Recovering the Rural: Form, Dialect and Society in the Poetry of Thomas Hardy

Heather Hawkins

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Abstract

In this thesis I identify the limited research into Hardy's use of dialect and metre in his poetry. I argue that critics assume a narrow textual approach that disregards Hardy's broad thematic, linguistic and metrical range. To redress this anomaly, I propose a broader critical methodology which reflects and accommodates the multi-faceted nature of Hardy's poems. I employ a combination of post-colonialism and textual criticism to place Hardy's work in its socio-historic and textual contexts. Intrinsic to this study is an acknowledgement of the cultural and linguistic disparities between Victorian social classes and the cultural subjugation of the rural labouring class by the middle and landowning classes.

I conduct an examination of Victorian prosodic and philological debates in relation to Hardy's poetry. I demonstrate that Hardy was familiar with these debates and fuses standard poetic devices and language with the non-standard devices and dialect of his native rural culture. In doing so, Hardy proposes the equality of rural and urban cultures in order to reclaim rural culture from the subjugation of the dominant urban centre. I propose that this fusion reflects increasing nineteenth- century urbanisation and renders rural culture inherent to Victorian social evolution. Conversely, I consider whether Hardy's fusion of cultures articulates growing anxiety expressed by Victorian liberals regarding the morality and maintenance of the British empire. I argue that the increased Victorian interest in philology indicates a middle-class desire to return to pre-imperial identities.

I demonstrate that Hardy's poetry assumes an anti-imperialist stance in which he contends that all empires fail and result in the loss of imperial identities. His migration poems provide a detached view of society in which non-fixation of identities becomes possible. My multi-theoretical stance permits Hardy's multi-cultural understanding of society, which he articulates through dialect and standard English, and speaks for all mankind.

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Introduction

One of the striking features of Thomas Hardy's poetry is its linguistic range. Hardy employs language that is not confined to any one particular mode of expression and includes standard English words, foreign words, technical terms, archaisms, colloquialisms, dialect words and his own coinages.[1] All these types of language are present in the various poetic forms which Hardy employs. Such linguistic versatility however, has often been met with derision from critics. For example, William Archer in his review of Hardy's 1898 volume *Wessex Poems* asserted:

> Mr Hardy seems to lose all sense of local and historical perspective in language, serving 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 response.[2]

In this quotation Archer implies Hardy is incapable of discriminating between registers of language, either the modern or archaic, standard or dialect, indicating that Archer considers Hardy's work to lack taste and verge on the unrefined.

Similarly, a review in *Academy* (1898) found the combination of dialect and metre in Hardy's poetry to be particularly objectionable:

> Hardy's technical inexpertness is intensified by dialect - which

[1] It must be noted that in the case of foreign words, they are often borrowed or loan words and so ingrained within standard English that we are unaware of their etymology and do not consider them foreign words.
[2] William Archer, 'Review', *Daily Chronicle* 21 December, (1898), no pagination.

> always needs a crafty hand to make it palatable in poetry.[3]

This reviewer's use of 'palatable' once again suggests a lack of refinement in Hardy's work which is especially intensified by his use of metre, which I will be examining further on in this thesis.

Hardy's 'Preface' to *Wessex Poems* demonstrates that he anticipated such negative critical responses, particularly to his use of dialect. Hardy proclaims:

> Whenever an ancient and legitimate word of the district, for which there was no equivalent in received English, suggested itself as the most natural, nearest and often only expression of thought, it has been made use of on what seemed good grounds.[4]

In this quotation Hardy asserts that standard English lacks the richness of expression found in dialect, promoting the suitability of dialect as a mode of expression for articulation of the local voice which in this case is of course, also rural. Hardy also promotes the equality of dialect to standard English, a detailed investigation of which I intend to conduct throughout this thesis.

The predominantly negative criticism of Hardy's poetry prevailed well into the twentieth century from critics such as Samuel Hynes, who dismisses Hardy's use of language in his poetry as 'odd, quirkish and uncouth'.[5] Of dialect Hynes writes:

> There is little of it in Hardy's poems - little that is of the literal sort that Barnes affected. Hardy said of [William] Barnes 'He never tampered with dialect himself', Hardy on the other hand tampered with it a good deal, made it do his bidding, introducing dialect vocabulary when it suited his poetic aims and omitting it

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[3] 'Unsigned Review', *Academy,* 14 January 1899', in *Thomas Hardy*: *The Critical Heritage,* ed. R.G. Cox (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp.322-24, (p.324).
[4] Thomas Hardy, *The Complete Poems*, ed. James Gibson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), (*CP*) All poems discussed in this study are taken from this edition.
[5] Samuel Hynes, *The Pattern of Hardy's Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p.6.

> when it didn't .[6]

The above quotation suggests that Hynes considers Hardy's combination of standard English and dialect to be unpredictable and employed by Hardy with little regard to the effects of language upon his poetic craft.

F.B. Pinion similarly hints at linguistic clumsiness in Hardy's poetry:

> Hardy's study of English literature and other languages had equipped him well for the furtherance of his idiosyncratic style in verse, though his linguistic coinages and arbitrary use of words against all common things are not always commendable.[7]

Once again, the critical response to Hardy's poetry is that it is a messy, mismatch of standard English and dialect, which lacks a definite voice and direction.

I have conducted an extensive survey of works which focus on dialect in Hardy's poetry. The emphasis in such studies tends towards dialect in Hardy's prose, and to date there is no extensive study of the use of dialect in Hardy's poetry.[8] In an examination of William Barnes's dialect poetry in 'Dialect, Poetry, William Barnes and the Literary Canon' (2009), T.L. Burton and K.K. Ruthven identify dialect to be a neglected area of literary studies, largely due to the lack of a theory of literary dialect for nineteenth century English dialect poetry. This situation, they assert, renders such poetry 'under theorized and under researched'.[9] The lack of a theoretical framework from which to examine dialect in Hardy's poetry is apparent by the structure and scope of studies that do attempt to discuss the function of dialect in his work. For example, Ulla Bauger's *A Study of the Dialect in Thomas Hardy's Novels and Short Stories with Special Reference to Phonology and Vocabulary*

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[6] Hynes, pp. 6-7.
[7] F.B. Pinion, *Hardy the Writer: Surveys and Assessments* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p.305.
[8] See Appendix A for works about Hardy and dialect in addition to those described in more detail below.
[9] T.L. Burton and K.K. Ruthven, 'Dialect Poetry, William Barnes and Literary Canon', *English Literary History*, 76 (2009), 309-41, (p.310).

(1972), is limited to an investigation as to how accurate a representation of dialect Hardy presents in his fiction, and A.R. Cooper's *The Politics of Language in the Novels of Thomas Hardy with Specific Reference to Tess of the D'Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure* (1992), places Hardy's use of dialect in its socio-historic context to suggest class differences between dialect and standard English speakers.[10]

Hirooka Hideo's volume, *Thomas Hardy's use of Dialect* (1980), offers detailed listings of the grammar and vocabulary of the Dorset dialect, with particular emphasis upon its pronunciation. Examples of the occurrence of dialect words in Hardy's poetry are given, but Hideo's study does not extend beyond this philological emphasis.[11] Similarly, Ralph Elliott's work *Thomas Hardy's English* (1984) proposes a sympathetic and sensitive understanding of the types of language in Hardy's work.[12] Elliott acknowledges the presence of dialect words among standard English, technical words and Hardy's own coinages in both Hardy's poetry and prose. In this wide-ranging discussion of Hardy's language, Elliott can understandably only devote limited attention to Hardy's use of dialect. Elliott's analysis lapses into a dictionary listing of dialect words, although he briefly suggests a reason for Hardy's inclusion of dialect in his work. Elliott asserts:

> Hardy's use of dialect, is together with his revivifying of obsolete or archaic words, his principal means of linking the past language with the present.[13]

Raymond Chapman agrees with Elliott's stance. Although in his study, *The Language of Thomas Hardy* (1990) Chapman discusses dialect in class terms, he acknowledges Hardy's 'positive' attitude towards dialect, as 'an ancient tongue with characteristics which existed in their own right' and which were deviations of

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[10] Ulla Bauger, *A Study of the Dialect in Thomas Hardy's Novels and Short Stories with Special Reference to Phonology and Vocabulary* (Stockholm University,1972), A.R. Cooper, *The Politics of Language in the Novels of Thomas Hardy with Specific Reference to Tess of the D'Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure* (University of Southampton, 1992).
[11] Hirooka Hideo, *Thomas Hardy's Use of Dialect* (Asirhigasoka: The Shinozaki Shorin Press,1980).
[12] Ralph Elliott, *Thomas Hardy's English* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with Andre Deutsch, 1984).
[13] Elliott, p.349.

standard English.[14] Ralph Pite assumes a similar position to Chapman in his work *Hardy's Geography Wessex and the Regional Novel* (2002). Pite touches upon dialect issues in Hardy's work within a regionalist context and considers the Dorset dialect to be 'a kind of English, rather than a dialect of English'. Pite implies that Hardy's language has been contrived by Hardy and as such is a literary dialect rather than a real language.[15] Although Pite is sympathetic to Hardy's inclusion of dialect in his work, his stance disregards the presence of dialect in nineteenth-century society. Pite does not discuss why Hardy would seek to create a literary dialect within his work.

Although many of the works listed so far examine the etymology of dialect words and also the grammar of the Dorset dialect, none of them fully explore possible reasons for Hardy's use of dialect in his work and tend to either consider it indicative of Hardy's philological interests or as evidence of his supposed poetical ineptitude. Dennis Taylor pays more attention to dialect in his work *Thomas Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology* (1993). Although sympathetic towards Hardy's use of dialect as evidence of his linguistic versatility, Taylor suggests dialect occurs largely in Hardy's poetry because of Hardy's philological interests. These interests, Taylor asserts, are indicative of the development of philological theories throughout the nineteenth century, which sought to identify the origins of language, such as Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Languge* (1862) and William Barnes's *An Outline of English Speechcraft* (1878). Taylor acknowledges dialect as equally a valid element of Hardy's literary language as standard English and words of French, Latin and Greek derivation.[16] This argument places Hardy's poetry within the context of mainstream Victorian poetry, but in doing so the language of the rural periphery is assimilated into the literary canon, rather than existing as and being accepted as an independent cultural entity. The disappearance of dialect simultaneously forces the disappearance of critical attention of dialect and explains the inability of critics to fully evaluate dialect in Hardy's work.

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[14] Raymond Chapman, *The Language of Thomas Hardy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), p.112.
[15] Raph Pite, *Hardy's Geography Wessex and the Regional Novel* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.176.
[16] Dennis Taylor, *Thomas Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Given the intense philological study during the nineteenth century, and because Hardy's poetry is not written in dialect in the manner of William Barnes's work, Taylor's stance is understandable. Taylor, however, alongside the other critics discussed, omits to consider the relationship between dialect words and standard English in the poems. As Pite briefly argues dialect in Hardy's work is 'prescribed in rather the same way as Wessex is mapped - something distinctive stands amidst the received and standard'.[17]

It is this notion of dialect as something distinctive amidst the standardised norm, which requires acceptance and investigation to fully reveal the function of dialect in the poems. Hardy's hybrid use of language highlights the resistance of his poetry to fixed interpretations. Contrary to suggesting Hardy's poetical ineptitude, such resistance indicates the inability of literary criticism to provide adequate definition of his work and reflects Hardy's mastery of the language and poetic techniques he employs. Hardy's poetic technique requires new methods of interpretation which focus upon inclusiveness, rather than division and definitive readings. These new methods raise the following questions:

1. How does Hardy present the relationship between standard English and dialect in his poetry?
2. To what extent is Hardy's inclusion of dialect in his poetry indicative of his own philological interests and wider philological enquiry during the nineteenth century?
3. Is there a relationship between dialect and poetic form in Hardy's poetry, and if so, what purpose does it serve?
4. To what extent does Hardy's inclusion of standard English and dialect in his poetry reflect language use and the status of dialect in the nineteenth century?
5. Does Hardy's use of dialect alongside standard English in his work serve as a means of cultural reclamation of labouring-class culture from middle-class culture and education?

[17] Pite, p.175.

In a study which focuses upon the use of dialect in literature it is essential to define what dialect is and examine how dialect and standard English function in relation to each other. Dialect can be defined in the following ways:

1. Dialect is a variety of language that associated with place and / or social class.
2. In practice, this difference includes grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.
3. The relationship between standard English and dialect is complicated. Following the standardisation of a particular variety, those varieties outside this standard come to be treated as non-standard and there is often an implicit assumption of inferiority.

It can be argued that all language varieties are dialects. A standard language evolves when one particular dialect becomes the dominant standard against which all other dialects are ultimately measured. According to John Earl Joseph's *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (1987), migration, imperial conquest, and border area intercommunication can be the impetus for the standardisation of language. However, Joseph also argues that language standardisation can also occur without those specific political developments. He states: 'Language which has attained sufficient status as a standard can enter the dominant position of a superposition by its own cultural strength, without direct political support'.[18]

A dialect can also become the dominant standard due to commercial, social and practical purposes. Once standardisation, or the process of agreeing upon a single variant version of a particular dialect occurs, those which remain unstandardised become its inferior other. The standard language becomes the measure by which the non-standard is judged and judges itself. As Jane Hodson argues in *Dialect in Film and Literature* (2014), 'every process of standardisation is also a process of de-standardisation for those varieties that are not selected to serve in this way'.[19]

[18] John Earl Joseph, *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), p.49.
[19] Jane Hodson, *Dialect in Film and Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.25.

Jaap Van Marle argues that well into the nineteenth century only a small section of the population used standard English in written form, many literate people still wrote in dialect. Later in the century the written standard English also gradually became the norm in speech. This process was initiated by the increased prominence of middle-class culture in the urban centre and the introduction of compulsory education at primary level in 1870. The written standard became a point of reference for the spoken standard, leading to an increase in cultivated speech, which was further subdivided into formal and informal modes.[20] One option for writers in the face of the increasing prominence of standard English was to write entirely in local dialect. This was the option chosen by William Barnes, who wrote poetry with a consistent attempt to replicate the phonology of the Dorset dialect, its spellings and grammatical forms. Although Hardy's poetry was influenced by Barnes's literary such as his use of non-standard poetic devices, Hardy was reluctant to employ dialect in the self-conscious manner found in Barnes' work. Hardy says of Barnes' poetry:

> The effect, indeed, of his recitations upon an audience well acquainted with the nuances of the dialect - impossible to impart to outsiders by any kind of translation - can hardly be imagined by readers of his lines acquainted only with English as its customary form.[21]

Although this quotation indicates Hardy's admiration for Barnes' decision to write in dialect, it also suggests the risks of appealing only to a limited readership, which the regionalist poet takes when opting to write entirely in dialect. The regionalist poet finds himself in a paradoxical position: forced to either write in dialect thus restricting his readership to the margins, or to abandon his native dialect in preference to standard English to render his poetry accessible to standard English speakers in the urban centre. In contrast to Barnes' work, Hardy's poetry is hybrid in nature, suggesting a resolution to this cultural and linguistic impasse.

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[20] Jaap Van Marle, 'Dialect Versus Standard Language: Nature Versus Culture', in *Taming the Vernacular: From Dialect to Written Language*, eds. Jenny Chershire and Deiter Stein (London and London: Longman, 1997), pp.13-34.
[21] Thomas Hardy, 'The Revd. William Barnes', *The Athenaeum,* 16 October (1886), 501-02.

Nineteenth-century dialectologists, such as Frederic Elworthy, collected examples of dialect words directly from dialect speakers found in the labouring class. The process of obtaining viable results from such fieldwork was, however, fraught with difficulties. As Elworthy notes:

> Practical information is hard to get, except by those who are actually living amongst the people and with whom they feel at home. [. . .] Any attempt to exact information from a real native is at once to cause Hodge to become like his namesake and to effectively shut himself in an impenetrable shell of company manners [. . .].[22]

Elworthy's comment demonstrates the cultural disparities between the urban middle-class and the labouring class in the rural periphery. His phrase 'company manners' indicates there are wide cultural differences between the classes and suggests that the labourer is ill at ease in middle-class company to the extent that he is unable to express himself either in standard English or in dialect. Elworthy's comment also indicates the caution that needs to be applied when employing nineteenth-century dialect dictionaries as concrete evidence of the ways in which dialect words were actually used by native speakers.

As Taylor notes, there was an intense interest on the part of the middle classes during the nineteenth century in the origins of language, which led to the foundation of the Philological Society in 1842, the English Dialect Society in 1873, the compilation of numerous dialect dictionaries etymological dictionaries and ultimately the *Oxford English Dictionary* project, edited by James Murray.[23] The production of such dictionaries by the middle class indicates the desire to control and standardise language by one particular social group, but does not automatically necessitate the accuracy of their findings. As dialect in these dictionaries has been interpreted by the middle class to serve middle-class philological interests, it is prudent to consult multiple sources wherever possible to ascertain the meaning of dialect words.

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[22] Frederic Elworthy, *The Dialect of West Somerset* (London: Trübner and Co., 1875), pp.3-4.
[23] Taylor, *Literary Language*, pp.165, 98-103, 110-23.

It can also be argued that Hardy's own ambivalent class position placed him in an advantageous position from which to observe the dialect of the labouring class. A son of a self-employed builder, Hardy and his family belonged to the 'artisan' sub-group of the labouring class, which were marginally socially superior to the labourers or 'work-folk' whom his father employed. During his childhood and early adulthood Hardy was in contact with dialect speakers but distanced enough from them due to his own class position to be able to observe their language use from an objective perspective which is reflected in his poetry.[24] This suggests Hardy had a marginal class position, neither fully belonging to the labouring class nor belonging to the middle class. Rather than hampering his creativity, his marginal position provided the impetus for a hybrid form of poetry. Hardy considered his native Dorset dialect a worthy language to include in his poetry. Hardy's fusion of dialect and standard English in his poetry indicates he considers dialect and standard English to be equally valid languages. According to Joseph, an awareness of the status of the 'low' non-standard language begins when 'persons within its community of speakers become aware of the prestige difference between 'high'(H) [standard language] and 'low'(L) [dialect]'.[25] Joseph continues to argue that this awareness leads to a desire within the 'low' speaking community to emulate the 'high' and:

> Have one's own native language to be like a prestigious tongue, just like H. It is at this point that there begins to emerge within the group of L speaking H-learners a dynamic and all-important subgroup which I have termed the 'avant-garde' of acculturation and which will responsible for the actual labour towards L's standardization.[26]

Biographical evidence of Hardy supports Joseph's view. Hardy can be viewed as part of such an *avant-garde*. Although he was denied access to a university education because of his labouring-class background, Hardy's attendance at Isaac Last's technical academy in Dorchester qualified him for work in an architect's office. Upon leaving school Hardy began a programme of self-education also, studying

[24] Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.28-50.
[25] Joseph, p.51.
[26] Joseph, p.53.

classical subjects. Later, in 1862, Hardy migrated to London in a bid to further his architectural and literary careers.[27]

Hardy's desire to seek a career beyond his geographical and class limitations may not seem innovative in itself nor is his linguistic hybridity, or his ability to code switch between standard English and dialect. Hardy is innovative though in his use of linguistic hybridity in his work. His fusion of standard English and dialect in his poetry does not suggest he desires the standardisation of the Dorset dialect so that it exists in one form, rather that he presents dialect as an equally legitimate language as standard English which can comfortably reside with standard English in his poetry. This stance can be perceived as *avant-garde* as it proposes new ways of understanding the relationships between dialects. However, Hardy's stance does not reject his mother tongue nor does he desire to mould it to standard English. Rather, Hardy's stance follows the Romantic tradition of earlier poets such as John Clare and Robert Burns who included labouring-class culture and dialect in their poems. It is a stance which proposes the co-existence of languages and is supported by Lynda Mugglestone's assertion in '*Talking Proper': The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (1995) that it is 'pluralism rather than the monolithic which in real terms which will mark linguistic usage in a multi-dimensional society'.[28] Such understanding of language use within a multi-dimensional society is greatly assisted by the application of post-colonial theory, to which I now turn.

