary is extended by

¹ "Harmonics" in the 1886 edition; "harmonies" in 1887 and all subsequent texts. Perhaps a genuine revision for the second edition, although the greater appropriacy in musical terms of the earlier reading ("harmonics" or "overtones" being secondary, or subordinate, tones usually accompanying the primary tone produced by the vibration of a string) would seem to suggest an error on the part of the Sampson Low compositor.

a full page to provide the Scotsman with an opportunity for defining his attitude towards music: "'...it's like you feel a song for a few minutes, and your eyes be quite tearful: then you finish it, and for all you felt you don't mind it or think of it again for a long while ...'" (MS, 133a).¹

Unlike Farfrae, Henchard's associations with music generally occur in scenes of tension or crisis and generally accompany displays of passion and gloom. As he walks along the river bank after his discovery of Elizabeth's real parentage, Henchard's anguish is reflected in the tune of the weir at Priory Mill which roars like "the voice of desolation" (MS, 183); while the former Mayor is seen in one of his most bitter and vindictive moods when he bullies a terrified choir into singing verses from the venomous 109th Psalm of David. Moreover, the greater complexity of Henchard's temperament is revealed in his more sensitive approach to music; a sensitivity clearly underlined in the MS. revision of Chapter xli. In this, the scene of Henchard's intended suicide receives two important and related amendments--one, a full paragraph of authorial comment on the man's extreme susceptibility to music; the other, a sustained

¹ The additional dialogue is quoted in full in Chapter III, ff. 169-170 above.

musical metaphor describing the sound of the river flowing through the meadows of Casterbridge.

Now the gradual alienation of Henchard from all his closest ties reaches a climax with the unexpected re-appearance of Newson, minutes after Henchard's reconciliation with his step-daughter. In the early MS. form Henchard's mood of profound despair is recorded thus:

His mood was no longer that of the rebellious, ironical, reckless misadventurer; but the leaden gloom of one who has lost all that can make life interesting or even tolerable. There would remain nobody for him to be proud of, nobody to fortify him; for Elizabeth Jane would soon be but as a stranger, and worse. Susan, Farfrae, Lucetta, Elizabeth--all had gone from him, one after one, either by his fault or by his misfortune. (MS, 427-428)

The first amendment, which appears on the verso of f. 427, is inserted immediately after the last sentence quoted above, and reads as follows:

In place of them he had no interest, hobby, or desire. If he could have summoned music to his aid his existence might even have been borne; for with Henchard music was of regal power. The merest trumpet or organ tone was enough to move him, and high harmonies transubstantiated him. But fate had ordained that he should be unable to call up this auxiliary at will. (MS, 427^v)

Now the theme of music, both on a literal and on a figurative level, has been associated throughout the action and particularly through the figure of Farfrae, with the theme of friendship and spontaneous affection; and so the emphasis which this amendment places on Henchard's inability to benefit from the saving power of music seems to

provide an expression in metaphoric terms of the human companionship which, vital to his existence, Henchard is unable to command.¹

The irony implicit in this metaphor is developed in Hardy's reworking of the passage immediately following the account of Henchard's despair. "To the east of Casterbridge lay moors and meadows, through which much water flowed . . .," the next paragraph begins (MS, 428), continuing with a metaphoric description of the voices of the waters whose sound reaches a climax at Ten Hatches Hole, where Henchard is about to end his life. In the final form of the MS. the passage undergoes substantial change: the sustained metaphor of the voices of the waters receives a number of adjustments whose effect is to relate the sound of the river directly to music rather than to speech; what has been merely "spokeⁿ" or "uttered" is now "performed" or "executed," while the "voices" of the waters become an "orchestra" whose instrumentation reaches its climax in "a very fugue of sounds" at the weir where Henchard plans self-destruction, and thus provides

¹ A similar viewpoint is expressed by Julian Moynahan, who interprets the metaphor in strict relation to the Henchard-Farfrae relationship: "...in the literal sense he Henchard has lost Farfrae, the singer of old melodies; and in the sense of the music metaphor he has lost the beloved young friend whose benign control over his feelings was comparable to mastery of a musical instrument" ("The Mayor of Casterbridge and the Old Testament's First Book of Samuel," pp. 124-125).

an accompaniment to match the scope of Henchard's mental chaos:

The ^{wanderer} <traveller> in this direction, who should stand still for a few moments on a quiet night, might hear ^{singular symphonies from} <the voices of> ^{as from a lampless orchestra, all playing} these waters ^{in their sundry tones, from near and far parts} of the moor. At a hole in a rotten weir they ^{executed} <spoke with> a buzz; where a tributary brook fell over a stone breast-work they ^{cheerily} purred; ^{performed} under an arch they <uttered> a metallic ^{cymbaling} <clink> ^[sic]; and at Dummerford-Hole they hissed. The spot at ^{their instrumentation rose loudest} which <they articulated most loudly> was a place called Ten-Hatches, whence during high springs there proceeded a very ^{fugue of sounds} <babel of sound>.¹ (MS, 428)

And so while Henchard, deeply sensitive to the power of music (which in this scene provides a metaphoric expression of the human sympathy he so badly needs) is moved by the "merest trumpet or organ tone," the only response to his need comes from inanimate nature which is prepared, ironically, to offer him a complete symphony of sound. The effect of the two revised passages is thus to illustrate

¹ The musical notation is further elaborated in the corrected serial proofs: "executed a buzz" is changed to "executed a recitative," and "purred cheerily" becomes "trilled cheerily" (G, 509).

the discrepancy between Henchard's unfulfilled wishes and the harsh reality of his situation, and so intensify his alienation from the community.

ii) Natural imagery

The literal significance of physical nature in the agrarian community of Casterbridge is reinforced repeatedly in images drawn from the animal and vegetal world, from the weather and the seasons, and from agriculture; and images from all of these categories are added in MS. revision.

The first group of additions discussed in this section offer evidence of a number of figures whose cumulative effect is to provide a fairly dense network of images of germination, growth, decay, and blight. (Growth and decay are of course major themes in The Mayor, in human no less than in physical nature.) The theme of implantation, for example, receives emphasis several times in revision, with images which have generally disruptive or abortive associations. In Chapter xv the figure is used to anticipate the disruptive effect of the Abel Whittle incident on the relationship of Henchard and Farfrae. "Friendship between man and man; what a rugged strength there was in it ..." the narrator had written in the original MS.; on later reworking of the text,

however, he adds the following sentence: "And yet the seed that was to lift the foundation of this friendship was at that moment taking root in the chink" (MS, 137).¹

The image of the bad seed appears elsewhere in MS. correction. In the revised form of Chapter xix the river-bank setting at the north-eastern end of Casterbridge is described as "the seed-field of all the aches, rheumatisms, and torturing cramps of the year" (MS, 183); and a similar figure is added to the narrative description of the Roman Amphitheatre in Chapter xi, where its function is to reinforce the hostile atmosphere of the ruin. Despite its suitability for meetings of a romantic nature, the "historic circle," we are told, always seems confined to appointments of a less happy kind. Where earlier the narrator comments only that lovers' meetings "never took place" there, in the emended form he remarks that they "never took kindly to the soil of the ruin" (MS, 100).

Images of damp and decay appear in the text² from the

¹ The figure is further elaborated in the text of 1886: "taking root in a chink of its structure" (86, I, 183). It may be noted here that an identical image appears in ch. xxvi of Madding Crowd, where it provides an illustration of Bathsheba's emotional capitulation to Sergeant Troy: "Her tone and mien signified beyond mistake that the seed which was to lift the foundation had taken root in the chink ..." (p. 197).

² The same point is made by J. Paterson in his essay "The Mayor of Casterbridge as Tragedy," Hardy: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. A. J. Guérard (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963), p. 102.

earliest phase of composition. Thus we read in the original MS. that the atmosphere on the eve of harvest "felt as if mustard and cress would grow in it without other nourishment" (MS, 272); while Mixen Lane, the slum area of the town, is described in Chapter xxxvi as the "mildewed leaf in the fair and flourishing Casterbridge plant" (MS, 369). The image of noxious damp as an expression of moral disorder contained in the last quotation is continued in MS. revision of Chapter xxxvii where lines added on the verso of f. 385 inform us that the secret of Lucetta's past

had condensed into a scandal, which was spreading like a miasmatic fog through Mixen Lane, and thence up the back streets of Casterbridge. (MS, 385^v)

Further amendments relate to the world of agriculture--to crops and their cultivation, and to the produce of the land. According to the unrevised MS. the rain on the morning of Henchard's remarriage to Susan "floated down like meal, and lay in a powdery form on the naps of hats and coats" (MS, 118); while the narrator, in one of his happiest phrases, describes Henchard's misdeed at Weydon-Priors Fair as a "rather tall wild oat" (MS, 311). Likewise the snuff on the head of the candle seen by firelight is said to assume the shape of "a red-hot cauliflower" (MS, 366), while the farmer in Casterbridge market-place

insists, when hiring an aged shepherd, on having the old man's son as well, refusing to take the "crust without the crumb of the bargain" (MS, 231). This process is evident on several occasions in revision. In the final MS. version of Chapter xliii the narrator infuses "a leaven of half-heartedness" into Elizabeth's already lukewarm protestations at her step-father's decision to leave Casterbridge (MS, 447); and when Alderman Tubber addresses Henchard outside the dancing-pavilion (ch. xvi), a small interpolation in the revised MS. supports his good-natured dialogue with a humorous stage direction:

"What's this, Henchard"--said Alderman Tubber.

applying his thumb to the cornfactor like a cheese-taster

^ "An opposition randy to yours--eh?....." (MS, 154)

Where, finally, the MS. likens the distant figures of Henchard and Farfrae to "two notes of admiration" (MS, 81), a slight adjustment is made in serial proof where the figures are described as small as "two grains of corn" (G, 102).

Natural imagery pervades the language of the characters no less than the language of narrative description and comment; and man's close kinship with the land is stressed continually in images through which characters, both major and minor, define human behaviour, feeling, and physical

appearance in terms of the animal and vegetal world. Alluding to his business rivalry with the young Scotsman, Henchard threatens to "grind him [Farfrae] into the ground" (MS, 263); Farfrae himself tells Elizabeth that his regular walks on the Budmouth Road are taken in order "to winnow the seeds and chaff out of him before sitting down to tea" (MS, 441); while Christopher Coney's feeling of inertia makes him "as clammy as a cockle-snail" (MS, 122). This trend is continued several times in revision. Exasperated by Lucetta's contrary behaviour, Henchard had previously remonstrated: "'These cursed women--there's no straightforwardness in 'em!'" but after correction he complains: "'These cursed women--there's not an inch of straight grain in 'em!'" (MS, 215). A similar addition is made earlier in the tale, where Henchard decides to dispense with Farfrae's services as manager, lest he be "honeycombed clean out of all character and standing" (MS, 153). The trend is also evident in the preparation of the first edition: "'...I can hardly step over a sixpence!'" the aged Longways had grumbled in the serial (G, 162), but "'...I can hardly step over a furrow!'" he remarks in 1886 (I, 158).

While natural imagery is present in both the analysis and dialogue of nearly every character, by far the greatest

number of images in this series occur in the portrayal of Henchard. (The definitive Wessex text contains well over sixty such images, eleven of which represent additions to the original MS.)

Images persistently associated with the Mayor are drawn from various aspects of the elements, and from animal and vegetal nature. Images of fire and heat, for example, are used to convey physical appearance--we read in the original MS. of the "red spark of light" in Henchard's "dark pupils" (MS, 94), and of the "strong warm gaze ... like the sun" which he bestows on Lucetta (MS, 251); images of fire and heat are also used to define the rudimentary nature of Henchard's passions: thus the text prior to revision refers to the "volcanic fires of his nature" (MS, 335) and explains that he was "the kind of man to whom some human object for pouring ^{out} his heat upon ... was almost a necessity" (G, 218).¹ The process is twice apparent in MS. emendation. In Chapter xvii we read of Henchard's anger on learning of Farfrae's plan to establish his own business shortly after their rupture, and while in the earlier text Henchard expressed his fury in tones which showed "there was still the same stuff beneath the rind of James Henchard as when he had sold his wife at

¹ MS. evidence missing.

Weydon Fair . . .," in the corrected form the substance beneath the rind receives clearer definition: "...there was still the same unruly volcanic stuff beneath the rind of James Henchard . . ." (MS, 160). The second amendment appears later in the tale where Henchard, scenting an incipient attachment between Farfrae and Elizabeth, is fearful of losing his step-daughter's affection (ch. xlii). According to the original text "the mere thought of such separation from Elizabeth saddened him much . . ."; but according to the emended form: "the mere thought of such separation fevered his spirit much" (MS, 439)--a minor alteration which provides a far apter expression of the characteristic quality of Henchard's emotional response.

In a further series of natural images Henchard's behaviour is defined in terms of untamed animals. In the original MS. Elizabeth observes her step-father's "tigerish affection" for the young Scotsman (MS, 129), while the narrator calls the diplomacy of Henchard's treatment of his young rival "wrong headed as a buffalo's" (MS, 161). The brutal process of "denaturalization" to which Henchard must submit--the inevitable consequence of a clash between his undisciplined personality and the restrictive social order--is imaged several times as the

forcible subjection of a wild creature; a practice also reinforced in revision. One example of this is seen in Chapter xxxii where Henchard, now bankrupt and fallen in public esteem, seeks employment as a journeyman hay-trusser in Farfrae's business: "When ...Henchard had become in a measure broken in, he came to work daily on the home premises like the rest" (MS, 327)--a sentence which cancellations at the foot of f. 326 and on the verso of the leaf following reveal to have been an after-thought. Similar revision appears in Chapter xlii where Henchard, now thoroughly tamed by the recognition of his need for Elizabeth's affection, is described in a minor insertion as a "netted lion" (MS, 437).

Two further additions in MS. introduce the image of the wild animal into Henchard's own language. "'I took it like a lam [sic],' " he had previously commented on Farfrae's rough treatment at the royal visit (ch. xxxviii); a remark which Hardy immediately cancelled and replaced with a more forceful expression of Henchard's sense of outrage: "'He drove me back as if I were a bull breaking fence ...'" he now rages (MS, 389). The trend is continued in the penultimate chapter where Henchard, in exile fifty miles from Casterbridge, imagines his future in the event of his return to Elizabeth. In the original

text the former Mayor visualizes himself "living like a quiet cat about the back rooms" of his step-daughter's house, but in the final MS. as "living like a fangless lion about the back rooms ..." (MS, 460)--a further underscoring of Henchard's acute sense of humiliation.

Finally two amendments in the preparation of the first edition through which the protagonist is described in images of blight--a trend present from the earliest phase of composition where Henchard is seen as "cankered in soul" after the rupture of his friendship with Farfrae (MS, 164); and also apparent in MS. revision, where an asterisk on f. 349 indicates the later insertion of Henchard's "festering with indignation" at the rumour of Farfrae's hostile behaviour toward him (G, 398).¹ Now in the serial version of Chapter xxxiv the letters written by Lucetta at the time of her affair with Henchard are described as the "worm i' the bud" of her happiness as Farfrae's wife (G, 398); in 1886, however, the epithet--still referring to the secret of Lucetta's past--is transferred to Henchard: "But ah! that worm i' the bud--Henchard; what he could tell!" (86, II, 150). A further addition in the same text describes Henchard's "feelings" as "nipped" when Farfrae declines his offer of partnership (86, I, 117).

¹ Folio 348 on whose verso the addition was apparently entered, is missing.

The group of images to which the above revisions belong--figures drawn from lower nature--form the largest in the series of natural images associated with Henchard. We read in the original MS., for example, that Elizabeth's step-father moves "like a great tree in a wind" (G, 218);¹ that his greeting of the girl is somewhat "dry and thunderous" (MS, 240); and that his disappointment at Farfrae's refusal to accept the post of manager is so strong as to make itself ^{felt} "like a damp atmosphere" (G, 70).¹ On meeting the Scotsman shortly after their rupture the Mayor, we are told, "invariably gazed stormfully past him" (MS, 164); and when reading aloud Lucetta's letters to her husband, his mouth is said to assume a "new-moon-shaped grin" (G, 399).¹ Through underlining the totally primitive nature of the forces which control Henchard's actions and render his behaviour more like that of a creature than of a man, the effect of these images is thus to dehumanize the figure of the protagonist.

¹ MS. evidence missing.

CHAPTER VII

STYLE

The final group of revisions discussed in this thesis concern the author's handling of syntax and choice of vocabulary. Before this examination is attempted, a few general points about Hardy's prose style should perhaps be made. The most characteristic feature of this style is its remarkable unevenness. Unlike most authors Hardy does not seem to possess a dominant or "normal" prose style, but instead to possess a number of widely divergent styles. At its most assured, Hardy's language is fluent and direct, and his handling of syntax, carefully ordered. In his descriptive prose he is the masterly exponent of the concrete style, embodying acute observation of detail in lively and sensuous imagery. At the opposite extreme, however, his style is a blundering and uncouth medium. Marked by a convoluted syntax and a diction ranging from the pedantic to the uneducated, it illustrates the use of an abstract style at its least effective. Characterized by verbosity and redundancy, it embraces on the one hand the stilted language of the second-rate journal and the pompous official document; on the other hand, a self-consciously literary and erudite

vocabulary whose preference for the abstract and generalizing term in favour of the concrete and specific produces evasion rather than clarification--a form, it might be said, of debased Johnson.¹

Hardy's use of language thus presents an amalgam of excellence and atrocity; and while the merits of his style far outweigh the defects (these appear in fact far less frequently than hostile criticism would suggest), the impact with which his stylistic lapses strike the reader is due not only to the polarity of the two extremes between which the style fluctuates, but also to the rapid alternation of one style with another--a practice which occurs frequently within a single paragraph; occasionally within a single sentence. Hardy's finest style, as Robert Heilman points out, lies perhaps between both extremes, drawing something from each, when "he goes beyond the pictorial, where he is always likely to be sure, and into the analytical, where his hazard is always a plethora of syllables, but where he finds an accuracy

¹ Hardy's somewhat eclectic choice of language receives apt comment from William Archer who wrote, in reference to "The Peasant's Confession" that Hardy sometimes seemed "to lose all sense of local and historical perspective in language, seeing all the words in the dictionary on one plane, so to speak, and regarding them all as equally available and appropriate for any and every literary purpose." (Quoted in Blunden, p. 104.)

and precision that make the style perfectly accomodated to the thought."¹

Now alterations in style constitute the largest group of changes in all seven phases of revision. The MS. itself contains in the region of 1, 500. stylistic changes, while post-MS. composition includes a further 900 or so variants in style: these comprise approximately two thirds of the revisions in serial proof and first edition, and approximately one half of the revisions in all other phases. A vast number of the changes are very minor indeed and lie outside the scope of this chapter where, as before, my concern will be with the more purposive patterns of development, and with significant individual changes from each phase of composition. Even after a selection of the revisions relating to style has been made, the sheer quantity of the chosen material presents difficulties; and I have chosen to support my conclusions with a representative selection only from each category of change. If the illustrations seem at times tedious and the conclusions repetitive, I can defend my method only by stating that continuity in type of change from one phase to the next forms the predominant feature

¹ "Hardy's Mayor: Notes on Style," in NCF, XVIII (1964), 323; a most valuable article in which the radical inconsistency in Hardy's style receives full and persuasive illustration. (Hereafter cited as "Notes on Style.")

in this, more than ⁱⁿ any other area of textual revision, and the arrangement chosen here seems to offer the least tortuous route through the densest network of alterations and additions in the novel's composition.

One further point should perhaps be made. The stylistic variations recorded below have seemed worthy of inclusion for the illustration they provide both of the natural bias of Hardy's style and of the methods by which he sought to refine his use of language. However, since the merits of style in prose fiction rely on cumulative effects rather than on the local elegance of word and phrase, the overall significance of revisions which seek through the analysis of individual words and sentences, to catalogue the author's idiosyncratic verbal mannerisms, should not be overstated.

i) Revision in MS.

The Mayor MS. contains a wide variety of stylistic revision. Alterations may be detected within several layers of composition, including the process of preliminary correction--that is, within or immediately after the act of composition--and in the two later phases of revision: the series of corrections following the composition of roughly two thirds of the MS., and the more extensive review after the novel's completion. These alterations

range from changes in single words or phrases to the recasting of whole paragraphs, and consistent with other types of revision at this stage, MS. changes in style reflect the pattern of much future revision. This includes emphasis on lucidity, concreteness, and simplicity of expression, economy of detail, and the use of figurative language. Changes in MS. as in other phases of composition, most frequently register improvements on the original reading, although a small quantity of stylistic revision appears to be of neutral value, and retrogressive revision, if rare, is occasionally present.

Two further features common to stylistic changes in MS. and those in later stages of composition seem worth noting: first, the distribution of MS. revisions in style is generally indicative of future revision: passages of dialogue and narrative description represent the most heavily worked areas in the text, while chapters, passages, and occasionally even individual sentences and words receiving close attention in MS. generally continue to receive attention in later phases. Second, the MS. contains many examples of one of the most typical features of Hardy's method of composition--the persistent revision of particular words and phrases in which the final decision

presents a barely noticeable improvement on earlier readings, and occasionally represents a reversion to an earlier reading.

As might be expected in the earliest extant phase of composition, syntax receives greater attention here than in any succeeding phase of revision. The MS. offers frequent evidence of Hardy's concern to achieve greater fluency of expression through improvement of his handling of subordination--one of the principal sources, according to Heilman, of Hardy's "blundering and gauche" style.¹

Hardy's natural bias towards lengthy and involved sentence-structure is checked repeatedly, many alterations revealing one frequent source of clumsiness to be the author's preference for sentences composed of one main clause followed by a string of subordinate clauses, whereas the ideas expressed really require the clauses to be co-ordinate. Thus several instances may be cited in which complex sentences are made compound:

~~In~~his measured springless walk^{was} the walk of the skilled
countryman as distinct from the desultory shamble of the
general labourer^{; while} in the turn and plant of each foot,
there was^{further} a dogged, cynical indifference, personal to

¹ See "Notes on Style," p. 309.

himself, showing itself¹ ~~which showed~~ even in the regularly interchanging folds of his trousers, now in the left leg, now in the right, as he paced along. (MS, 2)

A warm glow pervaded the whole atmosphere of the marquee and a single big round and round in it ~~in which a~~ blue fly buzzed musically. (MS, 20)

Henchard heard the retreating footsteps of Newson upon the sanded floor, the mechanical lifting of the latch, the slow opening and closing of the door that was natural ~~which denoted~~ to a baulked and dejected man; but he did not turn his head. ~~a nerveless hand, without turning his head.~~ (MS, 423)

Henchard continued his address to Jopp in similar ~~these~~ terms till it ~~which~~ ended in Jopp's dismissal there and then, Henchard turning upon his heel and leaving him ... (MS, 271)

Subordination is also improved when compound-complex sentences--often of an unwieldy length--are broken down into separate sentences, thus giving principal thoughts their full weight:

Within an hour its the parcel's contents were reduced to ashes by Lucetta, who, poor soul, was inclined to fall down on her knees in thankfulness that at last no evidence, beyond the simple entry in a remote parish

¹ The repetition which this amendment creates ("himself ... itself") remains in the text until 1895, when the line is corrected to "a dogged and cynical indifference, personal to himself, showing its presence ..." (O, 1).

register, remained of the unlucky episode with Henchard
 in her past ^{For} ~~which~~ innocent as she had been of wrong-
 doing ^{therein, that episode, if known,} was not the less likely to estrange her husband.
 (MS, 378)

They stood in silence while he ran into the cottage;
 returning in a moment with a crumpled scrap of paper

On it there was pencilled as follows:
~~on which was written in pencil:~~ (MS, 476)

Casterbridge, as has been hinted, was a place deposited in
 the block upon a cornfield ^{There} ~~in such a manner that there~~ was
 no suburb in the modern sense, or transitional inter-
 mixture of town and down. (MS, 130)

Further syntactic revision works in the direction of
 increased compression. Changes here include the removal
 of clauses which impede forward movement:

Henchard bent and kissed her cheek. ^{The} ~~It was the~~ moment
 and the act he had contemplated for weeks with a thrill
 of pleasure ... (MS, 186)

~~It was a case of~~ ^{In} ~~in~~ for a penny in for a pound; she bought
 the sunshade; and the whole structure was at last complete.
 (MS, 136)

Henchard went off, entered Abel's house ~~which was~~ a little
 cottage in Back Street, the door of which was never locked ...
 (MS, 140)

In the meadow where Henchard now walked ~~was where~~ the mob
^{were wont to} ~~gathered~~ whenever an execution took place ... (MS, 184)

while the replacement of clauses with more compact phrases is several times apparent:

In answer to the knock Fall

~~When he knocked the weather-caster~~ came to the door himself, candle in hand. (MS, 266)

...~~Lucetta~~ was inclined to fall down on her knees in thankfulness that at last no evidence, beyond the simple entry in a remote parish register, remained

of the unlucky episode with Henchard in her past
~~to show the mistake she had~~ (MS, 378)

...the atmosphere suddenly felt as if ~~the seed of cresses~~
~~mustard and cress~~
would grow in it without other nourishment
~~by tossing up the seed~~ (MS, 272)

The most widespread type of revision in this group, however, is the substitution of participial phrases:

Her conjectures ...never went further than faint ones
~~what she~~ based on things casually heard and seen ... (MS, 130)

It was one of those excitements which, when they move a country-town, leave a permanent mark upon its chronicles, as a warm summer permanently marks the ring in the tree-

corresponding
trunk ~~that corresponds~~ to its date. (MS, 378)

to play at games in such circumstances was like
~~what~~ acting
~~is in~~ ^{to} an empty house. (MS, 101)

As a young girl she had clacked about in those pattens not only during wet weather but during dry, to save her

taking out of the uppers what she won on the sole.
boots from wear, ~~without discovering that what~~ (MS, 125)

She underwent her year, and had worn a martyr's countenance ever since, except at times of meeting
~~when she met~~ the constable who took her, when she winked her eye. (MS, 371-372)

He dreaded lest an antagonistic word should lose for him such regard as he had regained from her by his devotion, feeling and felt that to retain this when they were divided under separation was better than to incur her dislike by keeping her near. (MS, 439)

...some old people said that at certain moments in the summer time, in broad daylight, persons sitting with a book who had sat reading or dozing in the arena had, on lifting their eyes, beheld the slopes lined with a gazing legion of Hadrian's soldiery as if watching the gladiatorial combat ... (MS, 101)

Subordination by means of participles and gerunds is, as Heilman points out,¹ one of Hardy's favourite--and most frequently abused--devices. Unfortunately the excessive repetition which this practice often produces (the appearance of "sitting ...dozing ...lifting ... watching" with the adjective "gazing," in the last quotation provides a good example) is only occasionally remedied in revision.

