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Thomas Hardy's 'Facts' Notebook

A Critical Edition

Edited by
WILLIAM GREENSLADE

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Thomas Hardy's 'Facts' Notebook

Yellham Hill cutting made - 1826

it - 28 Sept

Game plentiful this year (1826) Exeter coach via Basingstoke brings to town each journey from 200 to 300 head of game: on one 60 hares, 150 partridges &c. - it

Dead - Woman comes on a visit to friend - finds her dead & buried - it

Cornish Wrestling - 2000 persons assembled ^{Eagle} bowling green ^{City Tavern City Rd.} to witness the Cornish wrestling. The sport was finished by Warren & Cornish man & Ab^m Cann the Devonshire Champion, who contended for 1st prize - 10 sows. won by Cann - very muscular, abt. 30. 2^d prize, 6 sows. to Warren - it

Transported - Allen, com^o mandant after, Bucks assigns, 1825, has written home from V. Diemel's L. States that he has (1826) £65 a year aboard for managing a farm. - it

Coach robbed - of parcel containing £1000 country bank notes - it

Gone down - Hindon market (Wills - old clock) some years ago an important one - now on Thursday exhibited 42 pigs 2 baskets of butter 3 butcher stalls. The rates on small houses are more than the rent! - it Oct 12. 26

The "Lady of a Noble Lord" - Closes windows of house during day: night throws them open - house illuminated - apart from husband - deranged - it

The Nineteenth Century Series

General Editors' Preface

The aim of the series is to reflect, develop and extend the great burgeoning of interest in the nineteenth century that has been an inevitable feature of recent years, as that former epoch has come more sharply into focus as a locus for our understanding not only of the past but of the contours of our modernity. It centres primarily upon major authors and subjects within Romantic and Victorian literature. It also includes studies of other British writers and issues, where these are matters of current debate: for example, biography and autobiography, journalism, periodical literature, travel writing, book production, gender, non-canonical writing. We are dedicated principally to publishing original monographs and symposia; our policy is to embrace a broad scope in chronology, approach and range of concern, and both to recognize and cut innovatively across such parameters as those suggested by the designations 'Romantic' and 'Victorian'. We welcome new ideas and theories, while valuing traditional scholarship. It is hoped that the world which predates yet so forcibly predicts and engages our own will emerge in parts, in the wider sweep, and in the lively streams of disputation and change that are so manifest an aspect of its intellectual, artistic and social landscape.

Vincent Newey
Joanne Shattock

University of Leicester

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List of Abbreviations

Bailey: J.O. Bailey, *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy: A Handbook and Commentary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970)

Boswell-Stone: L.C. Boswell-Stone, *Memories and Traditions Recorded by L.C. Boswell-Stone* (London: Richard Clay, 1895)

Brady: Kristin Brady, *The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy: Tales of Past and Present* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982)

CL: *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978–88)

CMT: *A Changed Man and Other Tales*

CP: *Thomas Hardy: The Complete Poems*, ed. James Gibson (London: Macmillan, 1976)

CPW: *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Samuel Hynes, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982–95)

CS: *Thomas Hardy: The Complete Stories*, ed. Norman Page (London: J.M. Dent, 1996)

Cullen Brown: Joanna Cullen Brown, *Hardy's People* (London: Allison & Busby, 1991)

DCC: *Dorset County Chronicle, Somersetshire Gazette, And General Advertiser For the South and South-West of England*

DCM: *Dorset County Museum*

DN: *Daily News*

DNHAS: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society

ELH: Emma Lavinia Hardy

FED: Florence Emily Dugdale

Frampton: *The Journal of Mary Frampton From the Year 1779 Until the Year 1846*, ed. Harriet Georgiana Mundy (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1885)

GND: *A Group of Noble Dames*

Hutchins: John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (1774), eds W. Shipp & J.W. Hodson, 4 vols (3rd edn, Westminster: J.B. Nichols & Sons, 1861–73; rpt East Ardsley, Wakefield: E.P. Publishing, 1973).