In order to apply a post-colonial understanding of the subjugation of dialect it is necessary to examine the social context in which both languages functioned. To do this the following questions need to be addressed:

1. Is it possible to establish a parallel between the coloniser/colonised relationship in the British colonies and the middle-class standard English speaker/labouring class dialect speaker in nineteenth-century England?

[27] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.51-76.
[28] Lynda Mugglestone, *'Talking Proper': The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.52.

2. Does the lack of an identifiable moment of colonisation of the rural periphery by the urban centre in the nineteenth century render it possible to study nineteenth-century rural dialect use from a post-colonial perspective?

I suggest that a parallel between the racial relationships in the British colonies and class and language differences in nineteenth-century England can be established through the close examination of pre-Victorian and contemporary social critiques. For example, as early as 1770 Soame Jenyns in '*Disquisition on the Claim of Universal Being',* outlined an evolutionary scale of the races, based upon the superiority of the European (particularly British) races:

> [T]his animal life rises from this low beginning in the shell-fish through innumerable species insects, fishes, birds and beasts to the confines of reason, where, in the dog, the monkey and the chimpanzee [sic], it unites so closely with the lowest degree of that quality in man that they cannot be so easily distinguished from each other. From this lowest degree in the brutal Hottentot, reason, with the assistance of learning and science advances through the various stages of human understanding, which rise above each other till in a Bacon or a Newton it attains the summit.[29]

Later, J.S. Mill also considered there to be a hierarchy of races in which different degrees of civilisation had been achieved. Mill asserts: 'The same rules of international morality do not apply between civilised nations and barbarians'.[30]

Similarly, Mill indicates that standards of morality between nations are considered achievable only by those nations attaining to the highest degree of civilisation:

> The sacred duties which civilised nations owe to the independence

[29] Soame Jenyns '*Disquisition on the Claim of Universal Being*' (1770), quoted by Grace Moore, in *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race and Colonialism in the Works of Charles Dickens* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.44.
[30] J.S. Mill, 'A Few Words on Non-Intervention', quoted by Eileen P. Sullivan, 'Liberalism and Imperialism: J.S. Mill's Defence of the British Empire', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol 44, October-December (1983), 599-617, (p.610).

> and nationality of each other are not binding towards those to whom nationality and independence are either a certain evil or at best a questionable good. [31]

Charles Darwin similarly considers that only races nearest to the 'civilised' end of the racial spectrum are fully able to understand and appreciate art and culture:

> No animal would be capable of admiring such scenes as the heavens at night, a beautiful landscape or refined music; but such high tastes are acquired through culture and defined on complex associations; they are not enjoyed by barbarians or by uneducated persons.[32]

The above writers construct racial difference from a eurocentric position. Class and race are expressed in parallel terms in English social critiques of the period. For example, Walter Bagehot says of the labouring class in *The English Constitution* (1867) that:

> Great communities are like great mountains – they have in them the primary, secondary and tertiary strata of human progress; the characteristics of the lower regions resemble the life of old times rather than the life of the higher regions.[33]

When an attempted reconstitution of this class structure occurs in colonies, failure, Bagehot contends, is certain:

> The rude classes at the bottom felt that they were equal or better than the delicate classes at the top; they shifted for themselves; the base of the elaborate pyramid spread

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[31] Cited by Sullivan, p.610.
[32] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to* Sex (1871), 2nd edn (London: John Murray, 1882) p.116.
[33] Walter Bagehot, 'The Cabinet', in *The English Constitution* (1867), ed. Paul Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.2-22, (p.6).

> abroad and the apex tumbled in and perished.[34]

Bagehot's position mirrors a middle-class fear of increased social mobility of the labouring class, which pervaded much of nineteenth century thought. For example, in his 1874 essay, 'The Size of Farms' Richard Jefferies acknowledges the contribution the Labourers' Union made to the improved working and living conditions amongst rural labourers. Jefferies notes that the changes in working practices have been especially caused by increased industrialisation. He argues:

> Now the railways, the collieries, the mines, the factories and other great commercial enterprises at home and abroad, absorb the raw material of labour and the demand in the agricultural districts is greater than supply[35].

This, Jefferies contends, allows the labourer greater independence and freedom of choice as he is able to choose his place of employment. Such freedom gives the labourer an increased confidence, so much so that he no longer fears dismissal from his employer, as he is secure in the knowledge that he can find more work within a short distance. The increased independence of the labourer has, according to Jefferies, led to a tendency towards idleness amongst the workforce. He asserts that:

> The stimulus required to make the labourer valuable by exertion is removed. It would not be in human nature to be otherwise, except under conditions of high moral and intellectual training. But in the labourer the primeval instincts are found in their broadest, most unabashed form.[36]

Both Bagehot and Jefferies imply that any alteration in the existing social order can only usher in anarchy and social collapse. It is a position which George Eliot in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879) suggests occurs also through the fusion of

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[34] Bagehot, 'The Prerequsities of Cabinet Government', in *Constitution*, pp. 23-33, (p.29).
[35] Richard Jefferies, 'The Size of Farms' (1874), in *Landscape and Labour* (Bradford-Upon-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1979), pp.123-37, (p.127).
[36] Jefferies, *Farms*, p.127.

races, cultures and languages following colonisation. Eliot's protagonist, Such, asserts:

> Let it be admitted that it is a calamity to the English, as any other great historic people to undergo a premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood; that its distinctive national characteristics should be in danger of obliteration by the predominating quality of foreign settlers.

Such continues by specific focus upon the effect that the fusion of races has upon languages:

> To one who loves his native language, who would delight to keep our rich and harmonious English undefiled by foreign accent, foreign intonation and those foreign of verbal reasoning which tend to confuse all writing and discourse, it is an affliction [. . .] to hear our beloved English with its words clipped, its vowels stretched and twisted its phrases of acquiescence and politeness, cordiality, dissidence or argument delivered always in the wrong tones, like ill-rendered melodies marred beyond recognition; that there should be a general ambition to speak every language except our mother English, which persons "of style" are not ashamed of corrupting with slang, false foreign equivalents, and a pronunciation that crushes out all colour from the vowels and jams them between jostling consonants.[37]

Just as the rural labourer corrupts standard English with his fusion of the standard with dialect so also is the language of the imperialist corrupted by relations with the subjugated nations. Yet, as Nancy Henry argues in *George Eliot and the British Empire* (2002), many pro-imperialists were reliant upon the British empire for their

[37] George Eliot, 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', in *Impressions of Theoprastus Such Essays and Poems* (1879) (New York: A.L. Burt Publisher,1900), pp.145-66, (p.160).

own employment and social position. Eliot, for example, had a personal interest in the British empire. Her stepsons emigrated to Africa in attempts to make careers for themselves, and Eliot herself had investments in the Indian Railways Companies.[38] Susan Meyer, in *Imperialism at Home: Rule and Victorian Women's Fiction* (1996), asserts that Eliot's criticism of empire is not so much concerned with the effects of imperialism upon the subjugated races as with the effect upon the British people. The narrator in Eliot's novels expresses concern that imperialism causes the erosion of British values such as 'family ties, historical continuity and hard work'. Concern regarding this erosion, Meyer contends, is expressed by the presence of deviant characters such as Maggie and Mrs Pullet in *The Mill on the Floss,* who are described as 'dark skinned' and 'brown' or a 'Hottentot'.[39]

Jane L. Brownas, in her work *Thomas Hardy and Empire: The Representation of Imperial Themes in the Work of Thomas Hardy* (2012) argues that the traditional landowner/labourer relationship in England provided a model for the structure of British colonisation overseas. She asserts:

> [The] system of politically dominant landowners and dependent labouring poor was not restricted to English society but formed the model for the relationship between Britain and her colonies in the nineteenth century.[40]

The imposition of a social model from England upon the colonies suggests that from the perspective of the governing class, the subjugation of the labouring class was successful in ensuring economic and social stability of British society to the extent that the concepts of the rule of the subjugated masses could be safely transplanted from British soil to the colonies to ensure successful colonisation. The flaw in this comparative model, of course, is that there is no identifiable moment of colonisation of the rural periphery by the urban centre. Rather, an onging subjugation of the

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[38] Nancy Henry, *George Eliot and The British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.42-108.
[39] Susan Meyer, 'The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life The Costs of History's Progress in The Mill on the Floss', in *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women's Fiction* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp.126-56, (pp.136, 138).
[40] Jane L. Brownas, *Thomas Hardy and Empire: Representation of Imperial Themes in the work of Thomas Hardy* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p.24.

labouring-classes is indicated which again is supported by contemporary literature. For example, John Stuart Mill, in his treatise 'On Socialism' (1879) asserts that the labouring class is economically subjugated. He asserts:

> No longer enslaved by force of law, the great majority are so by force of poverty; they are still chained to a place, to an occupation, and to the conformity with the will of an employer, and debarred by the accident of birth both from the enjoyments and from the mental and moral advantages which others inherit without exertion and independently of desert.[41]

Andrew King, in *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (2005), identifies the increase in literacy brought about by the passing of the 1870 Education Acts, the introduction of compulsory education at primary level and improvements in print technology led to an increase in the standardisation of language and a decrease in dialect use, particularly amongst schoolchildren.[42] The effect of education upon labouring-class schoolchildren was the subject of contemporary debate. For example, Matthew Arnold, in his essay 'Sweetness and Light' (1869), says of the education of the labouring-classes, which effectively disregarded peripheral culture through an imposition of middle-class social and educational norms upon the periphery that 'Plenty of people will try to give the masses as they call them, an intellectual food prepared and adapted in the way they think proper for the cultural condition of the masses'.[43] Arnold's quotation suggests that the education of the labouring class has been tailored by the middle class to uphold middle-class values and ensure that those within the majority labouring class are kept both intellectually and economically within the constraints of their class. He implies that culture has been manipulated so that labouring class children can understand it, indicating that the middle class considered the labouring class to be their intellectual inferior. It is evident from Arnold's comment that labouring-class culture plays no part in the education of the

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[41] John Stuart Mill, '*On Socialism',* in *On Liberty and Other Writings* (1879), ed. Stefan Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.221-79, (p.227).
[42]Andrew King, *Victorian Print Media: A Reader*, eds. Andrew King and John Plunkett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[43] Matthew Arnold, 'Sweetness and Light', in *Culture and Anarchy an Essay in Political and Social Criticism and Friendship's Garland* (1869), (New York: Macmillan, 1883), pp.5-39, (p.38).

class, a position which Hardy enlarges upon in his essay, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' (1883). In this essay Hardy blames socio-economic factors such as the increase in rural migration to the urban centre due to rural poverty, alongside the decrease in dialect due to a standardised education. He asserts:

> Having attended the National School they would mix the printed tongue as taught therein with the unwritten, dying Wessex English that they had learnt of their parents the result of this transitional state of affairs being a composite language without rule or harmony.[44]

The last phrase of this quotation, 'a composite language without rule or harmony' suggests Hardy deplores the loss of his native dialect, and also that the new hybrid language created amongst children by compulsory education undermines rural culture, leaving children fluctuating between conflicting urban and rural cultures.

This fusion of languages suggested in within 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' and within Hardy's poetry further suggests the presence of a linguistic continuum, something that is also found within post-colonial cultures. In their treatise *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (1994), Bill Ashcroft et al identify the two processes involved in the seizure and replacement of the language of the colonising culture by the subjugated periphery:

1. The denial of the presence of 'English'
2. The appropriation and reconstitution of the language of the centre.

The first process involves a rejection of metropolitan power over the dominant means of communication and re-moulds the language into new usages.[45] This prompts a resurgence of the pre-colonial culture of the subjugated people and includes a reversion to the pre-colonial dialect of the periphery. However, such

[44] Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', *Longman's Magazine* 2 July (1883), 252-69, (pp.261-64, 254).
[45] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonialist Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.38.

resurgence inevitably leads to an increase in regionalism and the paradoxical position of the return to a culture, which the coloniser defined as its inferior 'other', as justification for the act of colonisation. Such cultural reclamation once more relegates much post-colonial literature to the local and marginal status designated to it by the coloniser. Poetry that assumes an overtly dialectal status, such as that of William Barnes, can be viewed as part of a similar process of regionalist resurgence, a resurgence that while celebrating dialect poetry, relegates it to a peripheral status. In contrast, the use of language in Hardy's poetry is suggestive of the second phase of cultural reclamation identified by Ashcroft. The appropriation and reconstitution of the language of the coloniser involves the process of abrogation, in which a refusal of the imperial culture, including its aesthetic and its assumption as normative, fixed language occurs. Ashcroft asserts that the appropriation of the coloniser's language by the subjugated people is also required to enable abrogation to extend beyond a reversal of the assumption of privilege, or, in other words, to bring about social change.[46] Thus post-colonial literature arises from the tension between the abrogation of the standard English of the centre and the vernacular of the periphery. The creative impulses that both initiate and respond to this act of abrogation and appropriation produce a literature which is hybrid in nature. Hardy's use of language is reflective of this process, albeit in a different context.

The convergence of subjugated culture with the fledgling post-colonialist culture indicates development of the linguistic continuum, as identified by Ashcroft. The linguistic continuum consists of a complex of 'lects' or overlapping forms of dialect that merge into a local variety of English. Ashcroft argues:

> Writers in this continuum employ highly developed strategies of code switching and vernacular transcription which achieve the dual result of abrogating the standard English as a culturally significant discourse.[47]

[46] Ashcroft, pp.38-9.
[47] Ashcroft, pp.45-6, 51.

However, this process of abrogation and appropriation involves an Adamic concern with the origins of language which is firmly located in past peripheral culture, and thereby does not automatically render dialect a suitable mode of expression for a post-colonialist appropriation of peripheral language. The new hybrid language acquires a new cultural centre, now located in the periphery. However, a paradox occurs in the need for a cultural shift in the first place. The colonising culture remains the touchstone for the emerging reclaimed culture of the subjugated periphery, as it is the movement from this centre which prompts cultural reclamation. As Frantz Fanon asserts:

> The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national pre-colonial culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or the content of the people's culture. After the conflict there is not only the disappearance of colonialism but also the disappearance of the colonized man.[48]

The linguistic balancing out, identified by post-colonial theory focuses upon the oral nature of language, and involves an ongoing reassessment and readjustment of speech forms that are not fixed by a written standard. I contend that the failure of critics to acknowledge the presence of a linguistic continuum in Hardy's poetry successfully imposes a written standard upon Hardy's poetry and erroneously assumes that dialect cannot reside along standard English in literary texts. That the mutability of dialect needs to be accounted for is indicated by the fusion of dialect and standard English as equal contributors to oral and written languages that avoids the necessity of a post-colonialist centre.

The above discussion of theoretical issues surrounding Hardy's poetry confirms the necessity of a new hybrid theoretical approach in order to fully appreciate and understand the linguistic versatility of Hardy's work. In this study I acknowledge the need for textual criticism when conducting a close reading of Hardy's poetry. I argue

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[48] Frantz Fanon 'On National Culture', in *Colonialist Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harlow, New York: Longman, 1994), pp.36-52, (pp.51-2).

that a purely textual critical stance is reductive, however, since it omits to place Hardy's poetry within its socio-historic context and fails to explain how dialect in particular functions in Hardy's poetry. To correct this anomaly I apply a combined theoretical approach of textual criticism and post-colonialism. My application of post-colonial theory to Hardy's poems alongside textual criticism focuses upon the effects of colonisation upon the language of the subjugated people and demonstrates the process of 'writing back', or the process of reclamation of the colonised culture from the coloniser. My approach examines the effects of subjugation within the colonising culture and reveals the effect of colonisation upon the coloniser and colonised. This involves a re-appropriation of post-colonial theory beyond racial issues to include subjugation by class, language and education and suggests the influence of socio-historic factors upon nineteenth-century literary texts.

The position of poetry in the oral tradition and its dependence upon sound suggests the generic suitability of poetry for a discussion of dialect in Hardy's work. Taylor asserts that Hardy's poetry dramatises the Victorian notion that repetitive patterns in prose become poetic as they recur throughout speech. Taylor argues that for Hardy a poem:

> recapitulates the historical process by which the fresh speech rhythms of the people become the metrical rhythms of the poet, which in turn become vulnerable to the resurgence of speech rhythms.[49]

The historical process which Taylor refers to simultaneously involves nineteenth-century dipodic theory, identified by Coventry Patmore, and the post-colonial linguistic continuum, thereby fusing textual criticism and post-colonial theory. Coventry Patmore, in his 1857 'Essay on English Metrical Law', proposes the dipodic nature of poetry, which permits deviations from adherence to a rigid metrical norm:

[49] Dennis Taylor, *Thomas Hardy's Metres and Victorian Prosody* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.114.

> The elementary or integar of English verse is double the measure of ordinary prose **. . .** every verse proper contains 2, 3, or 4 of these metres, or as with a little allowance they may be called "dipodes". All English verses in common cadence are, therefore, dimeters, trimeters or tetrameters and consist, when they are full (i.e. without catelexis) of 8, 12 or 16 syllables.[50]

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Such metrical versatility is compatible with Hardy's linguistic versatility and the presence of the continuum in his work. Patmore argues in his later work, 'Prefatory Study on English Metrical Law' (1878):

> In the first specimens of versification there seems to be a perpetual conflict between the law of verse and the freedom of language and each is incessantly, though insignificantly violated for the purpose of giving effect to the other.[51]

Patmore suggests a continuous state of flux exists within poetry between metrical form and language. As Taylor asserts, this state of flux is consistent with Hardy's accentual-syllabic form in which the synchronic time of form and the diachronic forms amount to a 'tragedy of form', in which the forms themselves lose the life that sustains them, and life loses the forms that make it memorable. When carried over into language, the conflict between forms is demonstrated, since metrical form and current speech patterns are never identical. The conflict between forms in Hardy's work is accentuated further by the presence of the fluid linguistic continuum that I shall identify through my post-colonial reading of Hardy's poetry. The presence of this conflict highlights how the insistence of textual critics on understanding Hardy's poetry in terms of regular metrical and linguistic forms has led to flawed understanding of his work. Furthermore, Hardy's metrical and linguistic irregularity,

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[50] Coventry Patmore, 'Essay on English Metrical Law' (1857), cited by Taylor in *Hardy's Metres*, p.88.
[51] Coventry Patmore, 'Prefatory Study on English Metrical Law', in *Amelia, Tamerton Church Tower Etc. with Prefatory Study on English Metrical Law* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1878), pp.2-85, (p.12).

as I shall argue, is well-suited to the thematic concerns of loss and dislocation in his poetry.

