

# CANCELLED WORDS

REDISCOVERING  
THOMAS  
HARDY

ROSEMARIE MORGAN



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*Rediscovering Thomas Hardy*



*Rosemarie Morgan*



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## Foreword



The purpose of this book is to present a collation and critical interpretation of the revisions made to Hardy's holograph manuscript of *Far from the Madding Crowd* for its first publication in *The Cornhill Magazine* (Smith, Elder & Co., 1874). In order to highlight all interlinear and proof revisions of this manuscript I have included, with each and every citation, a corresponding citation from *The Cornhill Magazine* in so far as it differs from the original. Hardy's holograph manuscript provided the copy-text, albeit with variations, for the *Cornhill* which, in turn, provided the copy-text for all subsequent editions including those we read today.

Hardy's post-*Cornhill* revisions effected very few substantive changes; most were confined to enlarging and defining the topography of 'Wessex' (see Appendices). His most extensive revisions occur either within the manuscript itself or at the proof-revision stage for the *Cornhill*. This is discounting accidentals. In keeping with the prevailing practice at the time, Hardy left the final punctuation of his text to the *Cornhill* compositors, who were instructed in the house-style of Smith, Elder & Co. Within the holograph manuscript itself there is no consistency of punctuation; there are long stretches of unmarked dialogue, exclamation marks used where compositors placed question marks and, in general, a decidedly 'open' punctuation. In revising for the Wessex editions of his novels in the 1890s Hardy made widespread removals of the commas supplied by his publisher's house-style; this conforms to his original method of writing with minimum use of commas in the holograph version of *Far from the Madding Crowd*.

What follows here is for the consideration of readers who may like to know something about my own methodology and the two textual versions of Hardy's novel I shall be comparing and contrasting. My focus throughout this book is upon the creative mind at work; I have, therefore, taken the manuscript and the *Cornhill* versions side by side, reading the one alongside the other just as Hardy's editor, Leslie Stephen, would have examined the one before admitting it into publication in the other. Where Hardy, sometimes on Stephen's advice and sometimes under the pressure



of his censorship, submitted changes not only in manuscript but also in proof, we can only map those changes with a view to interpreting their meaning, not their intentionality. Accordingly, each of the chapters that follow in this book offers specific interpretations of, say, the relevance of revisions made to Hardy's characterisation of Troy (Chapter 2), Oak (Chapter 4), Boldwood (Chapter 6) and Bathsheba (Chapter 7). Because literary criticism is itself ideological, all such interpretations tend to construct meaning rather than reflect it. Each chapter presents a close look at Leslie Stephen's involvement in the production – as, say, his advice upon the use of dialect and Hardy's characterisation of the rustics (Chapter 4), or upon matters of decorum and propriety (Chapters 6 and 8). Chapter 3 looks closely at Hardy's structural alterations, and Chapter 5 examines issues of class and rural labour, as and when these become the focus of his revisionary concerns.

It is not always easy or possible to distinguish between the willing and the unwilling revising hand, and even, on some occasions, between that of editor and author – although as certain patterns and characteristics begin to emerge, this becomes less obscure. This does not, overall, impair our critical observation and understanding of the creative mind at work. To this end, and to overcome the time-consuming work and laborious attention that would be involved if I simply presented a list of cancellations and revisions to be collated, compared and interpreted by the reader, my approach is not only editorial, in so far as I am presenting hitherto unpublished portions of Hardy's text, but also exegetical, interpretative and analytical.

### The holograph manuscript

The manuscript of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, commissioned in 1873 by Leslie Stephen, editor of *The Cornhill Magazine*, was tentatively begun by September the same year (some early drafts discarded) and was submitted to Stephen in small sections, anticipating each of the twelve monthly instalments running from January to December 1874. The manuscript was completed in August 1874, and Hardy never set eyes on it again.

Many years later, in 1918 he was surprised to hear from his former publishers, Smith, Elder & Co., that it had been found in their offices – would he agree to its sale to raise funds for the Red Cross? He replied, on 23 January to Mrs Reginald Smith:

How surprising that you should have found the MS of *Far from the Madding Crowd*! I thought it 'pulped' ages ago. And what a good thought of yours, to send it to the Red Cross, if anybody will buy it.

He recommends fastening the loose sheets together which, he says, will

little of information as to pace: being difficult to describe in words <sup>(2:107)</sup> ~~they are~~ <sup>given</sup>  
 in the following diagram:-

~~3 3 3 3~~

"Straight on!" I am exclaimed. Tracks like that mean a stiff gallop. No wonder we don't hear him. And the horse is harnessed — look at the ruts. Ay, that's one more sure enough!