Life and Work: *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984)

LLE: *Late Lyrics and Earlier*

LLI: *Life's Little Ironies*

LLI, 1996: *Life's Little Ironies*, ed. Alan Manford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

LN: *The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Lennart A. Björk, 2 vols (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985)

Mayor, 1987: *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, ed. Dale Kramer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

Millgate, 1971: Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: His Career as A Novelist* (1971; London: Macmillan, 1994)

Millgate, 1982: Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography* (1982; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

MV: *Moments of Vision*

OED: *Oxford English Dictionary*

PDNHAS: *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*

Pinion: F.B. Pinion, *A Hardy Companion* (1968; London: Macmillan, 1976)

PN: *The Personal Notebooks of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard H. Taylor (London: Macmillan, 1979)

PPP: *Poems of Past and Present*

Public Voice: *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice: The Essays, Speeches and Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Michael Millgate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001)

PW: *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings*, ed. Harold Orel (London: Macmillan, 1967)

Ray: Martin Ray, *Thomas Hardy: A Textual Study of the Short Stories* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)

Telegram: Weymouth, Portland and Dorchester Telegram

Tess, 1988: *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, eds Juliet Grindle and Simon Gatrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

TH: Thomas Hardy

THFH: *Thomas Hardy: Family History*, ed. Norman Page, 5 vols (London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998)

THJ: *Thomas Hardy Journal*

TL: *Time's Laughingstocks*

TLS: *Times Literary Supplement*

Trumpet-Major, 1991: *The Trumpet-Major*, ed. Richard Nemesvari (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Walpole, Letters: Horace Walpole, *The Letters of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 9 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1857–59)

Winfield: Christine Winfield, 'Factual Sources of Two Episodes in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 25 (2) (September 1970): 224–31

Woodlanders, 1985: *The Woodlanders*, ed. Dale Kramer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

WP: *Wessex Poems*

WT: *Wessex Tales*

WT, 1991: *Wessex Tales*, ed. Kathryn R. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Critical Introduction

I

Thomas Hardy and his wife Emma completed their move from Wimborne Minster to Dorchester in the last week of June 1883. Among their effects, they brought with them an accumulation of notebooks, the product of Hardy's habitual note-taking of many years: the 'Architectural Notebook', the 'Schools of Painting' notebook, the 'Trumpet-Major Notebook', one book of 'Literary Notes', the '1867' notebook, and the 'Studies, Specimens &c' notebook. Many others, probably pocket-books dating from the 1870s, would not survive the later Max Gate bonfires. Altogether, 12 MS notebooks of this kind have been preserved, and these include the notebook which Hardy began soon after he was settled in Dorchester, the subject of this edition – 'Facts From Newspapers, Histories, Biographies, & other chronicles – (mainly Local).'¹

After the death of Hardy's second wife, Florence, in 1937, the co-executor of her will, Irene Cooper Willis, had custody of these so-called 'Commonplace Books', and by 1962 'Facts' (as I shall abbreviate it) had been deposited in the Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester, listed as 'Literary Notes III'. Along with seven other notebooks, it was put on microfilm in 1975.²

In compiling and composing his own 'ghosted biography', *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy* (published posthumously as *The Early Life* and *The Later Years*),³ Hardy made no secret of his dependence on what he variously referred to as his 'notebooks', 'pocket-books', 'diaries' and 'memoranda'. The real extent of his private note-taking can now only be guessed at, following the destruction of much of it by Hardy himself, and later by Florence and by his literary executor Sydney Cockerell, who in corresponding about the notebooks of another poet, A.E. Housman, wrote that he had 'spent a whole morning burning (by his instructions) similar notebooks by Thomas Hardy.'⁴ But whatever this private archive had amounted to by 1913 (the date of the source for the final entry in 'Facts'), in the light of what is known of the voluminous holograph literary remains of Victorian contemporaries such as Meredith and Hopkins, the volume of Hardy's note-taking is not likely to have been exceptional.⁵

Towards the end of July 1883, within a month of his settling in Dorchester, Hardy began his new notebook, 'Facts', a substantial, stoutly bound volume, suggestive of a deliberate enterprise, and into which he would enter 690 items. And like almost all of Hardy's other surviving notebooks, it carried at his death the injunction 'to be destroyed uncopied'. However, in spite of Cockerell's determination to carry out Hardy's injunctions to the letter, Florence Hardy managed to preserve 'Facts', together with other notebooks necessary for the task of completing the *Life*.⁶