Another widespread syntactic correction in MS. is the transposition of elements within a sentence. This type of change, appearing in nearly every chapter of the MS., achieves several effects, one of which is to improve rhythm:

There are men whose hearts insist upon a dogged fidelity to some image or cause ...long after their judgment has pronounced it no rarity ...and the band of the worthy is incomplete without them (MS, 435)

A similar amendment appears in the description of Elizabeth

¹ "Notes on Style," p. 310.

(ch. iv) where the narrator refers to the handsomeness struggling to reveal itself through

↑ the casual disfigurements that resulted from the straitened circumstances of their Elizabeth and her mother's lives and the provisional curves of immaturity and (MS, 35)

A further effect is to promote a more logical progression of thought:

"It must have been just on that very pixy-ring that she was standing before going off with him when she said her last words to me:" (MS, 456)

Henchard now gazed more at the pavements when he looked about and less at the house-fronts... (MS, 312)

Other changes transplant some of the dislocated adverbs that form a marked characteristic of Hardy's style:

...the lower parts of the church tower being illuminated by the nearest lamps sufficiently to show how the mortar from the joints of the stonework had been completely nibbled out by time and weather ... (MS, 40)

The woman had long perceived how zealously and constantly the young mind of her companion was constantly struggling for enlargement ... (MS, 35)

She knew the directions to be a piece of the same stuff that his whole life was made of, and were hence were not to be tampered with ... (MS, 477-478)

The landlady remained as fixed in her arm-chair as if she had been melted into it when in a liquid state and now could not be unstuck ... (MS, 61)

The apparent frequency of this type of correction is misleading, however, for several instances suggest that the penlines marking a transposition indicate less a revision

of earlier material than second thoughts during the act of composition (or in some cases, the act of copying).

Three examples should illustrate this point:

Peters Finger The inn called was the church of Mixen Lane.
(MS, 371)

Lucetta's death, in such fulness of life, was appallingly unexpected and amid such cheerful hopes of maternity
(MS, 419)

The sailor started up, and took a pace or two an enervated down the room.
(MS, 423)

Considerable caution is therefore required when citing this type of change as an illustration of the clumsiness of Hardy's style prior to revision.

Many of the revisions quoted above reveal just how clumsy Hardy's first thoughts could be: indeed a large proportion of syntactic changes at this stage of composition are concerned with the removal of inelegancies of the most elementary kind. On f. 226, for example, where the author now refers to Farfrae's

Hyperborean crispness, constringency, and charm ...which had awakened the interest of Henchard, and of Elizabeth Jane, and of the King of Prussia's crew

he had originally referred to the

Hyperborean crispness, constringency, and charm ...which had awakened Henchard's interest, and Elizabeth Jane's, and the King of Prussia crew's
(MS, 226)

Several further examples may be cited:

...after this day she was so much upon her guard that there appeared no chance of her identification with of her as the young Jersey woman ...
(MS, 219)

Though she did not know it, Henchard formed at this moment much the same picture ^{he had presented when entering} ~~as when he had entered~~ Casterbridge nearly a quarter of a century before ...
(MS, 448)

^{The} ~~Henchard's~~ ^{just completed} ~~transaction~~ (MS, 270)

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of syntactic revisions in MS. is the information they offer on the gaucheness of the author's style. That the gaucheness for which Hardy is so frequently criticized was not simply the result of careless or hasty composition is suggested by several factors. To begin with, one of the major features in this area of revision is the persistence of a type of minor correction indicative of a concern for precision and correctness in details of syntax:

"Stop a minute, then," said Charl, finding ^{that} ~~the~~ man was no enemy. (MS, 375)

...one who would stand higher in an estimate by the eye ^{in one} ~~than~~ by the ear (MS, 376)

Just as she ^{had} ~~got~~ across the landing ... a dance was struck up ... (MS, 465)

The company at the King of Prussia were persons of quality in comparison with the company ^{which} ~~who~~ gathered here ... (MS, 371)

MS. revision reveals three further points about Hardy's gauche style. First, instances of syntactic clumsiness

are frequently found in areas of heavy stylistic revision, and hence their presence in the final form of the text cannot be attributed simply to oversight. On f. 276, for instance--a page of heavy revision--Hardy leaves uncorrected a standard example of ambiguity due to the use of an unrelated participle:

While pausing the old constable came up.

(Henchard, the subject of the modifying participle having received mention in the preceding sentence.)

Moreover, instances of gauchness often occur in lines which have already undergone stylistic revision, and they may in fact represent a second or even third rendering of an earlier less elegant form of expression--a factor suggesting that while Hardy was clearly dissatisfied with the more glaring of his syntactic faults, he appears (in this area of revision at least) to have become too easily satisfied, failing repeatedly to rework his material sufficiently to achieve the level of fluency consistent with his best narrative style. ~~Again~~ Two examples of this practice must suffice to illustrate the point. Despite several minor improvements in revision, the following reference to Henchard (f. 316) still provides a typical example of the ungainly separation of grammatical elements:

In this cottage he occupied a couple of rooms, Jopp, whom Henchard and by turns, ~~he~~ had employed, cajoled, [^]dismissed [^]being the householder.

The second example appears on ff. 129-130 where, despite considerable amendment the following lines constitute in their final form possibly the most inexpertly constructed sentence in the novel:

She did not divine the
 The ample explanation of his manner, without personal
 vanity, that was afforded by
 that lay in the fact of Alan being the depository
 of Henchard's confidence in regard to respect of his
past treatment his wife chastened
marriage of Susan of the pale mother who walked by her side.
 (MS, 129-130)

Finally certain changes in MS. which actually introduce awkward syntactic arrangements; an occurrence which suggests that far from merely overlooking some of his less happy stylistic traits, Hardy actually cultivated them-- a feature, it will be seen later, much apparent in his choice of diction. One example of this appears on f. 380 where revision introduces an awkward inversion:

Embarrassed glances were exchanged by the council, and
 Grower nearly eat [sic] the end of his quill-pen, as he
he during
 gnawed it in the silence. (MS, 380)

A further example is seen in the following chapter where the correction of a sentence containing an unrelated participle merely repeats the grammatical fault:

pausing in this half-stupefied state the
 While standing thus the conversation of Lucetta with the
 other ladies reached his ears... (MS, 388)

By far the greatest number of stylistic changes in MS.-- and in all succeeding phases of revision--concerns the author's handling of diction. Among the most widespread types of revision in this area are changes which reflect Hardy's concern for economy of detail, and changes which work in the direction of greater precision and concreteness of expression. Revisions in the first category most frequently consist of the removal of redundancies:

...but she seemed to have no idea of taking his arm, nor ~~seemed~~ he ~~to have any idea~~ of offering it ... (MS, 3)

The eyes of this group were mostly ~~bent downwards, and were~~ directed over the parapet upon the running water below. (MS, 319)

~~Later on~~ when everything was ticketed that Henchard owned ... (MS, 315)

and the search for greater compression in description:

...bringing down his fist so that the ^{danced} basins ~~wriggled~~ ~~against one another~~. (MS, 15)

...as the driver foresees the ^{approaching} jerk ~~that he will receive~~ ... (MS, 165)

Farfrae ~~was on the alert and~~ ^{immediately} rose to the occasion. (MS, 384)

He dreaded lest ~~a word of opposition~~ ^{an antagonistic word} should lose for him such regard as he had regained from her ... (MS, 439)

while revisions in the second category most frequently entail the substitution of single words--the indefinite and abstract by the concrete and specific. Thus "too late for caution" is replaced by "too late to recede" (MS, 225),

and "he seemed to forgo his idea of putting up at the house" by "he at once abandoned his idea ..." (MS, 376); news of the royal visit previously "displace^d for a time" the preparations for the skimmington, but in the final form it "cut into the^{ir} midst" (MS, 378); and where the earlier MS. refers to the time "Between the hours at which the last drunkard goes by and the first sparrow twitters," the language in the corrected version is both more concrete and less commonplace: "Between the hours at which the last toss-pot went by and the first sparrow shook himself ..." (MS, 171).

Many of the alterations in this category involve the replacement of non-specific verbs such as "say," "do," "are," "look," "make," with those offering a fuller definition of response. What Elizabeth had merely "said" to Newson on the subject of the preparations for her wedding ("'Donald and you must settle it'") she later "murmured" (MS, 452); while the words which Lucetta had "said" to Henchard in defence of her marriage to Farfrae, she "explained" in the final form (MS, 302). In the original MS. field labourers had "entered in" to Casterbridge with their families whereas in the final form they "trooped in" (MS, 244); and the loud rapping of rain-drops which earlier "came" from the south and west walks of the town "was wafted" in the later version (MS, 341).

Nominal forms receive similar treatment. For example, the previously unidentified is now made more specific: "Among these he discerned a little shining thing" is changed to "Among these odds and ends he discerned a little shining object" (MS, 20); "One thing in this engagement puzzled him" is changed to "The chief looming trouble in this engagement had not decreased" (MS, 443), and a "coat and hat, a new shirt, and so on" is replaced by a "coat and hat, a new shirt and neck-cloth" (MS, 461).

The abstract is also made concrete: "beyond his means" is revised as "beyond his miserable pocket" (MS, 462); "Henchard went out from her presence" as "Henchard went out from her rooms" (MS, 469); and "The eventful morning was bright, a full-faced sun confronting the scene" as "The eventful morning was bright, a full-faced sun confronting early-window gazers eastward" (MS, 381). "Forks of amazing capacity" which throng Casterbridge market are more concretely realized as "pitch-forks of prong sufficient to skewer up a small family" (MS, 438)--a nice illustration of Hardy's taste for macabre humour. Where the inmates of the Three Mariners first viewed the Scots ballad-singer through a golden haze "which had not been there when he began," in the corrected text they see him through a haze "which the tone of his mind seemed to raise around him" (MS, 75), while in the original version of

Chapter xi the narrator speaks vaguely of the slopes of the Amphitheatre "lined with an audience of the Ancients waiting for the gladiatorial combat," in the final form he speaks, in one of the happiest phrases in the description, of slopes "lined with a gazing legion of Hadrian's soldiery as if watching for the gladiatorial combat" (MS, 101).

Pronouns in particular are subject to closer definition: "we've only ourselves to depend on" is now revised as "we've only our own pockets to depend on" (MS, 60), and where we read in the original account of the Amphitheatre that "it was the frequent spot for appointments of a certain kind," we read in the corrected version that "the historic circle was the frequent spot for appointments of a furtive kind" (MS, 100). Similarly "advancing to the table and laying his hand upon it" is superseded by "advancing to the table and laying his hand upon the green cloth" (MS, 380); he "shook himself wearily" by he "shook the dust from his clothes wearily" (MS, 396); "this was what he had deserved" by "the blasting disclosure was what he had deserved" (MS, 181), and where in a brief description of man's propensity to evil thoughts (ch. xlii) the early MS. merely states that "one of these came to Henchard now," in the final form two minor alterations in pronoun and verb produce a lively image: "one of these thoughts

sailed into Henchard's ken now" (MS, 444).¹

It does not seem inappropriate in a discussion of revisions aiming at greater concreteness of expression to mention one type of addition which frequently accompanies the introduction of minor figures. This consists of the insertion of a small descriptive detail, often humorous and almost invariably pictorial, which enables the reader immediately to visualize the character. Four examples of this practice may be cited:

"Don't my chiel" a buxom staylace dealer
~~whispered~~ in voluminous petticoats
 ^ the girl who sat near the woman.
 (MS, 14)

"Yes--let's have it again, stranger" a stout, bucket-headed man, with a
white apron rolled up round his waist
 said the glazier.
 (MS, 72)

"What's this, Henchard--" applying his thumb to the corn-
factor like a cheese-taster
 said Alderman Tubber.
 ^ (MS, 154)

rolled into the large parlour one evening, and
 Mrs Stannidge ... said that it was a wonder ... Farfrae ...
 should stoop so low ...
 (MS, 445)

Taken together, revisions in the two categories outlined above account for approximately 160 of the MS. changes in style; they mark the first appearance of two of the most characteristic features of Hardy's revision, and are present in all succeeding phases of composition.

¹ Cf. Keats's sonnet, On first looking into Chapman's "Homer":
 Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
 When a new planet swims into his ken (9-10)

As many of the syntactic revisions quoted above illustrate the frequent clumsiness of Hardy's grammatical arrangements before emendation, so a number of cancellations in MS. illustrate the difficulty Hardy seems frequently to have experienced in expressing a plain thought in a plain and simple manner: these revisions reveal Hardy's concern to simplify his choice of diction. Farfrae is described in the original text as "twitching his eyelids," but he is described in the final version more simply as "blinking a little" (MS, 226), while on waking the morning after his first departure from Casterbridge Henchard previously "opened his basket, and eat [*sic*] for his breakfast what he had packed therein for his supper; and in doing so overhauled the remaining contents of that receptacle" (MS, 454-455), the rotund final clause is later rephrased as "overhauled the remainder of his kit" (MS, 455).

As the last quotation suggests, much of the heaviness of Hardy's prose style stems from his fondness for Latinate diction, and in its familiar version the text of The Mayor offers a rich quarry for critics of Hardy's pedantic taste for polysyllables. We read, for example, of the "penuriousness of the exhibition" (W, 7), and of Elizabeth's being "construed by not a single contiguous being" (W, 152); of Lucetta's being "sublimed into a lady

of means" by "some "munificent testament" of her rich aunt (W, 170); of the "centripetal influence" of Henchard's love for Elizabeth (W, 368), and of his perception of the "contrarious inconsistencies" of Nature (W, 368), which is deonastic as well as prolix.

It seems worth noting here a small group of MS. alterations which, replacing a frequently indefinite and ponderous word of Latin origin with a simpler and more precise word (usually though not always of OE origin) serve to lighten the style of the novel. Where in the opening chapter Susan Henchard originally "derived no sociality" from her husband's company, in the later form she "enjoyed no sociality" (MS, 3); we read in the earlier text of the "motionlessness" of an old shepherd at the hiring fair, but in the corrected version of his "stillness" (MS, 231); the turmoil of Elizabeth's "sentiments" is later recast as the turmoil of her "feeling" (MS, 309), and the conversation of the rustics at Peter's Finger, described in the original MS. as being "audibly continued" from the sitting-room, in the final version simply "reached" the "ears" of the listener (MS, 376). Similarly a "matter of pure speculation" becomes a "matter of pure guesswork" (MS, 473), and Henchard's move to "attempt an explanation," a move to "begin an explanation" (MS, 468). Where Hardy

earlier wrote of Farfrae's "physical stature" he writes after revision of his "physical girt" (MS, 129); and replaces Henchard's "practical largeness of compreh[ension?]" with a "practical largeness of view" (MS, 273). Again, after his departure from Casterbridge Henchard originally "occupied" the precise standing of twenty-four years earlier, but in the later form he "found himself" there (MS, 458); he is now described as "discarding" rather than "abjuring" his shabby-genteel suit and silk hat (MS, 448), and is unable now to "call up" rather than "summon" music to his aid (MS, 427^V).

These revisions may best be seen as offering further evidence of Hardy's search for a more concrete and accurate form of expression and not, as they might at first appear, evidence of a concern to naturalize vocabulary. Indeed it will be seen from the next and much larger group of changes--namely, those which promote a greater formality in diction--the introduction of words of Latin origin forms a typical trend in MS. composition.¹

Virtually all remaining stylistic revisions in MS. fall

¹ The same trend is apparent in stylistic revision of the Native: "...at the decisive manuscript stage of composition, the natural bias of Hardy's prose was Latinistic. The almost invariable tendency of his revision was, in fact, to Latinize his vocabulary." J. Paterson, Making, p. 137.

into two major patterns of development: the first consists of changes through which Hardy seeks to formalize his diction, and which most frequently affect the expository and analytical passages of narration; the second consists of changes which serve to increase the figurative content of the narrator's language; their effect being seen most frequently in the descriptive prose of the novel.

Both patterns may best be understood in conjunction with a third type of stylistic revision, namely, the alterations in dialogue; for the effect of all three groups is to reinforce the distinction between different levels of narrative style. Now MS. revisions in dialogue have been discussed elsewhere in this thesis and it is necessary here only to mention the major trends: we have seen, for instance, corrections which serve to differentiate one character from another--those which increase the Scots element of Farfrae's language; those which reinforce the characteristic features of the rustic idiom, and those which work in the direction of standardizing the language of the major figures; and corrections which on the other hand serve to differentiate the language of the characters from that of their creator--the move towards greater simplicity in diction and syntax, and the attempt in the presentation of reported speech to reproduce

the idiom of the character's thought. Now the first group of revisions to be discussed here further enforce the distinction between the generally familiar style of dialogue and that of the formal, abstract, and frequently weighty style of exposition and analysis; revisions in the second group reinforce a further aspect of narrative style; namely the vigorous and imaginative tone of descriptive prose.

Hardy reinforces the formal element in his diction in a variety of ways, the chief of these being the introduction of abstract and erudite vocabulary--archaic and unusual words, foreign words and phrases, and learned allusions. His aim seems most frequently to be that of adding greater dignity to the prose style and of rendering it a more suitable vehicle for the high seriousness of the novel's theme. The use of formal language serves further to reinforce the distance between the narrator and his fictional creations, and is thus in accord with the dominant status of the narrator of The Mayor--that of a carefully assumed detachment in the presentation of events.

First, a small group of changes which serve to remove occasional traces of slanginess in Hardy's language. We read in Chapter xxi of the original MS., for example, that

Lucetta's stone mansion was "being done up," but in the revised text that it was "undergoing repair" (MS, 200); previously Elizabeth was unable "to get over" the discovery of the dead goldfinch, but in the corrected version she is unable "to forget" the incident (MS, 470); while an earlier description of Elizabeth as "looking refreshed by her nap" is later recast as "exhibiting a generally refreshed air" (MS, 426).

However such revisions are far from typical of Hardy's method of composition, and represent the most extreme lapses in a style whose natural bias is rather one of stiff formality. The most widespread type of change in this category reveals Hardy's concern to remove from his expository and analytical prose, traces of the informal and colloquial, and to substitute the plain by the more formal expression. Thus we read of Henchard's first impression of the now prosperous Lucetta:

transubstantiated by her change of position
 ...she seemed so ~~very ladylike, luxurious, and monied~~...
 (MS, 251)

and several paragraphs later when she thanks Henchard politely for his complimentary remarks:

"I am greatly obliged to you for all that," said she,
~~rather with an air of speaking ritual~~
~~as if she were not so particularly obliged~~ (MS, 253)

Similar revision appears in Chapter xxvii when the narrator

comments on the importance to the local peasantry of fair harvest weather:

Their impulse was well-nigh
 <They felt inclined> to prostrate themselves in lamentation before untimely rains and tempests ... (MS, 264)

and in his description of a local inn, later in the tale: Peter's Finger was the church of Mixen Lane.

was centrally situate
 It <stood about half-way up>... (MS, 371)

and of the pose typically adopted by the prostitutes of Mixen Lane:

a demeanour which lent
 ...their knuckles being mostly on their hips, <giving> them the aspect of two-handled mugs ... (MS, 370)

and again (ch. xl) of the encounter with the Scotsman on Yalbury Hill, where Henchard senses the drift of his adversary's thoughts:

Henchard could almost feel this view of things in course
 <in the act of passage of passing> through Farfrae's mind. (MS, 412)

Much of the emendation here consists of single-word changes: "coating of dust" is altered to "hoar of dust" (MS, 1), and "travellers" to "rovers and sojourners" (MS, 453); Elizabeth earlier "put on" a plain dress, whereas she later "arrayed herself" in one (MS, 310), and rain is now described as "smiting" rather than "pelting" the earth (MS, 149).

By far the greatest number of changes involve the

substitution of a vernacular word for one of Latin origin: "well-settled down" is replaced by "well-established" (MS, 331); Henchard and Farfrae originally "stand ...talking" in the hay-loft whereas they later "stand ...in conversation" (MS, 340); "to sit at petty sessions" becomes "to attend petty sessions" (MS, 284); "pull" is replaced by "traction" (MS, 232), "like" by "resembling" (MS, 14), and "speed" by "rapidity" (MS, 435). The town band's "prodigality of drum" becomes a "prodigality of percussion-notes" (MS, 349) and the "blow" of the bull's horns against a wall, an "impact" (MS, 294), while for "indoor finesse" we now read "domestic finesse" (MS, 161) and for "outer circumstance" read " exterior circumstance" (MS, 260).

Other amendments in this group are less successful. Where we had first read that Elizabeth was "in the habit of taking out a cup of cider ...to Nance Mockridge" we now read that she was "accustomed of an afternoon to take out a cup of cider ..." (MS, 190), the result of which is an awkward blend of formal diction with colloquial syntax; while the substitution of "abodes" for "houses" (MS, 39) seems uncomfortably genteel. The most common failure with this type of revision is the heaviness it frequently produces. We read in Chapter xxxii that rumour of Farfrae's promotion to the mayoralty has reawakened Henchard's

jealousy of the younger man; and where the narrator originally described the news as "the first stimulus" to Henchard's once hostile opinion, he refers to it in the corrected text as "a reviviscent breath" (MS, 327)--far from producing an effect of majestic impressiveness, the language here merely becomes pompous. A similar trend is evident in the scene of Lucetta's meeting with Henchard at the Ring (ch. xxxv): according to the unrevised MS. the Amphitheatre "contained not a soul," but in the final form it was "emphatic in the absence of every living thing" (MS, 359); Lucetta's "charming appearance" becomes her "charming lineaments" (MS, 359); for the "daily setting" of the sun we now read of its "diurnal setting" (MS, 256), while Henchard's heart, described earlier as being in "a swollen state" finally becomes "exacerbated" (MS, 454). And when Hardy expands as follows the already abstruse account of Henchard's wandering by the gloomy river bank, in a mood of despair:

The lugubrious harmony of the spot with his domestic situation was too perfect for him, impatient of effects, and adumbrations ~~and~~ scenes. (MS, 184)

he merely adds confusion to ambiguity.