In Part One of this study I consider the relationship between nineteenth-century philological and metrical theories and Hardy's poetry through a thorough examination of relevant dipodic theory and philology, dialect, Romanticism and the ballad revival. In Chapter One I will examine works such as William Barnes's *An Outline of English Speechcraft* (1878), and George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), to establish how philological and prosodic study increases our understanding of metrical versatility in Hardy's work. I propose that Hardy's philological interest exceeds mere poetic experimentation and is especially evident in his employment of dialect in the poems. Then, in Chapter Two I enlarge upon my discussion of metre in Hardy's poetry. I employ textual criticism to establish the extent to which Hardy uses non-standard poetic forms in his work. I further examine accidental variants between the dated manuscripts and printed versions of Hardy's poetry to establish how traditional formulaic devices occur less obviously as time passes. I argue that an increased fusion of such terms with iambic metre occurs which strengthens, rather than diminishes, Hardy's position as a regionalist poet.

In Part Two I consider whether Hardy's formulaic technique is heightened through a fusion of standard English and dialect in his poetry. In Chapter Three I identify the difficulties the regional writer experiences when writing dialect verse as outlined by Philip Larkin in his essay, 'The Poetry of William Barnes'.[52] Then, I examine substantive variants in dialect words and grammar in the poems to establish an increasing subtlety in Hardy's use of dialect in later revisions of his work. I also consider the implications of the lack of dialect glossaries accompanying Hardy's work and argue Hardy's use of dialect challenges Victorian philology to function as a code of the other to reclaim rural lower-class culture from middle-class urban culture. I support my thesis with an examination of the concept of reader scansion of dialect words in poetry to question whether poetic form and the lack of authorial

[52] Philip Larkin, 'The Poetry of William Barnes', in *Required Writing Miscellaneous Pieces (1955-1982),* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1983), pp.149-52, (p.149).

intervention in poetry prompts scansion and renders dialect in Hardy's poetry more subversive than in his prose.

In Chapter Four I conversely consider whether Hardy's linguistic versatility also represents middle-class anxiety regarding British imperialism and a desire to return to pre-imperial cultural origins. I draw upon nineteenth-century philological, anthropological and political works to argue that Hardy's use of dialect reflects an increasing anxiety amongst the middle classes throughout the nineteenth century regarding the morality and maintenance of the British empire. This anxiety prompted the desire of the colonising nation to return to pre-imperial identity through the reclamation of pre-imperial cultural origins, particularly in the use of language. Then, in Chapter Five I re-read Hardy's poems from the perspective of the returning migrant. The rural periphery attempts to re-claim its pre-imperial identity from the colonising urban centre, whilst the middle-class urban centre attempts to reclaim its pre-imperial origins in order to annul the sense of anxiety created by empire. I propose Hardy's use of dialect is dual-purposed since it serves the reclamative purposes of the urban middle class coloniser and the subjugated periphery. Thus Hardy's handling of dialect negates the inherent linguistic difficulties faced by the regionalist poet. Dialect in Hardy's work addresses and informs the concerns of both coloniser and colonised and indicates that pre-imperial origins of the rural periphery and urban centre are irrecoverable. Such dual-purposedness prompts a sense of cultural alienation and a fluid perception of a cultural centre which enables the regionalist poet to successfully re-imagine the periphery from within urban literary conventions whilst avoiding alienation from his cultural origins. Ultimately, dialect enables Hardy to satisfy the cultural demands of peripheral and urban audiences and suggests that the non-fixation of all identities is ultimately liberating.

Part One

Chapter One

Dialect and Philology

In this chapter I discuss the nineteenth-century debate regarding the relationship of dialect to standard English. I will argue that this debate was strongly linked to class differences of the period and debates concerning correct forms of speech and modes of writing. I will demonstrate that these debates began as early as the sixteenth century with the development of philology. My discussion will examine how Hardy's employment of dialect and standard English in his poetry not only indicates his own philological interests but can also inform us about the issues surrounding the relationship between dialect and standard English in nineteenth-century England.

It would seem that an examination of the development of philology would have little concern with domestic contexts such as Hardy's. I will demonstrate that philological

study was closely linked to issues of the correct forms of speech and the development of a standardized, or invariant form of English. The notion of correct speech concerns class issues as the standardised language was the language spoken by the middle class. I will argue that the standardisation of language subordinates those languages or dialects outside the new standard and that this linguistic subordination is closely allied to class and cultural distinctions from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century and beyond. I will contend that class and linguistic distinctions are concerns frequently expressed by Hardy in his prose and poetry and that he articulates these concerns using a hybrid mix of standard English and his native Dorset dialect.

A developing interest in the origins of language and literature first occurred during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The evidence for this interest is indicated by the collation of rural labouring-class dialect and music. The fieldworkers responsible for this collation were members of the landed gentry and emerging middle class who had the necessary time and finances to collect data and purchase manuscripts, then edit and analyse their findings. The scale of this etymological interest is evident in the numerous publications of dialect dictionaries and ballads that appeared with increasing regularity throughout the nineteenth century.

Such etymological interest coincided with the standardisation of English from the sixteenth century onwards. In his work *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (1999) Nick Groom identifies an interest in antiquarianism that arose during the late Renaissance among the ruling classes with the intention of revealing classical civilisation through the uncovering of cultural relics from the past. This nostalgic desire led to the formation of the Society of Antiquaries in 1570, and the publishing of William Camden's *Britannia* in 1586. Camden's work was concerned with the typography and philology of the nation and proposed a theory of a Saxon myth of origins which contested the legendary history of Great Britain.[1] Thus, a new national identity slowly emerged which was based upon fact, historical and textual evidence and constituted a quest for the recovery of origins.

[1] Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp.30-1.

It can also be argued that this increased national identity coincided with the gradual growth of the British empire following Tudor and Elizabethan voyages to the New World and the plunder of foreign lands by the British at this time. Pierre Bourdieu in *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) highlights the role of language in the development of nationalism. He asserts 'Only when the making of the 'nation', an entirely abstract group based on law, creates new usages and functions does it become indispensable to forge a *standard* language'.[2]

Bourdieu continues:

> Political unification and the accompanying imposition of an official language establish relations between *the different uses of the same language* which differ fundamentally from the theoretical relations [. . .] between different languages spoken by politically and economically independent groups. All linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. - the practices of those who are dominant.[3]

The compilation of dictionaries is just one example of this type of enforcement of dominant practices upon less dominant groups. Dictionaries are instrumental in imposing the 'correct' use of language and in this instance enforced a standardised and fixed norm upon a hitherto predominantly oral language. The titles and content of seventeenth century dictionaries indicate the exclusiveness of their approach. For example, Robert Cowdrey's dictionary was titled *A Table Alphabetical . . . of Hard Usuall English Words Gathered for the Benefit of and Helpe of Ladies Gentlewomene, or Any Other Unskilful Persons* (1604) and advised its readers as to the current usage of language. Similarly, Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionaries* (1623) sought to instruct readers by providing lists of 'choicest' words and their 'vulgar' equivalents.[4] Clearly, dictionary writers considered it to be their duty to record the English language and to improve it in order to adequately express the new

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[2] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p.48.
[3] Bourdieu, p.53.
[4] Dennis Taylor, *Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.86.

modern national identity. Cowdrey's use of 'unskilled' in his title and Cockeram's distinction between 'choicest' and 'vulgar' words indicate an ongoing selective approach to language which attempted to rid English of those words considered to be unfit to express the modern identities of the emerging ruling classes. Thus the nationalisation of language was inextricably linked to class and the promotion of middle-class culture, a process that continued into the nineteenth century.

In his work, *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (1987) the linguist John Earl Joseph makes the distinction between the classes of language in society. He contends that superposition is the coexistence of multiple languages within a single speech community. These languages assume differing degrees of prestige, rendering the most prestigious language the most dominant. Joseph asserts that the mere presence of a superposed system is more important than the relationship between the superposed 'high' language and its 'low' counterparts.[5] It is interesting that Joseph terms the 'low' language as the one which is 'widely used', indicating that the language of the masses lacks the necessary prestige to become the standard, leaving this position to a minority and apparently superior group.

The creation of a standard language automatically facilitates the subordination of those speech forms which have, for various reasons, been determined as non-standard and reside outside of the dominant language. The dialect of the rural labourer is an example of such a peripheral non-standard language. Doubly subjugated, the peripheral language resides outside the urban centre and outside the prestigious standard language. It is debatable however if pure standardisation can be completely achieved, an issue which will demonstrated later on in this thesis during my examination of Hardy's fusion of dialect and standard English in his poetry. Lynda Mugglestone in '*Talking Proper': The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (1995) highlights the inherent difficulty in creating a standardised language. Mugglestone argues:

[5] John Earl Joseph, *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), pp.48-9.

> It is […] heterogeneity rather than homogeneity, pluralism rather than the monolithic which in real terms will mark linguistic usage in a multi-dimensional society. This, rather than uniformity, is the normal state of language and, as language history reveals, all the prescription in the world will not necessarily effect any change, nor will it bring that national uniformity of usage which its advocates in the late eighteenth centuries had hoped for.[6]

Education is another factor in the standardising of language. Joseph argues that education is crucial to the regulation of the number of standard language uses within a community. He asserts:

> Prescriptive language education is the means by which standard languages maintain a community of users. Non-standard languages do not require conscious inculation to have a community of users. By regulating admission to its educational institutions, a culture can very directly control whether knowledge of the standard will be reversed for a select few or spread to those who did not previously have access to it: this is the fundamentally political aspect of language education.[7]

The question of the effectiveness of the imposition of a standard language outlined by Joseph above is evident in the case of nineteenth-century rural schoolchildren. The education of the poor in England was very patchy, particularly until the passing of the 1870 Education Act.[8] Few poor children had consistent access to education and even once educational provision improved schooling was often interrupted by the need for child labour on farms during busy times such as harvesting. Poor children had little prospect of education beyond primary level and certainly no access to higher education institutions. The control of language and education facilitated a wider employment and economic control with labouring-class children educated to find employment only within their designated class position which except in rare cases, rendered social mobility impossible for them.

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[6] Lynda Mugglestone, '*Talking Proper*': *The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.52.
[7] Joseph, p.17.
[8] Norman Mc Cord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 236-37, 289-90, 347-49.

It is easy to assume, however, that the imposition of standardised English was automatically accepted by those residing in rural areas. Although the tide of standardisation was unstoppable, concern regarding the marginalisation of regional dialect by standard English was expressed. As early as the Elizabethan period writers such as Richard Carew in *The Survey of Cornwall* (1602) drew attention to the Cornish dialect as evidence of the antiquity of the region, or the 'true descendent of Saxonage' which has 'some accquayntance with Greeke', asserting the equal validity of peripheral dialect with classical languages as William Barnes was to do two hundred years later.[9]

Barnes was born in Dorset in 1801 to labouring-class parents. He lived all his life in the Dorset and Wiltshire areas. Barnes's father was a small tenant farmer at Bagber near Sturminter Newton, Dorset. Barnes senior lived a lifestyle perilously close to that of a farm labourer. Barnes's mother, Grace, came from an impoverished background, and possibly due to her own illiteracy, encouraged the young Barnes in his education. Barnes was an able student and upon leaving school was articled as a solicitor's clerk, a position which enabled him to socially progress. As well as being an accomplished philologist, Barnes also became a school master and headmaster of his own school before his ordination as rector of Whitcombe Church in Dorset.[10]

In his 'Dissertation', included in his first book of poetry, *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect* (1844), Barnes outlines the grammatical complexity of the Dorset dialect, drawing comparisons between it and standard English. The inclusion of the 'Dissertation' at the beginning of the volume indicates Barnes hopes his poetry will reach a standard English-speaking audience, possibly with philological interests who reside beyond the rural periphery in the urban centre. The combination of linguistic theory alongside dialect poetry indicates Barnes considers dialect a subject worthy of serious academic study and gives him the opportunity to demonstrate the outcome of his own research into the grammatical functioning of the dialect. Barnes says of those who consider dialect to be a corruption of written speech that they:

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[9] Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (1602), eds. John Chynoweth, Nicholas Orme and Alexandra Welsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2004), pp.55-6.
[10] Alan Chedzoy, *William Barnes: The People's Poet* (Stroud: History Press, 2010), pp.16-17.

> May not be prepared to hear that the dialect which is chosen as the National Speech, purer inasmuch as it uses many words of Saxon origin, for which the English substitutes others of Latin, Greek or French derivation, and more regular inasmuch it inflects regularly many words which in the National Language are irregular.[11]

Barnes demonstrates the regular inflection of verbs in the dialect in his 'Dissertation', such as 'blow' which in standard English becomes 'blew', whereas in the Dorset dialect it becomes 'blowed'. Catch is another example cited by Barnes and becomes 'caught' in standard English but 'catched' in dialect.[12]

It can be argued that Barnes employs dialect in his poetry not only to resist the urbanisation of the rural periphery and to demonstrate the equal value of dialect with standard English, but to also promote dialect as the language of pre-imperial Britain and expressor of English nationalism.

As early as the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers also urged that standard English be employed not just as a mode of expression for English nationalism, but also as unifier of the emerging British empire. Fynes Moryson in *An Itinerary* (1617-1626) cites the Roman Empire as an example of the ways in which an emerging power can use language to unify both nation and empire:

> The wise Romans as they enlarged their conquests, so they did spread their language with their laws and the divine service all in the Latin tongue and by rewards and enforcements invited men to speak it, as also the Normans in England brought in the use of the French language in our Common Law [. . .] and in general, all nations have thought nothing more powerful to unite minds than the

[11] William Barnes, Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect with a Dissertation and Glossary (London and Dorchester: John Russell Smith and George Simmonds, 1844), p.12.
[12] Barnes, Dissertation, pp.16-17.

> community of language.[13]

Edmund Spenser similarly identified the role of language in Roman imperialism:

> It have been ever the use of the conqueror to despite the *language* of the conquered and to force him by all means to learn his. So did the Romans always use insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world but is sprinkled with their language.[14]

However, Alexander Gill, in his treatise *Logonomia Anglica* (1619) urges his countrymen to reclaim their Saxon heritage and language in the quest for national identity. Despite writing in Latin, he exhorts Englishmen to 'retain what hitherto remains of your native tongue', and not permit the English language to become a 'Roman Province', imperialised by Latin. Gill, in accordance with many other writers of the period, differentiates between standard English and dialect speech:

> What I say here concerning the dialects, you must realise, refers only to country people, since among persons of genteel character and cultured upbringing, there is but one universal speech.

Gill continues to suggest that poets show a preference for northern dialects over southern:

> [poets] use the Northern dialect quite frequently for the purpose of rhythm or attractiveness, since that dialect is the most delightful, the most ancient, the purest and approximates most nearly to the speech of our ancestors.[15]

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[13] Cited by Paula Blank, in *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writing*s (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.126.
[14] Edmund Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland', in *A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, ed. James P. Myers (North Haven: Archon Books,1983), p.96.
[15] Cited by Blank, pp.107-08.

Gill subordinates the southern dialect by insisting upon its inferiority to its northern counterpart. Some dialect, Gill implies, is simultaneously provincial and also able to serve as the root of the new national language and identity. Gill colonises the language he simultaneously promotes as expresser of the emergent empire from within the colonising culture itself. This dialect of the labouring classes has been appropriated by the middle class for the promotion of national and imperial identity, whilst being paradoxically subjugated by the standard language. Gill goes further, to assert the role of the new English as a potentially 'universal' language. He contends that:

> Since in the beginning all men's lips were identical and
> there existed but one language, it would indeed be desirable
> to unify the speech of all peoples in one universal vocabulary;
> and were human ingenuity to attempt this certainly no more
> suitable language than English could be found.[16]

Such a universal language was considered to have the ability to underpin the identity of British imperialists. For example, Samuel Daniel in *Musophilus* (1599) envisages:

> And who in time knows whither we may vent the treasure of our tongue,
> to what strange shores this gain of our best glory shall be sent,
> T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What would in th' yet unformed Occident may come refn'd
> with th' accents that are ours.[17]

In other words, the Anglo-Saxon dialect of England is seized and re-appropriated by the ruling classes in order to fill the cultural chasm created by the formation of an emerging British empire. As Joseph argues 'Non-standard dialects are maintained and valued mostly for reasons of heritage - a connection to the past, not the future'.[18]

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[16] Cited by Blank, pp.126-27.
[17] Cited by Blank, p.127.
[18] Joseph, p.48.

In other words, dialect serves as a nostalgic articulator of a new imperial identity, but has little value in the success, maintenance and expansion of the imperial mission. However, a paradox remained. The desire to recover cultural origins in order to create a new modern national identity was undermined by the perception that certain words were unfit to serve as modern expressers of nationhood and self. The complexity of this issue is evident in the differences between dictionaries compiled by early lexicographers.

Early English dictionaries were exclusive in their approach. Attempts began to be made from the eighteenth century onwards towards a universal approach. For example, Nathaniel Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721) attempted to establish the etymological origins of the words listed. The volume acted as a precursor to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1775).[19] Johnson, however, initially intended an exclusive approach. He asserted that his purpose in the dictionary was to 'preserve the purity, and to ascertain the meaning of our English idiom' with focus upon 'words and phrases used in the general intercourse of life, or found in the works of those whom we commonly style polite writers'.[20] This approach suggests Johnson endorses the standardisation of English and the subordination of other dialects. However, Johnson also acknowledges the evolutionary nature of language. He contends that 'no dictionary of a living tongue can ever be perfect, since it while it hastening to publication some words are budding and some falling away'.[21] Johnson's observation proposes the evolution of language and foreshadows Sir William Jones's declaration in 1786 that languages evolve from a common root. During his service in India, the orientalist Jones observed the grammatical similarities of Latin and Greek to Sanskrit:

> Bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common

[19] Nathaniel Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London, 1721), Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1775).
[20] Cited by Taylor in *Literary Language*, p.87.
[21] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.87.

> source, which perhaps no longer exists.[22]

Jones's identification of a common root of language undermines the notion of the correct use of English and the prioritisation of some types of words over others, as if all words are derived from a common root there can be no hierarchy of language. Charles Richardson's *New Dictionary* (1836-37) followed the approach adopted by Johnson. The entries in Richardson's volume were arranged historically and included quotations from authors from 1800 onwards in an attempt to illustrate the historical development of the language from an original root.[23] Both Johnson's and Richardson's dictionaries had a profound impact on the approach adopted by Richard Trench and others in the compilation of the later, massive Victorian Project, the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *OED* recorded and defined any word that contributors considered to be standard English. This approach permitted the inclusion of technical, foreign and dialect words into the dictionary. Trench highlighted this inclusive approach in his 1857 lecture 'On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries'. He argued:

> A Dictionary is an inventory of the language [. . .] It is no task of the maker of it to select the *good* words of a language [. . .] The business which he has undertaken is to collect and arrange all the words, whether good or bad, whether they commend themselves to his judgement or otherwise [. . .] He is an historian [. . .] not a critic. The *delectus verborum*, on which so much, on which nearly everything in style depends, is a matter with which he has no concern.[24]

As Haruko Momma in *From Philology to English Studies* (2013) argues, Trench considered that a competent English dictionary should focus on words commonly used by people and in order of historical appearance.[25] However, Trench accepted the inclusion of dialect words only if they were 'current over the whole land', though

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[22] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.97.
[23] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.87.
[24] Taylor, *Literary Language*, pp.87-8.
[25] Haruko Momma, *From Philology to English Studies: Language and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.106.

words which were in use in 'remoter districts' were still included.[26] Despite its apparent inclusiveness, dialect was only permitted under these circumstances and dialect words not in common use were disregarded.