In its earliest phase the composition and make-up of 'Facts' was far from straightforward, partly because of the erratic sequencing of entries over the first 11 pages of the notebook. After the first entry (from a review of a work by the economic historian Thorold Rogers) Hardy evidently involved Emma in copying a backlog of items which had been accumulating, from at least 1876, as cuttings and notebook entries, all of which they had brought with them from Wimborne.⁷ Emma wrote up extracts from J.F. Pennie's

Tale of a Modern Genius (1827) and entered items from newspapers and magazines – the *Daily News*, *The Times*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Harper's Bazar* from 1882 to early 1883, with some entries from current papers to October 1883. Hardy took over the note-taking in late November (11c) and thereafter established a reasonably consistent forward momentum.

But in mid-March 1884, with his first entry from early issues of the *Dorset County Chronicle* (27c), Hardy began a new phase in 'Facts', one with which the notebook has been particularly associated. Even when interrupted by the appearance of other fascinating sources – a volume of memoirs, an autobiography, or contemporary newspaper reports too intriguing to ignore – Hardy hardly deviated from what appears to have been a preconceived plan of recording as much as he could, in as short a time as he could, from issues of the *Dorset County Chronicle* ('old DCC' as he called it) of each of the five years 1826–30. Starting at the beginning of each calendar year the procedure was to work through the files to, more or less, the end of the year, before moving on to the next. Four of these years were covered over a period of eight weeks. There is evidence that he borrowed batches of the old files from the office of the *Chronicle* nearby in High West Street, Dorchester, for private use at his home in Shire-Hall Place.⁸ It was his good luck to have had access to so obliging a proprietor. Hardy did not have to expose his copying (or Emma's) to public view in the Dorset County Museum.

In the 1820s and 1830s, the *Dorset County Chronicle*, *Somersetshire Gazette*, *And General Advertiser for the South and South-West of England* was a weekly newspaper, published on Thursdays, price 7 pence.⁹ It consisted of four pages (each 55 x 38.5 cm), a page-size similar to that of a modern English broadsheet. Each page held five columns of closely-set small type with little typographical variety, except for page 1 which was largely given over to advertisements and announcements. The paper was routinely, but not consistently, divided into standard sections which included: 'Original Notices' (reviews), 'London Mails' and foreign news, 'Provincial intelligence', that is, news from Western counties, especially Dorset, 'Accidents & Offences', court cases from all quarters, market news and an editorial. In taking his material from any part of the paper, Hardy did not restrict himself merely to Dorset news, important as this would be to him, but ranged more widely over English and foreign reports. The combination of the disciplined reading of the weekly issues of 'old DCC', over a period of two months, with the impact on him of the mass of this material itself, from the Dorset and England of the post-Waterloo world of his parents' youth, must have been an experience that stayed with him for the rest of his life.

The sequence running through 1826 was the most sustained of all, consisting of 146 items from January to November (items 27c–60b). The file for 1827 yielded 65 items in a rather complex series, which included the first of the lengthy court case entries, mainly handled by Emma. By the beginning of May 1884, with the papers of 1828 and 1829 read through, Hardy had accumulated 350 entries, including a return to a formidable report of an action for damages (November 1826), which in the notebook ran to 11 pages, mostly entered by Emma. So by May 1884 the bulk of the immediate task had been completed, although the newspapers of 1830 were still to be tackled. Important source material had been identified for *The Mayor of Casterbridge* which Hardy had been actively planning since early in 1884, and to the writing of which he now turned in earnest.