How do you know?

Old Jimmy Harris only shod her last week, & I'll swear to his make among ten thousand.

~~The~~ The rest of the gipsies must have gone on earlier, in some other way, said Oak. You saw there were no other tracks?

~~They~~ They rode along silently for a long weary time. Coggan's watch struck one. He lighted another match & examined the ground again:

~~3 3 3 3 3~~

"It's a canter now, he said throwing away the light. A twisty rickety pace for a gig. The fact is, they overdrove her at starting; we shall catch them yet."

He again they hastened on. Coggan's watch struck two.

2-108

When they looked again the hoof marks were as follows:

---

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

---

'That's a trot, I know, said Gabriel.

Only a trot now, said Coggan cheerfully. We shall overtake him in time.

They pushed rapidly on for yet two or three miles. Ah - a moment, said Jan. Let's see how she was driven up this hill. I will help us. A light was promptly struck upon his gaiters as before, & he examined it.

---

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

---

Hurrah! said Coggan. She walked up here - & well she might. We shall get them in two miles for a crown.

They rode three, & listened. No sound was to be heard save a ~~hoarse~~ ~~noise~~ mill-pond trickling hoarsely through a hatch, & suggesting gloomy possibilities of drowning by jumping in. Gabriel dismounted when they came to a turning. The tracks were absolutely the only guide as to direction that they now had, & great caution was necessary to avoid confusing them with some others which had made

make people bid higher, and then (rather charmingly) deprecates the notion of 'puffing' himself up in such a way.

The manuscript sold at Christies on 22 April 1918. The new owner was A. Edward Newton of Pennsylvania.

The number of manuscript chapters submitted for each *Cornhill* instalment falls between three and five, most of unequal length. Some early chapter numerations are not marked by Hardy's pen. There are 597 leaves in the manuscript, with four endpapers at front and rear, measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{3}{8}$  inches. Some leaves are fragmentary, some cut and pasted, some bear signs of previous use. The foliation is haphazard. Part 1 (Chapters I–XXI) is numbered 1–208; Part 2 (Chapters XXII–XLVI) is numbered 2–1 to 2–263; and Part 3 (Chapters XLVI, concluded, to LVII) is numbered 3–1 to 3–126. Many leaves have been renumbered, still bearing the cancelled number, and many carry numbers marked in the inner margin and/or gutter, many of which are themselves renumberings. This profusion occurs mainly in the centre of the book where there are signs of rapid writing. For example, the section beginning 'Horses Tramping' (Chapter XXXII) and ending 'Coming Home – A Cry' (Chapter XXXIX), carries an inner margin numeration four digits above that of the outer margin. Hence, leaf 180 carries the inner margin number of 184. But with Chapter L, 'On Casterbridge Highway', the inner margin numeration starts at 1. Thus leaf 181 is numbered 1 in the inner margin and as the chapters proceed the inner margin numbers show signs of previous numerical cancellations. Hence leaf 207 is numbered 23 in the inner margin which itself stands in place of 18–cancelled. There is no detectable rhyme or reason to any of this, aside from the obvious reuse of previously numbered leaves. Hardy evidently made many false starts and many experimental rough drafts, but his unusual manuscript foliations are not, in the main, helpful in determining the closeness of the roughest drafts in the manuscript to the period of inception. Nor can the different phases of composition in the manuscript be distinguished with any accuracy. We can only be assured of one thing: the manuscript stands as the surviving draft of *Far from the Madding Crowd* and as the copy-text for publication in *The Cornhill Magazine*.

Rapid writing throughout the central and late sections of the manuscript can be discerned by the damp imprint of the outer margin number upon the preceding verso. The damp imprint is most clearly defined in Chapters XXXII to XLVI, serialised July to November – the sections including Fanny's demise and death. This seems to indicate that these sections were written without interruption and at a very fast pace. Hardy, by this stage, was making fewer interlinear revisions but at the same time suffering increasing cuts and bowdlerisations at Stephen's hand.

Overall, the manuscript shows numerous interlinear revisions and verso augmentations, as well as several pencil-marked indications of proposed

cancellations (Stephen's – Hardy never marked his manuscript in pencil), ranging from individual words to large segments. There are, for instance, five drawings of hoofmarks in the horses tramping episode, which have been excised by Stephen, as well as a lengthy segment in 'Adventures by the Shore'. The most notorious cut, concerning Fanny in her coffin, is also marked in the manuscript. Several sizeable cuts are, however, not marked in the manuscript at all.