Further attempts to elevate style are seen in the introduction of a small number of foreign words and phrases, and occasional learned allusions into the text; the success

of which--as with so many of Hardy's stylistic traits-- is mixed. In his description of the destitute figures haunting the two bridges at the eastern end of Casterbridge Hardy previously referred to "the characters" standing on the remoter bridge, but he speaks after revision of "the miserables" [sic] (MS, 319)--a replacement which seems quite successfully to add a note of compassion to an otherwise apparently impersonal account. It is thoroughly characteristic of Hardy's inconsistency in matters of style that he should introduce French and Latin words into dialogue for comic effect--thus Constable Stubberd complains "'Tis tempting 'em [the wrongdoers] to commit felo de se upon us, and that would be the death of the perpetrator ...'" (W, 323); or to indicate affectation-- *Lucetta* for example refers to Henchard as "mon ami" and writes of her "étourderie" (W, 168)--while at the same time importing foreign words into his narrative style with the perfectly serious intention of elevating it. Two examples of this practice deserve mention. In Chapter xxxvii Hardy first wrote in reference to the royal visit that the citizens of Casterbridge had decided "to make the most of an unwonted occasion," but after revision he writes that they decided "to make a thorough fête carillonnée of the unwonted occasion" (MS, 379)--a quite needless and pedantic

substitution for "High Festival." Also pedantic yet justified perhaps as being more explanatory than the original reading is the introduction of the allusive "sollicitus timor" to describe Henchard's state of mind after his reunion with Elizabeth: according to the earlier text the "solicitous dependence into which he had declined ... denaturalized him"; according to the later form, however, "the sollicitus timor of his state--the dependence upon Elizabeth's regard into which he had declined ...denaturalized him" (MS, 440).¹

The attempt to dignify language also includes the occasional introduction of learned allusion; a tendency twice apparent in the scene of Henchard's wandering by the river-side after his discovery of Elizabeth's parentage (ch. xix). The first addition appears in the description of the north eastern end of Casterbridge: we read in the original MS. that here "The river ran beneath a low cliff ...," but in the corrected form the description is elaborated: "The river--slow, noiseless, and dark--the Schwartzwasser of Casterbridge--ran beneath a low cliff ..." (MS, 183). Now this seems to achieve an effect the opposite

¹ The line is revised in serial proof as "the sollicitus timor of his love" (G, 510). Cf. Ovid's Heroides, I.xii:

"res est solliciti plena timoris amor."

of that intended: the allusion in German name-form to a relatively unfamiliar river in North Poland¹ could almost be defended on the grounds of pedantic humour; yet the intention here can hardly be that of comic deflation, for the handling of setting in this scene is largely metaphorical, the mournful atmosphere of the region harmonizing with the deep misery felt by Henchard; and if the allusion is intended as humorous, it is surely misplaced. It seems more likely that in identifying one river with the other, Hardy's intention is to ennoble and to extend the significance of the Wessex setting; the effect, however, is simply one of bombast.

By contrast, an allusion introduced earlier on the same leaf of the MS. seems apt and effective. In the text prior to revision the narrator comments on Henchard's anguish as follows:

The mockery in it all was that he should have no sooner taught a girl to claim the shelter of his paternity than he discovered her to have no kinship with him.

This ironical sequence of things angered him like an impish trick from a fellow-creature.... (MS, 183)

¹ Viz. the Czarnawoda, ~~in North Poland~~, flowing SSE to the Vistula. (Hardy's German spelling is corrected to "Schwarzwasser" in 1886, I, 241.) Cf. the effective, humorous use of geographical allusion in the description of a local sheep fair in ch. 1 of Madding Crowd: "Greenhill was the Nijni Novgorod of South Wessex ..." (p. 386).

On revising these lines Hardy added a sentence in which the "impish trick" is vividly illustrated, the MS. in its final form now continuing: "Like Prester John's his table had been spread, and infernal harpies had snatched up the food" (MS, 183).¹ Since the depths of Henchard's emotional response and in particular his capacity for suffering have by this stage in the narrative been fully and convincingly realized, the comparison which this simile introduces, far from dwarfing Henchard's suffering, serves rather to intensify it. (The image, it may be noted, forms one of a series of allusions by which Henchard's suffering is universalized through comparison with heroic figures from history and myth.)²

Further stylistic revision in this section includes a number of minor adjustments in the rhetoric of The Mayor. Textual changes in the major patterns of the novel's imagery have been discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, and the main concern here will be with the

¹ An allusion to the mythical Christian priest and monarch supposed, in medieval Europe, to have reigned over a vast empire somewhere in Asia. The aspect of the legend alluded to here refers to the divine punishment inflicted on Prester John for attempting to extend his dominions to Paradise itself, and is to be found in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, Canto xxxiii, sts. cvii-cxxv.

² These include references to: Cain, Samson, Saul, Job, Bellerophon, Achilles, Faust, Othello, Napoleon. See Appendix V.

introduction of a small number of rhetoric^{al} devices, and with the elaboration of a number of individual images already present within the MS.

The first group of changes concern the ordering of syntax to produce or to reinforce antithetical balance. Evidence of this is to be seen in the first line of f. 256 where two brief insertions heighten the contrast drawn between the nature of the rival affections of Farfrae and Henchard for Lucetta Templeman: "[On Farfrae's] side it was the passion of youth: on Henchard's the stimulated coveting of maturer age," the narrator had previously remarked, but "[On Farfrae's] side it was the unforced passion of youth: on Henchard's the artificially stimulated coveting of maturer age" he remarks in the corrected form (MS, 256). A similar device is added in the next chapter in order to underscore Henchard's intuitive suspicion of his rival: in the original text the Mayor leaves Lucetta's house "without a grain of proof that the counter-attraction was Farfrae," whereas after revision he leaves "with a ton of conjecture, though without a grain of proof...." (MS, 260).

This type of amendment appears elsewhere in the narrative. In a comparison between the clientele of the two local inns the narrator comments as follows: "The company at the

King of Prussia were persons of quality in comparison with the company which gathered here [Peter's Finger]; he had originally continued: "though it must be admitted that a fringe of the King's party touched the other at times." In the emended version however he remarks: "...it must be admitted that the lowest fringe of the King's party touched the crest of Peter's at points" (MS, 371). A further example occurs in the scene following the hay-loft fight between Henchard and Farfrae (ch. xxxviii) where in "the abandonment of remorse" Henchard flings himself on to a pile of sacks in a back corner of the room. In the earlier MS. form the narrative then continues: "So thoroughly subdued was he that he remained on the sacks in a crouching attitude, unusual for a man, and for such a man. It sat tragically on the figure of so stern a piece of virility." In the corrected text, however, a minor amendment in the second sentence serves to reinforce the intensity of Henchard's self-reproach, for we now read that "Its womanliness sat tragically on the figure of so stern a piece of virility" (MS, 396).

The next group of MS. additions relate to Hardy's use of alliteration--a device which he frequently employed for euphony in passages of descriptive prose. The point is perhaps best illustrated by citing amendments carried out

on a single passage of narrative description, and hence all quotations in this paragraph refer to the authorial account on ff. 368-369 of the notorious Mixen Lane. We read before revision, of the "Farm-labourers and mechanics who combined a little poaching with their farming, and a little brawling with their poaching . . .," but in the emended text, of "Farm-labourers and other peasants, who combined a little poaching with their farming, and a little brawling and bibbing with their poaching . . ." (MS, 368); and while the next sentence but one had first referred to "The lane and its surrounding thicket of cottages," it refers later to "The lane and its surrounding thicket of thatched cottages"; "the moist fog/[gy?]/muddy lowland" is rephrased as "the moist and misty lowland" (MS, 368); and where several lines later the lane was originally described as a "mildewed leaf in the fair and quaint Casterbridge plant," it is described in the final form--with an improvement in both rhythm and metaphor--as a "mildewed leaf in the fair and flourishing Casterbridge plant" (MS, 369).

Further revision of figurative language concerns Hardy's use of metaphor and simile. First, two minor amendments which illustrate the use of animistic imagery--a device

of which Hardy was particularly fond.¹ In the now cancelled lines at the top of f. 38, for example, the introductory description of Casterbridge (ch. iv) refers to the

towers, gables, chimneys, and casements, one of which here and there flashed back the coppery fire they caught from the belt of sun-lit cloud in the west.

whereas after revision it refers to the

towers, gables, chimneys, and casements. The highest glazings shone bleared and bloodshot with the coppery fire they caught from the belt of sun-lit cloud in the west. (MS, 38)

--a description in which the investment of the inanimate with unpleasant human attributes adds an ominous touch to the reader's first view of the town. A similar hint of foreboding is added several pages later in the passage which follows the description of the chiming of the church clock. According to the earlier MS. "Other clocks struck eight from time to time--one from the gable of an alms-house ..."; according to the later form: "Other clocks struck eight from time to time--one gloomily from the gaol, another from the gable of an alms-house ..." (MS, 41).

Other changes in this section serve to intensify description through the addition of visual imagery. When picturing the unearthed remains of a Roman soldier (ch. xi)

¹ In a diary entry dated 10 Feb. 1897 Hardy wrote thus: "In spite of myself I cannot help noticing countenances and tempers in objects of scenery, e.g. trees, hills, houses." (Life, p. 285)

the narrator previously remarked that "He was mostly found lying on his side, in an oval scoop in the chalk, well preserved by the time" After correction, however, the rather indefinite final phrase is replaced by an apt and graphic simile: "He was mostly found lying on his side, in an oval scoop in the chalk, like a chicken in its shell ..." (MS, 99). And where, in the scene of Henchard's discovery of Elizabeth's parentage Hardy had at first described Henchard's immediate response to his late wife's letter as follows: "Her husband regarded the paper steadfastly," in the emended form he replaces the adverb with an imaginative simile in which Henchard's abstracted manner is clearly and concretely realized: "Her husband regarded the paper as if it were a window pane through which he saw for miles" (MS, 181).

Finally two instances of Hardy's steady and consistent practice of improving and elaborating images present within the text prior to revision. The first example appears in the description of the chiming of the Casterbridge clocks:

...a row of ~~fine~~ ^{varnished} tall ^{case-}clocks from the interior of
 of a watchmaker's shop ^{one after another} joined in ^{just as} the shutters
 were enclosing them, like ^a ~~the~~ row of actors ~~preceding~~
^{delivering their final speeches before}
 ^ the fall of the curtain ... (MS, 41)

The second example is to be seen in the account of the prehistoric barrows on Egdon Heath (ch. xlv) where several additions in the final MS. reinforce the visual quality of the image:

The roundly
 (Their) tumuli, dun and shagged with heather, jutt^{ed} into
 from the hill above, as though they were the full breasts of
 the sky ^{like breasts of} Diana Multimammia ^{...}
 herself supinely
 extended there

(MS, 473)¹

Two minor trends, both of which are present in post-MS. phases of revision, complete the stylistic changes made at this stage of composition. Hardy's aim in the first group is to remove instances of the jarring officialese that often mars the language of the Wessex novels; his aim in the second group is the removal of occasional instances of inadvertent repetition. Several examples in the first group may be cited. Thus an awkwardly constructed sentence on f. 82--"The reason of this thought was the following"--is first recast as "The thought had moulded itself out of the following ...," and further improved with its final revision: "The simple thought ...

¹ Evidently one of Hardy's favourite images; cf. Tess, ch. xlii, 358: "...the irregular chalk table-land or plateau, bosomed with semi-globular tumuli--as if Cybele the Many-breasted were supinely extended there ..."; and also "The Paphian Ball": "And dark Rainbarrow with its dead/Bulged like a supine negress' breast/ Against Clyffe-Clump's faint far-off crest." (Collected Poems, 776)

had moulded itself out of the following little fact ..."
 (MS, 82). Similar cancellations occur later in the
 narrative:

He would often weigh and consider for hours together
 the meaning of such and such a deed or phrase of hers,
 when a blunt settling question would formerly have been
 his first instinct ~~(in the case)~~ (MS, 440)

...he hastened indoors rather more quickly ...than he
 had been in the habit of doing for some time ~~(previous)~~
 (MS, 469)

She had not been able to forget it ~~[the incident]~~ for
 days ...and now when the matter had been nearly for-
 gotten it was revived ~~(as above)~~ ^{again} (MS, 470)

In ascending any particular hill he ascertained the
 bearings ~~(of that town therefrom)~~ ^{as nearly as he could} by means of the sun,
 moon, or stars ... (MS, 457)

All these revisions are undoubtedly improvements and
 would seem to suggest Hardy's belated recognition of a
 bad stylistic trait; yet further investigation of this
 aspect of Hardy's style reveals the inconsistency in his
 methods of revision: for not only are many glaring examples
 of this kind of vocabulary left uncorrected from the
 earliest MS. form, but the amount of officialese intro-
 duced in revision slightly outweighs the amount eliminated.
 Several examples of this practice appear, interestingly,
 in revision whose express purpose is to improve style.
 Commenting on the rustics' motive for organizing the
 skimmington, for instance, the narrator had previously

referred to

The tempting prospect of putting to the blush people in authority--that supreme and piquant enjoyment of the masses ...

in the final form however he refers to

The tempting prospect of putting ^{to} the blush people who stand at the head of affairs--that supreme and piquant enjoyment of those who writhe under the heel of the same ... (MS, 433)

Although the purpose of these two qualifying clauses is presumably to enforce the contrast between the ruler and the ruled, the chief impact is merely one of the ungainly juxtaposition of figurative and pedestrian--a typical illustration of Hardy's "mismarrying" of different varieties of diction.¹ The author's sense of congruity deserts him on several similar occasions in MS. revision. In a passage describing Henchard's dealings with the farmers of Durnover (ch. xiv) the author's search for greater specification leads him to rephrase a reference to the Mayor's "arrangements ...for getting home corn from thence" as "arrangements ...for getting home corn from one of the aforesaid farms" (MS, 131); and where he first wrote of "two mornings this week," he now substitutes "two mornings in the week under notice" (MS, 139). A

¹ In his essay "Hardy the Poet," Southern Review, VI (1940), 88, F. R. Leavis wrote of "the gauche unshrinking mismarriages--group-mismarriages--of his [Hardy's] diction, in which, with naïf aplomb, he takes as they come the romantic-poetical, the prosaic-banal, the stilted literary, the colloquial, the archaistic, the erudite, the technical, the dialect word, the brand-new Hardy coinage."

similar gaffe appears in the emended description of Elizabeth's developing interest in her own appearance. According to the original narrative "she ordered the dress; and then found she had no sunshade to go with the dress"; in his concern to avoid repetition, however, Hardy can produce no better substitute than "she ordered the requisite article ..." (MS, 136).

Further revision reveals Hardy's perverse attraction for archaic adverbs (the first chapter alone contains three examples of this).¹ When Elizabeth tells Lucetta of her past history (ch. xx), we read in the earlier MS. that "the sale at the fair had no part in it," but after revision that "the sale at the fair had no part therein" (MS, 198); the narrator originally spoke of the woman whom Henchard "had been deeming as almost his property," but later speaks of "her whom he had hitherto been deeming ..." (MS, 251), and he explains the rustic characters' interest in the fortunes of Elizabeth and Farfrae not as earlier with reference to their "visions of festive treatment at their hands," but rather to their "visions of festive treatment at their hands hereafter"

¹ Viz: "his dinner-bag suspended therefrom" (G, 17); "they entered the furmity-booth forthwith" (G, 18); "the aspect of all therein" (G, 18). Quotations have been taken from the serial text, since MS. evidence is incomplete.

(MS, 445), while the clause originally beginning "the green door leading from Farf[r]ae's garden?" is now rephrased as "...Farfrae's garden; and the green door leading therefrom" (MS, 391).

Lastly the group of minor corrections whose purpose is to eliminate inadvertent repetition:

...he had ^{affixed} ~~fastened~~ the seals without an impression, it never occurring to him that the efficacy of such a fastening depended on this. (MS, 367)

She ^{underwent} ~~had undergone~~ her year ~~of imprisonment~~ and had worn a martyr's countenance ever since ... (MS, 371)

...the hens had begun to cackle from the ^{outhouses} ~~yards~~ When within a few yards of Farfrae's door ... (MS, 418)

Undue repetition in sound is also removed:

...the sight of several horses crossing their necks and rubbing each other lovingly as they waited ^{in patience} ~~patiently~~ to be harnessed ... (MS, 18)

...the trampling ~~of feet~~ died out like the ^{rustle} ~~rustling~~ of a spent wind. (MS, 403)

Revision of this kind is fairly common in MS. and present in all subsequent phases of composition (at least fifty corrections of this type are made after the completion of the MS). Further examples will not be cited, although it seems worth noting that after four stages of composition and over thirty instances of this type of amendment, the second edition of The Mayor still contains the following

repetition within a mere five sentences of dialogue:

"What is his exact relation to us, mother? I have never clearly had it told me."

"He is, or was ...a relation by marriage"

"That's exactly what you have said a score of times before! ...He's not a near relation, I suppose?" (87, 30)

--a passage which remains uncorrected until the edition of 1895, when the following improvement is introduced:

"What is his exact kin to us, mother?"

"He is, or was ...a connection by marriage"

"He's not a near relation, I suppose?" (0, 23)

ii) Revision in serial proof

An examination of the variant readings between MS. and Graphic text reveals some 220 stylistic changes--just over two thirds of all revisions in the English serial proof. A small number of these changes are reversions to an earlier MS. reading--the gazer who in the revised MS. blinks "like the watcher at the disappearance of Ravenswood" (MS, 371), in the serial blinks "like Colonel Ashton at the disappearance of Ravenswood"--the original MS. reading (MS, 371); G, 422);¹ while Henchard's plea to Elizabeth: "'don't give all your thought to him ∟Newson∟'"

¹ The allusion is to Scott's Bride of Lammermoor, ch. xxxvi--a novel, incidentally, cited in Hardy's essay "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" as being "an almost perfect specimen of ∟narrative∟ form" (Orel, p. 121).

(MS, 467-468) reverts to the earlier reading "'don't give all your heart to him'" (MS, 467-468; G, 539).¹ A second group of amendments (approximately one fifth of all stylistic changes in serial proof) constitute a further reworking of material already revised. Two minor examples should illustrate the point: the building in Casterbridge High Street, described in the original MS. simply as "a church," and in the final MS. as "a hoary church" (MS, 40), is now defined as "a grizzled church" (G, 42); while the disinterred Roman soldier in Chapter xi, described first as "ancient," and then as "prone" (MS, 99), becomes "tall" in the Graphic version (G, 134). Though admittedly of minor importance both types of revision seem worth noting, for they represent typical features of Hardy's creative method, and are present at all stages of the novel's history.

Practically all remaining revisions in serial proof represent trends already established in MS.; practically all mark improvements on earlier readings; and as before, changes in diction far outnumber those in syntax.

Several corrections, for example, combine compression in syntax with the removal of repetition: in his description

¹ Yet neither Graphic reading represents the final form: "Colonel Ashton" is shortened to "Ashton" in 1886 (II, 173), while "don't give all your heart" reverts to the MS. revision "don't give all your thought" in 1895 (396).

of Susan Henchard (ch. v), the narrator had previously remarked:

Watching him and thus thinking of past times, she became so moved that she shrank back against the jamb of the deep doorway to which the steps gave access, the shadow from which conveniently hid her features. (MS, 46)

in the serial however the final clause is replaced, and we now read that

...she shrank back against the jamb of the deep doorway to which the steps gave access, the shadow from it conveniently hiding her features. (G, 43)

A similar trend is apparent in Chapter xxii, where the cumbersome syntax of the MS. reading--

It was by no means with the sense of oppression that he would once have experienced at the thought that he regarded the moral necessity now ... (MS, 212)

is recast:

It was by no means with the oppression that would once have accompanied the thought that he regarded the moral necessity now ... (G, 269)

Further revisions in syntax include the rephrasing of clumsily qualified nouns: thus "...her generally steeped aspect showed her to be no native of the country-side ..." (MS, 284-285) changes to "The steeped aspect of the woman as a whole showed her to be no native ..." (G, 342), and "bygone perspective toys" (MS, 292) changes to "perspective toys of yore" (G, 342). Revision of a different kind appears in Chapter xxxiv. In two lines of reported speech on f. 349 of the final MS. we read: "What had become of those letters, Lucetta asked herself? After they

had so strangely passed into Donald's hands?"; in the serial the adverb in the second sentence is transposed: "after they passed so strangely in Donald's hands?" (G, 398). The change, which produces a more colloquial syntax, suggests Hardy's concern to represent more literally the idiom of Lucetta's thought.

By far the most widespread features of the proof revisions in style consist of the move towards a more particularized and concrete diction, and the search for greater simplicity of expression. One revision in the first category appears in the opening sentence of Chapter v where Hardy exchanges the earlier abstract description of the town band's "awakening the echoes" with its playing (MS, 43) for the more concrete one of "shaking the window-panes" (G, 42); while other changes work in the direction of fuller definition, the generalized term being replaced by the more specific. Thus the "long regime of judgment" under which Henchard achieves social prominence (MS, 160) is particularized in the serial text as a "long reign of self-control" (G, 191), and his "still look of thought" (MS, 143), more readily pictured as a "fixed look of thought" (G, 190). In the MS. Farfrae had merely "reviewed things from a subsequent point of view" (MS, 342), whereas he later "revised impressions . . ."

(G, 398); the rain on the day of public rejoicing previously fell "in measure to which no end could be prognosticated" (MS, 149); it now falls "in torrents to which no end ..." (G, 190), and the "faint shine of the fire" (MS, 244) becomes the "faint blink of the fire" (G, 294).

With the introduction of simpler and often more colloquial words Hardy's natural tendency towards stiff and formal diction is curbed on several occasions. Originally he had written of "notional affinity" (MS, 362) but he now writes of an "affinity of ideas" (G, 422), and replaces "exclamations of amazement" (MS, 304) with "exclamations of surprise" (G, 373), while a "metamorphic phrase" (MS, 472) now becomes a "radical phrase" (G, 539). Where, moreover, the hay-trusser's wife had formerly enjoyed no "sociality" from her husband's presence (MS, 3), she now enjoys no "society" (G, 17), and when in the serial text Henchard's receives a letter from Lucetta, he recognizes the woman's "well-known characters" (G, 269) and not, as in the MS, her "well-known character" (MS, 211). The typical pose of the prostitutes in Mixen Lane, described in MS. revision as a "demeanour" (MS, 370) is now described as an "attitude" (G, 422); the man whom Farfrae once "deemed" undisciplined (MS, 146) he now "thought" undisciplined (G, 190), and where in the earlier text

the yoking together of the words...

Henchard had been "deeming [Lucetta]" as almost his property" (MS, 251) in the Graphic he was "dreaming" of her thus (G, 294).

Further improvements in serial proof continue the MS. trend of removing elements of officialese. Thus the "week under notice"--added, as we have seen, in the MS. (f. 139)--is now revised as the "present week" (G, 163); a reference to "conjectures ...based on things casually heard and seen to the effect that Henchard and her mother might have been lovers ..." (MS, 129) is rephrased as "conjectures ...based on things casually heard and seen--mere guesses that Henchard and her mother ..." (G, 162); while in Chapter xxxvi "expiry of sentences" (MS, 372) becomes "lapse of sentences" (G, 422). Typical however of the inconsistency in Hardy's stylistic revision is the amendment earlier in the same chapter, of a comment on the unfortunate "liviers" or lifeholders who have drifted into Mixen Lane--people according to the MS., "whose roll of lives having expired were compelled to quit [their rural homes]" (MS, 370). On reviewing the text Hardy evidently felt the term required fuller definition, for he made the following alteration: "...lifeholders--those whose roof-trees had fallen with the expiry of their term of holding, compelling them to quit ..." (G, 422). The yoking together of the synecdoche "roof-trees"

with the flat legal phraseology of "lifeholders" and "expiry of their term of holding" provides further illustration of that "loss of the sense of local and historical perspective" mentioned earlier. This lapse, incidentally, is partially remedied in the preparation for the first edition where, defining the "liviers" still further, the author now writes of the "liviers, or lifeholders--copyholders, and others whose roof-trees had fallen for some reason or other, compelling them to quit ..." (86, II, 172).¹

Also included in serial proof revision are several minor improvements in the novel's imagery. In Chapter xvii the narrator of the MS. had described the trade rivalry between Farfrae and Henchard as "Northern insight matched against Southern doggedness--the rapier against the bludgeon ..." (MS, 164), but in the serial the comment receives two minor corrections which serve to intensify the opposition of nationalities: "Southern" is replaced by "Southron"² and "the rapier against the bludgeon" by

¹ Several other instances of officialese are also removed in the reworking of the serial text: "suspended therefrom" (G, 17) changes to "suspended from it" (86, I, 5); "neither of the pedestrians under notice" (G, 17) to "neither of our pedestrians" (86, I, 7); "A conjecture that such might be the case" (G, 270) to "A conjecture that her visitor might be some other person" (86, I, 298).