The 113 items which were to be taken from 1830 papers fell into a much protracted and intermittent later phase of the note-taking, lasting from the summer of 1884 until 1890, as the enterprise gave way to the demands of writing *The Mayor*, *The Woodlanders*, a range of short fiction and, subsequently, *Tess*. There is consequently a marked slowing-down of the rate of entry of the 1830 DCC items: 16 entries between May and July 1884, only 17 between August and November 1884, a further six items through to late December. By the beginning of 1885 Hardy had worked through to May 1830. He then entered a further 23 items to take the coverage up to July (153a) but this was carried out over 14 months (January 1885–March 1886). A further batch of 40 entries was taken from the July–October 1830 issues, in late 1886 or 1887. Eight final DCC entries from November and December 1830 (192a–192h, [193]c) follow sometime between March 1888 and September 1890. And at this point Hardy entered the final ‘old DCC’ item ([193]c), from the issue of 9 December 1830.

The predominance of the *Dorset County Chronicle* as a source in ‘Facts’ has tended to obscure the importance to him of the ‘Histories, Biographies and other chronicles’ of Hardy’s title. Entries early in the notebook, from Pennie’s *Tale of a Modern Genius*, J.F. Molloy’s *Court Life Below Stairs*, Hutchins’s *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*¹⁰ and Horace Walpole’s *Letters and Reminiscences*¹¹ are followed, in the late 1880s and onwards, by extracts from Molloy’s *Peg Woffington*, Marie Liechtenstein’s *Holland House* and memoirs by R.H. Gronow, Mary Frampton, and the artist W.P. Frith. Lucia Boswell-Stone’s charming *Memories and Traditions*, recapturing pre-Victorian Dorchester, came to hand in 1895. From some of this material, especially that from Frampton and Liechtenstein, Hardy took references to families in the immediate neighbourhood of his own birthplace who were household names – Pitt, Fox (Fox-Strangways), Walpole and Wellesley. These striking ‘accidents of locality’¹² he could not ignore (see Appendix Two).

The final phase of the notebook (items 194a–[221]a), with entries made very sporadically over more than 20 years (1890–1913), combines the characteristics of both common-place book and scrapbook. A new feature is the pasting-in of cuttings from journals and newspapers. During these years he appears to have left the notebook unused for long periods. Page-numbering, which had been consistently entered on alternate pages, was now given up. Yet ‘Facts’ was still the natural repository for documents prompted by new interests, notably Hardy’s assembly of material for the poem ‘Panthera’,¹³ his extract from the *Memoir* of Bishop Walsham How (1898), probably entered when he was considering the ‘Postcript’ to *Jude the Obscure* for the Wessex edition of 1912, and a clutch of pasted-in cuttings from 1902 and 1912 on the subject of Dorchester’s old theatres.

II

The genesis and development of ‘Facts’ are inseparable from the decisive change in the direction of Hardy’s writing life in the early 1880s, when, with his return to the Dorset district of his childhood and youth, he committed himself to what Michael Millgate has rightly described as an ‘orderly falling back upon his oldest, deepest, and surest creative resources’.¹⁴ It follows from this commitment that Hardy would refamiliarize himself

with the environment of his childhood in pre-railway Dorset, and with the exceptionally rich oral testimony about the immediate past – the Dorset of the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic years – already communicated to him by his parents, his paternal grandmother, and many elderly people he knew and talked to. One of them, an old employee of his father's, was a former smuggler. The recording by Hardy in *Life and Work* of his father's own memories (quoted from earlier memoranda) is particularly notable.¹⁵ So when in March 1884 he came to the reading of the old *Dorset County Chronicle*, the record which emerged in 'Facts' was less an innocent text than one which authenticated and enlarged on, from public sources, what he had long ago heard from the private testimony of his family. The talk of family and neighbourhood (which included not only Bockhampton but Puddletown) was confirmed and capped repeatedly by the old papers' reporting. Here, for example, he found reports of the quarrelsome rivalry between the Bockhampton band and the Fordington mummers on Christmas Eve 1827, which reached the Borough Quarter Sessions and the Assizes of January 1828 – his uncle, John Hardy, and the Keates family of Bockhampton being involved as plaintiffs. The report must have made compelling reading, confirming (or contradicting), striking facts, no doubt first encountered through the talk of his extended family.