The disparity between the uses of a 'good' language and a universal linguistic approach characterises the intense philological investigation of the Victorian period. It was against the backdrop of this philological debate that Hardy began the process of his self-education, which eventually blossomed into a successful literary career. It can be demonstrated that Hardy was well aware of the philological debates of the time and that these debates provided some impetus for his work and his meticulous concern with language. For example, Hardy owned a copy of George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), which he annotated extensively. Campbell's volume defined the notion of 'good use', and asserted the value of a 'pure' language; 'the great standard of purity is its use with its essential attributes, reputable, notional and present'.[27]

Campbell continues:

> Purity, it was said, implies three things. Accordingly, in these different ways it may be injured. First, the words may not be English. This fault hath received from grammarians the definition *barbarism*. Secondly, the construction of the sentence may not be in the English idiom. This hath gotten the name of *solecism*. Thirdly, the words and phrases may not be employed to express the precise meaning which custom hath affixed to them. This is termed *impropriety*. The reproach of barbarism may be incurred by three different ways; by the use of words entirely obsolete, by the use of words entirely new, or by new fractions and compositions from simple and primitive words in present use.[28]

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[26] Momma, p.116.
[27] George Campbell, *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: T. Caddell and W. Davies, 1776), vol ii, p.308. Hardy owned the 11th edition of Campbell's work, published in 1841. See Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy's Library at Max Gate: Catalogue of An Attempted Reconstruction,* http://utoronto.ca/fisherhardyaata2.html (accessed 12 August 2013).
[28] Campbell, pp.170-71.

According to Taylor, Campbell's standard of linguistic purity was its use, and his definition of 'good use' still contributes to our perception of correct language today.[29]

Campbell's exclusive approach to language extends to his concern with etymology. He perceives etymology as a threat to standard English:

> If you desert the present use, and by your example at least, establish it as a maxim, that every critic may reverse at pleasure old-fashioned terms, inflections and combinations, and make such alterations on words as will bring them nearer to what he supposeth to be the etymon, there can be nothing fixed or stable on the subject.[30]

Clearly, Campbell considers etymological enquiry to be a threat to the stability of standard English. It is a regression into a past language, which in Campbell's view, is unsuited for the expression of the present, and as Taylor asserts, a 'threat to the decorums of class style'.[31] Campbell's stance is evident for much of the first half of the nineteenth century, a debate which culminated in the intense philological enquiry of the 1860s. Hardy was learning the basis of his literary trade at this time and from the onset of his career expressed a concern with the uses of language that contradicts the tidy notions of a fixed language expressed by Campbell.

Early philological study in England was concerned to find the origin of language. For Example, John Horne Tooke's *E II E A II T E P O E N T A, Or the Diversions of Purley,* first published in 1786, attempts to identify the origins of English by the recovery of Anglo Saxon roots:

> The particles of every language shall teach them whither to direct and where to stop their inquiries: for whenever the evident meaning and origin of the particles of any language can be found *there* is the

[29] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.76.
[30] Campbell, p.149.
[31] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.90.

> certain source of the whole.[32]

Tooke argues that:

> Without a moment's reflection, everyone must perceive that this assertion is too general and comprehensive. The mixture which is found in all cultivated languages; the perpetual accession of new words from affectation as well as from improvement and the introduction of new arts and habits, especially in learned nations; and from other circumstances; forbid the deduction of the whole of a language from any one single source.[33]

Tooke's linguistic position is assumed by Franz Bopp, who in 1816 argued for a comparative study of the grammatical inflections of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Persian and German, and in 1820 published his essay 'Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic Languages', in Britain.[34] Both linguists indicate the gradual shift from a purely etymological approach to the suggestion that language evolves.

Jacob Grimm in *Deutsche Grammatiik* (1819) similarly noted constant changes in words, formulating what became known as 'Grimm's Law' to account for later consonant variations.[35] In the 1830s John Kemble and Benjamin Thorpe also began to argue for a new type of comparative philology based upon sound changes in languages rather than a fruitless mission to find the ultimate origin of language.[36] Then, in 1862, William Barnes published *Tiw or a View of the Roots and Stems of the English as a Teutonic Tongue*. In this volume, Barnes ambitiously attempts to

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[32] John Horne Tooke, *Ε Π Ε Α Π Τ Ε Ρ Ο Ε Ν Τ Α or The Diversions of Purley*, revised and corrected by Richard Taylor, 2 vols (London, Dublin and Glasgow: Tegg, Cumming and Griffin and Co, 1829) vol i, p.145.
[33] Tooke, p.145.
[34] Franz Bopp, *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sankritsprache* (Frankfurt: A.M. Main Andreäischen, 1816).
[35] Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatiik*, 2nd edn, (Gottingen: Bei Dietrich, 1819).
[36] John Kemble, *History of the English Language: First, or Anglo-Saxon Period* (Cambridge: J. and J.J. Deighton, 1834), Benjamin Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica A Selection in Prose and Verse from Anglo Saxon Authors of Various Ages with a Glossary* (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1834).

demonstrate that English evolved from primary roots from Teutonic languages in an attempt to recover the origins of the Anglo-Saxon words. Barnes asserts:

> My view of the English, as a Teutonic tongue, is that the bulk of it was formed from about fifty primary roots, of such endings and beginnings as the sundry chippings that are still in use by the English speech. I have reached these roots through the English provincial dialects and other Teutonic speech forms and I deem them primary ones, inasmuch as, by the known course of Teutonic word-building and word wear our sundry forms of stem words might have come from them but could not have yielded them.[37]

Unfortunately, the primary roots Barnes identifies are very difficult to follow. It is hard to establish a relationship between them and actual English words. For example, Barnes asserts that root forms end in 'clippings' formed by speech wear from the diagraph 'ng', He determined such clippings to be roots when the final root clipping changes to become a stem. Thus by adding 'st' to 'roots' the following stem words are formed:

p * ng - paste	t * ng - taste
f * ng - first, fast	tr * ng - trestle
gl * ng - glisten	h * ng - hoist
kl * ng - cluster	wr * ng - wrest
d * ng - dust	

As can be seen from Barnes' list above it is difficult to determine the process by which the transition from root to stem actually occurs. Taylor says of philologists such as Barnes, that

> Instead of being content with proximate roots as the orientation of meaning, they sought ultimate roots as determinants of meaning.

[37] William Barnes, 'Introduction', in *Tiw: Or a View of the Roots and Stems of the English as a Teutonic Tongue* (London: John Russell Smith, 1862), pp.v-xii, (pp.v-vii).

> Of course, an ultimate root would be of immense value if it were still pertinently related to its words; but ultimate roots, even if they could be retrieved, have become so changed and obscured they are no longer effective as illuminants of the meaning relationship between words.[38]

It is difficult to establish any correlation between Barnes's roots and the word examples he gives, a view which is shared by the sceptical response to Barnes' theories by members of the Philological Society, established in 1842, when he presented them to the society in 1863. The Philologist John Furnivall reported back to Barnes:

> I am sorry to say that our members did not show much sympathy with them [. . .] A few of the shorter old words they liked, but all the old ones that have become strange to them, they did not want revived. The classical feeling was stronger than expected. The Stone Age they rebelled at. Your *Tiw* was not accepted.[39]

Barnes' biographer, Alan Chedzoy, asserts that the scepticism towards Barnes' historicist philology occurred because of the evolutionary nature of *Tiw*. He considers Barnes' linguistic analysis constituted a progressive movement through time, brought about by linguistic selection.[40] Barnes' theories do suggest that linguistic selection occurs and act as a precursor to Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories. However, a more likely reason for the rejection of Barnes' theories was not due to the implications of evolution, but due to the scepticism of the new philologists regarding the impossibility of the recovery of the origins of language. As Richard Chenevix Trench argues in his work, *On the Study of Words Essays English Past and Present* (1851):

> When a word entirely refuses to give up the secret of its origin, it can be regarded in no other light but as a riddle which no-one has

[38] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.241.
[39] Cited by Chedzoy, p.176.
[40] Chedzoy, p.175.

> succeeded in solving, a lock of which no-one has found the key - but still a riddle which has a solution, a lock for which there is a key, though now it may be irreversibly lost.[41]

As the example from Barnes' *Tiw* illustrates, Trench is correct in his assertion that etymological meaning may have little bearing upon current meaning. Conversely, etymology can also enlighten our understanding of word usage. Taylor offers some interesting examples in which the dual definitions of supposedly established etymological meanings are evident. Taylor notes that Tooke defines 'tall, toll, tool, toil, tilt' and the French 'taille' as past participles of the Anglo-Saxon verb *tilian,* meaning to lift up or tilt. In contrast, the *OED* derives toil from *toilier* or disturbance. Similarly, 'king' has disparate etymologies *kënning con-ning* meaning man that was able, as opposed to *cyning* derived from son of the *cyn* or tribe (*OED*).[42] So, which etymology is to be taken as the true meaning of the word? Taylor asserts that the etymological fallacy occurs 'once an etymology is asserted as an explanation, history collapses as a hidden source and is simply made present'.[43] Thus the historical meaning of the word is subsumed by its present context. The historicism of words in relation to their current meanings was one of the continuing concerns of new philologists throughout the 1860s. Rather than attempting to replicate an Adamic search for linguistic origins, philologists such as Trench were concerned with the ways in which the history of language is present in current language. Trench argues:

> To know of this language, the stages which it has gone through, the quarters from which its rules have been derived, the gains it is now making the perils which have threatened or are threatening it, the losses which it has sustained, the latent capacities which may yet be in it, waiting to be evolved, the points in which it is superior to other tongues, in which it comes short of them, all this may well be the object of worthy ambition to every one of us. So may we hope

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[41] Richard Chenevix Trench, *On the Study of Words, Essays English Past and Present*, 3rd edn (London: Dent, 1851), p.154.
[42] Taylor, *Literary Language*, pp.227-28, 224.
[43] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.28.

> to be ourselves guardians of its purity and not corrupted of it.[44]

For Trench, the historicism of language is to be valued and can provide us with increased understanding of our current use of words, although any hope of the recovery of ultimate origins is futile. Trench urges caution in the use of etymology. He argues that 'Various prudential considerations must determine for us how far up we will endeavor to take the course of its history'.[45] Trench even goes so far as to suggest that 'the etymology of a word exercises an unconscious influence upon it usages'.[46] William Whitney argues the case even more strongly:

> The beginnings of language are too much covered up and hidden under the products of later growth for our eyes ever to distinguish them with any even tolerable approach to certainty.[47]

It is surprising therefore, that given the sceptical stance of the new philologists towards etymology that the *OED* assumed an historical stance. Prior to the publication of the *OED*, dictionaries assumed either an etymological approach, as in Tooke, or the lexicographical method, as in Johnson. Tooke demonstrated the assumed origin of words with little sense of their development, whereas Johnson primarily focused upon the current usage of words. The *OED* attempted a combination of both approaches, through the organisation of the meaning of words historically with the oldest first and the most recent last. In a letter to the philologist, Henry Sweet, James A.H. Murray, the editor of the *OED* proclaimed that 'Nobody exc[ept] my predecessors in the Specimens of the Dicty has yet *tried* to trace out historically the sense-development of English words'.[48] Momma highlights Murray's interest in dialect, particularly the Scots dialect, which he was convinced came from the Anglo-Saxon root.[49] Murray had a similar class background to Hardy, and undertook a programme of self-education. It was his interest in dialect which

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[44] Trench, p.65.
[45] Trench, p.6.
[46] Trench, p.181.
[47] William Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language* (London: N. Trübner, 1867), p.51.
[48] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.236
[49] Momma, pp.121-22.

influenced the principles of selection in the *OED* to include dialect words from the years 1150-1500, which enabled Murray, as Taylor asserts, to reach 'deep into the historical consciousness of language'.[50]

Not everyone was convinced by Murray's method. Isaac Kaufmann Fenk and Adam Willis Wagnalls assert in their *Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (1893) that 'A living dictionary should not be a museum of dead words', and, to reiterate their view, they placed etymologies at the end of each entry.[51] Murray acknowledges the difficulty in balancing the current meaning of words with their past etymology. In his 'General Explanations' at the beginning of the *OED,* he presents an evolutionary perspective of language:

> The Language presents yet another undefined frontier, when it is viewed in relation to *time*. The living vocabulary is no more permanent than definite in its extent. It is not today what it was a century ago, still less what it will be a century hence. Its constituent elements are in a state of slow but incessant dissolution and renovation. 'Old Words' are ever becoming obsolete and dying out: 'New Words' are continually pressing in.[52]

In this quotation, Murray hints at the evolution of language and emphasises the constant fluctuation of words in language. In *An Introduction to Regional Englishes* (2010), Joan C. Beal argues that the evolution of language did not involve 'the *loss* of dialect as much as *change*, leading to new dialects', suggesting language evolution is a natural process which occurs over time without necessarily having an impetus for change.[53]

As early as 1857, Henry Reed in his volume *Introduction to English Literature from Chaucer to Tennyson*, expressed changes in language over time:

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[50] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p. 233.
[51] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.236.
[52]James A.H. Murray, 'General Explanations', *Oxford English Dictionary*, 10 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1888), vol i, pp.xvii-xxiv, (p.xviii).
[53] Joan C. Beal, *An Introduction to Regional Englishes* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.6.

> Language is liable to undergo perpetual changes; any person may observe, in even a short space of years new forms of expression coming into use, old ones growing obsolete. Time brings with it new modes of life, of thought and action.[54]

Murray's dictionary treats the origin of words similarly to Charles Darwin's understanding of evolution, as a process which avoids the question of ultimate origins. Darwin defines the evolution of language in strikingly similar terms to Murray's quotation above:

> We see variability in every tongue, and new words are continually cropping up; but as there is a limit to the power of the memory, single words like whole languages, gradually become extinct.[55]

Murray further demonstrates the difficulties he and other compilers of the *OED* faced in attempting to produce a dictionary which would combine the historical method with logical meaning:

> If we treat the division of words into current and obsolete as a subordinate one, and extend our idea of the language so as to include all that has been English from the beginning, as from any particular epoch, we enter upon a department of the subject, of which from the nature of the case, our exhibition must be imperfect. For the vocabulary of past times is known to us solely from its preservation in written records; the extent of our knowledge of it depends entirely upon the completeness of our acquaintance with them. And the further back we go, the more imperfect are the records, and the smaller is the fragment of the

[54] Henry Reed, *Introduction to English Literature from Chaucer to Tennyson* (London: J.F. Shaw and Co., 1857), (1862 edn), pp.109-11.
[55] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), 2nd edn, (London: John Murray, 1882), p.110.

actual vocabulary that we can uncover.[56]

Despite the evident gaps in the historical record, the *OED* constitutes an attempt to illustrate the ways in which the current meaning of a word is dependent upon its history and its history is dependent upon its current meaning. Although other dictionaries attempt to divorce historical meaning from current meaning, Murray's approach in the *OED* indicates that interdependence is the only way with which to reconcile the two disparate branches of philology, and more importantly, to understand the evolution of language. In his 'General Explanations', Murray says of the English language that 'There is absolutely no defining line in any direction, the circle of the English Language has a well-defined centre but no discernible circumference'.[57] The lack of a 'discernible circumference' identified by Murray permits his definition of the English language to constantly expand, thereby admitting additional words and allowing for new and different classes of words. In Murray's subdivision of English he places 'Common Language' in close relationship to literary and colloquial languages, before identifying further subcategories of scientific, foreign, technical, slang and dialectal forms of language. It is this type of inclusive approach to language that Hardy assumes in his poetry, and one which reviewers of his work found objectionable. As previously cited, William Archer objected to Hardy's tendency to view 'all words in the dictionary on one plane'.[58]An examination of Hardy's lexical range demonstrates just how extensive his linguistic plane could be.

As Taylor argues, it is prudent to '[meet] the reviewers on their own grounds', or in other words to give close consideration to the linguistic variety and complexity found in Hardy's poetry.[59] Taylor identifies the following classes of words alongside the Dorset dialect words in Hardy's novels and poems. They are: standard, alien, nonce, rare, archaic and obsolete words.[60] Taylor notes that reviewers often react negatively to words included in the *OED*. He contends that 'often Hardy seems more abreast of the changing language than his reviewers, and his sense of language was

[56] Murray, p.xviii.
[57] Murray, p.xviii.
[58] See page 6 of this thesis.
[59] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.206.
[60] Taylor, *Literary Language*, pp.179-206.

confirmed by the *OED'*.[61] It can also be argued that Hardy was innovative in his language use and created his own coinages. As I will argue later, Hardy's innovative language is effectively used to portray a rapidly changing society.

Taylor asserts that Hardy makes good use of standard English in his work.[62] Whilst this is undoubtedly true, Hardy often creates compound words and epithets from two standard English words, such as 'blast-beruffled' in his poem, 'The Darkling Thrush', (stanza 3, line 6). His creation of compound words has the effect of intensifying the descriptiveness found in the poem. Hardy also creates 'nonce' words, or those which as Taylor remarks 'reside the outermost limit of dictionary acceptability'. Such words include those with the prefixes 'un', 'out' and suffixes 'ism', 'logy', and 'fuge'. Although some of these prefixes are in common use today, Taylor notes the use of them was fashionable during the later nineteenth century, but that Hardy used them extensively to enrich his use of standard English.[63] It is as though Hardy finds standard English lacking in its descriptiveness to portray the poetic effects he strives to create. An example of this, 'outleant' occurs in Hardy's poem 'The Darkling Thrush', in which the sharp features of the landscape are described as 'The Century's corpse outleant', meaning to lean outwards which in the context of the poem expresses the passage of time (stanza two, line 2).

Akin to nonce words are coined words, or words which are newly created by an individual writer. According to Taylor, Hardy creates coined words to add a sense of newness to the language he uses.[64] Words such as 'furtivewise', rather than 'furtively' in Hardy's poem 'The Photograph' add immediacy to the poet speaker's action of looking askance at the photograph burning in the grate, as he finds it distressing to see the flames consuming the photograph of a past lover (stanza two, line 4). 'Furtivewise' dramatises the action and enables the reader to share the moment when the poet speaker glances across at the grate and experience his sense of distress.

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[61] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.176.
[62] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.185.
[63] Taylor, *Literary Language*, pp. 156-57, 193-94.
[64] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.199.

Similarly, alien and foreign words add a sense of otherness to Hardy's poetry and step beyond the language of both the rural periphery and the urban centre in England. For example, 'kopje-crest' and 'veldt' (stanza one, lines 3-4) in Hardy's poem, 'Drummer Hodge' are examples of the use of alien and foreign words and have the effect of bringing images of the African savannah to the reader's mind.

Hardy frequently uses rare, obsolete and archaic words in his work. In the *OED,* Murray defines such words as those that have fallen out of use, or even with the help of earlier dictionaries, we cannot be sure who last used them.[65] Taylor argues however, that when Hardy uses a word deemed by the *OED* to be obsolete, it is unclear if the word remains obsolete, or whether Hardy's use 'revive[s] it as standard'.[66] It is difficult to perceive how the *OED* could consider words such as 'brimfulness', 'murrey-coloured' and 'wanze' to be obsolete when Hardy's works were (and still are) in print at the same time as the publication of the *OED*. The 'archaic' group of words found in Hardy's work and the *OED* poses a similar problem. Archaic words are defined in the 'General Explanations' of the *OED* as words 'belonging to an earlier period, no longer in common use, though still retrieved either by individuals or generally for special purposes, poetical, liturgical etc'.[67] Hardy's inclusion of archaic words such as 'surcease' and 'tarriance' suggest his concern to keep seemingly out-moded words in current circulation, to create a sense of the fluid relationship between past and present language. Along with the whole of his extensive and impressive lexical range Hardy demonstrates a keenness to employ diverse forms of language to render his work as linguistically rich as possible and suggests he considered himself to be protector of the English language in all its forms. As diverse as this may seem, Hardy was also following in the tradition of the Romantic poets and their linguistic interests, to which I now turn.