² i.e. "Southern; esp. English as distinguished from Scottish" (OED).

"the dirk against the cudgel" (G, 191)--a change in which rhythm is also improved. Further emendation appears in Chapter xxxvi where the image of blight in Hardy's description of Mixen Lane--"this mildewed leaf in the fair and flourishing Casterbridge plant" (MS, 369)--is enlivened with the rephrasing "sturdy and flourishing Casterbridge plant" (G, 422).

The final revision examined in this section illustrates Hardy's attempt to improve his expression of abstract ideas. This is seen in Chapter xxxv where, commenting on the perplexity felt by Lucetta over Henchard's motive in reading to Farfrae (without revealing the authorship) a bundle of her love letters, the narrator offers a generalization upon human motives. In MS., as in final text, he begins thus: "...for in such cases we attribute to an enemy a power of consistent action which we never find in ourselves or in our friends" (MS, 357). Now the second part of the sentence undergoes considerable change before achieving its final form. In contrast with the incisive opening remark, the rest of the comment, in the original MS., lapses into the vague and indefinite:

Human weakness is the last quality we expect in him who is so very weak as to scheme against us. (MS, 357)

When rephrased in the final MS. form the concept is expressed with even less precision:

and forget that human nature is no unlikely quality
in one who is so very human as to scheme against us.
(MS, 357)

In his third and final attempt, Hardy abandons the verbal
wooliness of previous readings and develops the two
discrete ideas blanketed together under "human" and
"human nature": in its present form the sentence now
reads:

...for in such cases we attribute to an enemy a power
of consistent action which we never find in ourselves
or in our friends; and forget that abortive efforts
from want of heart are as possible to revenge as to
generosity. (G, 421)

--a clear and precise expression of an observation that
is both sound and appropriate in the context of the
narrative.

iii) Revision in 1886-87¹

Of the 800 or so variant readings between the serial
and the first edition, slightly less than one half re-
present changes in style. The principle of economy which
forms so marked a feature in other areas of serial revision
forms the dominant characteristic of the revisions in
style. The removal of redundancies and the compression

¹ I have not thought it necessary to devote a separate
section to the stylistic revisions for the 1887 edition;
there are some 50 of these changes, approximately half of
which involve changes in dialogue (already discussed in
earlier chapters), and the remainder continue trends
present in the 1886 revision, several examples of which
have been included where relevant in this section.

of detail evident in the 1886 revision of plot, authorial comment, and dialogue, governs the reworking of the prose style itself. Several typical examples of compression in style appear in the opening chapters of the novel:¹

They were plainly but not ill clad, though the thick hoar of dust which had accumulated on their shoes and garments from an obviously long journey lent a disadvantageous shabbiness to their appearance just now [that did not belong to it in ordinary times]. (86, I, 1)

The chief--almost the only--attraction of the young woman's face was [what was imparted to it by] its mobility. (86, I, 3)

...he thrust his hand into his coat pocket. A rustling revealed [followed the act, and he discovered] the sailor's bank-note ... (86, I, 25)

Similar revision is seen in the elimination of superfluous detail. According to the serial the refreshment tent in the fairground at Weydon-Priors was "formed of new, milk-hued canvas, now kindled to orange on its western face, and bore flags on its summit" (G, 18). The preceding sentence, however, had already described the tent as "visible in the ochreous haze of expiring sunlight," and so the description in the edition of 1886 is slightly reduced: "[It] was formed of new, milk-hued canvas, and bore red flags on its summit ..." (86, I, 8).

¹ In the quotations immediately below and in others in this section material deleted in the preparation of the 1886 text is enclosed in square brackets ([]).

Changes of this kind appear frequently throughout the revised Graphic text and are as common to passages of narrative exposition as to those of set description. A few examples from each category should illustrate the general trend. In Chapter ix Elizabeth is sent to deliver a message to Henchard, and her confusion on meeting the Mayor's young manager instead of the Mayor himself, is presented in the serial version with verbosity and redundancy:

Having toned her feelings to meet Mr Henchard, and him alone, she was for the moment confounded by this apparition in place of him. She had come to say definite words, held in suspense on the tip of her tongue, and being confronted by the wrong auditor she could say nothing at all. (G, 102)

In the first edition this is neatly telescoped into a single sentence:

Having toned her feelings and arranged words on her lip for Mr. Henchard, and for him alone, she was for the moment confounded. (86, I, 116)

The trend is again apparent in the scene of Farfrae's ballad-singing (ch. viii). In the Graphic the lines depicting the incident contain two standard examples of pleonism, both of which are eliminated in the revised version:

The singer himself grew emotional [as he proceeded], till she could imagine [at last] a tear in his eye ... (86, I, 93) and where previously the text had continued: "When he had

concluded there was a burst of applause ..." (G, 101), the later edition states simply "There was a burst of applause ..." (86, I, 93).

Further revisions involve the compression of clauses and phrases into single words--for example, "She was in a very coming-in disposition for marriage; of that there could be no doubt" (G, 270) to "She was plainly in a very coming-on disposition for marriage" (86, I, 284), and of "a delicate acrobatic balance" (G, 294) to "a delicate poise" (86, II, 19). The stripping of overparticularized detail--carried out in the 1886 revision of a number of descriptive prose passages is well illustrated in Hardy's satirical picture of the local farmers at Casterbridge market:

Here they surged on this one day of the week, forming a little world of leggings, switches, and sample-bags; men of extensive stomachs, sloping like mountain sides [on which watch-chains meandered as rivulets]; men whose heads in walking swayed as the trees in November gales; who in conversing varied their attitudes much, lowering themselves by spreading their knees [so as to form a lozenge-like opening between them], and thrusting their hands into the pockets of remote inner jackets [the outer ones being inappreciatively flung-back for the purpose]. Their faces radiated tropical warmth; for though when at home their countenances varied with the seasons [turning bun-coloured in summer, in winter approaching the pink of dawn, and even occasionally purple or pale], their market-faces all the year round were glowing little fires.

...Some men were well-dressed; but the majority were careless in that respect, appearing in suits [not worth half-a-crown from a clothier's point of view but] which were historical records of their wearers' deeds ...

(G, 270; 86, I, 290-1)

Two smaller groups of changes in the 1886 text continue the now familiar move towards greater exactness and less ponderous expression. Thus the "implement" which the turnip-hoer carries on his shoulder (G, 17) is now described more specifically as a "hoe" (86, I, 5), and where Elizabeth ~~had~~ earlier "read and wrote" (G, 242), in the 1886 text she "read and took notes" (86, I, 252). In the serial the unhappy Whittle had merely "replied" to Farfrae's question (G, 189), but in the later text he "gibbered" (86, I, 187), while the landlord of the Three Mariners is now depicted as waiting on his customers "shoulder to shoulder" with his serving-maids (86, I, 77)-- a description which had first appeared rather indefinitely as "equally" (MS, 60) and without significant improvement in the serial as "on a par" (G, 70). Where, finally, in Chapter xxiv of the Graphic the town market place had been likened to "the regulation Open Place in spectacular dramas, where everything goes on that can possibly be interesting to the adjoining residents" (G, 293), the statement in the emended text is more explicit, referring instead to the Open Place "where the incidents that occur always happen to bear on the lives of the adjoining residents" (86, II, 1).

Similar revision ~~revision~~ is seen in the edition of 1887 where the description of the Amphitheatre as an "airy,

accessible, and interesting spot for assignations" (86, I, 131) is rephrased as an "airy, accessible, and sequestered spot for interviews" (87, 98)--the first amendment removing the vagueness of the earlier reading; the second, its assonance.

Revisions in the second group--those which move towards greater simplicity--include the removal of a number of French words: "gaucherie" (G, 102) changes to "inelegance" (86, I, 117) and "employe" [sic] (G, 450) to "journeyman" (86, II, 200). Less satisfactory however is the inelegant and inept correction of the already cumbersome description of Elizabeth as "en rapport with not a single contiguous thing" (G, 242) to "construed by not a single contiguous being" (86, I, 253). The trend is continued in 1887 where "contretemps" (86, I, 294) becomes "disaster" (87, 210) and Lucetta's reference to "gentilhommerie" disappears altogether (87, 202).

Pompous circumlocutions are also removed from the revised serial text. A phrase in Chapter xxxii intended, presumably, to denote a thoughtful expression, had described Farfrae as "arresting his facial movements" (G, 374) and is eliminated in the first edition (86, II, 116). An equally laboured description of facial expression had appeared earlier in the tale. Picturing Henchard's amazement, the narrator in the early MS. form wrote of the man's

"surface activities suddenly ceasing" and in the final MS. of "his facial activities suspended" (MS, 210). With a third rephrasing in 1886 the difficulty is resolved with the effective introduction of poetic diction: "'Where?' said Henchard, his face stilling" (86, I, 277). Revision of this kind continues in 1887 with a minor deletion in the scene at Durnover Granary where Farfrae offers to blow off the wheat husks covering Elizabeth's clothing. In all earlier texts "Donald Farfrae inflated his mouth and began blowing ..." (86, I, 177), but in 1887 he merely "began blowing" (87, 130).

The attempt seen earlier to elevate the language of the novel is also continued in this phase of composition. Hackneyed expressions are removed: Nance Mockridge's "A good laugh warms the cockles of my heart" (G, 425) now becomes "A good laugh warms my heart" (86, II, 182), and where Jopp previously responded to Grower's suspicious questioning "as if butter would not melt in his mouth" (G, 478), he replies in the later text "as if receiving the most singular news" (86, II, 223). A number of learned references are also introduced, Hardy conscious perhaps in preparing for book publication, of his more cultivated audience. Thus the chapter following Farfrae's reception of the royal visitor had originally begun:

The proceedings had been brief--to brief--to Lucetta;
but they had brought her a great triumph nevertheless
(G, 450)

in the 1886 text it begins:

The proceedings had been brief--too brief--to Lucetta,
whom an intoxicating Weltlust had fairly mastered; but
they had brought a great triumph ... (86, II, 198)

--the very pomposity of which seems to successfully
deflate Lucetta's extravagant social pretensions, the
degree of her seduction by "worldly pleasure" receiving
graphic illustration when the narrative continues: "...the
chit-chat she had overheard, that her husband might
possibly receive the honour of a knighthood, though idle
to a degree, seemed not the wildest vision ..." (86, II,
198). By contrast the amendment in an earlier passage
recording the attention which Elizabeth's "budding
beauty" now attracts in Casterbridge--

...some said that her bygone simplicity was the art
that conceals art ... (G, 163)

--to:

...some said that her bygone simplicity was the art
that conceals art, the "delicate imposition" of Roche-
foucauld. (86, I, 181)¹

seems merely a display of learning; the epigram to which
Hardy refers being by no means a familiar saying.

¹ From Maximes, No. CCLXXXIX: "La simplicité affectée
est une imposture délicate."

Figurative language also receives attention in 1886. In the serial version of Chapter ix, for instance, the narrative description of Casterbridge High Street includes a rather wordy account of the shop-blinds overhanging the pavement. According to the Graphic these are so constructed as to give the passenger's hat a smart buffet off his head as from unseen hands, reviving recollections of the mysterious blows of Lord Cranstoun's goblin page and other memories of romantic lore. (G, 102)

After revision however the verbiage in the second half of the statement is pruned, the idea it embodies being merged into the simile from which it developed:

so constructed as to give the passenger's hat a smart buffet off his head as from the unseen hands of Cranstoun's Goblin Page, celebrated in romantic lore. (86, I, 112)¹

In Chapters xviii and xxxii images already present in the text undergo improvement. The narrator of the serial had depicted Elizabeth's response to her mother's illness as follows:

There came a shock which had been foreseen for some time by Elizabeth Jane, as the driver foresees the approaching jerk from some channel across his track. (G, 217)

¹ An allusion to the Page's taunting of the yeoman, Watt Tinlinn, during the celebrations of the betrothal of Lord Cranstoun and the fair Margaret of Branksome, in Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto vi, st. xix.

In the first edition this figure receives two slight corrections:

There came a shock which had been foreseen for some time by Elizabeth, as the box-passenger foresees the approaching jerk from some channel across the highway.
(86, I, 221)

By substituting "driver" with "box-passenger" Hardy removes from the second subject of the figure any measure of control over the course of events, and since the idea embodied in the first subject is that of the powerlessness felt by one who foresees the outcome of a serious illness, the effect of this correction is to produce a much closer correspondence between the two halves of the simile. The revision, it may be noted, is actually a reversion to an earlier reading, the figure in the MS. text having run:

~~passenger~~ driver
as the ~~gigman~~ foresees the approaching jerk from some
channel across the ^{way} ~~highway~~ (MS, 165)

A further refinement in imagery appears in the account of the social misfits haunting the two bridges at the end of the town. Describing the wishful-thinking practised by the "shabby-genteel" men on the second of the two bridges, the narrator of the Graphic remarks that those suffering from despised love would wish that "they were one of the courted Adonises in the country round" (G, 374); in the corrected text the image is slightly elaborated, and the

day dreams of the town failures made more extravagant, the victims now wishing that "they were some much-courted Adonis of county fame" (86, II, 113).

iv) Revision in 1895-1912

Changes in style constitute just over one half of all revisions in the last two phases of composition. The Osgood text contains some 250 stylistic corrections, well over half of which represent changes in dialogue, the major trends here being an increase in the dialectical element of speech. The remaining revisions generally continue major patterns in earlier phases. For example, diction is several times more particularized: in the earlier version of Chapter xlv Henchard did not sufficiently value himself to lessen his sufferings by "any active means" (G, 539), but in the uniform text these means are more closely identified, the phrase now referring instead to "strenuous appeal or elaborate argument" (O, 396); while the "covert words" previously directed towards Lucetta (87, 316) now change to "covert sneers" (O, 285). Greater simplicity is also introduced: Henchard's "sudden impassioned resolve" (G, 539) becomes a "sudden reckless determination" (O, 390)--a partial return to the MS. reading "sudden reckless resolve" (f. 461); in the second edition Susan Henchard "ascended in her daughter's rear" for a better view of the Mayoral dinner

(87, 46), but in the Osgood text she "stepped up to her daughter's side" (0, 37); while in Chapter xix the narrator's description of a "flexuous acrobatic flame" (87, 166) becomes a "restless, acrobatic flame" (0, 145). Revisions for the uniform edition also reveal the author's concern for greater economy of statement. In all texts before 1895 the influence of the royal visit penetrated to the depths of Casterbridge society "so sensibly as to cut into the midst of the preparations for the skimmington" (87, 347); in the Osgood version the phrase is condensed and we now read that the influence of the visit penetrated "simultaneously with the preparations for the skimmington" (0, 316), and where, standing among the crowd outside the King's Arms, Elizabeth previously "ascended among the other persons to the space at the top of the steps" (87, 46), in the later text she merely "ascended to the top of the door-steps" (0, 37).

Minor areas of revision in earlier phases continue to receive attention: thus we read in the serial that "a seer's impulse took command of Elizabeth" (G, 294); in the first edition that "a seer's spirit took command . . ." (86, II, 12); and with a final improvement in 1895 that "a seer's spirit took possession of Elizabeth" (0, 204). Reversions to an earlier reading are also occasionally present: the fine MS. account of Henchard's standing

"like a dark ruin" (MS, 467) was superseded in serial proof by the altogether inferior "in dark despair" (G, 539), but is now restored to its original form (O, 395). A further amendment in the same chapter however illustrates the occasional regression in Hardy's stylistic revision: in this the already ponderous reference to the "saltatory power" of Newsons's dancing, introduced in 1887 (p. 423), reverts to the original MS. description of "saltatory intenseness" (MS, 467; O, 395)--a revision which only adds vagueness to pomposity.

Finally a group of changes which, peculiar to the last two phases of composition, work in the direction of greater exactness. In all texts up to 1895 the trusser's wife flung her wedding ring "across the room" of the furmity-tent (87, 19) whereas she now throws it "across the booth" (O, 13); and at the close of Chapter ii of all earlier texts the husband, finally abandoning the search for his family, leaves the seaport at which he had arrived, without pausing "till he reached the town of Casterbridge, more than a hundred miles off" (87, 27); in the Osgood version, however, a minor realistic detail is added and we now read that he did not pause "except for nights' lodgings, till he reached the town of Casterbridge . . ." (O, 20). Minor inaccuracies in detail also receive correction: in Chapter v of the second edition Susan Henchard

last recalled seeing her husband wearing "a light fustian jacket, corduroy waistcoat and breeches" (87, 47). This however was a direct contradiction of the narrative picture in the opening chapter: "He wore a short jacket of brown corduroy ... a fustian waistcoat ... and breeches of the same" (87, 1), and the inconsistency is removed in the Osgood text where Susan now recalls "a corduroy jacket, fustian waistcoat and breeches ..." (0, 38). Two further corrections may be mentioned. In his catalogue of the agricultural goods in the shops of Casterbridge High Street, the narrator had originally listed the "corn-drills and winnowing-machines at the wheelwright's and machinist's ..." (87, 42). This changes in 1895 to "carts, wheel-barrows, and mill-gear at the wheelwright's and machinist's ..." (0, 33)--a significant alteration in view of the appearance later in the tale of the mechanical horse-drill whose arrival "created about as much sensation in the corn-market as a flying machine would create at Charing Cross" (87, 226). Moreover the list of musical instruments which accompany the skimmington-ride (ch. xxxix) in the second edition includes "cleavers, kits, crouds, humstrums, serpents, rams'-horns ..." (87, 370), but in the uniform text includes "cleavers, tongs, tambourines, kits, crouds ..." (0, 339)--an amendment introduced not simply for the sake of alliterative humour, but rather for

greater accuracy in detail since, it may be remembered, mention is made later in the same chapter of the "pair of tongs" concealed underneath the waistcoat of the ingenious Jopp (87, 372), and of Constable Stubberd's action in "drawing out a tambourine" from the oven of the parlour in Peter's Finger (87, 374).

Some seventy-five minor alterations in the final Wessex text complete the process of stylistic improvement. As with the revisions for the Osgood edition, most of these changes increase the dialectical element in speech, while the remainder are generally single-word alterations typical of patterns established earlier.

One small group only--revisions which illustrate Hardy's concern for minor descriptive detail in the depiction of buildings--need be mentioned. Thus an earlier reference in Chapter v to "some steps opposite" (O, 36) is replaced by "a flight of stone steps to the road-waggon office opposite" (W, 35); the "two prominent gables" of the ancient inn (O, 48) by the "two prominent Elizabethan gables" (W, 45); "the wall" at the western end of the town (O, 97) is now described as "the Roman wall" (W, 93), while the derelict hut in which Henchard finally dies (a metaphoric expression, it seems reasonable to assume, of the Mayor's own tragic destruction), had been described in all texts up to the final edition as follows:

The walls, built of kneaded clay originally faced with a trowel, had been worn by years of rain-washings to a lumpy crumbling surface, channelled and sunken from its plane, its gray rents held together here and there by a leafy strap of ivy which could scarcely find substance enough for the purpose. (O, 402)

With a minor addition in the Wessex text however the pathos implicit in the description is elaborated, and the misery of Henchard's defeat intensified, the account as it now stands concluding thus:

The rafters were sunken, and the thatch of the roof in ragged holes. Leaves from the fence had been blown into the corner of the doorway, and lay there undisturbed. (W, 382)

CONCLUSION

As I stated at the outset of this thesis my aim in examining the evolution of The Mayor was to reveal something of Hardy's conception of his novel, and more generally, to throw light on his methods of composition.

Now the text of The Mayor, we have seen, exists in seven separate versions: the MS. written in 1884-85; the American and English serial texts, and the first book form edition, published in 1886; the second edition issued the following year; the Osgood text (1895), and the definitive Wessex edition (1912). Only three of these versions however represent major stages in development--the MS. (containing, it will be remembered, several layers of composition), the first edition, and the Osgood text. These three texts contain substantial changes at all levels of the novel's structure, and the revision carried out at each major stage seems to be directed by the same two contrasting influences: on the one hand, the largely destructive control imposed by the audience to which the novel was addressed; on the other hand, the generally constructive influence of the author's evolving artistic aims.

The external influence of the reading public seems to have operated on the novel's development from the earliest

phase of composition, its effect being felt most fully at the level of plot and characterization. The unity and structure of the plot, as Hardy himself admitted,¹ was seriously undermined by the need to provide sensational and dramatic incidents at near math^ematically regular intervals to coincide with the endings of each weekly instalment whose occurrence, in view of the time lapse between composition and publication (The Mayor was completed nearly nine months before serialization began), Hardy could only roughly predict. An even more insidious interference with the spontaneous development of the narrative was enforced by the narrow moral sensibilities of the magazine subscriber; for surviving traces of an earlier phase of the sub-plot within the first half of the MS. reveal that the Henchard-Lucetta relationship was originally conceived in terms markedly different from those in the final form of the MS. and that the quality of the changes made to suppress the sexual nature of the relationship point unmistakably to a bowdlerization enforced by the demands of family reading. A similar influence operates in MS. revision of characterization, where the foisting on to characters of an anxious concern with the morality of their conduct seems clearly the result

¹ See Life, p. 179.

of deference to contemporary pudency.

In the reworking of the serial for the first book form edition in 1886, deliverance from the constraint imposed by magazine publication forms one of the major elements in the novel's reconstruction. With the elimination of episodes and incidents designed to appease the Graphic reader's appetite for the sensational and the melodramatic, the plot gains in cohesion and plausibility, while conception of character is further refined with the exclusion of features which, in concession to the serial reader, had produced inconsistency and distortion--for example, the excision of dialogue and narrative comment intended to illustrate Farfrae's parochial concern with the morality of Henchard's past conduct, and the contraction of the account of Lucetta's lurid and histrionic preparations for her meeting with Henchard at the Ring.

The transition from serial to book form publication produced changes at other levels of the novel's structure. The elevation of narrative style through the infusion of learned allusion and quotation--an occasional feature of the 1886 revision--may well have been due in part to Hardy's recognition of the more extensive readership for which the first edition was intended; while the frequently

over-zealous interpretation of event and over-anxious explication and defence of action and motive which had characterized the serial narrator is greatly reduced with the removal of superfluous narrative comment--a process which promotes the gradual withdrawal of the narrator's presence from the foreground of the novel's action; a feature continued in later phases of revision.

It was not until the publication of the uniform edition eight years later when the social ethos of the 1890's permitted in literature a marginally greater degree of honesty in the treatment of human behaviour that the novel was finally released from the censorship of prudery. In the Osgood text Hardy was enabled for the first time to announce the sexual element in the Henchard-Lucetta relationship--a change which results in a more convincing and consistent portrayal of two of the novel's major figures, and marks a return to the original conception of the sub-plot.

Of the second influence on the novel's development--the author's evolving artistic aims--we are undoubtedly deprived of much valuable information from the absence of any preliminary working plans or rough drafts of The Mayor. The present MS., it will be remembered, comprises the earliest surviving draft of the novel, and while it

contains many passages whose cancellations and additions suggest the tentativeness of the working draft, evidence available elsewhere of Hardy's earliest working plans suggests that even the roughest drafts in the Mayor MS. must have been preceded by much preparatory work.