The two-page Chapter XVI entitled 'All Saints' and All Souls' is not part of the manuscript. This was written later, in proof, possibly to even up the length of the April instalment following some sizeable cuts to Chapter XV, or maybe even to add dramatic action to what was a rather meandering instalment.

### Appended documents

Two, what appear to be saleroom notes, are appended to the front endpage of the manuscript. The first is numbered 2069 and reads:

Presented by the Author and Mrs Reginald J. Smith, HARDY (THOMAS, O.M.) FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD, Original Holograph MS., 597 pp. 4to, new blue polished Levant morocco. [3659]

Bound in is an A.L.S., by the Author, respecting this MS., which he says was lost sight of for 40 years, also stating that one page that was missing has been supplied by him, 1918.

The second reads:

Page 107 of Volume 1 of the Manuscript which was missing, was re-written by Mr Hardy in January 1918.

The A.L.S is from Hardy to his ex-publisher at Smith, Elder & Co., and is dated 23 January 1918 (printed in vol. 5 of *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, 1914–1919*, edited by Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, pp. 243, 244). The manuscript also contains a letter from Florence Hardy, dated 4 August 1918, to the new owner of the manuscript, A. Edward Newton of Pennsylvania. She writes:

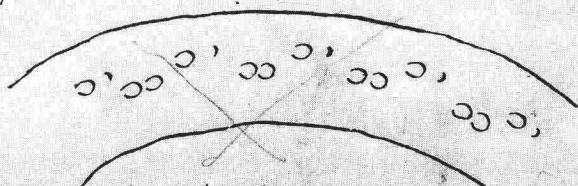
Dear Mr Newton,

I am writing for my husband to thank you for your interesting letter. He hopes to be able to write a few lines to you soon, but just at present he finds himself unable to cope with his correspondence. He is pleased to know that the MS of his novel 'Far from the Madding Crowd' has found a place in your library, and hopes it may long remain there. The afternoon it was sold he and I visited the old home where it was written. We sat in the garden and looked up at the little window under which he sat as he wrote, more than forty years ago.

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their appearance lately

What does this mean? - thought I guess, said Gabriel, looking up at Coggan as he moved the match over the ground about the turning. Coggan, who had no less than the panting horses, <sup>had lately</sup> shown signs of uneasy weariness, again sentencing the mystic character.



He screwed up his face & emitted a long whee-w-w!  
Lameness, said Ock.

Yes. Dainty is lamed: the rear-foot-afore, said Coggan slowly, staring still at the ~~tracks~~ footprints.

We'll push on, said Gabriel remounting his lummied steed.

Although the road along its greater part had been as good as any turnpike-road in the country it was technically only a byway. The last turning had brought them into the high road, <sup>leading to Bath.</sup> Coggan recollected himself.

We shall have him now! he exclaimed.

Where?

Pettiton Turnpike. The keeper of that gate is the fiercest man between here & London - Dan Randall. That's his name - known in for years when he was at Cesterbridge Gate. Between the lameness & the gate 'tis a done job.

He thanks you for the facsimile of the letter you send, and is glad to have it. He had retained a copy of that letter, and strangely enough we were looking at it a few days before the facsimile came, little dreaming where the original was.

He thinks you may be interested to know that the other day he had a visit from three delightful young American soldiers and he was much struck by their high ideals and the lofty view they took of their participation in the war.

My husband thanks you for your most generous appreciation of his work and sends his best regards.

Signed, 'Yours very sincerely, Florence Hardy'.

### Fragments

Two fragments of redundant drafts also survive (held in the Dorset County Museum). One, Chapter XXIII, the shearing-supper episode, consists of seven leaves, measuring  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by  $8\frac{1}{8}$  inches and numbered 2–18 to 2–24. This bears the pencilled date '1873' and an inscription in red ink, 'Some pages of the first Draft – afterwards revised. T.H.' Stephen wanted the chapter cancelled altogether and suggested adding a few paragraphs 'just explaining that there had been a supper'. Hardy instead rewrote the chapter in briefer form, omitting a rather sexually explicit reference to Fanny Robin to which Stephen had raised objections.