A glance through Hardy's *Complete Poems* reveals the influence of Romantic poets upon his work. For example, specific reference is made to Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats in the titles of his poems 'Shelley's Skylark' and 'Rome at the Pyramid of Cestius near the Graves of Shelley and Keats'. Hardy also makes frequent

[65] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.147.
[66] Taylor, *Literary Language*, p.148.
[67] Cited by Taylor, in *Literary Language*, p.150.

reference to the Romantic poets in his autobiography *The Life of Thomas Hardy*. For example, Hardy records visiting the graves of Shelley and Keats and Keats' house during a tour of Italy in 1887, a visit which prompted 'inspiration for more verses'.[68] In his autobiography, Hardy also refers to Shelley as 'the poet he loved' and recalls a meeting with Shelley's son, Sir Percy Shelley.[69] Hardy also shares in his poetry some of the words favoured by the Romantics in theirs; words such as 'sere', 'wan', 'hue', 'hie' and 'rue'. Many of these belong to the archaic, obsolete and poetical classifications of the *OED* suggesting Hardy shared an interest with Romantic poets in employing some of the oldest words known in the English language and an attempt to keep such words in correct use. For example, 'sere' (OE *sear*) is classified in the *OED* as poetic or rhetorical, 'wan' (OE *wan*) is obsolete/poetical and 'rue' (OE *hroew*) is regional or archaic and no longer in current use though sometimes retained for poetical purposes (*OED*).

Alongside Hardy's linguistic indebtedness to the Romantic poets, he also shares the thematic and political concerns of the Romantic tradition, concerns which began in the early 1800s. Fiona Stafford in her work, *Reading Romantic Poetry* (2014) outlines the political and social concerns of many Romantic poets such as John Clare, Robert Burns, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley and William Blake. For example, followers of the Romantic Movement expressed concern with the increased urbanisation and economic hardship caused by war with France, high taxation and the migration of country dwellers to towns.[70] Some, but not all, of these poets came from impoverished backgrounds. Clare, for example, came from a labouring-class family in Northamptonshire, Burns was a farmer in Ayrshire and Blake worked as an engineer. In contrast, Shelley came from a privileged background, and he, Wordsworth and Coleridge enjoyed a university education.[71] Blake, Clare, Burns and Keats gleaned a classical education through self-study from references in English literature, translations and classical handbooks.[72] Similarities can be drawn between the social

[68] Thomas Hardy, *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp.195-96.
[69] Hardy, *Life and Work*, p.134.
[70] Fiona Stafford, *Reading Romantic Poetry* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p.22.
[71] Stafford, pp. 6, 22.
[72] Stafford, pp.122-23.

position of these Romantic poets and Hardy's own programme of self-education in the hope it would enable him to join middle-class literary circles.

Stafford contends that by the 1820s a widening gulf between the rich and the poor existed. This gulf was especially evident in the language differences between the classes as 'the wealthier members of society were educated into standard pronunciation, spelling and grammar, their distance from those who lived on their estates became ever greater'.[73] The increased standardisation of English along with urban growth paradoxically led to nostalgia for rural and oral culture amongst the middle class. Such nostalgia was manifested in a bid to preserve rural art forms such as ballad and storytelling.[74] In the hands of the Romantic poets this nostalgia was articulated through concern for the poor and disadvantaged in society, themes and concerns which later on were to feature greatly in Hardy's prose and verse. Wordsworth, for example, wrote about the homeless, disabled and conditions for farm labourers in poems such as 'The Female Vagrant', 'The Old Cumberland Beggar', 'The Idiot Boy', 'The Last of the Flock' and 'Michael: A Pastoral Poem'. Clare too, wrote about the rural community, most notably in 'The Shepherd's Calendar' which follows the life of a rural community throughout a whole year.[75] Keats also used rural themes in his poetry in poems such as 'Where be Ye Going, You Devon Maid?', 'Over the Hill and Over the Dale' and 'Old Meg She was a Gypsy'.[76] Burns similarly celebrated rural life in 'Song' and 'John Barleycorn'.[77] These poets do not just present a picturesque rural culture, they express the feelings, emotions and concerns of the labouring class, indicating a significant departure from poetry which employed rural culture to express a unified nationhood.

Hans Aarsleff, in *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (1982), asserts that 'Romanticism made expression its central

[73] Stafford, p.152.
[74] Stafford, pp.136-37.
[75] John Clare, *The Shepherd's Calendar with Village Stories and Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1827), pp.1-99.
[76] John Keats, *The Major Works*, ed. Elizabeth Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.181-82, 203-04.
[77] Robert Burns, *Selected Poems and Songs* ed. Robert P. Irvine, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.114-15, 135-37.

concern with a corresponding philosophy to legitimate its poetry and criticism.[78] Aarsleff cites a letter which Wordsworth wrote to Francis Wrangham Archdeacon of East Riding, and abolitionist, in 1816. Wordsworth contends that poetry 'proceeds whence it ought to do from the soul of man, communicating its creative energies to the images of the external world'.[79] Aarsleff argues that Wordsworth considers that we can only know objects as they are grasped in a creative and private act. He contends that this act can only be communicated in the socially shared words of language.[80] For the Romantics, and later for Hardy too, language that expresses creative impulses includes all accessible modes of language, including dialect, a position which is confirmed by Wordsworth in his 'Advertisement' to his 1798 edition of *Lyrical Ballads*. Wordsworth co-wrote *Lyrical Balllads* with Coleridge, and in his 'Advertisement' he prepares the reader for the content of the volume. Wordsworth asserts that the poems were 'Written chiefly with a view to ascertain how far the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes of society is adapted to the purposes of poetic pleasure'.[81] In this quotation Wordsworth envisages a literary critique which acknowledges and employs a portrayal of labouring class lives in his work. He contends than many readers will feel uncomfortable with his approach and consider that 'The author has sometimes descended too low, and that many of his expressions are too familiar, and not of sufficient dignity'.[82]

As Stafford asserts, Wordsworth causes the reader to 'think and rethink', but that the poems will 'only succeed if readers are prepared to abandon their prejudices'.[83] As Stafford continues:

> The idea for many poetry readers of the 1790s, the idea
> that the homeless, the uneducated, the abandoned,
> the poor, the very old or very young should not only
> matter, but have things to *teach* those whose lives were

[78] Hans Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (London: Athalone, 1982), p.372.
[79] Aarsleff, p.374.
[80] Aarsleff, p.374.
[81] William Wordsworth, 'Advertisement' (1798) in *Wordsworth and Coleridge Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1802*, ed. Fiona Stafford, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.3-4, (p.3).
[82] Wordsworth, 'Advetisement' (1798) in *Lyrical Ballads*, p3.
[83] Stafford, 'Introduction', *Lyrical Ballads*, pp. xii-xlv, (pp. xviii,xiv).

more secure was decidedly unsettling.[84]

In his 'Preface' to the 1802 volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth expands upon his choice of subject matter and language. He asserts that:

> The principal object, then, which I proposed to myself in these Poems was to chuse incidents and sections from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as possible in a selection of language really used by men.[85]

Wordsworth continues to justify his choice of rural culture over other sections of society as the subject matter of his poetry as rural people 'speak a plainer and more emphatic language', a language that 'Being less under the influence of social vanity they [the labouring class] convey their feelings and emotions in simple and unelaborated expressions'.[86]

Hardy was later to echo Wordsworth's sentiments, in his own 'Preface' to his *Wessex Poems* (1898), and proposed the superiority of dialect to express thoughts and feelings. Hardy contends that:

> Whenever an ancient and legitimate word of the district, for which there was no equivalent in received English, suggested itself as the most natural, nearest and often only expression of a thought, it has been made use of, on, what seemed good grounds.[87]

In accordance with Wordsworth's understanding of rural language, Hardy considers dialect to be a more direct, open and honest mode of speech and one which the poet can draw upon to create the most direct unstylised, and implicitly, most poetic verse.

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[84] Stafford,' Introduction', p.xix.
[85] Wordsworth, 'Preface' (1802), pp. 95-115, (pp.96-7).
[86] Wordsworth, 'Preface' (1802), p.97.
[87] Hardy, 'Preface', *Complete Poems,* p.6.

The most notable use of oral forms by the Romantic poets is in their 'conversation poems' which sometimes began with idiomatic phrases or direct speech.[88] Stafford argues that conversation poems often rely upon unrhymed verse to reflect speech patterns or sometimes these poems will take the form of a question and reply to offer alternative views.[89] Examples of conversation poems in Wordsworth's work include 'The Foster-Mother's Tale' which begins 'Can no-one hear? It is a perilous tale!', 'The Thorn', 'Goody Blake and Harry Gill' and 'Expostulation and Reply'.[90] Such conversation poems can also tell a story and are closely related to the ballad tradition through their use of direct speech and the language of the labouring class.

Not all critics and writers were convinced by the use of colloquial language within literature. Although Coleridge originally contributed to *Lyrical Ballads* he later distanced himself from the volume and the poetic stance outlined by Wordsworth in his 1802 'Preface'. In his *Biographia Literaria* (1817) Coleridge doubts whether rural dialect constitutes the 'best' part of language. He also wonders whether Wordsworth's use of language bears any resemblance to the language used by the rural labouring class.[91] Coleridge's analysis foreshadows the later criticism meted out to Hardy, who according to a reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, puts expressions into the mouths of his rustics 'which we cannot believe possible from the illiterate clods whom he describes'.[92]

The above quotation summarises the attitudes of many literary critics and philologists during the nineteenth century towards class and dialect and its use in literature. Those outside of these privileged classes were excluded from education to the same level and their language and culture was held to have little value. In contrast to these critics and philologists were those who identified the evolutionary nature of language. This permitted the inclusion of all language types as equally valid parts of the whole of the English language, a position clarified by the inclusive

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[88] Stafford, p.139-40.
[89] Stafford, p.141.
[90] Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, pp. 128-29, 129-37, 119-23, 117.
[91] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria,* 2 vols (London: R.Fenner, 1817), vol ii, pp.51, 53-4.
[92] 'Unsigned Review', *Athenaeum*, 5 December, (1874)', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, ed. R.G. Cox, (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul,1970), p.29.

approach adopted in the *OED.* The intense nineteenth-century philological debate identifies the equality of all languages a position which I will later argue had far-reaching effects across all aspects of culture in Britain and eventually across the British empire.

As has been indicated, Hardy's forefathers, the Romantic poets, demonstrate concern for those in the labouring class and assert the value of labouring-class culture through the inclusion of rural culture and dialect in their verse. Hardy is indebted to these poets. Their inclusive rather than exclusive stance laid the foundation for the development of his linguistic and cultural concerns. Hardy's understanding of these concerns was enhanced through continuing philological debate, particularly early on in his literary career which will be examined in greater depth in Part Two of this study.

In his expression of labouring-class culture Hardy also continues the structural concerns of the Romantic poets. Hardy, like the Romantic poets, demonstrates frequent metrical experimentation beyond the standard iambic pentameter of English poetry. A closer look at Hardy's metres and poetic forms will reveal more of his parallels with the Romantic poets particularly in relation to the ballad, a traditionally rural art form, in Chapter Two.

Chapter 2

Metre and Ballad

Alongside the in depth philological enquiry of the nineteenth century, discussed in the previous chapter, an interest in prosody arose in Britain. In Part One of this chapter I examine the development of English prosody from the Medieval period

until the late nineteenth century. I pay particular attention to the forefathers of Victorian prosody, the Romantic poets, who experimented with metre to articulate the rhythms found in speech. I will argue that metrical experimentation by the Romantic poets coalesces with their expression of the plight of the rural poor and their portrayal of rural culture and its dialect as a worthy subject for poetry.

I will then turn my attention to Victorian prosody and particularly discuss the theories of Coventry Patmore to establish the influence of dipodic theory upon Hardy's verse. I will argue that alongside the use of varied metrical forms in his verse Hardy also employs the poetic devices often found in rural poetry in his work. I will assert that the inclusion of these devices alongside metrical experimentation increases the complexity of Hardy's metrical versatility.

In the second part of this chapter I discuss the ballad form. I demonstrate that scholarly interest in ballads in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries arose alongside the development of philology and a desire to recover the origins of English culture to underpin British nationalism. Ballads were collated by scholars and published in printed collections. I will discuss the debate regarding the literary merit of traditional ballads and argue that for many critics and poets scholarly interest in primitivism provided the opportunity for a unifying cultural base to express nationhood for all classes of people. I highlight the metrical complexity of traditional ballad metre. Using examples of Hardy's poems I demonstrate that Hardy employs traditional ballad metre alongside contemporary thematic concerns. I argue that Hardy's use of metre and the ballad form enables him to express the concerns of the rural labourer whilst creating a poetry which is technically sound.

My understanding of the metrical duality of Hardy's poetry coalesces with his philological enquiry established in Chapter One. Hardy's hybrid metrical and linguistic positions reflect his stance towards dialect and standard English. The establishment of metrical and linguistic links in this chapter facilitates a detailed examination of the implications of Hardy's presentation of language and metre in wider social contexts in Part Two of this study.

Prosody

Yopie Prins in her essay 'Victorian Meters', identifies the large range of poetic forms in Victorian verse, such as ballads, sonnets, blank verse, Germanic accentual verse, refrains, hymns and ancient Greek and Latin metres. This range of diverse poetic forms, Prins argues, was partnered with an increasingly complicated Victorian prosody.[1] The Victorians, however, were not the first to have an interest in prosody. Dennis Taylor, in his work *Hardy's Metres and Victorian Prosody* (1988) charts the development of English prosody from the use of accentual-syllabi rhythm in Medieval Latin verse which contrasted with Latin metre or *ratio.* According to Taylor, classical theory which drew upon ancient Greek and Roman metres, defined the English poetic line into long and short syllables grouped into metrical feet which could be attuned to give some, but not great, flexibility. For example, a spondee (- -) could be substituted for a dactyl (- U U).[2] Such a rigid notion of metre, Taylor argues, was not without difficulties in relation to classical Greek and Roman texts, but in English metre it caused considerable problems. Taylor contends:

> [The] application of classical concepts to English metre was particularly confusing because English syllables do not have clearly defined quantities, and stress more than quantity determines the rhythm of the English line. [Thus] quantities cannot provide the ratios necessary for the English metrical pattern.[3]

In other words, the regulated metre of classical verse proves too rigid a measure to quantify the English line.

During the Renaissance classical metres continued to be the norm and imitated in use by Sidney and Spenser and others. Later, in the eighteenth century, iambic pentameter, or ten syllable lines with five stresses continued to be popular though variation could be created by elision, caesura and accents. Too much variation,

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[1] Yopie Prins, 'Victorian Meters', *Cambridge Companion to Victorian Poetry*, ed. Joseph Bristow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.89-113, (p.89).
[2] Dennis Taylor, *Hardy's Metres and Victorian Prosody* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp.9-10.
[3] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, p.10.

however, could be confused with poor metrical technique.[4] According to Taylor, the introduction of the isochronus bar line in musical notation during the mid-seventeenth century provided a 'clear pattern of variety within uniformity', which could be applied to English rhythm, since a line of poetry could be similarly divided into 'bars'. Varying numbers of stresses, syllables and pauses could fill each bar and permit variety within the metrical regulation. A problem arose in poetry as neither the syllables nor stresses indicate the bar divisions.[5] Taylor contends that later the Romantic poets reacted against the rigid mathematical perception of metre and advocated 'a defence of variety for its own sake'.[6] For example, in his 1815 'Preface' to *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth urges caution when too rigid an adherence is given to metrical laws which then begin to distort the voice of the poem. He asserts:

> The law of long syllable and short must not be so inflexible,-
> the letter of the metre is impassive to the spirit of versification,-
> as to deprive the Reader of all voluntary power to modulate, in
> subordination to the sense, the music of the poem.[7]

As can be seen from the above quotation Wordsworth considers that it is the reader who ultimately determines the music of the poem not the rigid observance of metrical regularity. Wordsworth proposes a relationship between two aspects of the text - the material and the spiritual voice of the poem. In doing so, Wordsworth destabilises the regular beat of iambic metre. The questioning of rigid metrical norms by Romantic poets, Prins asserts, laid the foundation for Victorian prosody. Prins argues:

> The relationship between those 'material' forms of language -
> how a poem materializes in sound and how it materializes on
> the page proves to be a central concern in Victorian metrical
> theory, as it develops an account of meter that is neither in

[4] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, pp.11-12.
[5] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, p.14.
[6] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, p.15.
[7] William Wordsworth, 'Preface', in *Lyrical Ballads* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815), pp.vii-xlii, (p.xvii).

> imitation of voice nor a script for voice but a formal mediation that makes 'voice' a function of writing.[8]

The question inevitably arises: how can one determine voice in Victorian poetry? Prins continues to argue that in Victorian metres we see 'A further transformation of voice into a spectral form, simultaneously present and absent, and strangely detached from spoken utterance'.[9]

Voice, in Victorian poetry, therefore, constitutes the counting of metrical markers on the page. This would seemingly restrict the poetic voice once more to rigid metrical forms. However, the notion of substitution and equivalence, particularly expounded upon by Coventry Patmore, provided a new poetic freedom from the tyrannies of metrical regularity whilst seeming to work within it. In his influential essay, 'Essay on English Metrical Law' (1857), Patmore contends that metre exists both as a physical and metrical entity. Patmore describes metre as an:

> ictus or beat, cultural or mental, which like a post in a chain railing, still marks the end of one space and the commencement of another…Yet, all-important as this time 'beater' is, I think it is demonstrable that, for the most part, it has no *material and external existence at all*, but has its place in the mind, which craves measure in everything and, whenever the idea of measure is uncontradicated, delights in marking it with an imaginary 'beat'.[10]

In this quotation Patmore proposes the abstract nature of metrical form, where accents are mental, or felt, rather than being actually heard. Patmore was not alone in his understanding of the abstract nature of metre. For example, Gerard Manley Hopkins said of Milton's *Paradise Regained* that 'the beat of the line has to be

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[8] Prins, p.90.
[9] Prins, p.91.
[10] Coventry Patmore, *Essay on English Metrical Law* (1857), ed. Sister Mary Augustine Roth (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, 1961), p.15.

carried in the mind, it is expressed'.[11] Both Hopkins' and Patmore's notions of abstraction however are very difficult to define.

Taylor identifies an alternative, philosophical perception of metre expressed by George Hegel. According to Taylor, Hegel was the first to propose a relation between the pattern of quantities and speech stresses. Identifying a conflict between metre and accent, Hegel asserted that 'Rhythm is the result of what hovers between and unites both'.[12] A difficulty with abstraction arises as metrical and actual beats are easily confused. The advantage of metrical abstraction is that it allows the poet the freedom to manipulate metre rather than being restricted by it. This does not imply that there was a metrical 'free for all' amongst Victorian poets.