Our knowledge of the early development of the plot is restricted to two findings: first, evidence external to the MS. reveals that in its original form the crucial first episode of the novel had a strictly historical foundation¹--a factor which suggests that whatever literary influences eventually presided over the development of the narrative, and whatever theme or philosophical viewpoint the author wished to advance, the original conception of the novel was inspired by an incident whose blend of the improbable, the uncommon, and the poignant typified, as we have seen from numerous entries recorded in his diaries and notebooks, the kind of anecdote that stimulated Hardy's imagination; an incident whose essentially fabular quality justified its use as the basis for Hardy's narrative.²

¹ See Appendix III.

² "A story must be exceptional enough to justify its telling. We tale-tellers are all Ancient Mariners, and none of us is warranted in stopping Wedding Guests ... unless he has something more unusual to relate than the ordinary experience of every average man and woman." (Quoted in Life, p. 252.)

Second, the surviving traces of an earlier phase of the main plot within the first twenty leaves of the MS. suggest that a fundamental reappraisal both of the course of the narrative and of the relations among the major characters took place shortly after composition began. However while there is little evidence to suggest that these changes (unlike the changes carried out on the sub-plot) were not solely artistic in direction, the remaining fragments of this earlier text are too sparse to make any assessment of the author's motives for re-organization a profitable task.

The major post-MS. changes in plot which seem to be motivated by artistic considerations occur in the reworking of the serial, when Hardy's misconception of the impact of Henchard's return to and subsequent departure from Casterbridge led him to omit the scenes from the penultimate chapter of the novel. Fortunately this decision--the author's most serious misjudgment in the composition of The Mayor--was later reversed when "at the instance of some good judges across the Atlantic"¹ Hardy was persuaded to restore the earlier form of the narrative for the edition of 1895.

While the changes carried out on the main plot both in MS. and in subsequent stages of revision constitute a

¹ Preface to Osgood edition, p. v.

radical reshaping of the author's original intention, the basic pattern of the changes made in the delineation of character from first to final text represent instead a process of expansion and refinement of aspects of personality and behaviour central to Hardy's original conception. As regards the protagonist, emphasis throughout the three major stages of revision is placed repeatedly on the depressive aspects of the man's temperament; on his acute sense of loneliness; and on the extent to which recognition of his need for Elizabeth's love forces him to discipline his nature; revision of Henchard's antagonist Farfrae is concerned most frequently with stressing the national traits of personality; while that of Lucetta persistently reinforces her slavery to emotion. The single exception to this general pattern is seen in the portrayal of Elizabeth Jane, for here Hardy's alterations form a process of reconstruction through which the inconsistent and frequently unconvincing MS. image (the result, as we have seen, of a marked discrepancy between authorial analysis and dramatic execution) is transformed into the substantially coherent and convincing portrait of the final edition.

As regards revision of the novel's setting, Hardy's aim through all major stages of development appears to be

that of elaborating and enriching the social and geographical context within which the drama of the major characters is enacted. Thus special emphasis in MS. revision is placed on the rural character of the town of Casterbridge and on the extent to which the town's legacy from the historical past has influenced the outlook and attitudes of its present inhabitants. Stress in MS. is also placed on the minor rustic figures--the stratum of society on which Hardy relies most fully for creating a convincing social background to the action. In addition to improvements in rustic dialogue (a feature prominent in all phases of revision), the author's major concern is with reinforcing the harsh materialism and moral decadence characteristic of the rustics in The Mayor --a practice that intensifies the element of social realism which Hardy for the first time brings to his portrayal of rural peasantry. In the reworking of the Graphic text the introduction of a number of minor figures, most of whom are drawn from the town's prosperous bourgeoisie, offers further evidence of Hardy's concern to expand the human medium of the novel's background.

While changes and additions at all stages of composition serve to heighten the realistic surface of the novel through offering a fuller definition of geographical setting, the major innovation in this sphere of revision

occurs in the preparation of the Osgood text where particular emphasis is placed on the regional quality of the novel's setting. Achieved through attention to topographical detail and to the provincial speech of both major and minor characters, the express purpose of this revision, as similar changes in others volumes of the first Uniform Edition suggest, is to integrate The Mayor into the larger fictional world of Wessex.

Neither the major themes of the novel nor the method of their presentation are subject to any large scale critical reassessment, but here, as with changes in characterization, the major trend in revision is one of elaboration and refinement. From the earliest phase of composition The Mayor presents the study of a man whose career illustrates the causal relationship between character and destiny; a man of complex and divided personality whose central flaw is a self-destructiveness which impels him repeatedly to cut himself off from and remain independent of others when his greatest need is really for human affection; and who thus acting persistently against his own best interest, eventually destroys himself. For the presentation of this theme the novel, as we have seen, demanded a structure different from that characteristic of Hardy's earlier works; for unlike his

previous practice of examining the interaction of the group through focussing attention on a number of dramatic relationships (seen for example in Madding Crowd, Native, and Trumpet Major), Hardy's practice in The Mayor is rather to focus attention on a single figure whose impact is realized through his relation to a small group of closely interconnected figures (a foreshadowing, it may be noted, of the structure of Tess and Jude).

Now the structure of The Mayor is consistently strengthened through revisions which serve to throw into greater relief the formal contrasts and parallels in temperament, outlook, and action between the major characters, through which the author communicates his moral views and articulates his personal experience of life. These revisions include, for instance, the underlining of Lucetta's conscientious wish to repair the mistakes of the past while persistently succumbing to the mastery of passion--a trait which links her with the protagonist, and invites a clear contrast with Elizabeth Jane whose firm obedience to duty through strict adherence to the conventional notion of propriety itself undergoes repeated emphasis in revision.

A further heightening of character-contrast is seen in the revisions concerning the relationship of Henchard and Farfrae, for the main lines of which, alterations and

additions at several stages of composition have shown, Hardy was greatly indebted to the Biblical account of the conflict between Saul and David. In this relationship we see not only the elements of affection and antagonism through which Hardy offers an illustration of the archetypal theme of conflict between generations; but also two contrasting responses to life: the rigid and persistent determination of the elder Henchard to impose conditions on life as opposed to the cheerful acceptance of fate, and willingness to adapt self to circumstance shown by the younger and more flexible Farfrae.

Further amendments in this category include the refinement of the portrait of Elizabeth Jane whose gradual development in mind and personality and ability to learn from experience, and whose policy of resigned and passive acceptance of the "limited opportunities" of life (the philosophic norm of the Hardian world) invites constant comparison with the steady moral deterioration of the protagonist whose trials--unlike those of the traditional Bildungsromanen hero--are not essentially educative, and whose policy of aggressive self-assertion is in large measure responsible for his final defeat.

A final reinforcement of the structure of The Mayor is seen in Hardy's expansion of the novel's two major

series of recurrent images; namely, those drawn from music, and those from nature, both of which groups offer a fuller illustration of and provide implicit commentary upon major themes in the novel: thus figurative additions to the musical content of the narrative serve primarily to define the nature and quality of emotion, with particular emphasis on the relationship between Henchard and Farfrae; while the chief function of additions to images drawn from various aspects of the natural world is to reinforce the themes of growth and decay in physical as well as in human nature.

The overall extent of Hardy's revision of The Mayor is vast. Corrections are made in all chapters, in most paragraphs, and in nearly every sentence. Again, the absence of any preliminary working plans or rough drafts no doubt deprives us of valuable information on Hardy's methods of composition, no less than on his conception of the novel. The evidence that does remain, however, seems to invite two important generalizations on the novelist's creative method. The first concerns the popular view of Hardy's somewhat mechanical approach to novel writing, typified in Guérard's criticism of Hardy's "tendency to shape and plan his novels according to some obvious architectural principle and his failure to conceal

the blueprint."¹ This notion of a slavish adherence to some elaborately detailed formula is forcibly contradicted by a study of the successive revisions of The Mayor where traces in MS. of an earlier phase of both main and sub-plots, together with changes in plot and characterization continued in subsequent phases of revision suggest rather that the process of composition was for Hardy essentially exploratory, tentative, and developmental.

Indeed a glance at the textual histories of some of the other Wessex novels suggests that the improvisatory approach to writing formed a typical feature of Hardy's method. Evidence within the first fifteen chapters of the Madding Crowd MS., for example, indicates that the dramatization of Fanny Robin's story and the development of Boldwood as a major character represent later additions to Hardy's original conception;² while the MSS. of both the Native and Tess contain revisions in direction of plot and in conception of character which seem to be due as much to artistic considerations as to enforced bowdlerization.³

¹ Thomas Hardy: The Novels and Stories (Oxford, 1949), p. 12.

² See R. C. Schweik, "The Early Development of Hardy's Far from the Madding Crowd," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, IX (Autumn 1967), 415-428.

³ See Paterson, Making; and J. Laird, "The Manuscript of Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles and What it Tells Us."

Further improvisation during early composition is also evident in Hardy's own account of the writing of Jude. According to the Preface for the Osgood edition "The narrative was written in outline in 1892 and ...1893 and at full length as it now appears, from August, 1893, onwards into the next year." Nonetheless a discrepancy between outline and completed work is seen only too clearly in the subsequent history of Jude for, having agreed to its serial issue in Harper's Magazine, Hardy was obliged after the submission of only a few instalments to cancel the arrangement, regretting that "It was not the story which he had originally in mind The characters had taken things into their own hands and were doing better work than he had anticipated."¹

In addition, an examination of the textual history of The Mayor offers further evidence to discredit the once popular notion of Hardy as a perfunctory and unself-critical writer with little serious regard for the art of prose fiction, and further substantiates the view advanced in other recent textual studies that Hardy was a conscientious and painstaking craftsman, constantly concerned with improvement.²

¹ J. H. Harper, The House of Harper (New York, 1912), pp. 529-531.

² Esp. Paterson, Making, and D. Kramer, "Two 'New' Texts of Thomas Hardy's The Woodlanders," SB, XX (1967), 135-150.

The former notion was of course one which Hardy--whose professed indifference to the medium is well-known and much quoted--^{himself} did much to foster. We read, for instance, in his letter to Leslie Stephen on the subject of Madding Crowd of his having no higher aim than wishing "merely to be considered a good hand at a serial" (Life, p. 100); and twelve years later in reference to The Mayor itself, that "it was a story which Hardy fancied he had damaged more recklessly as an artistic whole in the interest of the newspaper in which it appeared serially, than perhaps any other of his novels However, as at this time he called his novel-writing 'mere journeywork' he cared little about it as art ..." (Life, p. 179)--a casual dismissal of the extensive reworking of the Graphic text which Hardy methodically stripped of many excrescent elements of plot, minor distortions in character, and sententious authorial comments designed for the household reader. Likewise the deprecatory attitude towards the pursuit of stylistic correctness--

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. (Life, p. 105)

There isn't any technique about prose, is there? It just comes along of itself.¹

¹ Quoted in Weber's Hardy of Wessex, p. 222, Hardy's remark to Hamlin Garland may well have been deliberately facetious.

--which Hardy habitually adopted is belied repeatedly in the revisions of The Mayor which reveal at each stage of composition a persistent concern with stylistic refinement; a concern which presents in fact so marked a feature of Hardy's creative method that many of the emended readings quoted in this thesis do not represent the final form of the text.

A picture emerges, then, of Hardy as an inveterate reviser who public~~ly~~ly disparaged both the significance of the medium in which he worked and the degree of attention he was prepared to give to his prose fiction-- a picture which suggests that Hardy was perhaps more ambitious a novelist than he is generally thought to be, and more ambitious than he would have cared to have had known. In publically professing indifference to his completed work, but meanwhile subjecting it to careful, thorough, and persistent review, Hardy appears to have satisfied his artistic desire for self-improvement while at the same time protecting himself from the severer criticism that would have been directed towards work known to have undergone intensive revision. This attitude is not uncommon: certainly it was one which Hardy shared with the poet and dramatist Fulke Greville, whose attitude towards the revision of his own tragedies bears a striking

resemblance to that which Hardy adopted towards the repeated and painstaking reassessment of the Wessex novels:

...self love ...moved me to take this Bear-whelp up againe and lick it. Wherein I, rowsing myself under the banner of this flattery, went about ...to put on richer garments, in hope to adorne them. But while these clothes were in the making, I perceived that cost would but draw more curious eyes to observe deformities. So that from these checks a new counsell rose up in me, to take away all opinion of seriousnesse from these perplexed pedegrees; and to this end carelessly cast them into that hypocriticall figure Ironia, wherein men commonly (to keep above their workes) seeme to make toies of the utmost they can doe.¹

¹ Life of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907), pp. 153-154. (Partially quoted in Mary Lascelles' article "Scott and the Art of Revision," Imagined Worlds: Essays on some English Novels and Novelists in Honour of John Butt, ed. M Mack and I. Gregor (London, 1968), p. 139.

APPENDIX I

MINOR EXPURGATIONS IN EARLY TEXTS OF THE MAYOR

Despite the heavy concessions already granted the serial reader over Henchard's relations with Lucetta, the MS. submitted to the Graphic editor required still further adjustment before it was considered suitable for household reading. The persistence of editorial censorship is revealed in the careful removal from the MS. text of any touches of indelicacy and all traces of profanity in the language of the characters in The Mayor. Some twenty expurgations are made.¹ Replacements are found for all occurrences of "curse" and "cust": in the MS., for example, Henchard doesn't "care a curse" (f. 331), but in the Graphic text he doesn't "care a pin" (G, 397). All variant forms of "damn" ("damnation," "dammy," "d--") are also modified: "'... dammy a man must be a cust fool to mind the common hazards of trade,'" Henchard had said in the MS. (f. 270), but "'... hang it, a man must be a blessed fool ...'" he says in the serial (G, 218). Where, moreover, the furmity-woman had referred to the "coarse

¹Though not, it seems, until the second revision of the serial proofs, since the Harper's text retains the MS. reading of practically all the oaths--a reflection of the more liberal policy of the American magazine.

nameless females" who once patronized her tent (MS, 31), she refers to them more discreetly in the Graphic as "coarse thoughtless females" (G, 42); and where in the MS, Christopher Coney had remarked on "Goda'mighty sending his little taties so terrible small ..." (MS, 73), the magazine reader's piety is carefully protected with the accidental correction of "his" to "His" (G, 101).¹

Now the exact authorship of these expurgations is a matter of conjecture. Since the degree of licence given to the Graphic editor in this matter is not recorded, it is impossible to determine whether the changes represent authorial revision made at the request of Locker, or whether they were in fact carried out by the editor himself. Evidence from external sources however reveals that earlier in his career, at least, Hardy was fairly co-operative in the matter of minor expurgation. In a

¹ Evidence from the first set of proofs suggests that Hardy's opinion of such mincing censorship has not gone unrecorded, for proof revision of the conversation between Henchard and Constable Stubberd in the court-room scene in Chapter xxviii registers an interesting change. In the MS. text Stubberd's delicate reporting of the furmity-woman's abuse--"I have floored fellows a dee sight finer-looking than thee" (f. 286)--had met with Henchard's impatient reply: "'Come--we don't want to hear any more of them cust d's!'" (f. 287). In the Graphic text he now adds: "Say the word out like a man, and don't be so modest, Stubberd: or else leave it alone!" (G, 342). In view of the bowdlerizations with which Hardy was just then engaged, it does not seem unreasonable to see in this illustration of the protagonist's "sledgehammer directness" an oblique authorial comment on the editorial policy of the Graphic.

letter to John Blackwood dated 12 April 1877, which Hardy enclosed with the first fifteen chapters of the novel he was just then writing, he refers thus to the MS: "I will just add that, should there accidentally occur any word or reflection not in harmony with the general tone of the magazine, you would be quite at liberty to strike it out if you chose. I always mention this to my editors, as it simplifies matters."¹

All subsequent revision in this field is devoted to undermining the strictures imposed on the MS. text. With the publication of the first edition, twelve such corrections are made: most earlier instances of "cust" are restored, although "damn" was apparently still too inflammatory to print. The "coarse thoughtless females" of the furmity-woman's lament (G, 42) return to their original calling when revised as "coarse shameless females" (86,I,40); and the removal of the pious capital letter from the possessive adjective, restores Coney's remark on the deity's

¹ This extract (referring to the Native) is taken from the first of four autograph letters from Hardy to John Blackwood, preserved among the Blackwood Papers in the National Library of Scotland (MS. 4360, ff. 168-169). The letters, incidentally, reveal that on two separate occasions Hardy offered the Scottish magazine the serial issue of two of his novels--the Native in 1877, and Trumpet Major in 1879. Copyright reasons have made it impossible to publish the texts of the Blackwood letters, the substance of which seems so far to have escaped notice.

"sending his little taties" to its earlier state of irreverence (86, I, 96).

The excessive caution which contemporary pudency forced on the writer of serial fiction is well illustrated in a minor correction in the second edition. In the scene of Elizabeth Jane's meeting with Farfrae at Durnover Granary (ch. xiv), the Scotsman, it will be remembered, courteously offers to blow off the wheat husks covering the girl's clothing. In the emended text his action is described thus:

... Donald Farfrae began blowing her back hair, and her side hair, and her neck, and the crown of her bonnet, and the fur of her victorine, Elizabeth saying "Oh, thank you," at every puff." (87, 130)

In the earlier text, however, the description had been extended:

... Elizabeth saying "Oh, thank you," at every puff, and picking out the chaff and dust in front with her own hands. (86, I, 177)

The subsequent removal of this detail suggests that its inclusion in the original text may well have been for the benefit of minds remarkably sensitive to improprieties where none existed.¹ Further emendation in the second

¹ Farfrae's action here does, nevertheless, invite comment. The gesture is after all a peculiarly intimate one for the formal and reserved young man, whose relationship with Elizabeth has not, at this point in the narrative, advanced beyond polite acquaintance. In view of the marked passivity of the shy, inexperienced girl's response which

edition rephrases Lucetta's comment on "a certain risk in loving" Henchard (86, I, 222) as the somewhat bolder "certain risk in intimacy" with him (87, 160), although the note of strict propriety in Henchard's account of their relations remains unaltered.

In the preparation of the Osgood edition--the text, it will be remembered, which permitted Hardy for the first time to introduce an illicit sexual element into the affair with Lucetta--the revolt from earlier constraint is complete. Not only does Hardy replace most previous substitutions for "damn" with the original reading, but even introduces new profanities into the text: Henchard's waggoner elaborates his original description of Farfrae--"a young dand" (87, 259)--as "a damn young dand" (0,231); while the furmity-woman intensifies her abuse of Constable Stubberd by upbraiding him as a "son of a bee" (0, 241).

With a freer treatment of sexual matters now possible, explicit reference is made for the first time to Lucetta's

the 1887 revision serves to enhance, and of the emphasis placed, in the chapter immediately following, on the girl's new self-awareness and on her "budding beauty," it does not seem too fanciful to see in the encounter at the Granary, a symbolic expression of Elizabeth's sexual initiation.

pregnancy. When in Chapter xl Henchard attempts to recall Farfrae to the dying woman, the younger man refuses to believe him, for according to all earlier texts, "He had left his wife not long ago in perfect health ..." (87, 378). In 1895 however, a short interpolation is made: "He knew his wife was with child, but he had left her not long ago in perfect health ..." (0, 346). The same frankness is evident a few paragraphs later when "the dangerous illness of Mrs Farfrae" (87, 381) is now reported as "the dangerous illness and miscarriage of Mrs Farfrae" (0, 348); and it is also evident in the description which the landlady of Peter's Finger offers Richard Newson of the local custom of riding skimmington: "'Tis a old foolish thing they do ...when a man's wife is--well, a bad bargain in any way,'" she had told him in the second edition (87, 345). But, exchanging this note of discreet generality for one of more candid humour, she now refers to "...a' old foolish thing they do ...when a man's wife is--well, not too particularly his own'" (0, 314).

A final correction appears in Chapter xxxv of the Wessex text, where Lucetta's wan appearance on the day of her meeting with Henchard at the Ring becomes the occasion for introducing the first reference to her pregnancy. "She

had not slept all the previous night," the narrator had explained in earlier texts (O, 301), but "Beyond a natural reason for her slightly drawn look, she had not slept all the previous night ..." he comments in the final edition (W, 288).

The first part of this appendix consists of a selected list of errors which have occurred in the transcription of the text of The Mayor from 18 to Greenwood (first printed 1953). Variant readings between the text of the Hamilton Edition and the present edition are listed below. I have omitted from this appendix errors which are areas of the text deleted before the final edition of 1912, and errors which, though recurrent in one or more editions, have been corrected before the definitive text. I have, however, corrected, included accidental variants only where these register or result in changes in meaning or syntax (see, for example, nos. 6 and 7). The appendix is arranged in order of permanent representative variants.

Two further points should be noted. First, it will be noticed that most of the changes between the editions occur between 18 and 1912. This is due to the fact that the practice of the Hamilton Edition was to correct errors in the text.

In the first column of the table above, the substantive errors, both of which are in the second edition, are listed. In the second column, the errors, both of which are in the first edition, are listed. The distribution of these errors is as follows: Hamilton Edition: 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Present Edition: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

APPENDIX II

- a. COMPOSITORS' ERRORS IN TRANSMITTED TEXTS OF THE MAYOR
- b. VARIANT READINGS BETWEEN WESSEX, MELLSTOCK, AND
LATER IMPRESSIONS OF THE WESSEX EDITION OF THE MAYOR

The first part of this appendix contains a selected list of errors which have occurred in the transmission of the text of The Mayor from MS. to Greenwood Edition (last reprinted 1968). Variant readings between the texts of the Macmillan Pocket and Paperback Editions have also been noted. I have omitted from this appendix errors which occur in areas of the text deleted before the final edition of 1912, and errors which, though recurrent in two or more editions, have been emended before the definitive text.¹ I have, moreover, included accidental variants only when these register or result in changes in meaning or syntax (see, for example, Nos. 8 and 11). The appendix, therefore, records only permanent substantive variation.

Two further points should perhaps be made. First, it will be noticed that most of the changes recorded below occur between MS. and serial text. Now in view of Hardy's practice

¹ In the first category I have noted two substantive errors, both of which occur in the Graphic text; in the second category I have noted twenty-four substantive errors, only two of which persist through more than one text. Their distribution is as follows:

Harper's: 3; Graphic: 16; 1st edn.: 2nd edn.: 1; Osgood: 1.

of careful revision in proof, great caution seems necessary in accepting a MS. reading over a reading in a later text, and it will be seen that variants between the MS. and the serial considered as errors, appear most frequently to result from the compositors' misreading of Hardy's handwriting. Second, although all changes recorded below are assumed to be non-authoritative, it is important to remember that many of them, despite their fortuitous appearance, may--up to the Mellstock Edition at least--actually have been noted and approved by Hardy; and further, that they may, after all, represent genuine authorial emendation.

The texts consulted in the preparation of this appendix are listed below, and the abbreviation following each text, used in subsequent reference. In most cases it has not been possible to examine more than two or three copies of any edition.

<u>Harper's Weekly</u>	(American serial text)	H
<u>Graphic</u>	(English serial text)	G
Smith, Elder	(1st edn., 1886)	86
Sampson Low	(2nd edn., 1887)	87
Osgood, McIlvaine	(Vol. III, Wessex Novels, 1895)	O
Macmillan Wessex	(Vol. V, Wessex edn., 1912)	W
Macmillan Mellstock	(Vols. IX, X, E.D.L., 1920)	M'stock
<u>Sub-editions of the Wessex text</u>		
Macmillan Library edn.	(renamed Greenwood edn. 1964)	L/G'wd
Macmillan Pocket edn.	(last repr. 1961) <i>last repr. 1968</i>	Pkt
Macmillan Pocket Papermac	(last repr. 1969)	P'mac

In the following list, the MS. reading is given first; where MS. evidence is missing, the text of the serial issue will be cited. A facsimile of the MS. reading will accompany variants between MS. and serial texts.

Chapter i

- 1) home on furlough] H, 5, and all texts to M'stoek (I, 4)
come on furlough L/G'wd, 4; Pkt, 4; P'mac, 10

Error made by Macmillan compositor; has remained uncorrected.

- 2) X. *[At this moment it could not positively have been asserted that the ^{rough} man, in spite of his tantalizing ~~declaration~~ declamation, was really in earnest. The spectators had indeed taken the*

his tantalizing declamation] MS, 15^v

his tantalizing declaration H, 6, et seq.