But the man who absorbed himself in family anecdote is also an 'educated observer', in Raymond Williams's phrase.¹⁶ The notebook equipped Hardy with the documentary authority he needed to address an educated metropolitan readership, of which he was inescapably a part, a readership largely ignorant of the 'unrecorded culture' which Hardy was uniquely equipped to embody in his art.¹⁷ His sense of its significance, is in Simon Gatrell's words, 'a substantial part of what lies behind the growth of Wessex, as is the role he cast for himself as a mediator between it and the educated middle classes ... who were quite ignorant of the substance and the richness of such remote and rural life'.¹⁸ 'Facts' had a special function for one who saw 'tradition in both ways'.¹⁹

The immediate practical function of 'Facts' was to provide 'material which might prove useable in the writing of stories and poems'.²⁰ This is the aspect of the notebook which has prompted most comment, even though only a small proportion of what Hardy recorded was of this type. Of the 690 items in the notebook, only a relatively small number comprise, directly or indirectly, source material for his poetry and fiction, and there is considerable variation in the possibilities these entries offer. At least 50 items can be identified as providing incidents, plotlines, details of characterization, and factual information of various kinds which figure in his poems, short stories and fiction. A dozen of these serve as direct or indirect source information for *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, the composition of which lay immediately before him that spring. Within the first 30 items which he copied from the 1826 papers, he identified a report of a bankruptcy hearing in Launceston (30a) and of a wife sale in Brighton (32g), both of them key sources for this novel.²¹ Certain items, sometimes in pairs or triads, provide events, actions or episodes whose completeness Hardy has seized on and reproduced in their major outlines: the wife sale in *The Mayor*, the avenging mantrap in *The Woodlanders*, the death of Durbeyfield's horse, Prince, in *Tess* – each is the composite of two or three separate but cognate entries.²² There are other items whose status as source material is more problematic in that they provide not so much literal relationships as correspondences: a bodysnatcher is paid £12 per head (literally) by anatomists (61a), a girl leaves her illegitimate baby under

a hayrick (148a) – suggestive material for episodes in *The Woodlanders* (ch.16) and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (ch.14).

The common factor in much of what Hardy selects is the anecdotal, the germ of a story. This emerges clearly where Hardy is at work assigning material from the same source to two different notebooks, 'Literary Notes' and 'Facts', which for 30 years he maintained simultaneously. From a *Cornhill Magazine* article of October 1881 on the Hungarian romantic poet, Nikolaus Lenau, Hardy assigned to 'Literary Notes' comments of conventional critical appreciation: Lenau 'deserves to be more widely recognised'. However the 'Facts' entries from the same source, also noted at the same date for entry in 'Literary Notes', comprise serviceable material for narrative treatment. We learn of the melancholy surroundings of Lenau's family home, set 'in a dismal graveyard', but also a story of the poet's fit of madness on his wedding day: 'Bride & mother, halting at an inn on the way to him hear that ... [he] has been put into a straight waistcoat' (24f, 24g). While 'Literary Notes' is for philosophical and aesthetic reflection – that which is quotable – 'Facts' generally comprises material which is narratable, here a familiar 'satire of circumstance'.²³

In *The Mayor*, Lucetta Farfrae, in her bedroom, thinks she hears someone, in the room below, reading out a report of 'some extraordinary crime' from 'the *Casterbridge Chronicle*'.²⁴ In the real *Chronicle*, as 'Facts' records, crime, extraordinary and petty, is insistently present – murder, highway robbery, theft and fraud of all kinds, horse-stealing, bodysnatching, and particularly in issues of 1830, machine-breaking and incendiarism. The newspaper carries lengthy reports of the law in action, both locally and nationally, and verdicts of transportation or death. Convicts in chains are on the move in coaches from prison to hulks, and from hulks to ship.²⁵ Petty offenders are whipped in front of thousands of spectators. Suicides, for love, or loss of money, or for shame, figure prominently.²⁶ Indeed one item is a portmanteau of two suicides and a murder (173a). But violence, too, characterizes the frequent reports of accidents, farcical or sad, especially coach and waggon disasters; all of this in addition to reports of elopements and abduction, and the routine of race meetings, country sports, balls, dinners and the Dorset theatre. Hardy's keen sense of the ludicrous which threads through the notebook is not absent from his treatment of petty crime. The ingenious Howarths, 'burglars of Frome', hold prayer meetings at their house, but rob the church; the wife had 'a silk dress made out of clergyman's gown & passed him wearing it' (69a). One predicament, recorded repeatedly in 'Facts', evidently held a peculiar fascination for Hardy – the necessity of sharing a room, at an inn, with a stranger, with the risk of the theft of clothes, or of money, and the ultimate threat of murder,²⁷ but again such incidents may carry a farcical potential. Some items are chosen because they provide technically necessary information, such as a detailed description of a wrestling bout (106d). Hardy's pursuit of factual authentication can on occasion lead to a certain cold-blooded suppression of the full context from which it derives. An item which he heads 'Dress of the Period' (45g) is based on a report of an inquest on a drowned man, 'supposed to have been in the water eight or nine days'. Precise details of the clothes worn by commercial travellers in 1829 (96e) are taken from a case of two con-men on the run, the description in *DCC* simply intended to aid their arrest.²⁸