In *A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (1910), George Saintsbury questions where the accent in a 'pause-foot' or 'silence-foot' is to be found. In his footnote to this statement Saintsbury acknowledges that the place of accent is at the 'beginning of a syllable', but contends that although he can recognise a missed beat he still has 'difficulty in accessing it'.[13] Saintsbury's statement suggests the unlimited nature of abstract metre and his critical stance indicates he considered greater regulation of metre was required. Thomas Stewart Omond in his volume *English Metrists* (1903), similarly had difficulty in accepting Patmore's theories. He defines Patmore's dipodic theory as 'dogmatic' and 'not near as to the fundamental basis of our verse'.[14] In *A Study of Metre* (1903), Omond enlarges:

> We make pauses in reading verse, to bring out the meaning, or merely to draw breath. Some writers have tried to find in these a foundation of verse-structure [. . .] Such theories seem to confuse he delivery of verse with its essential rhythm. The pauses which we make in reading poetry are voluntary and optional; one reader makes them and another reader leaves them out, the same reader will vary them at different

[11] Cited by, Taylor, in *Hardy's Metres*, p.24.
[12] Cited by Taylor, in *Hady's Metres*, p.27.
[13] George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present*, 3 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1910), vol iii, p.440.
[14] Thomas Stewart Omond, *English Metrists* (Tunbridge Wells: R. Pelton, 1903), pp.98-99.

> times. They surely cannot be parts of the structure.[15]

Saintsbury in his article 'English Prosody', cited by Hardy in his *Literary Notebooks*, disagrees:

> According to Mr Omond the basis of regularity in our verse is a time-basis mostly [. . .] the verse structure must make it clear how many syllables are to be expected, how many that is, are to be taken as normal; the poet may then substitute more or fewer at his discretion.[16]

In other words once the poet gives a sense of metre, he is permitted to deviate from it within his poem. A tension, therefore, existed between language and the laws of verse, which Patmore's notion of abstraction attempted to override. Metre is derived from language, but ultimately imposes itself upon the language. Patmore's stance attempts to break free from this position, or at least lessen its effects, so that the language of the poem is less restricted by metre. Metrical flexibility is necessary to enable this. In the spirit of the Romantics, Patmore advocates the freedom of the reader to interpret the metre of the poem. How does this prosodic debate relate to metre in Hardy's poetry?

Taylor places Hardy's poetry within the accentual-syllabic traditions and aligns his metrical experimentation with the work of Victorian prosodists, who attempted to formulate a metrical theory which fully explained the variations in metre by past and contemporary poets. Taylor argues that Hardy, like many other Victorian poets, was both practitioner and prosodist and incorporated the current prosodist thinking into his work.[17] The 'new prosody' of the nineteenth century arose from and was assisted by the earlier eighteenth-century ballad revival, which helped to spread the use of tri-syllabic feet into other genres of verse, a process which continued into the nineteenth century. Such metrical consciousness and the formal metrical measurement of poetry was a key concept of nineteenth century prosody.[18] Taylor considers Hardy's early

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[15] Thomas Stewart Omond, *A Study of Metre* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), p.7.
[16] Hardy, *Literary Notebooks*, p.209.
[17] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, pp.49-100.
[18] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, pp.54-9.

poetry to have been influenced by the contemporary sonnet, hymn and ballad revivals, but that he only read the works of the new prosodists later on in his career, thereby predicting the new prosody before it had been completely defined. Taylor identifies the main metrical constituents of Hardy's verse and attributes dates to the composition of some of them:

> iambic pentameter line
> anapaestic and dactylic
> Spenserian Stanza 1867
> Shakespearean Sonnet 1865-67
> Petrarchan Sonnet 1895 or later
> Wordsworthian Sonnets 1866 1890s-1921
> Shakespearean Octaves combined with Petrachan subsets 1865-1871
> iambic tetrameter and trimeter lines
> dimeter line
> the long line.

Taylor's list certainly indicates the extent of Hardy's metrical investigation and the presence of complex metres in his work. It is less certain however, that particular dates can be ascribed to the poems, as Hardy subjected his poetry to rigorous revision and metrical experimentation throughout his poetic career. Literary critics acknowledged the presence of these varied metres in Hardy's poetry. Unfortunately, they did not always offer positive assessments of Hardy's employment of metre and considered them to be clumsy and rough. For example, T.H. Warren, in his review of Hardy's volume *Poems of the Past and Present* in the *Spectator* (1902) considered Hardy's poetry to have:

> a haunting rhythm and a wild eerie melancholy timbre of its own. But either he is not certain of its effects, or else he deliberately chooses to be harsh and rough,

> uncouth and uncanny and thinks his style suits his theme.[19]

Another 'Unsigned Review' of Hardy's first volume of poetry *Wessex Poems* (1899), in *Saturday Review* praises the feeling evident in the poems, but is critical of their form, asserting that 'were the form equal to the matter they would be poetry'.[20] Similarly, an 'Unsigned Review' of *Poems of the Past and Present*, also in *Saturday Review*, criticises the rhythm of Hardy's poetry, suggesting it is largely influenced by rural poetic forms: 'Mr Hardy has never written with flowing rhythms either in prose or verse, and his verse often halts or dances in hobnails'.[21] However, the reviewer continues:

> But he has studied the technique of verse more carefully than most of his critics seem to be aware, and he has a command of very difficult metres, which if it were unvarying would be remarkable.[22]

This last reviewer correctly acknowledges Hardy's prosodic skill. The extent of Hardy's study of prosody is evident in his *Literary Notebooks*. Hardy requested that his notebooks be destroyed after his death, but this notebook and a few others fortunately survived.[23] Even an initial glance at the *Literary Notebooks* indicates how seriously Hardy considered his prosodic study to be. Hardy meticulously copied and stuck into his *Literary Notebooks* quotations and articles from the works of numerous Victorian prosodists. A large number of these insertions concern poetic metre and its relationship to the language and subject matter of poetry. For example, in his entry for 1863, Hardy notes that Matthew Arnold insisted

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[19] T.H. Warren, ''Review of *Poems of the Past and Present', Spectator*, 5 April 1902', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, ed. R.G. Cox, (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp.332-35, (p.332).

[20]'Unsigned Review of *Wessex Poems*, *Saturday Review*, 7 January 1899', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, ed. R.G. Cox, (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp.319-22, (p.321).

[21] 'Unsigned Review of *Poems of the Past and Present*, *Saturday Review* 11 January 1902,' in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, ed. R.G. Cox, (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp.329-31, (p.331).

[22] 'Unsigned Review of *Poems of the Past and Present*', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, p.331.

[23] Thomas Hardy, *Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Lennart A. Björk, 2 vols (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1985), Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.539.

> somewhat too strenuously on the purely intellectual and moral aspects of art. There is a widely different way of regarding the same subject matter, which ignores the criticism of type altogether, and dwells upon sensuous presentation, emotional suggestion and technical perfection as the central and essential qualities of the art.[24]

There is ample evidence in the *Literary Notebooks* of Hardy's study of the works of Coventry Patmore, particularly in relation to the metre and dipodic rhythm. Hardy quotes at length from Patmore's *Amelia, Tamerton Church Tower Etc.*, published in 1872. Hardy includes Patmore's division of 'English metre in the *Literary Notebooks*. Patmore divides metre into two parts:

1) The sequence of vocal utterance shall be divided into equal or proportionate spaces
2) The fact of that division shall be made manifest by an 'ictus' or beat

Patmore continues: 'The common notion of an exact proportion inherent in syllables themselves seems to be quite untenable'.[25]

Hardy did not date his entries in his notebooks and subjected them to rigorous revision. It is impossible to ascertain whether Hardy read Patmore's work earlier or later in his career and an examination of remaining letters written and received by Hardy yields no further evidence. What is apparent however is that Hardy had a keen interest in English prosody throughout his career and applied this prosodic knowledge to his verse. As I will demonstrate later on in this chapter, Hardy practices a similar stance to Patmore in his poetry and is flexible in his application of poetic metre. Hardy's position is a vastly disparate perception of metre to Arnold's 'technical perfection'. In his autobiography, which was ghost written by his wife Florence, Hardy outlines his own attitude towards poetic style:

> The whole secret of a living style and the difference between it

[24] Hardy, *Literary Notebooks*, vol ii, p.42.
[25] Hardy, *Literary Notebooks*, vol ii, p.191.

> 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. [. . .] Otherwise your style is like a half-pence - all the fresh images rounded off by rubbing, and no crispness at all. It is of course, simply a carrying into prose the knowledge I have acquired in poetry that inexact rhymes and rhythms now and then are far more pleasing than correct ones.[26]

Despite Hardy's seemingly relaxed attitude towards metrical issues, his conscious choice to adopt such an approach is decisive. Hardy's attempt to create an art which does not appear carefully crafted constitutes a deliberate attempt to create a perfected art form. In light of the above quotation, the comments of Hardy's critics appear rather misguided and miss his intentions. It must be remembered though, that these critics did not have the benefit of having access to his *Literary Notebooks* which reveal so much about his fascination with prosody and his great understanding of it. The following study of poetic devices in Hardy's poetry reveals the extent of this understanding and of Hardy's use of non-standard poetic devices in his work.

Taylor's identification of the metres present in Hardy's poetry omits to acknowledge the presence of the poetic devices found in rural poetry in Hardy's work. These poetic devices often cause the disruption of regular metrical forms, indicating that metrical complexity and variability in Hardy's poetry is more extensive than critics have previously acknowledged. As will be demonstrated, I suggest that Hardy fuses standard and non-standard metrical and poetic forms to create hybrid metres in his verse. Later in this thesis I will argue that such metrical hybridity occurs alongside linguistic hybridity in Hardy's poetry to create verse which is technically sound but remains faithful to Hardy's native rural culture.

Hardy wrote eight volumes of verse during his poetic career, namely: *Wessex Poems and other Verses* (1898), *Poems of the Past and Present* (1902), *Times*

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[26] Florence Emily Hardy, ed., *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1928), p.138. There is debate regarding the extent to which Hardy contributed to his autobiography. Hardy and his second wife, Florence co-wrote the volume. Hardy dictated substantive changes which Florence then typed. However, Florence altered the manuscripts after Hardy's death, rendering the extent to which Hardy contributed to the volume remain unclear.

Laughingstocks and Other Verses (1909), *Satires of Circumstance Lyrics and Reveries* (1914), *Moments of Vision* (1917), *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922), *Human Shows*, (1925) and posthumously, *Winter Words* (1928).[27] Caution needs to be applied when attributing particular publication dates to poems within each collection, as they are no indicator of the dates of composition of the poems, which were written from the 1860s onwards. A small proportion of the manuscript poems are dated, but the majority are undated. Some early dated poems are included in later volumes rendering it impossible to establish any particular chronological order for the composition and collection of the poems. Furthermore, Hardy constantly revised his poetry over time; tinkering with punctuation and making substantive changes. I have also consulted Hardy's Literary Notebooks and his autobiography *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* and *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (1930) in this study.[28]

As with the poems, Hardy's notebooks and autobiography underwent a process of revision later in his career, making it difficult to establish any particular literary influence upon his poetry at a given time. In focusing upon non-standard poetic devices, I have concentrated upon those devices Hardy most frequently employed which are used to a lesser degree in mainstream poetry of the period, and which are likely to have contributed to the negative reactions of literary critics to his work. The poetic devices include: ballad, dipody, regular use of enjambment, *rudeef*, *cadwynodyl*, frequent internal rhyme and *tujis-i-zaiad*.[29] I have further examined these devices in relation to thematic concerns in Hardy's poetry. The thematic concerns and poetic devices are listed in the table below according to their frequency in each volume. This establishes whether Hardy employs a particular poetic device to articulate thematic concerns, and whether these change across the eight volumes.

Collection	**Thematic Concerns**	**Poetic Devices used throughout the volume**
Wessex Poems (1898)	Failed relationships	enjambment ballad

[27] Thomas Hardy, *Wessex Poems and Other Verses* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898), *Poems of the Past and Present* (London and New York: Harper Brothers,1902), *Times Laughingstocks and Other Verses* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909), *Satires of Circumstance Lyrics and Reveries with Miscellaneous Pieces* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1914) *Moments of Vision* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1917), *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1922), *Human Shows, Far Phantasies, Songs and Trifles* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1925), *Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres* (London: Macmillan,1928).
[28] Florence Emily Hardy, ed., *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1930).
[29] See Appendix B for definitions of these terms.

	Ballad. (Ballad in *Wessex Poems* can be classed as thematic and formulaic, as the ballad tradition is intrinsic to Hardy's presentation of a historical Dorset).	tujis-i-zaiad rudeef comharda
Poems of the Past and Present (1902)	Agnosticism War Darwinism/ Evolution Failed Relationships	dipody enjambment rudeef tujis-i-zaiad
Times Laughingstocks (1909)	Darwinism/ cultural selection Failed relationships Rural/ cultural	dipody rudeef cadwynodyl
Satires of Circumstance (1914)	Death Failed relationships Darwinism/ natural selection Ballad	dipody tujis-i-zaiad internal rhyme
Moments of Vision (1917)	Death Darwinism/ natural selection Failed relationships Fate	rudeef dipody indent internal rhyme tujis-i-zaiad
Late Lyrics and Earlier (1922)	Death Failed relationships Darwinism/ natural selection Immortality	indent rudeef dipody internal rhyme
Human Shows (1925)	Death Failed relationships Darwinism/ natural selection Fate	rudeef internal rhyme indent tujis-i-zaiad
Winter Words (1928)	Failed relationships Death Darwinism/ natural selection Rural life	rudeef tujis-i-zaiad refrain internal rhyme

As can be seen from the above table Hardy frequently uses dipodic rhythm to express themes of loss, death and failed relationships. Examples of this technique can be found in 'On the Departure Platform' and 'In a Vision I Roamed'. The break in rhythm caused by dipody echoes the physical and psychological rupture created

by death and failed relationships and occurs particularly frequently in the collections published between 1902-22. Similarly, Hardy's regular use of the Persian *rudeef* and *tujis-i-zaiad* often acts as an intensifier of emotion in his verse to reiterate the thematic concerns of a particular poem. Examples include 'To the Moon', 'Quid Hic Agis' and 'The Self Unseeing'. The inclusion of Irish, Welsh and Persian poetic devices also indicates his awareness of poetry outside the mainstream English poetic tradition and is employed in all volumes. However, an examination of Hardy's *Literary Notebooks* yields little evidence of a sustained course of study of such poetic techniques. It is most likely that Persian, Irish and Welsh poetic devices present in Hardy's poetry are due to the influence of his friend and mentor, William Barnes. As a poet and linguist, Barnes studied the Persian, Welsh and Irish languages and literature in depth and over many years employed such devices on a regular basis in his own work.

Amongst the numerous philological works which Barnes wrote was a detailed grammar titled, *A Philological Grammar Grounded upon English and Formed from a Compression of More than Sixty Languages: Being an Introduction to the Science of Grammar and a Help to Grammar of All Languages, Especially English, Latin and Greek* (1854). This grammar reveals the impressive range of Barnes' linguistic study. Barnes includes the grammar of languages as seemingly disparate as Persian, Welsh, Norse, Kapponic, Khoordish and Malay to name but a few.[30] Barnes also includes a lengthy chapter concerning poetry in this work and explains in detail the characteristics of numerous non-standard poetic devices such as *eekfa, skot-hending* and *cynghanedd,* and supports his definitions with examples of each of them.[31] Some of these devices are to be found in Barnes' poetry, such as his poem 'My Orchet in Linden Lea', for example, uses the Welsh *cynghanedd* and 'A Faether out An' Mother Hwome', employs Persian *rudeef* .[32]

[30] William Barnes, *A Philological Grammar Grounded upon English and Formed from a Compression of More than Sixty Languages: Being an Introduction to the Science of Grammar and a Help to Grammar of All Languages, Especially English, Latin and Greek* (1854) (Marston Gate: Amazon.co.uk, 2013).
[31] Barnes, *Philological Grammar,* pp.277-308.
[32] William Barnes, *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888), pp.186-87,191-92. For a full explanation of the meaning of these poetic devices see Appendix B of this thesis.

It is this type of metrical experimentation which critics found objectionable in Hardy's work. For example, the reviewer of Hardy's *Poems of the Past and Present* in *Saturday Review* (1902) says of Hardy's metre:

> He is always experimenting in metrical effects, and he has made some perfectly successful experiments of a very unusual kind, but he is too fond of long lines, in which the evidence gets lost by the way, especially when they are set side by side with short lines. […] Neither in verse or prose is Mr Hardy a master of style.[33]

An examination of accidental variants, non-standard poetic devices and metre in Hardy's poetry further reveals the extent of his attention to metre in his poetry. I have compiled the following summary of my research to establish the extent of Hardy's use of accidental variants and non-standard devices and their relationship to metre in his verse. In many instances the alteration of accidentals such a comma to a colon permits the dipodic understanding of metre and suggests Hardy assumes a hybrid approach to metre that coalesces with his hybrid approach to language in his poetry to express the speech forms of the rural periphery and urban centre.

I have observed the following methodology. I have only included those accidental variants which indicate either an increase or decrease in metrical regularity in the manuscript and *Collected Poems* versions of the poems. Instances of accidental changes which have not resulted in the alteration of metre have not been included.

In the first volume, *Wessex Poems* (1898), an increase in dipodic rhythm occurs in the *CP* version to that found in the MS. This dipody is achieved through an increased use of semi-colons in the revised versions, which if they are counted as a beat, regularise the metrical feet of the poem. For example, a line which ends in a two beat foot becomes a triple foot when a semi-colon is added in accordance with the rest of the line. There are two instances of *tujis-i-zaiad* and one of *rudeef* coinciding with accidental variants and dipody in the volume.

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[33] 'Unsigned Review, *Saturday Review*', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, (p.331).

In the second volume, *Poems of the Past and Present* (1902), an increase of dipody in *CP* can be found in just two of the poems, which suggests Hardy has perfected and refined his use of metre and punctuation, with less need for revision. Hardy again achieves dipodic rhythm through the use of colons, semi-colons and additionally, ellipsis. There are no instances of other non-standard poetic devices coinciding with accidental variants and dipody in this volume.

In *Time's Laughingstocks* (1909), Hardy further employs dashes to achieve dipodic rhythm. The alteration of colons to semi-colons changes metre in some of the poems from iambic pentameter to triple feet. There are however, two poems in the MS which are dipodic but are reprinted in *CP* using standard metre. *Rudeef* occurs alongside dipody and accidental variants just once in the volume.

In *Satires of Circumstance* (1914) an increase in dipody occurs in three poems, which is again achieved by the addition of a colon and semi-colon. Likewise, *rudeef* occurs only once alongside dipody and accidental variants in the volume. Following on from this volume, *Moments of Vision* (1917) demonstrates an increase in dipody in five of the poems, which is achieved by the use of colons and semi-colons. There is a marked lack of non-standard poetic devices in the volume which is counter-balanced by the use of dipody. This counterbalancing ensures Hardy achieves non-standard poetic effects with greater subtlety than the non-standard devices used in the earlier volumes.

There are no changes to note between the MS and *CP* in *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922), in either accidental or non-standard poetic devices, indicating Hardy has refined his poetic technique. However, three years later in 1925, Hardy's volume *Human Shows* was published. In this volume, I have found an increase in dipody in five of the poems in the *CP* version. Again, there is a decrease in the use of other non-standard poetic devices in the volume. The accidental variants I have identified are not related to Hardy's use of metre in the poems. The changes in metre in this volume indicate that even at a late stage in his poetic career, Hardy was still experimenting with different ways of creating poetic effects through non-standard uses of metre.