Error due to Graphic compositor's misreading of Hardy's handwriting. Tail of 'a' and first limb of 'm' together resemble 'r'. Cf. third letter of 'moment' in preceding line of illustration. The earlier reading is perhaps, slightly more suitable, carrying the meaning of 'harangue' or 'fervid denunciation with appeals to the audience' (OED).

Chapter v

- 3) *be ready to yield ungrudging admiration to greatness & strength.
 Its producer's ~~personal~~ ^{personal} goodness, if he had any, would
 be of ~~the nature of~~ ^{a very fitful cast - an occasional} almost aggressive generosity rather than
 a mild ~~to~~ ^{kindness}*

aggressive generosity] MS, 45

oppressive generosity H, 23, et seq.

Misreading of author's handwriting. In The Mayor MS., at least, Hardy produces as many as six variations of the letter 'g'. (See, for example, 'ungrudging,' 'greatness,' and 'strength' in first line of illustration.) The letter as it appears in 'agressive' is easily mistaken for 'p'.

Chapter vii

- 4) it makes no difference] MS, 64, and all texts to O, 54; P'mac, 50.
 it makes no difference W, 52; M'stock, I, 54; Pkt., 52.

A revision made in 1912, and present in all subsequent texts except P'mac; omission due presumably to eccentric spelling.

Chapter ix

- 5) their country neighbours] H, 55
 their county neighbours G, 102, et seq.

MS. evidence missing; 'country' present in Harper's text only. Perhaps a genuine revision on second set of Graphic proofs, although the earlier reading seems more apt, in a comparison between townfolk and rustics--'burgesses' and 'count [r] y' neighbours'.

Chapter xi

6) Tut-tut!
~~How could you be so simple!~~ "How could you be so simple!"
 I don't know. Yet
 I would have been very wicked - if I had not thought like that!"

T'would have been very wicked] MS, 103
 it would have been very wicked H, 70 , et seq.

Misreading of Hardy's handwriting. Compositor has confused as 'i' the apostrophe at the beginning of "'T'would' combined with the tail of the mark ~ indicating an interlinear addition.

Chapter xii

7) What has happened a secret between you for her own sake, & that
 ye with her well."
 That won't do - ^{damning,} I must do a little more than that
 "Yes, yes," ~~she murmured~~ ^{she murmured} "And I must settle something
 upon her, I suppose - just as a little restitution... ^{poor girl} Will ye draw
 up a bit of a form for me to that effect? I'm so bad at letters." [sic] ^{luckily} owing
 to the ~~recent death of her parent, she inherited upon~~ ^{the wedding being quiet,}
 & now she profits by ~~her~~ ^{her} ~~modesty!~~ ^{modesty!}
 "Perhaps," she thought, "I'll keep it dark & 'll
 if his other wife comes back, I shall

--I must settle something upon her, I suppose--just as a little restitution poor girl though she did always brag about her rich uncle, and how much he could leave her] MS, 114

--I must, though she did always brag about her rich uncle, and how much he could leave her--settle something upon her, I suppose--just as a little restitution, poor girl....
 H, 71 ; G, 135[†]

[†] Italics mine.

The misplacing of the second comma by the Graphic compositor makes the tone of the remark one of query rather than one of resignation, as in the original reading. The statement thus becomes a direct question in the first three book publications. A minor improvement in syntax in the preparation for the final edition restores the original meaning, although the question mark remains uncorrected in later sub-editions of the Wessex text.

Chapter xxii

- 9) clay of their country] MS, 220; H, 150; G, 270; P'mac, 22
 clay of their county 86, I, 29; and all texts to L/G'wd,
 175; Pkt, 176

Earlier reading reappears, curiously, in Paperback edition only.

Chapter xxiii

- 10) Do you make the same resolve] MS, 233
 Do you make the same resolve? H, 151; and all texts to 87,219
 Do make the same resolve! O, 193, et seq.

The Graphic compositor, failing to recognize the older form of the imperative, has "corrected" the author's apparent omission of a query, thus making the tone of Lucetta's remark enquiring rather than flamboyant. On revising the text in 1895, Hardy evidently found the tone unsatisfactory, and restored the original meaning. Incidentally, the older form of the imperative appears frequently in the text of The Mayor, e.g., "Do you bide here with me" (W, 334); "Do you leave all to me" (W, 364); "Do ye save a little room for me" (W, 376).

Chapter xxv

- 11) ^{sat} ~~was~~ (in the room invisible) Donald appeared not to see her at all, & answered her wise, ^{honest} little remarks with curtly indifferent monosyllables, his looks & faculties hanging on the woman who could

civilly indifferent monosyllables] MS, 249

curtly indifferent monosyllables H, 166, et seq.

Error due to misreading of Hardy's handwriting. The word on f. 249 of the MS. is undoubtedly 'civilly,' since both 'i's' are dotted, though admittedly with a lighter pressure than customary with Hardy; yet to a compositor familiar with Hardy's frequent omission to cross 't's', the word is easily misread as 'curtly'. The MS. reading offers, of course, a far apter description of Farfrae's blandly courteous manner of speaking.

- 12) ^{best of more Protean variety in her phrases, moods, opinions & etc.,}
^{the man could Elizabeth.}
 principles Luccetta had persisted in dragging her into the circle; but
 she had remained like ^{an} the ~~circle~~ ^{third point} which ^{their chord} ~~that circle~~ ^{would}

opinions and, alas, principles] MS, 250

opinions, and also principles H, 166, et seq.

Most probably a genuine revision, since handwriting is unambiguous and punctuation clear. Nevertheless the moral stance implied in the MS. reading seems to cater expressly for the Graphic readership.

- 13) for a while] H, 167, and all texts to 86 (II, 24)
for awhile 87, 239, et seq.

Error made by Sampson Low compositor; has remained uncorrected. 'While' here is purely a substantive, and since there is no unification of sense, the two words are improperly written together.

Chapter xxvi

- 14) *They men entered into specific details of the process by which this was to be accomplished, & parted at a late hour. [Elizabeth Jane heard*
was to ^{be} accomplished] MS, 263
would be accomplished H, 182, et seq.

Error due to misreading of author's handwriting. The MS, reading offers a typical example of Hardy's frequent linking of words.

- 15) while she spoke] MS, 302, and all texts to 87 (283)
while he spoke 0, 253, et seq.

Error made by Osgood compositor; has remained uncorrected.

Chapter xxxi

- 16) *for a moment more. His countenance had somewhat changed from its flush of prosperity; the black hair & whiskers were the same as ever, but ^a film of ash was over the red.*

- over the red] MS, 313
over the rest H, 214, et seq.

Error due to misreading of author's handwriting. The 'd' in 'red' here is uncharacteristic: Hardy--in The Mayor MS. at least-- almost always writes 'd' in the Greek style; hence the compositor, familiar with Hardy's habit of leaving 't's' uncrossed, evidently misread the final letter of the word as 'st'. Redness, incidentally, is an attribute with which Henchard's physical appearance is frequently associated: cf. "The rich rouge-et-noir of his countenance" (W, 76); "his red and black visage" (W, 94); "black whiskers, and a reddish face" (W, 320).

Chapter xxxix

- 17) they have gone into a back street] MS, 401 and all subsequent hardcover texts.
 they had gone into a back street P'mac, 278.
 Error present in Paperback edition only.

Chapter xl

- 18) *credible than his story. He had in his time heard bitter ironies from Henchard's lips, there might be ironies now. He quick-*

mat-bowed down with despair as he perceived the ^{monstrous} image of unscrupulous villainy that he had assumed in his former friend's eyes. "But I am not what you think!" he cried hoarsely "Believe me, Far-

these might be ironies] MS, 413; G, 478

there might be ironies H, 278, 86, II, 232, et seq.

Hardy's unclosed 's' is frequently indistinguishable from

'r'; cf. 'despair' and 'hoarsely' in lines 1 and 3 of second illustration. Error corrected on the second set of serial proofs, but persistence of incorrect reading on first (Harper) proofs is puzzling.

b. Variant Readings between Wessex, Mellstock, and Later Impressions of the Wessex Edition of The Mayor

i) Variant readings between the texts of Wessex (1912) and Mellstock (1920) editions

The Mellstock Edition (1919-1920), it will be remembered, marked the last occasion of Hardy's revision of the Wessex novels, and for the entire edition the author supplied only "5 pages of corrections and additions" (Purdy, p. 288). In the following list, the abbreviation [c.e.] is placed after variants which represent compositors' errors.

WESSSEX

MELLSTOCK

Substantive Variants

- 84. makes it necessary
- 168. before communicating
- 169. coming to live at the Hall
- 287. his appeal [c.e.]
- 321. wildness of Lucetta's features were growing

- I, 87. make it necessary
- 176. by communicating [c.e.]
- 176. coming to the Hall [c.e.] (?)
- II, 101. this appeal
- 137. wildness of Lucetta's features was growing

Accidental Variants

- 35. whispered Mrs. Newson who,
- 92. thoughtfullly [c.e.]
- 94. whispered, and then openly discussed
- 131. corn and hay-trade
- 188. stepfather's
- 211. stepfather

- I, 36. whispered Mrs. Newson, who,
- 96. thoughtfully
- 98. whispered, and then openly discussed,
- 136. corn and hay trade
- 196. step-father's [et seq. for this word, except:]
- II, 22. stepfather

WESSEX

MELLSTOCK

Accidental Variants cont.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|------|---------------------------------------|
| 221. | I saw it, too, | II, | 32. | I saw it too, |
| 255. | long dismantled | | 67. | long-dismantled |
| 278. | without directly inquiring why | | 92. | without directly inquiring why, |
| 304. | no work that day, [c.e.j] | | 118. | no work that day. |
| 324. | "Now" said Mr. Grower, | | 141. | 'Now,' said Mr. Grower, |
| 337. | Self-reported speech beginning
'Since I'm here ...' in single
quotation marks. | | 153. | Speech in double quotation
marks |
| 340. | through the day, [c.e.j] | | 157. | through the day. |
| 344. | imag eo' me [c.e.j] | | 160. | image o' me |
| 350. | he had found the courage
to speak | | 166. | he had found the courage
to speak, |
| 356. | eclat | | 172. | <u>éclat</u> |
| 371. | the wedding-day | | 188. | the wedding day |

ii) Variant readings between Wellstock and later impressions of the Wessex text, showing both the failure of later texts to incorporate revisions supplied for the Wellstock Edition, and subsequent compositors' errors. (Non-authoritative variants in the Wellstock text have been omitted.)

WELLSTOCK

LIBRARY/GREENWOOD

Substantive Variants

- | | |
|---|---|
| I, 4. home on furlough | 4. come on furlough |
| 150. This much scourging ...
is it for me. | 143. This much scourging ...
is it for me? |

Accidental Variants

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| I, 36. whispered Mrs. Newson, who, | 35. whispered Mrs. Newson who, |
| 136. corn and hay trade | 131. corn and hay-trade |
| II, 4. step-father's | 188. stepfather's [et seq. for this word] |
| 32. I saw it too, | 221. I saw it, too, |
| 67. long-dismantled | 255. long dismantled |

MELLSTOCK

LIBRARY/GREENWOOD

Accidental Variants cont.

- II, 92. without directly inquiring why,
- 118. no work that day.
- 157. through the day.
- 188. wedding day
- 278. without directly inquiring why
- 304. no work that day,
- 340. through the day,
- 371. wedding-day

APPENDIX III

FACTUAL SOURCES OF SEVERAL PASSAGES IN THE MAYOR

There are a number of anecdotes and biographical details in the Life which closely resemble several incidents and plots in Hardy's writings, and suggest a factual basis for some of his work.¹ Similarly, several episodes in The Mayor (one, a major element of the plot itself) are based on factual material.

Two of these episodes are based on material which Hardy drew from early issues of the Dorset County Chronicle, and which he recorded in the third of his Commonplace Books.² Details of a third episode are drawn from the local history of Dorchester, while the basis of two further

¹ See, e.g., entry under 27 July [1877], p. 116, for the plot of "The Melancholy Hussar"; entry under 3 June [1884], p. 166, for the occasion of the poem "Circus-Rider to Ringmaster"; entry under 1 Mar. [1888], p. 206, for the original of Arabella in Jude, and entry under 22 Mar. [1881], p. 148, for an incident in the same novel.

² There are in existence three unpublished Commonplace Books. Two of these contain literary quotations, while the substance of the third, which includes entries in both Hardy and his first wife's hand, is indicated in the subtitle which reads: "Facts: from Newspapers, Histories, Biographies and other chronicles--(mainly local)." All three books are now in DCM.

passages is to be found in material which Hardy himself had written shortly before he began work on The Mayor.

i) The first episode for discussion is that of the wife-sale in Chapter i. In part, possibly, as a reply to previous criticism of the improbability of Henchard's sale of his wife,¹ Hardy wrote in the 1895 Preface to the novel that one of the events "in the real history of the town called Casterbridge and the neighbouring country"² out of which "the incidents narrated arise" was "the sale of a wife by her husband." This allusion to a factual source for the incident has since given rise to much speculation,³ but details of the original sale have remained obscure. In later years Hardy himself forgot the source of the

¹ See, e.g., The Saturday Review, 29 May 1886, p. 1115, and John A. Steuart, Letters to Living Authors (London, 1896), pp. 101, 104-111. A similar objection is levied against The Mayor even in more recent criticism: M. D. Zabel in "Hardy in Defense of His Art," Hardy: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Guérard, pp. 24-45, writes that "the selling of Mrs Henchard ... is a violent instance of ... assault on credulity," making "the suspension of disbelief a resentful ordeal." (pp. 38-39).

² Italics mine.

³ e.g., H. L. Scudder in "Selling a Wife," Notes and Queries, CLXXXVIII (24 Mar. 1945), 123-124, suggests as a possible source for the incident, an account of wife-sale at Smithfield, given by S. C. Hall in 1883; J. R. Moore in "Two Notes on Thomas Hardy," NCF V (Sept. 1950), 159-163, suggests an account of wife-sale, also at Smithfield--this time described by A. J. B. Defauconpret in Six mois à Londres,

incident, for he wrote in reply to a letter from

H. Temperley of Peterhouse, Cambridge (28 January 1922):

In reply to your inquiry on the sale of a wife in The Mayor of Casterbridge alluded to in the preface to that tale, as being based on fact, I can only say that in the 1820's--the time assumed for the incident there were many wife-sales--as you may easily see by looking through a file of newspapers of that date. These sales had various features of detail, but how much either sale resembled that of the story in its details I am unable to remember.¹

This claim is substantiated by material in the Common-place Book III, for several entries there reveal that shortly before the composition of The Mayor, Hardy had

en 1816 (Paris, 1817); an even less likely source is suggested by W. D. Templeman in "Hardy's Wife-Selling Incident and a Letter by Warren Hastings," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, XVIII (Feb. 1955), 183-187, who cites a letter written in Jan. 1810 by Hastings to a relative, and containing a description of the sale of a wife by her husband. On somewhat tenuous evidence [Templeman remarks that Hastings was a frequent visitor to the estate of his friend Sir John D'Oyley, near Lymington, Hants., from whence, he suggests, the story of wife-sale may have filtered through to Hardy], the writer concludes that "although Hastings' story is not surely a source for Hardy's episode, it tells of a man who in one way or another may have come to Hardy's attention, and thus have served as at least partial basis for the ... incident." Finally, in "Henchard's Sale of Susan in The Mayor of Casterbridge," ELN, II (Mar. 1965), 217-218, J. T. McCullen, Jr. refers to a record of wife-sale reported by Catherine Milnes Gaskell in "Old Wenlock and Its Folklore," The Nineteenth Century, XXXV (Feb. 1894), 260, and concludes that the incident "had, before she [Catherine Gaskell] discovered it, become part of such folklore as greatly influenced the writings of Hardy."

¹ Portion of draft on verso of letter from Temperley, now in DCM.

indeed been "looking through a file of newspapers" of the 1820's, and had recorded no less than three instances of wife-sale, all of which are relevant to the incident at Weydon-Priors Fair.

On p. 116 of the Commonplace Book appears the following extract in Hardy's hand:

Sale of wife--at Stamford--fellow sold her for "2/- wet and 2/- dry." delivered her to the purchaser on the market hill in a halter; after which the trio retired to a p.ublic house to quaff the heavy wet.

D.C.C. 16 Oct. 187'29

At the side of this extract Hardy has added in pencil:

"Used in The Mayor of Casterbridge."¹ This note must

have been written at a much later date, for an earlier entry in the Book reveals Hardy's memory on this occasion to have been at fault. More than eighty pages before the extract cited above, Hardy has recorded another instance of wife-sale, details of which suggest the more likely source for the episode in the novel:

Sale of Wife. Man at Brighton led a tidy looking woman up to one of the stalls in the market, with a halter round her neck, and offered her for sale. A purchaser was soon found, who bought her for 30/- which he paid, and went off with his bargain amid the sneers and laughter of the mob, but not before the transaction was regularly entered by the clerk of the market book and the toll of one shilling

¹ Cf. extract also in Commonplace Book III (dated 19 August 1830) which reads: "Dark night. Shaft of waggon enters breast of ridden horse, when latter was passing between former and a gig passing it"; beneath which Hardy

paid. He also paid 1/- for the halter, and another 1/- to the man who performed the office of auctioneer. We understand they were country people, and that the woman has had two children by her husband, one of whom he consents to keep, and the other he throws in as a makeweight to the bargain.

ib. [i.e. D.C.C.] 25 May 1826.
from Brighton Gazette.

The parallels between extract and text are close: like the pair at Brighton, both Henchard and his wife were "country people," while the "sneers and laughter of the mob" is echoed in the derisive attitude of the patrons of Mrs Goodenough's tent: "The company had by this time decidedly degenerated, and the renewed enquiry was received with a laugh of appreciation" (W, 19).¹ The greatest resemblance, however, lies in the final sentence of the extract: "...the woman has had two children by her husband, one of whom he consents to keep, and the other he throws in as a makeweight to the bargain." As cancellations in the first chapter of the MS. have shown, this extract contains the nucleus of the earliest traceable phase of the plot of The Mayor.

It is interesting to note one minor difference which both wife-sale extracts cited above share with the text of

has pencilled, "Used in Tess"--a reference of course to the scene of the death of Prince, the Durbeyfield's horse, in ch. iv of that novel.

¹ Since all extracts from the text of The Mayor cited in this appendix appear unrevised throughout the textual history of the novel, all quotations will refer to the definitive edition of 1912.

^{the} novel, namely, while the sum involved in the sales recorded by Hardy were, in the first case, "30/-", and in the second, "2/- and 2/- dry," the price which Henchard demands for Susan is considerably greater: "'I'll sell her for five guineas to any man that will pay me the money'" (W, 10-11).

Now a third instance of wife-sale appears shortly after the Brighton Gazette extract, and though obviously of less significance than the earlier entry, may well have suggested to Hardy the terms of Henchard's auction, for the entry reads thus:

Selling wife. At Buckland, nr. Frome, a labouring man named Charles Pearce sold his wife to shoemaker Elton for £5 and delivered her in a halter in the public street. She seemed very willing. Bells rang.

D.C.C. Dec. 6. [18] '27

Since cancellations in Chapter i of the MS. reveal that the "guineas" of Henchard's offer represent in fact an emendation of "pounds" (MS, 15), the terms of the bid originally corresponded exactly with the sum involved in the wife-sale at Buckland.

ii) A further extract from the Dorset County Chronicle, recorded shortly before the Brighton Gazette entry, reveals the factual basis for a second episode in the novel--that of the scene of Henchard's bankruptcy hearing in Chapter xxxi. The entry is to be found on p. 30 of

the Commonplace Book and reads as follows:

Bankrupt---A meeting of the Commissioners under the bankruptcy of Mr Harvey of Launceston, banker, took place at the White Hart inn there, for the purpose of his final examination. At the close of the proceedings Mr H. laid his gold watch and pocket-money on the table; but they were immediately returned by the unanimous voice of the creditors present. The senior Commissioner Mr Tonkin addressed Mr Harvey and said he had been a commissioner for a number of years, but in all his experience he had never yet ... [sic] more honourably ... His balance sheet was the most satisfactory that he had seen on any similar occasion and his creditors--a great many of whom were present--ought to feel perfectly well satisfied with his conduct. The other commissioners Mr B. and Mr F. coincided and the meeting ... [sic] full of sympathy for Mr Harvey.

Old D.C.C., 1826

The similarity between extract and text here is unmistakable, the wording at times almost identical:

... He took the gold watch and pocket money out of his pocket and laid it on the table. The creditors ... immediately returned it to him. The senior commissioner Mr Tonkin addressed Mr Harvey and said he had been a commissioner for a number of years, but in all his experience he had never yet ... more honourably ... His balance sheet was the most satisfactory that he had seen on any similar occasion and his creditors--a great many of whom were present--ought to feel perfectly well satisfied with his conduct. The other commissioners Mr B. and Mr F. coincided and the meeting ... full of sympathy for Mr Harvey.

Entry in commonplace Book (p. 30)

Mr H. laid his gold watch and pocket-money on the table;

Incident in The Mayor, ch. xxxi (W, 253-4)

... he took his gold watch from his pocket and laid it on the table; then his purse ... untying it, and shaking the money out upon the table beside the watch.

The creditors, farmers almost to a man, looked at the watch, and at the money, and into the street; when Farmer James Everdene ... spoke. "No, no, Henchard," he said warmly. "We don't want that. 'Tis honourable in ye; but keep it. What do you say, neighbours--do ye agree?" "Ay, sure: we don't wish it at all," said Grower, another creditor.... and the rest responded unanimously.

but they were immediately returned by the unanimous voice of the creditors present.

His balance sheet was the most satisfactory that he had seen on any similar occasion and his creditors ... ought to feel perfectly well satisfied with his conduct.

The other commissioners ... coincided and the meeting ... full of sympathy for Mr Harvey.

"I've proved the balance sheet to be as honestly made out as it could possibly be ... as far as I can see every attempt has been made to avoid wronging anybody."

A general murmur of agreement followed the Commissioner's words.

Although the relationship between the extracts cited above and the two episodes in the novel seems indisputable, in no instance has the date of entry been recorded, and it is therefore important to try to establish at least the approximate period of their entry into the Commonplace Book.

During the period in which the above entries were made, Hardy and his first wife Emma appear to have been working fairly methodically, and generally in chronological order, through early volumes of the Dorset County Chronicle; for the majority of extracts recorded in the first half of the Book are taken from volumes for the years 1826-29. (Both the Brighton Gazette and bankruptcy extracts, it will be noticed, are taken from the same volume--that for the year 1826, while the account of wife-sale at Buckland is dated 1827.)

While it is not always possible to locate the exact date of quotations in the Commonplace Book, one can at least identify the approximate period in which the three entries were made, by marking the dates given for extracts from contemporary journals which immediately precede or follow the entries in question. Thus the last contemporary date before the bankruptcy extract is given as "14.3.'84"

under a quotation subscribed "Ireland--Telegram," while the first contemporary date after the account of wife-sale at Buckland is that of "May 9 '84" under a cutting from the Western Gazette. It is reasonable therefore, to assume that all three extracts were entered some time within the early months of 1884--in the period, that is, immediately preceding and during the early composition of The Mayor.¹

Two of the most imaginatively conceived episodes in the novel were thus fashioned out of incidents baldly narrated in two newspaper reports. The readiness with which the factual material was assimilated into fictional form indicates not only the responsiveness of Hardy's mind to any statement of the unusual or exceptional in human conduct, but also the keenness of his concern as a novelist with "the intense interests, passions and strategy that throb through the commonest lives" (Life, p. 153). In the handling of his source material Hardy reveals a richly sympathetic vision. His recognition of the human pathos implicit in both reports is evident in his development of the two incidents; for the quality of pathos becomes prominent in the scene of the wife-auction and pre-eminent in the scene of the bankruptcy hearing. The patient sufferance of Susan Henchard in the face of a

¹ See Life, p. 171.

violent ignominy, and the scrupulous decency shown by the Mayor amid wretched circumstances largely of his own making, both provide an eloquent expression of "the grandeur underlying the sorriest things"¹--for Hardy, always one of the cardinal tasks of the artist.