The second fragment, consisting of eleven leaves of blue paper measuring  $5\frac{7}{8}$  by 8 inches, and numbered 106–a–k, also bears a red-ink inscription, 'Some pages of 1st draft – (Details of Sheep-rot – omitted from MS. when revised) T.H.' This fragment carries no chapter number, but since it begins, 'Troy soon began to make himself busy about the farm', and since it features the 'trickster' – Troy of the book's mid-section, Hardy possibly conceived of it as part of the August instalment, Chapters XXXIV to XXXVIII, where Troy takes up married life and puts Bathsheba's fortunes in jeopardy. Hardy's characterisation of Troy often became difficult to govern (see Chapter 2 of present volume for details), so perhaps he rejected the contents of this fragment for related reasons.

We know, from his account in F. E. Hardy's *The Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840–1928* (see note 1 to Chapter 1), that while writing *Far from the Madding Crowd* he would use scraps of paper, large dead leaves, woodchips and so on, when caught without his pocket-book, so presumably there were once many fragments and first drafts that remained provisional – as these appear to be. Their different measurements alone indicate that they never belonged to the completed holograph manuscript.



**The Cornhill text**

Facsimile of *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. xxix, no. 169 and vol. xxx, no. 180, Jan.–Dec. 1874, printed on 673 pages with non-consecutive page numbering, and hard-bound with ten illustrated plates (originally twelve), measuring 22½ cm, and twelve insert vignettes; all illustrations are from woodcuts by Helen Paterson. Several extraneous verso texts are included as and where Hardy's monthly instalment concludes overleaf.

*The illustrated plates and insert vignettes*

- JANUARY: Plate depicts Bathsheba reviving Oak from smoke-suffocation.  
Vignette depicts Bathsheba carrying a small milkchurn.
- FEBRUARY: Plate missing (original depicts Oak presenting himself to Bathsheba as the new shepherd).  
Vignette depicts Bathsheba housekeeping with Liddy.
- MARCH: Plate depicts Bathsheba and Liddy practising Bible-and-Key divination.  
Vignette depicts Fanny Robin outside Melchester barracks in the snow.
- APRIL: Plate depicts Bathsheba in new riding habit talking to Boldwood.  
Vignette depicts the maltster.
- MAY: Plate depicts the shearing supper.  
Vignette depicts Oak shearing a sheep.
- JUNE: Plate depicts Troy's sword display.  
Vignette depicts Bathsheba haymaking.
- JULY: Plate depicts Bathsheba in the fir plantation.  
Vignette depicts Coggan and Oak tracking hoof-marks.
- AUGUST: Plate missing (original depicts Bathsheba and Troy in intimate conversation – Boldwood lurking in shadows).  
Vignette depicts Oak in contemplation.
- SEPTEMBER: Plate depicts Fanny asleep beneath a haystack.  
Vignette depicts the Casterbridge Union.
- OCTOBER: Plate depicts Bathsheba and Troy beside the coffin.

### Cancelled Words

Vignette depicts Troy planting flowers on Fanny's grave.

NOVEMBER: Plate depicts Troy swept out at Lulwind Cove.  
Vignette depicts Bathsheba in contemplation.

DECEMBER: Plate depicts Troy's appearance at Boldwood's party.  
Vignette depicts two large umbrellas in the mist.

### Other texts consulted

(a) First edition in two volumes, large print, issued by Smith, Elder & Co., 1874. Volume 1, 333 pp., Chapters I-XXX, six illustrated plates measuring 22cm by Helen Paterson (reprinted from the *Cornhill*).

Frontispiece: February plate.

Facing p. 32: January plate.

Facing p. 158: March plate.

Facing p. 211: April plate.

Facing p. 262: May plate.

Facing p. 308: June plate.

Volume 2, 342 pp., numbered Chapters I-XXVII (effectively XXXI-LVII), six illustrated plates measuring 22cm by Helen Paterson (reprinted from the *Cornhill*).

Frontispiece: July plate.

Facing p. 53: August plate.

Facing p. 106: September plate.

Facing p. 167: October plate.

Facing p. 216: November plate.

Facing p. 299: December plate.

(b) First complete collected edition, issued by Osgood, McIlvaine, 1895, comprising 475 pages with an etching by H. Macbeth-Raeburn and a map of Wessex measuring 21cm. This is the first Wessex edition. The front is accompanied by a guardsheet with descriptive letterpress. The author's autographed inscription appears on the front endpaper. Macbeth-Raeburn's etching is entitled 'The Weatherbury of the Story' and is accompanied by the words, 'Drawn on the spot'.

Hardy's autographed inscription reads as follows:

In point of form, this is the best edition of the story with an illustration, published of late years. But the text has been corrected in a smaller and later edition with an illustration. The title is a quotation from the 19th stanza of Gray's *Elegy*.

Hardy dates this autograph July 1904. This edition carries most of Hardy's