The final volume, *Winter Words* (1928), does not yield any accidental or metrical changes or any increase in poetic devices. Although Hardy prepared this volume for publication, it was published posthumously by his literary executors, his second wife Florence Hardy and Sydney Cockerell. The extent to which Hardy prepared the volume before his death remains unclear.[34]

The above findings indicate an increasingly subtle use of metre in Hardy's poetry over time, with less need for metrical revision in later versions of the poems. This increasingly refined use of dipodic rhythm in the poem coincides with a decrease in his employment of more obvious and seemingly clumsy non-standard poetic devices such as *rudeef* and *tujis-i-zaiad*, and could be in response to the scathing views of the critics early in his poetic career. The alteration in Hardy's poetic technique indicates his development as a poet, in which he moves away from the early influence of his friend and mentor, the Dorset dialect poet, William Barnes. Hardy moves from non-standard forms and edges towards a non-standard use of metre which permits him to experiment with metre and form whilst remaining within the constraint of the metrical forms of mainstream nineteenth-century literary culture. His choice of metre and language indicates that even late in his career Hardy continues to be fascinated by poetic techniques from both standard and non-standard nineteenth century literature. Hardy's interest in metre, prosody and the uses of language reflects the increased interest and development of philological study during the period I have discussed. A close reading of Hardy's poem 'Neutral Tones', published in *Wessex Poems* demonstrates the way in which Hardy employs such techniques.

As in Hardy's novels an acute sense of loss, grief and missed opportunity is also a prevalent thematic concern in his poetry. A close examination of 'Neutral Tones' indicates that his use of metre and rhythm, particularly his employment of dipodic rhythm, enhances these thematic concerns. The poem portrays the meeting of two lovers by a pond on a desolate winter day, and dramatises their failed relationship. The poem consists of four quatrains with an ABBA rhyme scheme throughout. A mainly anapaestic beat, with a falling rhythm is used by Hardy to echo the

[34] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.528-29,539.

movement of leaves drifting from the trees and also as metaphor for the anxiety and disillusionment caused by the protagonists' failed relationship. The poem begins:

> We stood by a pond that winter day,
> And the sun was white, as though chidden of God,
> And a few leaves lay on the starving sod;
> -They had fallen from an ash, and were gray.

The metre in line 1 is as follows:

> We stood / by a pond / that win / ter day
> iamb anapaest iamb iamb

Line 2 reverses the pattern:

> And the sun / was white, / as though / chidden / of God
> anapaest iamb pyrrhic spondee iamb

An initial anapaest in this line is followed by an iamb to stress the whiteness of the sun and set it apart from the pond, trees and falling leaves. A pyrrhic foot, or two short syllables, connects the two beat heavy stresses of the spondee and final iamb as 'chidden of God' to emphasise the desolate whiteness of the winter sun. Lines 3 and 4 continue the anapaestic emphasis. The indentation of line 4 provides a topographical representation of the movement and subsequent decay of the fallen leaves. Stanza two follows a similar metrical pattern, but the emphasis switches from the landscape to the human protagonists. The stanzas read:

> Your eyes on me were as eyes that rove
> Over tedious riddles of years ago;
> And some words played between us to and fro
> On which lost the more by our love.

Stanza two, line 1 echoes the predominantly anapaestic rhythm of the first stanza with variations in metre to draw attention to the words Hardy wishes to emphasise. Again, a centrally placed pyrrhic foot on ‘were as’ links both parts of the line, in this case, connecting the penetrating glance of the poet speaker’s lover upon him with a perplexed questioning as to why their relationship has failed: ‘Your eyes on me were as eyes that rove’. The enjambment of this line with line 2 reiterates the perplexed gaze of the poet speaker’s lover. The nature of their relationship has, in hindsight, always been unfathomable, an ongoing ‘tedious riddle’. This riddle is intensified by the use of three anapaests followed by an iamb in this line. The rolling anapaestic rhythm is resumed at the beginning of line three which reads:

And some words / played between / us to / and fro

The two iambs at the end of the line express the exchange of words between the lovers. The energy created within the poem by these metrical shifts dramatises the unresolved conflict batting backwards and forwards between them. However, even the energy created by the conflict is halted by the line indent and reversion to anapaestic rhythm in line 4.

of which lost / the more by / our love
anapaest anapaest iamb

The sense of contemplation, disillusionment and decay in this line is furthered in the next stanza which reads:

The smile on your mouth was the deadest thing
Alive enough to have strength to die;
And a grin of bitterness swept thereby
Like an ominous bird a-wing . . .

The first three lines of stanza three follow a similar pattern to the previous stanzas. The fourth line can be scanned as an anapaest – anapaest - iamb. The enjambment between the penultimate and final lines of this stanza, however, visualises the flight

of the bird and anticipates the use of dipodic rhythm to create the fourth foot in line 4. The line can also scan thus:

Like an / ominous / bird a- / wing . . . .
trochee dactyl trochee trochee

This line can also be scanned as anapaest, anapaest, iamb. However, dipodic rhythm is apparent in this quotation by the substitution of a word by a punctuation mark to create a metrical foot to achieve poetic effects. Thus the line would scan trochee, dactyl, trochee, trochee. In this poem the effect of dipody in stanza two line 4 dramatises the ongoing flight of the bird. The image of the bird as an omen however, is metaphor for the continued failure of the protagonists' relationship suggesting the impossibility of future reconciliation and dramatises the continuing feelings of bitterness between them. The bird imagery is emphasised by the omission of metrical closure in this line which also increases the sense of ongoing lack of resolution. The flight of the bird is not liberating here, instead the image is 'ominous' and is both the focus and the cause of ongoing anxiety.

Hardy's dipodic rhythm in 'Neutral Tones' emphasises the negative retrospective feelings expressed by the poet speaker in the final stanza. Older, and possibly wiser, the poet speaker identifies the meeting at the pond as a moment of epiphany, during which he faces the sense of disillusionment caused by failed relationships. The stanza reads:

Since then, keen lessons that love deceives,
And wrings with wrong, have shaped to me
Your face, and the God-curst sun, and a tree,
And a pond edged with grayish leaves.

Although this final stanza forms a similar metrical pattern to the first stanza, the dipodic rhythm created by the line indent of the last line prompts and coalesces with the ongoing psychological angst caused by failed relationships. Hardy returns to his

original image of the falling leaves to once more link the death and decay of the winter months with the metrical alteration in the poem and the situation of the protagonists.

This type of poetic freedom is also illustrated by the metrical experimentation in Hardy's poem 'I Have Lived with Shades', included in his collection *Poems of the Past and Present*. The poem is the first in a series of three poems under the heading 'Retrospect' and placed at the end of the volume. An overall theme of *Poems of the Past and Present* is the retrospective glance backwards to previous experiences, both in Hardy's presentation of narrative poems which tell tales of post rural life and its characters, such as 'The Lost Pyx' and 'The Milkmaid' and those which reveal moments of epiphany, prompted by an examination of personal history such as the 'In Tenebris' sequence and 'The Darkling Thrush'. 'I have Lived with Shades' can be classed as one of the epiphany poems. This poem has a very distinct metrical pattern. It consists of five stanzas, each divided into three two-beat lines, followed by a burden or refrain, of four two beat lines. The rhyme scheme follows an ABBA CDDC pattern throughout the poem. The burden suggests 'I Have Lived With Shades' follows the 'bob and wheel' pattern of traditional ballads, but the 'bob' or the short line of the refrain is omitted for a two beat line in accordance with the rest of the 'wheel', or four three stress lines in the poem. Hardy's use of the burden also departs from its traditional use as it constitutes part of the main narrative, rather than existing as a repetitive element in the poem. The metre of the refrain however, adheres to a strict di-ambic rhythm throughout, creating a metrical unity which echoes the use of the burden in the ballad tradition. The rhythm of the main narrative of 'I Have Lived With Shades' follows a predominantly iambic pattern of three beats per line, with occasional variation to permit additional emphasis upon specific words to enhance the thematic concerns of the poem, as in 'Neutral Tones'. For example, the first stanza reads:

I have lived with Shades so long,
And talked to them so oft,
Since forth from cot and croft
I went mankind among,
That sometimes they

In their dim style
Will pause awhile
To hear my say;

Line 1 begins with a cretic foot as a heavy, light, heavy stress followed by two iambs to place greater emphasis upon the ‘Shades’ or shadows present in the poet speaker’s consciousness. An awareness of the shades prompts the poet speaker to pause and directs him towards a journey of self-realisation. This realisation constitutes a metaphoric journey into an underworld where the achievements of the poet speaker, and implicitly, of mankind, are questioned. The onset of this journey is characterised by the refrain in a stanza one and, furthered through the semi-colon and enjambment at the end of line 8 to link this stanza to the next. Stanza two continues:

And take me by the hand,
And lead me through their rooms
In the To-be, where Dooms
Half-wove and shapeless stand:
And show from there
The dwindled dust
And rot and rust
Of things that were.

The first two lines of stanza two are iambic, with the insertion of a pyrrhic foot at the start of line 3 to emphasise the halting, sombre iambic tone of the rest of the line and the next:

In the To-be where Dooms
Half-wove and shapeless stand:

Lines 5-8 resume the refrain and anticipate the nihilism of missed opportunities, a thematic concern of the rest of the poem:

And show from there
The dwindled dust

And rot and rust
Of things that were.

The Shades themselves speak in stanza three:

‘Now turn’, they said to me
One day: ‘Look whence we came,
And signify his name
Who gazes thence at thee.’ -
-‘Nor name nor race
Know I, or can,’
I said, ‘Of man
So commonplace.

The monotonous iambic metre of this stanza heightens the man’s commonplace nature. He possesses no signifying characteristic, name or race which sets him apart from the rest of humanity. In a Darwinist presentation of cultural movement, the non-identity of the man also ensures he is subsumed by other individuals and, ultimately, by other cultures. Lines 4-8 of stanza four confirm Hardy’s stance:

Into the dim
Dead throngs around
He’ll sink, nor sound
Be left of him.

Stanza five cautions that such a fate awaits all mankind, including the poet speaker:

‘Yet’, said they ‘his frail speech,
Hath accents pitched like thine -
Thy mould and his define
A likeness each to each -
But go! Deep pain
Alas, would be
His name to thee

And told in vain!'

The realisation of his fragile cultural position is intensified by the metre and punctuation of stanza five. The two trochaic feet followed by a cretic foot in line 1 anticipates the slower iambic metre of line 2. In this line the speed is decelerated by the dash at the end of the line:

Yet said / they, his / frail speech
Hath acc / ents pitched / like thine -

The dash creates an amphibrach or light, heavy, light stress. Such dipodic rhythm exacerbates the concerns expressed in the poem regarding the insignificance of individual lives and cultures within the movement of history. It is a concern, which assisted by Hardy's use of metre, remains unresolved within the poem and reflects the ongoing process of cultural subsumation and survival of the fittest. Thus, in both 'I Have Lived With Shades' and 'Neutral Tones', Hardy employs metre and rhythm to evade metrical closure and ensure that the poems exist beyond the physical restrictions of print and page. In doing so, both of these poems serve as a springboard for further philosophical thought which resides beyond the boundaries of formal poetic metre.

Although Taylor identifies and explains Hardy's use of dipody in *Hardy's Metres* he disregards the speech rhythms present in poetry and does not consider the ability of language to evolve with changing cultures. Taylor asserts that 'for Hardy the poem is an archaic crystalisation of prose' in which speech rhythms become the metrical rhythms of the poet, which are then undermined by new speech rhythms. In suggesting that Hardy's poetry is self-consciously archaic and is constantly undercut by new linguistic forms, Taylor fails to consider that the language and metre in these poems represents an evolving society in which the status of dialects was constantly shifting. Taylor compares the linguistic approaches of Hardy and Hopkins: 'Where Hopkins sees poetry as revealing the creative vitality latent in speech, Hardy sees poetry as formalising the obsolescence latent in speech'.[35]

[35] Taylor, *Hardy's Metres*, p.114.

I counter argue that the combination and metre and language in Hardy's poetry represent the evolutionary nature of society. Hardy achieves this by a combination of metrical and linguistic flexibility in his verse. In this chapter I have so far established Hardy's ability to employ varied metrical forms. In Part Two of this study I will expand upon this and demonstrate that along with metrical flexibility Hardy employs linguistic flexibility through his fusion of dialect and standard English.

In contrast to Taylor, Donald Wesling, in *The New Poetries Poetic Form Since Coleridge* (1985) identifies three categories of verse present in English during the period 1835 to 1910. These are phrasal verse, foot verse and syllabic verse.[36] The attributes of phrasal verse, according to Wesling, are optional stress, accidental rhythms and an assimilation of poetry towards the stress patterns of speech and sprung rhythm. The second type of verse identified by Wesling is foot verse, in which metre consists of a determinate accentual-syllabic stress. Practitioners included Patmore and Saintsbury. Wesling asserts that accentual-syllabic verse was the overwhelmingly standard poetic form employed during the nineteenth century. The first category is syllabic verse, where there is no determinate stress, but syllables are counted instead. Wesling contends that syllabic verse is akin to the measures of music and became more predominant after 1910. Wesling argues:

> Rule verse [or foot verse] wishes to bend speech to an abstract system. The base verse [or phrasal verse] wishes so far as possible to associate itself with speech rhythms, thereby to avoid metronomic regularity while it preserves an intrinsic rhythm. One goes with, the other against, the rhythm of speech; one is occasional, the other is metronomic in tendency.[37]

Hardy's poem, 'To My Father's Violin', included in his 1917 volume, *Moments of Vision*, demonstrates both the speech patterns inherent in poetry, identified by Wesling, and the evolutionary nature of language. This poem, written following the death of his father, is also an elegy for declining rural culture. It has several thematic

[36] Donald Wesling, *The New Poetries: Poetic Form Since Coleridge and Wordsworth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1985), p.102.
[37] Wesling, p.105.

concerns namely, loss, immortality and the disparity between formal religions and rural music. An examination of metre in ‘To My Father’s Violin’ assists in the understanding of these thematic concerns. To avoid the mawkishness of a personal address, the elegy is not addressed to the poet speaker’s father but to the violin which belonged to him. This depersonalised approach also enables Hardy to raise broader concerns of life and death and rural versus urban culture. Hardy’s decision to highlight rural culture in the poem is especially evident through his later additional inclusion of stanza three in printed versions of the poem. ‘To My Father’s Violin’ consists of five stanzas, each with a complicated AABCD CDDB rhyme scheme which Hardy employs along with disparate metres to enhance his thematic concerns. The poem begins:

Does he want you down there
In the Nether Glooms where
The hours may be a dragging load upon him,
As he hears the axle grind
Round and round
Of the great world, in the blind
Still profound
Of the night-time? He might liven at the sound
Of your string, revealing you had not forgone him.

The trochaic feet of the first two lines anticipate the weighty metre of lines 3-7 to reiterate the ‘axle grind’ of the world above:

Does he / want you / down there
In the Nether / Glooms where

The weighty monotony of the ‘axle grind’ in line 4 is expressed in one foot, a cretic, which goes ‘round and round’. Combined with enjambment in lines 4-7, the heavy cretic feet indicate the continuous revolution of the ongoing lifecycle. Stanza two describes the poet speaker’s father during his lifetime when playing the violin in the church choir. In contrast to stanza one, Hardy uses lighter rhythms to replicate the bowing of the violin player:

In the gallery west the nave,
But a few yards from his grave,
Did you, tucked beneath his chin, to his bowing
Guide the homely harmony
Of the quire
Who for long years strenuously-
Son and sire-
Caught the strains that at his fingering low or higher
From your four thin threads and eff-holes come outflowing.

A quickening of metrical speed occurs from the onset of stanza two. Line 1 consists of three beats, as in the first stanza, but rather than the steady beat, stanza three line 1 scans thus:

In the / gallery / west the nave

The contrast in the tone between the beginning of stanzas one and two enabled by the difference in metrical feet heightens the effects of the temporal shift in the poem. The poet speaker recalls a lively vibrant past, in contrast to the static underworld his father has now descended into. The mixture of two and three beat feet in lines 3-9 reflect the vigorous bowing of the fiddler to suggest the spontaneity and energy of the violin playing. The contrast between this vitality and his historical position at the end of a long tradition of fiddlers is articulated by these metrical shifts. For example, the cretic foot on ‘Son and sire’, complements the amphibrach and di-trochee of ‘and eff-holes come outflowing’. Interspersed with the shorter lines 5-7, the typography of the poem further recreates on the page the movement of the violin bow, a technique which is continued in stanza three:

And too, what merry tunes
He would bow at nights or noons
That chanced to find him bent to lute a measure,
When he made you speak his heart
As in a dream,

Without book or music-chart,
On some theme
Elusive as a jack-o'-lanthorn's gleam,
And the psalm of duty shelved for trill of pleasure.

Lines 8 and 9 of this stanza are particularly interesting as they illustrate Hardy's use of dipodic rhythm where the combination of three and two beat feet emphasises the elusive gleam of the lantern. The omission of the final foot on 'gleam' is represented by a heavy stress on 'gleam' and a light stress on the comma to make a trochaic foot. This dipodic rhythm reflects Hardy's choice of language in this line. Hardy switches from standard English in the rest of the stanza to the dialect 'jack-o-lanthorn', used in Northern England, Scotland and the United States of America (*OED*). The elusiveness of the lantern gleam is emphasised through the omission of a complete final fifth foot. The reader searches for the missing foot, just as the search for a formal musical score which records a remembered tradition of rural music proves elusive. Hardy's use of dialect here reiterates the celebration of non-standard rural culture in the poem and coalesces with his use of metre to suggest that rural culture overspills the constraints of metre and form. The celebration of rural culture in stanza three reverberates beyond the formulaic restraints of the poem, whilst simultaneously remaining within it. A similar use of metre for thematic effect is apparent in stanzas four and five. These stanzas read:

Well, you cannot, alas,
The barrier overpass
That screens him these Mournful Meads hereunder,
Where no fiddling can be heard
In the glades
Of silentness, no bird
Thrills the Shades;
Where no viol is touched for songs or serenades,
No bowing wakes a congregation's wonder.

He must do without you now,

Stir you no more anyhow
To yearning concords taught you in your glory;
While, your strings a tangled wreck,
Once smart drawn,
Ten worm-wounds in your neck
Purflings wan
With dust-hoar, here alone I sadly con
Your present dumbness, shape your olden story.

In contrast to the mainly triple feet of stanza three, there is an increased use of iambic feet in stanza four. This alteration reflects the formal content of the stanza with its allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid*. The deathly silence of the underworld is devoid of both bird song and human music:

Where no viol is touched for songs or serenades
No bowing wakes a congregation's wonder.

Again, dipodic rhythm permits divergent scansion of these lines. Line 8 can be scanned as a straightforward six beat line:

Where no / viol / is touched / for songs or / serenades

Or alternatively:

Where no / vi / ol is touched / for songs or / serenades
amphibrach cretic amphibrach cretic

The alternative pattern of amphibrach and cretic echoes the vibrant bowing of the fiddler in the previous stanzas. The effects of this dipodic rhythm are two-fold: the re-prioritisation of rural culture in stanza four alongside the formal and classical, and also the realisation in line 9 that without the violin player, the 'congregation's wonder' towards the violin player's music and religious belief is undermined. Thus Hardy's use of metre allows him to simultaneously promote rural culture as equally valid as dominant middle-class institutions, such as formal religion, but also to

question religious belief. The theme of the validity of rural culture is continued in the final three lines of stanza five which read:

> Purflings wan
> With dust-hoar, here alone I sadly con
> Your present dumbness, shape your olden story.