The chronicle accounts would seem to have appealed to Hardy as much for the style of their narration as for their content: both are recounted with that literal simplicity and freedom from inference which is characteristic of disinterested reporting, and which forms the matrix of the assumed simplicity and calm surface detachment that is the dominant tone in the narrative voice of The Mayor.

iii) The next passage--based on local history--contains the gruesome account of the execution in the early eighteenth century of Mary Channing, which the narrator recounts in his description of the sinister history of the Roman Amphitheatre (ch. xi):

...in 1705 a woman who had murdered her husband was half-strangled and then burnt there in the presence of ten thousand spectators. Tradition reports that at a certain stage of the burning her heart burst and leapt out of her body, to the terror of them all, and not one of those ten thousand people ever cared particularly for hot roast after that.

(W, 81)

¹ Life, p. 171.

For the details of this passage Hardy was indebted to one of his ancestors who had been present at the execution, and had, as Hardy acknowledged in his essay "Maumbury Ring," "handed down the information that 'her heart leapt out' during the burning" (Orel, p. 230), and of the presence of the "smell of roast meat etc."¹ The story of this woman appears to have held a morbid fascination for Hardy for many years, and he delighted in telling it again and again.²

iv) Another passage in Chapter xi, and one in Chapter xxiii, offer further evidence of Hardy's adaptation of non-fictional material. The use of material in both cases provides an illustration of Hardy's habit of self-plagiarism--the

¹ From a notebook entry dated 25 June 1919, now in DCM.

² Hardy's attachment to this grisly tale is evident on at least four occasions: in a letter to Sir Sydney Cockerell (6 Feb. 1919), Florence Hardy writes: "[T.H.] had a visit yesterday from Lady Ilchester and her daughter He insisted upon telling that awful story of the burning of Mary Channing, with all its gruesome details. I tried in vain to stop him, for the daughter turned quite white--she is only fifteen...." (Quoted in Friends of a Lifetime, ed. Viola Meynell, p. 301.) In an essay published in the Times (9 Oct. 1908) on the excavations at Maumbury Rings undertaken in the early 1900s, Hardy again related in great detail the Mary Channing story; while in the notebook entry of 1919 (see footnote above), he narrated with obvious gusto, further macabre aspects of the execution. Finally, he made use of the story yet again in his poem "The Mock Wife" (Collected Poems, 723-725).

practice seen elsewhere in his writings, of borrowing material from his own works.¹ Details in the second paragraph of Chapter xi, which incorporates a description of the Roman features of Casterbridge, have been transferred, with some elaboration, from material in the paper "Some Romano-British Relics," which Hardy had written shortly before, or during, the composition of The Mayor.² While the passage in the novel is considerably condensed, the wording of the earlier text is hardly altered:

¹See, e.g., the opening passage of ch. xxiii of Trumpet Major, which is an almost word for word repetition of the first paragraph of ch. xii of Remedies. This occurrence, however, might well be due to Hardy's use on two separate occasions of the same entry from one of his notebooks (see above, Chapter I, ff. 10-11). There is, incidentally, one sentence in ch. xliii of The Mayor:

There is an outer chamber of the brain in which thoughts unowned, unsolicited, and of noxious kind, are sometimes allowed to wander for a moment prior to being sent off whence they came. (W, 354)

which closely resembles lines in ch. xvi of Remedies:

There exists, as it were, an outer chamber to the mind, in which, when a man is occupied centrally with the most momentous question of his life, casual and trifling thoughts are just allowed to wander softly for an interval, before being banished altogether. (W, 354)

This, however, is probably due less to self-plagiarism than to a lasting interest in the idea expressed; for indeed, the earliest expression of this idea appears in the poem "A Confession to a Friend in Trouble," written in 1886:

A thought too strange to house within my brain
Haunting its outer precincts I discern ...

(Collected Poems, 9)

² Reprinted in Orel, pp. 191-195. Page numbers cited here refer to this work.

"Romano-British Relics" (pp. 191-3)

... I am one of the only two persons who saw most of the remains in situ, just as they were laid bare, and before they were lifted up from their rest of, I suppose, fifteen hundred years.

.....

In two of the graves, and, I believe, in a third, a body lay on its right side, the knees being drawn up to the chest, and the arms extended straight downwards, so that the hands rested against the ankles. Each body was fitted with, one may almost say, perfect accuracy into the oval hole,

Extract from The Mayor, ch. xi (W, 80)

It was impossible to dig more than a foot or two deep about the town fields and gardens without coming upon some tall soldier or other of the Empire, who had lain there in his silent unobtrusive rest for a space of fifteen hundred years.

He was mostly found lying on his side, in an oval scoop in the chalk,

"Romano-British Relics" cont.

Extract from The Mayor, ch. xi [cont.]

the crown of the head touching the maiden chalk at one end and the toes at the other, the tight-fitting situation being strongly suggestive of the chicken in the egg shell.... On the head of one of these, between the top of the forehead and the crown, rested a fibula or clasp of bronze and iron In the first grave a bottle ... stood close to the breast of the skeleton In the same cavity, touching the shin bones of the occupant, were two urns

like a chicken in its shell; his knees drawn up to his chest; sometimes with the remains of his spear against his arm; a fibula or brooch of bronze on his breast or forehead; an urn at his knees, a jar at his throat, a bottle at his mouth

In the concluding paragraph of "Some Romano-British Relics" Hardy had posed the question: "Standing, for instance, on the elevated ground near where the South-Western Station is at present, or at the top of Slyer's Lane, or at any other commanding point, we may ask, what kind of object did Dorchester then [i.e. in the Roman period] form in the summer landscape as viewed from such a point"¹ Speculation on this very question may well have given rise to the finely imaginative passage in the same chapter of the novel, where the narrator considers the foreboding atmosphere of the Ring:

... some people said that at certain moments in the summer time, in broad daylight, persons sitting with a book or dozing in the arena had, on lifting their eyes, beheld the slopes lined with a gazing legion of Hadrian's soldiery as if watching the gladiatorial combat; and had heard the roar of their excited voices; that the scene would remain but a moment, like a lightning flash, and then disappear. (W, 82)

The second instance of Hardy's self-plagiarism is to be found in Chapter xxiii, in the scene of the hiring fair and the description of the old shepherd in search of a new master:

It was the chief hiring fair of the year, and differed quite from the market of a few days earlier. In substance it was a whitey-brown crowd flecked with white --this being the body of labourers waiting for places. The long bonnets of the women, like waggon-tilts, their cotton gowns and checked shawls, mixed with the carters' smockfrocks; for they, too, entered into the hiring. Among the rest, at the corner of the pavement, stood an

¹ Orel, p. 194.

old shepherd, who attracted the eyes of Lucetta and Farfrae by his stillness. He was evidently a chastened man. The battle of life had been a sharp one with him, for, to begin with, he was a man of small frame. He was now so bowed by hard work and years that, approaching from behind, a person could hardly see his head. He planted the stem of his crook in the gutter and was resting upon the bow, which was polished to silver-brightness by the long friction of his hands. He had quite forgotten where he was, and what he had come for, his eyes being bent on the ground. A little way off, negotiations were proceeding which had reference to him; but he did not hear them, and there seemed to be passing through his mind pleasant visions of the hiring successes of his prime, when his skill laid open to him any farm for the asking. (W, 184)

The substance of this passage has been lifted from Hardy's essay "The Dorsetshire Labourer," first printed in Longman's Magazine in 1883. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the corresponding passage from the essay, for the text of the earlier work is neither expanded--as in the case of the bankruptcy account--nor ~~was~~ condensed--as in the description of the Roman graves--but, with the exception of very slight paraphrasing and minor syntactical changes (the novel, for example, reproduces the description of the shepherd in the past, and not in the present tense), is identical with the text of The Mayor.

The use which Hardy made of material in "The Dorsetshire Labourer" offers, incidentally, a good example of this practice of economy, for large sections of the essay reappear, with only slight adaptation, in several chapters in Tess.

The various origins of the five passages cited above offer some indication, then, of the way in which a considerable element of Hardy's prose fiction arose from his practice of selecting from his own experience--at first- or second-hand--and fashioning into a literary form, events and incidents which stimulated his imagination.

1) After her encounter with Eliza in the garden (ch. xx), Lucott arranges to marry the girl on "the first fine day next week" (ch. xx). What introducing the scene of this wedding is the big chapter Hardy seems to have derived from the arrangement, for he was writing "the day after the case; but a drizzling rain fell" (ch. xx).

2) In the week following her wedding, Eliza is exactly upset by the discovery of a new garden (ch. xiv), yet not until she sees the garden with the house in the background (ch. xv). "The garden's not a bad one," says Eliza, "but the house's not a bad one either" (ch. xv).

APPENDIX IV

IRREGULARITIES IN THE TIME-SCHEME OF THE MAYOR

There are, in all, five irregularities in the narrative structure of the novel: the first two represent inconsistencies in fact and have remained uncorrected from the MS. stage of composition; the others--inconsistencies in chronology--enter the text as a result of subsequent revision. The inaccuracies are summarized as follows.

i) After her encounter with Elizabeth Jane in the churchyard (ch. xx), Lucetta arranges a further meeting with the girl on "the first fine day next week" (p. 158).¹ When introducing the scene of this meeting in the following chapter Hardy seems to have forgotten the terms of the arrangement, for he now writes "The day and the hour came; but a drizzling rain fell" (p. 163).

ii) In the week following her wedding, Elizabeth is greatly upset by the discovery of a dead goldfinch in her garden (ch. xlv), yet not until well over three weeks later, when the housemaid has explained the incident-- "'That farmer's man ... was seen wi' it in his hand ...'" (p. 379)--are we told that Elizabeth, now recognizing

¹ Page references are to the 1912 text, unless otherwise indicated.

Henchard's token of repentance. "went out, looked at the cage [and] buried the starved little singer ..." (p. 380); an action she would surely have performed on first discovering the bird.

iii) A discrepancy is evident between the wording on Elizabeth's mourning-card, which states Newson to have been "lost at sea, in the month of November, 184-" (p. 22), and the girl's remark in a later chapter that "Father was lost last spring" (p. 77). Now deletions in MS., it will be remembered, suggest that Newson's role originally terminated after the first chapter; indeed Elizabeth's remark to Henchard had previously read: "Father died last spring" (MS, 96). After deciding to extend Newson's role Hardy seems to have dated the sailor's temporary disappearance "November, 184-," but on emending Elizabeth's remark to Henchard, failed to bring the earlier reference to "last spring" into line with the more recent date. (It should be noted here that the discrepancy may be apparent only, for in its present form, Elizabeth's remark may well refer, not to the date of Newson's supposed death, but rather to her reception of the news of his loss.)

iv) In the scene of his reunion with Elizabeth (ch. xliii), Newson tells Farfrae of his previous visit to Casterbridge

"nine or ten months before that day last week that I found ye out" (p. 364); yet well over a year has elapsed between the date of Newson's first appearance in the town (some time in spring) and the day of his reunion with Elizabeth (late autumn the following year). In the MS. and Graphic texts, Newson's calculation is correct, since his clandestine meetings with Elizabeth cover a period of some months. With the reorganization of the serial plot, the meetings between Elizabeth and her father are cancelled, and at the time of his reunion with the girl, Newson has been in Casterbridge for only a few days. Through Hardy's omission to backdate Newson's allusion to his earlier visit, the sailor's statement represents a miscalculation of several months.

v) The final irregularity occurs in Chapter xlv. In all texts prior to 1912, Henchard makes his penitential visit to Weydon-Priors along the road by which he and his wife had entered the region "two or-three-and-twenty years before" (O, 386). In the 1912 revision (throughout which, it may be remembered, Hardy extends the time lapse between the sale of Susan and the start of the main action by one year) the author inadvertently adds two years instead of one year to the time span, and hence the phrase

which now reads "five-and-twenty years" (p. 367) is at variance with dating references elsewhere in the text.

This appendix is a list of the references in the text which contain biblical allusions. It is arranged in three parts: (1) references to the Bible; (2) references to the Apocrypha; and (3) references to the Septuagint. The references in Section I are arranged according to the order of the Books of the Old and New Testaments; those in Section II, according to the order of the books in the Apocrypha; while the arrangement of references in the third section is alphabetical.

The appendix is by no means exhaustive. It is a list of the biblical allusions in the text, and it is not intended to be a complete list of the references. It is a list of the references which are of special interest to the student of the Bible. It is a list of the references which are of special interest to the student of the Bible. It is a list of the references which are of special interest to the student of the Bible.

APPENDIX V

ALLUSIONS, QUOTATIONS, AND DIALECT WORDS IN THE MAYOR

This appendix is divided into three sections: the first contains biblical allusions and quotations; the second contains a selected list of literary and miscellaneous (agrarian, art and architectural, historical and mythological) references; and the final section presents a glossary of dialect, archaic, and colloquial words. References in Section I are arranged according to the order of the Books of the Old and New Testaments; those in Section II, according to the order of chapters in The Mayor; while the arrangement of references in the third section is alphabetical.

The appendix is by no means exhaustive: a number of literary allusions--"Yahoo antics and gestures" (ch. xxix), and "the returned Crusoe of the hour" (ch. xlv), for example--it seemed unnecessary to include; and while the number of biblical references seemed sufficient to justify a separate section, there are, without doubt, as with other references and allusions, a considerable number I have failed to notice.

Finally, the appendix contains a number of words and allusions which appeared in earlier texts of The Mayor, but were deleted before the Wessex edition of 1912. In the case of such references, the date of their first omission will be recorded. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations will be taken from the definitive edition.

a. Biblical Allusions and Quotations

Ch. xliii, 361

an outcast and a vagabond. But my punishment is not greater than I can bear!

Genesis

--iv.13-14

Ch. xxiii, 187

Her heart longed for some ark into which it could fly and be at rest

--viii.8-9 [?]¹

Ch. xli, MS, 428

a very Babel of sound

--xi.8-9

("Babel" replaced by "fugue" in final MS, text)

Ch. i, 9-10

It's an agreement to part....
simple as Scripture history

--xiii.7-11 [?]

Ch. xxix, 236

where breeding was carried
on with Abrahamic success

--xv.5

--xxii.17

¹References followed by a query [?] indicate a probable source of allusion.

Ch. xvii, 131

Like Jacob in Padan-Aram ...
multiply and prevail

Genesis (cont.)

--xxx.32-43

Ch. xxiv, MS, 350

I do remember my faults this day
(Deleted in 1886)

--xli.9

Ch. xix, 141

she was troubled at his presence, like
the brethren at the avowal of Joseph

--xlv.3

Ch. xxxvii, 308

heavily as Pharoah's chariots

Exodus

--xiv.9

Ch. iv, 33

manna-food

--xvi.14-15

Ch. v, 39

as stern as the Lord
upon the jovial Jews

--xxxii.6-10 [?]

Ch. xxxv, MS, 357

Balaam's curse had failed
(Deleted on first set of
Graphic proofs, G, 421)

Numbers

--xxii-xxiv

Ch. xliv, 373

a Samson shorn

Judges

--xvi.19

(Hardy uses the same image to describe Jude,
after his recapture by Arabella, Jude, VI, vii, 457)

- Ch. xxvi, 214 1 Samuel
like Saul at his reception by Samuel --ix.19-24
- Ch. vi, 42
He was ruddy and of a fair countenance --xvii.42
- Ch. xxxvi, 293
the Adullam trouble of every kind --xxii.1-2
- Ch. xxx, 249 2 Samuel
in Nathan tones --xii.7-14
- Ch. xxxii, 262 2 Kings
an upper room no larger
than the Prophet's chamber --iv.10
- Ch. xiv, 105 2 Chronicles
doorways as high as the
gates of Solomon's temple --iii.4
- Ch. xii, 90 Job
like Job, I could curse
the day that gave me birth --iii.1-16
- Ch. xl, 330
He cursed himself like a
less scrupulous Job --iii.1-16

Ch. xix, 147 Job (cont.)
such dust and ashes as this --xxx.19

Ch. xxviii, 229 Psalms
the country ...where
the clouds drop fatness --LXV.12

Ch. xxxii, 258
the iron had entered into their souls --CV.18¹

Ch. xxxiii, 268
"His seed shall orphans be ..."
--CIX.10-15²

Ch. xxxvi, MS, 372
whom princes had persecuted without
a cause --CXIX.161
("princes" replaced by "squires" in
1886, Vol. II, 174)

Ch. xxix, 241 Proverbs
like coals of fire on my head --xxv.22

¹ One of Hardy's favourite quotations; cf. letter
quoted in the Life, p. 271, and Preface to Laodicean.

² Hardy's quotation is taken from the metrical version
by Tate and Brady; all other allusions to Psalms refer
to the version given in the Book of Common Prayer.

- Ch. xxiv, 194
"He that observeth the wind ..."
Ecclesiastes
--xi.4
- Ch. iv, 28
to see, to hear, and to understand
Isiah^a
--vi.9-10
- Ch. i, 14
the great trumpet
--xxvii.13
- Ch. xv, 109
"The virgin that loveth to go gay"
Baruch (Apocr.)
Epist. of Jer.
--vi.9
- Ch. xlv, 385
the Capharnaum in which some of
her preceding years had been spent
(A similar image appears in
Jude, VI, vii, 461)
Matthew
--iv.13-16
- Ch. xxiv, 194
No more sowers ...some
among thorns ...
--xiii.4, 7
- Ch. xiii, 94
But the flesh is weak
--xxvi.41
- Ch. xxii, 174
"Thy speech bewrayeth thee!"
--xxvi.73

Ch. xl, 330

Luke

Over this repentant sinner ...
there was to be no joy in heaven

--xv.7

Ch. xxxii, 264

she was wise in her generation

--xvi.8

Ch. xxvi, 208

the two disciples supping at Emmaus

--xxiv.29-30

Ch. x, 75

John

like the quicker cripple at Bethesda

--v.2-7

Ch. xxx, MS, 306

Romans

"the good that she would have done ..."

--vii.15

(replaced by Ovid quotation in 1912 [W, 247])

Ch. xli, 345

2 Corinthians

"Who is such a reprobate as I!..."

--xiii.5-7 [?]

Ch. xxvi, 215

Revelation

like living in Revelations

--viii.7-12

--xvi.18,21

b. Literary and Miscellaneous References

Chapter i

4. thimble-riggers/ Conjurers who performed the trick of thimblery, in which a pea was ostensibly placed under one of three thimble-like cups, the onlookers then being challenged to place bets on its whereabouts.

5. A haggish creature ...stirred the contents of the pot/ The action of the furmity woman, stirring her brew in a three-legged crock, is strongly reminiscent of the preparation of a "charm of powerful trouble" by the "secret, black, and midnight hags" of Macbeth (IV.i.112). See also ch. iii of The Mayor, where the character is now described as "an old woman, haggard, wrinkled, and almost in rags.... [stirring] the contents of the pot with a large spoon, and ... [croaking] in a broken voice ..." (W, 22-23).

Chapter ii

16. But the Seven Sleepers had a dog/ A reference to the Islamic version of the Christian legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, introduced as a divine revelation in ch. xviii of the Koran: "...while they were sleepingtheir dog stretched forth his fore-legs in the mouth of the cave ..." (Koran, ed. Sale, p. 218). While the legend of the seven

Christian youths who, fleeing from the persecution of Decius (250 B.C.), hid themselves in a cave in Mount Celion, and fell into a sleep from which they awoke, miraculously, after some two hundred years, appears in the myths of most branches of the Christian church,¹ Hardy's allusion is undoubtedly to the episode related in the Koran; for it is apparently in the Islamic version only that the legend acquires the additional feature of a dog (Al Ramkin), who follows the youths into the cave, and on divine inspiration, utters the words "go to sleep ... and I will guard you" (Sale, p. 218, n. b). A similar allusion appears in "The Distracted Preacher" [Short Stories, 207).]

Chapter iii

21. withy/ Made of strong, flexible branches, esp. willow.
21. highfliers/ Swings set in a frame.

Chapter iv

31. barge-boards/ Boards, often ornamental, running along the edge of house-gables, to conceal the rafters, and to throw off the rain.
31. brick-nogging/ A method of building in which a timber framework is filled in with brickwork.

¹ Being "honourably inscribed in the Roman, the Abyssinian, and the Russian calendar." Gibbon, Decline and Fall, II, 412.

32. bill-hooks/ Types of hatchets with a hooked point, used for hedge-cutting.

32. mattocks/ Agricultural tools shaped like a pick, with an adze and a chisel edge, used for loosening hard ground.

32. butter-firkins/ Small casks, originally containing a quarter of a "barrel."

32. seed-lips/ Baskets for holding seed.

Chapter v

35. "The Roast Beef of Old England"/ Song composed by Richard Leveridge; words by Fielding, Grub Street Opera, III.iii.

39. banded/ Fastened as with a band; i.e. pledged.

Chapter vii

55. pitching/ i.e. pitching of hay with a pitchfork.

Chapter viii

58. "It's hame, and it's hame, hame fain would I be ..."/ The opening stanza of an old Jacobite song, first printed in R. H. Cromek's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song (London, 1810), pp. 168-170, with the accompanying note: "from a copy found in Burns's Common Place Book, in the Editor's possession." The song is popularly attributed to Allan Cunningham, who supplied Cromek with much of the material for the Remains, a great deal of which was fabricated by Cunningham himself. (See Peter Cunningham's introduction to his father's Poems and Songs [London, 1847] on pp. 25-26 of which is printed "It's Hame, and it's Hame," followed by

a note acknowledging Cromek as the source.

59. the Scotchman again melodized with a dying fall/
Twel. I.i.4: "That strain again! it had a dying fall."

59. 'Tis recorded in history ... butcher's meat/ A reference, presumably, to the outcome of the support offered in South West England to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. Having gathered a following of some 4,000 people, Monmouth was proclaimed king at Taunton and Bridgewater; the collapse of the insurrection being followed by the notorious "Bloody Assizes," which opened at Dorchester in September of the same year, 800 insurgents being condemned to death. Estimates of the hangings vary between 150-320. The second half, at least, of Buzzford's claim seems to have some historical truth. H. W. Woolrych in Memoirs of the Life of Judge Jefferys (London, 1827), p. 214, for example, quotes an equally colourful contemporary account of the fate of the insurgents: "... some places quite depopulated, and nothing to be seen in 'em but forsaken walls, unlucky gibbets, and ghostly carcasses. The trees were loaden almost as thick with quarters as leaves; the houses and steeples covered as close with heads as at other times frequently in that country with crows or ravens."

60. pigs' chaps/ The lower half of the cheek of the animal, used as food.

61. "O Nannie"/ Refers, perhaps, to Burns's song "Behind yon hills," each stanza of which ends with the refrain, "Nannie O"; or the allusion may be to the song "O Nancy, wilt thou go with me," originally by Bishop Percy, but later

transposed, through a few minor word changes, into Lowland Scots dialect.

61. chine/ Wooden rim round the ends of a cask.

63. "As I came in by my bower door ..."/ A slight adaptation, for greater appropriacy, of the first stanza of Burns's song "Bonnie Peg," which begins "As I came in by our gate end"¹ With characteristic economy, Hardy appears to have modified the song with a line adapted from another of Burns's poems, viz. "Wha is that at my bower door."

Chapter ix

68. a pleasing chassez-déchassez movement/ "Pas figuré par lequel après avoir fait un chassé de quatre temps à droite, on fait à gauche un chassé tout à fait symétrique qu'on appelle déchassé." (Littré)

Chapter x

77. "Josephus"/ Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-ca.98), Jewish historian who wrote in Greek a History of the Jewish War, and the Jewish Antiquities, a history of the Jewish people down to A.D. 66. Hardy's reference is undoubtedly to the standard English version of the two works, by W. Whiston (1737).

¹In all texts up to the 1st edition, the adaptation is acknowledged: in its present form the narrative states that Farfrae "softly tuned an old ditty ..." (W, 63); in the MS. and serial form, however, he "softly sang a slightly modified version of an old ditty ..." (MS, 78; G, 101).

77. "Whole Duty of Man" / A devotional work published in 1659 under the title The Practice of Christian Graces: Or the Whole Duty of Man Laid Down in a Plain and Familiar Way. Attributed to various authors, including Lady Dorothy Packington, Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, and Richard Allestree. The work gained immense popularity in the two centuries following its publication. (Squire Derriman also read Duty of Man. [See Trumpet Major, vi, 467.]

Chapter xi

81. the Jötuns / A race of giants in Scandinavian mythology.