A reader familiar with Hardy can hardly miss the recognizable pattern of many of the entries, a baldly ironic reversal, often producing sensational outcomes, marked by the

grotesque or the macabre: a woman superstitiously floats a candle on water in order to discover the whereabouts of a drowned child but only succeeds in setting fire to her house which burns to ashes (57b); a young man taps on his fiancée's window at night and is killed by the girl's father who takes him for a burglar (32d); a man who is drunk attempts suicide and is discovered to have been a temperance lecturer (6c); a nurse employed at a workhouse and discharged for being drunk on the doorstep, returns as an inmate, when it is revealed that she is the daughter of a naval commander (23i). A special mode of reversal emerges in a number of episodes of temporal dislocation or 'foreshortening', involving sudden, unpremeditated decisions to marry, or to escape from marriage:²⁹ 'Young man in Church renovating monument – comes down ladder & marries young woman' (120a); 'Young man put up at pub. h. at Barnsley for a night – the servant took his fancy – licence obtained – married next morning' (132c); or the three examples of wife sales from DCC (items 32g, 74b, 116c). *Jude the Obscure* with its marryings, separations and remarryings, is not far off.

Hardy is also clearly intrigued by episodes involving the opposite dynamic: inaction, the extreme prolongation of an action, or postponement of desire, in episodes which also range widely in their tone. For want of an event to report, an editor fills his paper with items from the Bible; 'so great was the dearth of news' that he 'began with 1st Gen. & got to 10th Ex. before anything happened' (55d). Two members of the gentry meet on horseback in a narrow lane, each refusing to give way; one enquires of the other, after some hours, whether he might borrow his newspaper from him 'when you have done' (37f). But in 'Long engagement', the story of a couple who wait for 30 years for the opportunity to be married (82f), pathos tempers the absurd, prompting a comment from DCC with which Hardy clearly identified himself – 'W^d it not have been better to wait till death'.

In combing through his sources, it is likely that Hardy wrote out only a fraction of what he must have read, so as a record of his reading, as opposed to his note-taking, the notebook is far from complete. Hardy could not have failed to register, in issues of newspapers and magazines which we know he read through, a large number of items which were significant to him, but which he did not choose to note. Having made a number of entries from DCC about a sensational case of the abduction of a Miss Turner by Edward Wakefield, in 1826–27 (29a, 48d, 49b, 63c), he did not copy but could not have missed reading a further DCC report of 21 September 1826 (p.1, col.3) which spelled out Miss Turner's plight as vulnerable heiress.³⁰

Of course, it is impossible to know why certain items were included and others not. For instance, in his reading in 'Biographies and other chronicles', of the notebook's title, Hardy consulted Captain Gronow's *Reminiscences* of 1862, where from p.210 he noted a comment on Byron (155c). But it is inconceivable that Hardy did not pause over pp.212–14, where Gronow recorded his memories of his school-friend Shelley whom he last saw on the seashore at Genoa, shortly before the poet's death. Yet these poignant recollections of Hardy's much-loved Shelley go unentered. Similarly, Gronow's memorable 20-page account of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, is not included. 'Facts' provides, tantalizingly, a severely abbreviated version of the full script of Hardy's reading in all these sources.