82. Aeolian modulations / From Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, IV.i.186-188:

'Tis the deep music of the rolling world
Kindling within the strings of the waved air
Aeolian modulations.

Chapter xii

87. the education of Achilles / Educated by Chiron, a Centaur famous for his knowledge of shooting, music, and medicine, Achilles' training was essentially that of a warrior, and did not include book-learning.

88. leafy Laocoons / Hardy is most probably thinking of the marble group depicting the final agony of the priest and his sons, now in the Vatican Museum, and one of the most celebrated examples of ancient sculpture.

Chapter xiii

97. She'll wish her cake dough / Shrew I.i. 109: "our cake's dough on both sides." (Also quoted in Madding Crowd, xxxiii, 255.)

Chapter xxiv

99. A Martinmas summer / St. Martin Summer, a season of fine

mild weather occurring about Martinmas (i.e. 11 November).

100. that fieldmouse fear of the coulter of destiny/ An allusion to Burns's To a Mouse:

An' cozie here, beneath the blast,
Thou thought to dwell
Till crash! the cruel coulter past--
Out thro' thy cell.

(The same allusion occurs, with the expression of a similar idea, in Hardy's essay "The Dorsetshire Labourer" [1883]: "Like Burns's field mouse they [the rural poor] are over-awed and timorous lest those who can wrong them should be inclined to exercise their power" [Orel, p. 174].)

105. barley-mow/ Stack of grain in sheaves.

108. "As I came down through Cannobie"/ Details of this song seem obscure. Two unpublished letters of Hardy to Sir George Douglas reveal that Hardy himself was unable to trace its origin. In 1915 an officer of the K.O.S.B. (then quartered near Dorchester) had asked Hardy where he could find the song; and on 5 April 1915 Hardy wrote to Douglas: "...I have not the slightest idea where I saw or heard the song, or how it got into the novel I ask you on the chance of your knowing it. All I could tell him was that it was a real old song, though further than that my memory does not serve me." To this, Douglas replied: "I am sorry to say that I know nothing of the Cannobie songI will put your question to the Edinburgh Rymour Club ...who occupy themselves with these matters" (7 April 1915). The outcome of the proposed enquiry is not known, and on 17 April Hardy wrote to Douglas: "I am as deep in darkness as ever as to where I got the line, and it is amusing that Farfrae was made to whistle it because it was, as I supposed, a song

known to every Scotchman."¹

Chapter xvi

118. as common as blackberries/ Cf. I Hen. IV II.iv.234-235:
"if reasons were as plentiful as blackberries." (The same
phrase occurs in Ethelberta, xxvii, 222.)

121. her eyes beaming with a longing, lingering light ...
advised by Correggio in their creation/

For Hardy such "longing" seems to be ^acharacteristic quality
of Correggio's work. Cf. the description of Elfride Swan-
court in Blue Eyes, i, 2: "The characteristic expression
of the female faces of Correggio--that of the yearning
human thoughts that lie too deep for tears--was hers some-
times...."

123. "Miss McLeod of Ayr"/ One of Hardy's own favourite
tunes since childhood. See the Life, p. 15: "...among the
endless jigs, hornpipes, reels, waltzes, and country-dances
that his father played of an evening there were three
or four that always moved the child [Hardy] to tears
Among the airs ... [was] 'Miss McLeod of Ayr' (an old Scotch
tune to which Burns may have danced)...."

¹ Both letters from Hardy are now in the National
Library of Scotland; the letter from Douglas is in DCM.

Chapter xvii

131. Character is Fate, said Novalis/ From Novalis' play Heinrich von Ofterdingen: "dass Schicksal und Gemütⁿ Namen eines Begriffes sind." As W. E. Yuill points out,¹ Hardy most probably obtained the phrase, not directly from the German writer, but from George Eliot's paraphrase of Novalis in The Mill on the Floss (VI, vi): "'Character,' says Novalis, in one of his questionable aphorisms, 'Character is destiny.'"

131. quitted the ways of vulgar men ...a better way/ A quotation from Carlyle's essay, "Goethe's 'Helena'" (originally published as a review of Goethe's Sämmtliche Werke): "Thus Faust is a man who has quitted vulgar men, without light to guide him on a better way."² For his analysis of Henchard's character and temperament at the conclusion of Chapter xvii, Hardy was greatly indebted to two consecutive passages in this essay of Carlyle. The phrasing in the novel is sufficiently close to that of the earlier text to suggest that Hardy consulted Carlyle's work while actually writing the chapter. Cf. Carlyle's comment on Faust's character:

¹ See "'Character is Fate': a Note on Thomas Hardy, George Eliot and Novalis," MLR, LVII (1962), 401-402.

² The source of Hardy's allusion is identified by Grace S. Haber, in "Echoes from Carlyle's 'Goethe's Helena' in The Mayor of Casterbridge," NCF, XII (June 1957), 89-90.

The vehement, keen and stormful nature of the man is stung into fury, as he thinks of all he has endured and lost; he broods in gloomy meditation, and like Bellerophon, wanders apart, "eating his own heart" ...

which reappears in a slightly adapted form in The Mayor:

...the Mayor invariably gazed stormfully past him /Farfrae/ like one who had endured and lost on his account ... Henchard was stung into bitterness; like Bellerophon, he wandered away from the crowd, cankered in soul.

Carlyle's allusion to Bellerophon refers in fact to the description given in the Iliad (VI.209-202), a work with which Hardy himself was well acquainted.

137. open the windows as soon as I am carried out/

Refers to the custom of opening all doors and windows at the time of death, to aid the flight of the passing soul.

Chapter xix

139. entablature/ That part of a design above the column; including architrave, frieze, and cornice.

Chapter xx

149. "In such a hand ..." / From Tennyson's The Princess, I.136-137.

150. louring/ Scowling.

153. the avenues of Karnac/ (The 1886 text alone contains the reading "pillared avenues of Karnac" [II,254].) There are two possible sources to this allusion:

- i) the megalithic monuments in the region of Carnac, a village in Brittany, the most notable of which are the long avenues of menhirs, or standing stones. The district contains three separate systems ranging from ten to thirteen lines (once apparently forming a continuous series) of several hundred unhewn granite pillars of various heights.
- ii) the ruins at Karnak, a village in Upper Egypt, once forming the northern half of the city of Thebes. The Karnak ruins include the celebrated 19th dynasty temple of Amon, containing a hypostyle hall with rows of columns bisected on the main axis by a central avenue of larger columns. The Hall of Columns was regarded as one of the "Seven Wonders" of the ancient world.

154. Austerlitz/ Battle of Austerlitz, 1805, which saw the defeat of both Russian and Austrian armies, was the most brilliant of Napoleon's military victories, and shortly after which he reached the height of his power. Though other notable successes followed (e.g., Jena and Friedland), the scale of the achievement at Austerlitz was never repeated, and in less than two years, the gradual decline in Napoleon's power had begun.

Chapter xxi

160. Palladian/ An architectural style named after Andrea Palladio (1518-80), who imitated, though not strictly followed, the principles of ancient Roman architecture. The

style was introduced into England in the late Renaissance by Inigo Jones.

160. Gothic/ A style of architecture which flourished in Western Europe from the 12th to 16th centuries; distinguished by high, pointed arches and clustered columns; includes Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.

164. "tailing"/ Refuse small corn, driven from the middle of the heap to the tail of it in winnowing. Unfit for sale, and so generally used by the farmer at home.

166. "you take time by the forelock"/ An allusion, perhaps, to Spenser's Amoretti, LXX: "Tell her Joyous Time will not be stayed/ Unless she do him by the forelock take." The phrase, however, is commonplace.

Chapter xxii

171. clue line/ A tackle connecting the lower corners of sails to the upper yard or mast ready for furling.

172-173. a well-known conception of Titian's/ Most probably alludes to the female figure in the right foreground of "Bacchanal," now in the Prado.

178. cyma-recta curve/ A curve which is concave in its upper part and convex in its lower part.

Chapter xxiii

180. hyperborean/ Belonging to the extreme north of a country.

182. kerseymere/ Fine woollen twill cloth of special weave.

184. wagon-tilts/ Coverings, usually of canvas, for wagons.

185. Dan Cupid's magnet/ Cf. L.L.L. III.i.176-177:

This wimpled, whining, purblind, wayward boy,
This signor junior, giant-dwarf, Dan Cupid.

Chapter xxiv

191. in the days of the Heptarchy/ Refers to the period in OE history (viz. mid 6th to early 9th centuries) when the kingdoms of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria existed at the same time with kings of their own. Inaccurate, because during this period there were often more, and frequently less, than seven kingdoms.

193. "Lass of Gowrie"/ A song by Lady Carolina Nairne (1766-1845).

Chapter xxv

205. "meaner beauties of the night"/ From the opening stanza of Sir Henry Wotton's poem On His Mistress--The Queen of Bohemia.

Chapter xxvi

208. They sat stiffly ...like some Tuscan painting ...
Emmaus/

The Tuscan or Florentine School, a collective term for

the group of artists, architects, and sculptors, associated with the city of Florence from the 13th to 16th centuries. The works of the early Tuscan painters (e.g., Cavallini, Cimabue, and Duccio) appear unrealistic and "stiff" in comparison with those of the later exponents of the school (e.g., da Vinci and Michaelangelo).

212. Casterbridge, being as it were the bell-board/ "Bell-board," a table on which hand-bells are arranged in pitch-order and played by several performers, each in charge of several bells. In other words, the livelihood of Casterbridge depended upon the fortunes of the surrounding country.

214. if they will wear the toad-bag/ Refers to a belief prevalent in Dorset, of the efficacy of a toad or parts of a toad, sewn up in a small bag and worn round the neck, as a preventive or cure for the "evil" (i.e. scrofula). Reference to this practice appears in the Life, ch. vii, p. 112: "'Toad Fair.' An old man, a wizard, used to bring toads' legs in little bags to Bagber Bridge (close to where Hardy was living) where he was met by crowds of people who came ...and bought them as charms to cure scrofula by wearing them round the neck. These legs were supposed to twitch occasionally in the bag, and probably did, when it gave

237. Gilbert's collar of bells/ An allusion to the "magical collar" of Gilbert the wizard in Hardy's Life (ch. 11).

the wearer's blood a 'turn,' and changed the course of the disease." (Entry dated 1876.)

Chapter xxvii

220. thill horse/ Shaft-horse.

221. like the giddy worm/ A reference to Gid or Sturdy, a disease of sheep, caused by the presence of "worm cyst" in some part of the brain; staggering forming one of the symptoms. Incidentally, Hardy's own definition of the disease appears in Blue Eyes, ch. xxxvii, 401, where Henry Knight describes his motiveless wanderings round Europe: "'You know, I daresay, that sheep occasionally become giddy--hydatids in the head 'tis called, in which their brains become eaten up, and the animal exhibits the strange peculiarity of walking round and round in a circle continually. I have travelled just in the same way--round and round like a giddy ram.'"

Chapter xxix

226. lucubrations/ Nocturnal studies, esp. of a pedantic character.

Chapter xxviii

229. Shallow and Silence/ Refers to 2 Hen.IV V.iii.

229. ashlar/ Square hewn stonework used for wall-facing.

Chapter xxix

237. Gurth's collar of brass/ An allusion to the "singular gorget" of Gurth the swineherd in Scott's Ivanhoe (ch. i).

238. the hot air ...like a sirocco/ Name given in Italy to the hot dry wind blowing over the Mediterranean from the Sahara.

Chapter xxx

245. like John Gilpin/ An allusion to Cowper's John Gilpin, ll. 49-56:

For saddle-tree scarce reach'd had he,
His journey to begin,
When, turning round his head, he saw
Three customers come in.

So down he came; for loss of time,
Although it griev'd him sore,
Yet loss of pence, full well he knew,
Would trouble him much more.

247. "Video meliora proboque ..."/ From Ovid's Metamorphoses, Bk. VII, xx-xxi.

Chapter xxxi

255. arch-labels/ In medieval or Tudor masonry, stone mouldings projecting over door and window arches in order to throw off the rain. (Also called, "dripstones.")

256. steelyards/ Instruments for weighing, consisting of a lever of unequal arms; the object for weighing being placed on the short arm, and a moveable weight on the long arm.

Chapter xxxiii

267. Rogue's March/ A military quickstep of unknown origin, played by trumpeters or fifers when expelling or "drumming out" a soldier from a regiment.

271. "Mistress know yourself" / A.Y.L.III.v.57-58.

274. cat-head/ Generally a beam of timber projecting from the bow of a ship for raising the anchor. Used here for a projecting beam with chain attached, for hauling sacks.

Chapter xxxiv

281. That worm i' the bud/ Twel.II.iv.111-113.

Chapter xxxvi

291. dogs/ Andirons (pair of iron bars for supporting the ends of logs in a fireplace).

293. Peter's Finger/ (Called St. Peter's Finger in 1st and 2nd editions of The Mayor.) A name Hardy apparently borrowed from a real inn at Lytchett Minster, where the inn-sign is reputedly a portrait of St. Peter ad Vincula. (See Hermann Lea, Thomas Hardy's Wessex, p. 102.)

294. sallows/ Willow-trees, especially of the small shrubby kind.

296. swingels/ In a notebook entry (Dec. 1884) headed Poachers' iron swingels, and with accompanying diagram, Hardy describes the weapon as follows: "A strip of iron ran down three or four sides of the flail part and the two flails were united by three or four links of chain, the keepers carrying cutlasses which could cut off the ordinary eel-skin hinge of a flail." (Notebook in DCM.)

296. the blower of the chimney/ Refers to a sheet of metal in front of a fire to increase the draught.

Chapter xxxvii

303. gold-leaf/ A minute quantity of gold, beaten out into a very thin sheet, and used in gilding.

307. Calphurnia's cheek was pale/ See Caesar I.ii.183.

Chapter xxxviii

311. He can rub brine on a green wound/ Cf. Bacon's essay "Of Revenge": "A man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green," The phrase is of course proverbial.

312. "And here's a hand ..."/ From Burns's song "Auld Lang Syne" (lines 21-22).

Chapter xxxix

322. kits/ Small fiddles.

322. crowds/ Fiddles.

322 humstrums/ Hurdy-gurdies.

324. all had disappeared like the crew of Comus/
Comus, lines 145, 147:

"Break off, break off Run to your shrouds, within these Brakes and trees...."

Chapter xli

335. as though that way alone could happiness lie/ A reminiscence, perhaps, of Keats's Endymion (I.778-779):
Wherein lies happiness? In that which becks
Our ready minds to fellowship divine, A fellowship with
essence.

Chapter xlii

348. Time, "in his own grey style"/ From Shelley's Epipsychidion, l. 55.

363. schiedam/ A variety of gin, so called after the town in Holland where it is distilled.

Chapter xliiv

366. quickset/ A hedge of living plants, particularly hawthorn.

372. drag/ An iron shoe which is lowered under the wheel of a vehicle when going downhill, to stop wheel revolving.

376. "the shade from his own soul upthrown"/ From Shelley's Revolt of Islam, Canto viii.vi.72.

Chapter xlv

379-380. it was a part of his nature to extenuate nothing/
Cf. Othello V.ii.342-344:

When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice.

380. "whose gestures beamed with mind"/ From Revolt of Islam, Canto i.liv.5. (Quoted also in Beloved, II, i, 62.)

381. the full breasts of Diana Multimammia/ Folio 473 of the MS. carries the deletion "Diana Multimammia <of the Ephesians.>" The allusion, then, is to the many-breasted fertility goddess whose temple at Ephesus was regarded as one of the "Seven Wonders" of the ancient world. Probably pre-Hellenic in origin, the cult of the great foster-mother of Ephesus was gradually amalgamated with that of the Greek Artemis, and later still annexed by the Romans, who identified her with the goddess Diana (the statue of Diana in the Aventine temple being modelled in the Ephesian style).

c. Glossary of Dialect, Archaic, and Colloquial Words

In compiling this glossary, reference has been made to the following works:

A Grammar and Glossary of the Dorset Dialect by William Barnes (Trans. Phil. Soc., London, 1864).

The English Dialect Dictionary ed. Joseph Wright (London, 1898-1905),¹

The Oxford English Dictionary ed. J. A. H. Murray et al. (Oxford, 1933).

BIBBING, vbl.n. tippling, xxxvi, 293.

BLOODY-WARRIORS, n.pl. dark-coloured wallflowers, so called from the deep-red tinges on the corolla, ix, 68.

BRUCKLE, a. changeable, untrustworthy, viii, 60.

CHAP O' WAX, n. smart, clever person, xv, 115.

CHAWS HIGH, pres.t. 3 sg. is genteel, xxxvi, MS, 373;
"only used by a few old people, but in common use twenty

¹ Hardy's name appears on the list of correspondents whose help Wright acknowledged in compiling his dictionary. (See Wright, I, xviii.) The initials "T.H." after a quotation in the glossary refer to definitions supplied by Hardy himself. I have omitted from this glossary a number of words whose meaning is explicitly defined within the text, e.g., "[Elizabeth] no longer spoke of 'dumbledores' but of 'humble bees' ...she grew to talk of 'greggles' as 'wild hyacinths' ...[and] when she had not slept she did not quaintly tell the servants ...that she had been 'hag-rid,' but that she had 'suffered from indigestion'" (W, 148-9).

or thirty years ago" (T.H.). (Present until 1886 text, when replaced by "stands high" [86, II, 1767.] Cf. Jude, V, viii, 383: "these fanciful women that chaw high."

CHITTERLING, n. the small intestines of animals, generally pigs, cleansed and boiled and cut into short lengths, and used as food, xiii, MS, 121. (Deleted in 1886.)

CLAMMY, a. sluggish, xiii, 98.

COLE, v. take fondly round the neck, embrace, xxxvi, G, 422. (Present in Graphic text only.)

COMING-ON, vbl.a. ready, receptive, xvi, 121; xxii, 171.

DAND, n. dandy, xxvii, 221.

DOGGERY, n. roguery, rascality, xiii, 97.

~~DOXOLOGY, n. act of praise, thanksgiving, xviii, 137.~~

FAIRING, n. a present, esp. a gift of money, xv, 115.

FIERE, n. (Sc) friend, companion, xxxviii, 312.

GABERLUNZIE, n. (Sc) licensed beggar, viii, 62.

GAWK-HAMMER, a. empty-headed, scatter-brained, xxvii, 220. Cf. Madding Crowd, x, 90: "a poor gawkhammer mortal."

HONTISH, a. haughty, xxxvii, 308. (Enters text in 1895, when substituted for "mandy" [0, 3227.] Cf. Tess, II, xii, 104: "I thought ...you would be hontish wi' him and lose your chance."

IVY THRUM, n. twisted ivy stems, xviii, MS, 174.
(Deleted on first set of Graphic proofs.)

JACK RAG, n. generic proper name for anybody, i, 9; "'Every jack-rag o'm' means every single individual" (Barnes).

BE JOWNED, int. damn it, xx, 149.

JUMPS (pair of), n.pl. kind of fitted underbodice, often worn instead of stays, xiii, 98.

KEACORN, n. throat, i, 14.

KERP, v. speak in an affected manner, xviii, MS, 190^V.
(Present in MS. and Harper's text only.)

KNEE-NAPS, n.pl. leather pads worn over the knees by thatchers, xliii, 360.

LAMMIGERS, n.pl. cripples, xviii, 59.

LARRY, n. commotion, excitement, xxviii, 233.

LEERY, a. hungry, empty, xx, 155.

LIST, n. the close dense streak in heavy bread, v, 40.

BY LONG AND BY LATE, phr. after a long time and much ado, xli, 335.

MANDY, a. haughty, proud, xxxvii, MS, 386. (Replaced by "hontish" in 1895.)

OVEN PYLE, n. a long-handled shovel for conveying loaves, pies, etc. to and from an oven, xxxvi, 297.

PLIM, v. swell up, iv, 33. Cf. Madding Crowd, lii, 417: "her bosom plimmed and fell."

RANDY, n. merrymaking, xvi, 123. Cf. Tess, IV, xxxiii, 268: "a rattling good randy wi' fiddles and bass-viol complete."

RANTIPOLE, a. noisy, rough, xxxiii, 267.

SKIMMITY-RIDE, n. procession intended to bring ridicule on unfaithful or bullying husband or wife, in which effigies of the offending persons, accompanied by a discordant noise of pots and pans, etc., were carried through the village, xxxvi, 298.

TO GO SNACKS WI', phr. to team up with, share, xxxvii, 308.

SNIFF AND SNAFF, phr. ready agreement, xvii, 130.

SOCKED, p.t. 3 sg. sighed loudly, xli, 337.

STUBBERD, n. variety of apple, xxvii, 221, et passim. (Used in the text as a proper name for the slow-witted local constable.)

STUNPOLL, n. blockhead, xvi, 122.

' SWIPES, n.pl. very thin beer, iv, 33.

TEAVED, p.t. 1 sg. raged, stormed, v, MS, 50. (Deleted in 1886.)

TIPPED, p.t. 3 sg. made conical at the top, v, MS, 50.
(Deleted in 1886.)

TO-YEAR, n. this year, v, 39. Cf. "to-night," "to-morrow."

TOPPERED, p.p. hit, knocked on the head, i.e. "cut down
to size," xxxvii, 308.

TRIMMING, ppl.a. great, powerful, v, MS, 50. (Deleted
in 1886.)

TURMIT, a. turnip, xxviii, 231.

TWANKING, a. complaining, xiii, 97. "To 'twank' is to
complain with real cause" (T.H.).

'VATION, n. salvation, i, 10.

WAMBLING, pres. p. staggering, walking unsteadily, xxviii,
231.

WIMBLE, n. implement for twisting bands for trusses of
hay, i, 1.

ZWAILING, pres.p. swaying about from side to side, xxvii,
220.

APPENDIX VI

TABLE SHOWING WEEKLY SERIAL INSTALMENTS OF THE MAYOR

The Mayor appeared in the Graphic (nos. 840-849) and in Harper's Weekly (nos. 1515-84) from 2 January to 15 May 1886. Although publication was simultaneous in both England and America, instalments 2, 6, 10, 12, 17, and 18 ended at different points in each magazine, and I have indicated this discrepancy on the table overleaf by quoting the final sentence of instalments in either magazine which close with an incomplete chapter.

DATE	INSTALMENTS	CHAPTERS IN HARPER'S WEEKLY	CHAPTERS IN THE GRAPHIC
2 Jan.	1	i — ii	i — ii
9 Jan.	2	iii — v to "Three drinks ... few or no palates ranged."	iii — v to "So they don't press him ... a serious thing."
16 Jan.	3	v(cont.) — vii	v(cont.) — vii
23 Jan.	4	viii — ix	viii — ix
30 Jan.	5	x — xii	x — xii
6 Feb.	6	xiii — xv to "Reaching Whittle's bedside ... his clothes."	xiii — xv to "Now I shall twitch, like a moment-hand ... him."
13 Feb.	7	xv(cont.) — xvii	xv(cont.) — xvii
20 Feb.	8	xviii — xix	xviii — xix
27 Feb.	9	xx — xxi	xx — xxi
6 Mar.	10	xxii — xxiii to "You should not change like this!"	xxii — xxiii
13 Mar.	11	xxiii(cont.) — xxv	xxiv — xxv
20 Mar.	12	xxvi — xxvii to "He had some business ... homeward alone."	xxvi — xxvii to "They went on towards the scene ... away."
27 Mar.	13	xxvii(cont.) — xxix	xxvii(cont.) — xxix
3 Apr.	14	xxx — xxxii	xxx — xxxii
10 Apr.	15	xxxiii — xxxiv	xxxiii — xxxiv
17 Apr.	16	xxxv — xxxvi	xxxv — xxxvi
24 Apr.	17	xxxvii — xxxix to "I see you haven't shut your shutters ... is open."	xxxvii — xxxviii
1 May	18	xxxix(cont.) — xli to "But after nightfall ... going that way."	xxxix — xli to "I'll trouble you no longer."
8 May	19	xli(cont.) — xliv	xli(cont.) — xliv
15 May	20	xliv — xlv	xliv — xlv

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ii) For the remaining novels and for the Dynasts the Wessex Edition, 1912-31, has been used throughout unless reference to the first or some other edition is indicated. For the Short Stories the one-volume edition, The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy, 1928, has been used, and for the poems the one-volume edition, Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy, 4th edn., 1930.

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