In these lines the violin remains silent, but it is noticeable that the expression of the silence by the poet speaker occurs in dialect. The grooves around the neck of the violin, caused by its broken strings are marked with 'purflings wan'. 'Purfling' was still in literary use during the nineteenth century and is derived from 'purfle', Old Norse for the edging on a woman's dress (*OED*, Wright).[38] 'Wan', dialect for colourless, is followed by 'dust-hoar, another Old Norse word, derived from '*hore*' meaning old and in literary rather than general use during the nineteenth century. (Wright, *OED*). The poet speaker sadly 'con(s)', or peruses, the silent state of the violin, but nevertheless shapes its 'olden story' (Wright). 'Con' is a Saxon word and last in use in standard English during the fifteenth century (*OED*). Although such words are found in many dialects across Britain and are not exclusive to the Dorset dialect, they add a sense of antiquity to the poem and celebrate the longevity of rural culture. The decline of rural culture is inevitable through the death of the fiddler, but it is recorded by the poet speaker, and in this sense, lives on. The mixture of double and triple feet in the last two lines of the poem ensures that these thematic concerns exist beyond the metrical restraints of iambic metre and enable the rural voice to be heard.

The presence of standard English and dialect in 'To My Father's Violin' indicates the evolutionary nature of language and the presence of a linguistic continuum in Hardy's poetry. Hardy's linguistic versatility goes hand in hand with his metrical flexibility in the poems. 'To My Father's Violin' clearly demonstrates Hardy's willingness to incorporate both the formal measured metres of the accentual-syllabic

[38] Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (London and New York: Henry Frowde, G.P. Pulmans and Sons, 1898-1905). Further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

tradition and also the traditions of rural music and ballad evident in phrasal verse to which I now turn.

Ballad

An increasing awareness of the demise of traditional English culture occurred largely during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, largely due to increased urbanisation and the enclosure of land. Traditional cottage crafts and farming were gradually mechanised and the war with France led to additional demands for servicemen.[39] Nostalgia for an 'old England' arose and is reflected in the numerous pastoral paintings by English artists at the time and the increased attention given to ballads amongst the middle-class. Samuel Johnson, in his dictionary rather vaguely defined the ballad as a 'song' and Nathaniel Bailey in his *Universal Etymological Dictionary* more specifically defined the ballad as 'a song commonly sung up and down the streets', thereby rooting the origin of the ballad in the vernacular.[40]

The development of ballad scholarship and the ballad revival follows a similar pattern to the development of etymology and philology and arose from a middle-class desire to recover the origins of English culture and underpin nationalism. Albert Lord identifies the social conditions necessary for the full development of oral art forms. Lord argues:

> In societies where writing is unknown [. . .] or where it is in the possession of a small minority [. . .] the art of narration flourishes, provided that the culture is in other respects of a sort to foster the singing of tales. If the way of life of a people furnishes subjects for story and affords occasion for the telling, this art will be fostered.[41]

As this quotation implies, the ballad form flourishes in a predominantly oral rather than a literary society. An increased interest in ballads initially occurred during the eighteenth century. As with the increase in philological study at the time, early

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[39] Stafford, p.148.
[40] Nathaniel Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London:1721), Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London: J. and P. Knapton,1775).
[41] Cited by David Buchan, in *The Ballad and the Folk* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.17.

ballad scholars were concerned with the recovery of the origins of each particular ballad. As early as 1711, Joseph Addison wrote in the *Spectator* about the ballad 'Chevy Chase', and brought attention to the ballad as a literary form.[42] Addison and scholars such as Thomas Percy and later J.W. Hales and F.J. Furnivall focused upon the collation of ballads and edited them and transcribed them for publication. Alan Bold, in *The Ballad* (1979) argues that prior to the eighteenth century ballads were largely considered by the middle class to be products of a non-literate society and lacking in literary merit. He asserts:

> When the ballads floated around in the oral atmosphere inhaled by non-literate but naturally gifted folk, they were ignored by historians and literary critics. When they began to be dragged from this natural environment there was an unnatural curiosity as to the origins of this particular species of singing poetry. The style was so obviously finished and perfected that the spectators got to work with their obfuscatory powers.[43]

In other words, once the middle class seized and examined the ballads they were no longer entirely the cultural property of the periphery, and the vernacular became subject to the standardised norms of the linguistic and literary criticism of the middle class. According to Bold, early debate concerned the origins of ballads. In Germany, John Gotfried von Herder and Jakob Grimm considered ballads to be the pure voice of the people in which the ballad is the creation of the whole primitive community.[44] This communalist theory is seconded by George L. Kitteridge in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1905) who asserted:

> Different members of the throng, one after another, may chart his verse, composed on the spur of the moment, and the sum of these various contributions makes a song. This is a communal composition, though each verse, taken by itself is the work of an individual [. . .] *The folk is its author* [. . .] the history of balladry, if we could follow it

[42] Stafford, p.123.
[43] Alan Bold, *The Ballad* (London: Methuen and Co.,1979), p.3.
[44] Cited by Bold, p.3.

> back in a straight line without interruptions, would lead us to very simple conditions of society, to the singing and dancing throng, to a period of communal composition.[45]

Although the above quotation suggests ballads were considered to be primitive by some Kitteridge does not suggest they lacked literary worth. Another critic, Isaac Watts, suggested that the status of the ballad was a once noble art form indicating literary worth but had since degenerated. He argued that the '*Ballad*, once signified a solemn and sacred song, as well as trivial when Solomon's Song was called the *ballad of ballads*; but now it is applied to nothing but trifling verse'.[46] And, in 1763 Thomas Dyche's *A New General English Dictionary* defined the ballad as 'A song, but now commonly applied to the meaner sort that are sung in the streets by the vulgar'.[47]

Many critics, such as Thomas Percy took a more balanced view. In his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1764), Percy acknowledged the differences in taste between the ballads and modern poetry. He extolled the virtues of the ballad, however:

> In a polished age like the present I am sensible that many of these reliques of antiquity will require great allowances to be made for them. Yet they have for the most part, a pleasing simplicity and many artless graces, which, in the opinion of no mean critics, thought to compensate for the want of higher beauties, and if they do not dazzle the imagination are frequently found to interest the heart.[48]

Similarly, Addison's *Spectator* article compared the ballads 'Chevy Chase' and 'The Two Children in the Wood' to Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, due to the moral flavour of these works. He also considered the long-standing popularity of the

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[45] Bold, pp.3-4.
[46] Cited by Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1999), p.23.
[47] Cited by Groom, p.23.
[48] Thomas Percy, 'Preface', in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and other Pieces of our Earlier Poets Together with Some Few of a Later Date*, (1764) 3 vols (London: A. Lewis, 1839), vol i, pp. xvi-xxiv, p.xvi.

ballad as an indicator of its quality and literary worth and asserted that 'An ordinary song or ballad, that is the delight of the common people, cannot fail to please all such readers as are not unqualified for the entertainment by their affectation or ignorance'.[49]

Addison's remarks raised the status of the ballad as an art form and more importantly, linked it to classical scholarship. Albert B. Friedman, in *The Ballad Revival* (1961), suggests that by the eighteenth century a romantic perception of Homer was popular, as a singer of tales in flowing robes complete with lyre. Such neo-classicism, Friedman argues, was concerned with the notion of simplicity of thought and style, a concern which was manifested in lucid and logical language. Neo-classicism rendered the ballad a respectable genre, and one which was worthy of scholarly attention.[50]

The cult of simplicity is also related to nationalism which was fuelled by a desire to legitimise British imperialism. The subject matter of many ballads was considered conducive to the articulation of nationalism. For example, John Aikin, in 'An Essay on Ballads and Pastoral' (1772) asserted:

> The ballad may be considered as the native species of poetry of this country. It very exactly answers the idea formerly given of original poetry being the rude uncultured verse in which the popular tale of times was recorded. As our ancestors partook of the fierce warlike characters of the northern nations, the subjects of their poetry would chiefly consist of the martial exploits of their heroes and the military events of national history, deeply tinctured with that passion for the marvellous, and that superstitious credulity, which always attend a state of ignorance and barbarism. Many of the ancient ballads have been transmitted to the present times, and

[49] Bold, pp. 6-7.
[50] Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp.173-77.

> in them the character nation displays itself in striking colours.[51]

The sense of nationalism expressed in the above quotation increased with the Union with Ireland and with anti-French sentiments during the Napoleonic wars.[52] Nick Groom, in *The Making of Percy's Reliques*, offers a detailed account of the intense debate among Irish, Scottish and Welsh scholars to establish their different branches of Celtic to be the most ancient original form of the language in an attempt to claim cultural supremacy. As Groom argues, although these countries were considered peripheral to the central core of British colonialism at the time, they had nevertheless resisted the Roman invasion more effectively than the English and in doing so, created geographical enclaves within which to nurture their language and culture.[53] The peripheral areas of Ireland, Scotland and Wales provided England with the touchstone it required to create a myth of origins to legitimise its own emerging imperial present. As with Gill's division between northern and southern dialects, Percy in his *Reliques* made a distinction between northern and southern ballads. He contends that:

> The old minstrel ballads are in the northern dialects, and abound with the antique words and phrases, are extremely incorrect and run into the utmost license of metre; they have also a romantic wildness, and are in the true spirit of chivalry. The other sort are written in exact measure, have a low or subordinate correctness, sometimes bordering on the insipid yet often well adapted to the pathetic; these are generally in the southern dialect, exhibit a more modern phraseology, and are commonly descriptive of modern manners.[54]

Percy's distinction between northern and southern ballads implies that those found in the south are less 'antique' than those of the north. The southern ballads, Percy asserts, have none of the 'romantic wildness' of their northern counterparts. Southern

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[51] John Aikin, 'Essay on Ballads and Pastoral', in *Essays on Song Writing, with a Collection of Such English Songs as are Most Eminent for Poetic Merit,* (1772), 2nd edn (London: Joseph Johnson,1774), pp. 26- 40, (pp.26-7).
[52] Stafford, p.126.
[53] Groom, pp.60-100.
[54] Percy, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

ballads employ the regular metre and modern phraseology indicative of middle-class language and literary conventions. The influence of middle-class urban culture upon southern peripheral culture could be due to the geographic proximity of the southern periphery to the urban centre of the British empire in London. Such proximity would appear an immediate threat to the urban centre.

The increased respectability of the ballad form during the eighteenth century is evident in the inclusion of ballads in literary debate of the period. For example, Allan Ramsay, in his preface to *The Ever Green, A Collection of Scots Poems, Written by the Ingenious before 1600* (1724), places the ballad in the pastoral tradition in strikingly similar terms to those used by later critics of Barnes' poetry. Ramsay argues 'Their *Images* are native and their landskips domestick; copied from those fields and meadows we every day beheld'.[55] Similarly, David Herd in his Preface to *Ancient and Modern Scotch Songs, Heroic Ballads Etc*, (1769) contends Scottish ballads have the greatest literary worth. He considers that the Scottish ballads have:

> For the most part been deemed precious, and met with the most favourable reception. Many such pieces are found of the highest merit, independent of every national circumstance; and others, though not so generally pleasing, are still in great esteem with the peculiar people, or part of the country, to which the story relates; nay, of some regard even with the learned, because they are the most 'natural pictures of ancient manners'.[56]

Sir Walter Scott, too, in his Preface to *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03), considers that 'Even a reader of refined taste will find [. . .] passages in which the rude minstrel rises into sublimity or melts in pathos'.[57]

Despite the interest in ballads indicated in the above quotations some writers of the Romantic period still considered the ballad to be an inferior art form. For example,

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[55] Allan Ramsay, *The Ever Green, Being A Collection of Scots Poems, Written by the Ingenious before 1600,* (1724), 2 vols (Glasgow: Robert Forrester,1876), vol i, pp.vii-viii).
[56] David Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scotch Songs, Heroic Ballads Etc.* (Edinburgh: Martin and Wotherspoon, 1769).
[57] Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads Collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland with a Few of Modern Date Forwarded upon Local Tradition,* 3 vols (London: J. Cadell and W. Davies, 1802), vol i, p.7.

Robert Southey asserted that the ballad metre was not necessarily 'incapable of dignity [but] there is a sort of language that goes with it that makes it so'.[58] Southey considered the ballad to be inferior to mainstream poetry because of the combination of ballad metre and peripheral language. Scott also found ballads lacking in their content and form. He considered the ballad to be 'rude and careless' and any 'felicitous expression' to be found in them arose from accident rather than design. Scott also criticised the use of formulaic devices in ballads such as epithets, motifs and repetition.[59]

The fact that the ballads generated interest in itself reflects a late enlightenment appreciation of the rustic, natural and native British culture. Although classical Greek and Roman literature undoubtedly influenced writers of the Romantic period, they also drew extensively upon native British culture in their work. The songs, legends and ballads of British vernacular culture provided source material for Romantic poets such as Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley and Coleridge.[60] As Stafford argues, the ballad had 'the authority of antiquity', essential to the increasing sense of nationalism of the period. Furthermore, ballads were accessible to all classes of society, and did not require access to a classical education.[61] Stafford asserts that ballads of the Romantic period drew largely on the characteristics of traditional ballads such as warfare, feuds and local tragedies, short narratives, dialogue and memorable phrases. Romantic poets also used the ballad form to propose antithetical readings and raise contemporary concerns.[62] For example, Wordsworth's 'Goody Blake and Harry Gill' and Burns' 'To a Mouse' both express sympathy with the rural poor.[63]

Speech also formed a large part of Romantic ballads, combining the language of literature with oral culture. Wordsworth's conversation poems, such as 'Expostulation and Reply' brought ordinary speech into literature.[64] This

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[58] Friedman, p.293.
[59] Friedman, p.295.
[60] Stafford, p.123.
[61] Stafford, p.124.
[62] Stafford, p.125.
[63] William Wordsworth, *Wordsworth and Coleridge: Lyrical Ballads1798 and 1802*, ed. Fiona Stafford, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.39-42, Robert Burns, *Selected Poems and Songs*, ed. Robert P. Irvine, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.71-3.
[64] Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1802*, p.117.

convergence of the vernacular into mainstream literature foreshadows Hardy's later fusion of dialect and standard English in his poetry and indicates his indebtedness to the Romantic poets. Stafford argues that the increasing gap between masters and their servants created cultural divisions between the rich and poor and was exacerbated by education. Previously, language had united the classes, but the emergence of standard English among the educated created greater cultural gulfs between them and their workforce.[65] Dialect poetry provided a bridge with which to link the linguistic gulf created by education and class. Ballads about war and nationalism, such as Burns' 'The Dumfries Volunteers' and 'Bruce's Address to his Troops' particularly bridged the cultural gap unifying the classes through a sense of nationhood and patriotism.[66] Thus a simultaneous awareness of the need to preserve traditional culture and literary forms alongside the need for an expression of modern society arose - a process which is demonstrated by the compilation and editing of the ballads by scholars.

Collators and compilers of ballad collections took it upon themselves to edit and 'improve' the ballads in their collections to accord with middle class tastes. In his 1827 collection, *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern*, William Motherwell deplored the actions of editors who insisted on improving the ballads:

> The tear and wear of three centuries will do less mischief to the text of an old ballad among the vulgar, than one short hour will effect, if in the possession of some sprightly and accomplished editor of the present day, who may choose to impose on himself the thankless and uncalled for labour of piecing and patching up its imperfections, polishing its asperities, correcting its mistakes, embellishing its naked details, purging it of impurities, and of brimming it from top to toe with tailor-like fastidiousness and nicety, so as to be made fit for the press.[67]

[65] Stafford, p.151.
[66] Burns, *Selected Poems*, pp.217-18, 214.
[67] William Motherwell, *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow: John Wylie,1827), p.iv.

As Groom argues, the eighteenth-century re-writing of ballads rendered the later versions mutations of their originals.[68] In additional attempts to re-create the ballad as a respectable art form, literary magazines of the period published the ballad of simplicity. These ballads were modelled on the sensational narrative broadsides to be found for sale on street corners. Friedman argues that ballads of simplicity attempted to improve upon broad street ballads by accelerating the metre and writing the verse in standard English rather than dialect. There were no vulgar circumstances included, the ballad of simplicity assumed instead a bland sentimental tone of condescending pity.[69] The supposed improvement of ballads by eighteenth and nineteenth century editors indicates an attempt to 'civilise' the art form or bring it into line with modern European culture and anthropological critical practices.

A brief examination of the work of nineteenth-century anthropologists reveals the ways in which these perceptions of European ballads were influenced by contemporary scientific theories. The development of the science of anthropology during this period coincided with the continued interest in ballads and is reflected in the numerous publications of anthropological works. In *Folklore and Literature of the British Isles: An Annotated Bibliography* (1986), Florence E. Baer charts the development of folklore studies. She argues that folklore studies were gradually professionalised during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by anthropologists and literary scholars who sought to distinguish literate art from the oral tradition.[70] The publication of various volumes concerning anthropology and social commentary ensued such as Alfred R. Wallace's *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (1853), Edward B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man* (1882) and James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*: *A Study in Comparative Religion* (1890).[71]

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[68] Groom, p.66.
[69] Friedman, p.269.
[70] Florence E. Baer, *Folklore and Literature of the British Isles: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1986), p.xvi.
[71]Alfred R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro with an Account of the Native Tribes and Observations on the Climate, Geology and Natural History of the Amazon Valley* (London: Reeve and Co.,1853), Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy Religion, Art and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1871), Charles Darwin *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), 2nd edn (London: John Murray,1882), James Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, 2 vols (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1890).

Baer asserts that many Victorian anthropologists, such as Tylor and Frazer believed that there were three evolutionary stages in the formation of a culture. These were:

> Savagery - represented by native American Indians, Pygmies etc.
> Barbarism - represented by peasants and other rustics.
> Civilisation - represented by the established Church, universities etc.

These three stages, anthropologists contended, are reflected in various cultural responses:

> Savages - actively believe in the sacredness of their myths and rituals.
>
> Peasants - have a tradition of oral folktales or secularised myths and practise remnants of ancient fertility rites such as dancing round maypoles.
>
> The Civilised - live within a literary society and are able to read and write and study the folklore of others.

As Baer notes, this evolutionary process constitutes a reverse movement towards the origins of culture where each cultural stage informs those following it.[72]
Edward B. Tylor, in *Primitive Culture* outlines this process of progressive cultural development:

> From an ideal point of view, civilisation may be looked upon as the general improvement of mankind by higher organisation of the individual and of Society, to the end of promoting at once Man's goodness, power and happiness. This theoretical civilisation does in no small measure correspond with actual civilisation, as traced by comparing savagery with barbarism and barbarism with modern

[72] Baer, p.xviii.

> educated life. So far as we take into account only material and intellectual culture, this is especially true. Acquaintance with the physical laws of the world, and the accompanying power of adapting nature to Man's own ends, are on the whole, lowest among savages, near among barbarians, and highest among modern educated nations. Thus a transition from the savage state to our own would be practically, that very progress of art and knowledge which is one main element in the development of culture.[73]

A Victorian anthropologist may categorise peripheral art forms such as the ballad in the barbarism/peasants stage of the evolutionary process and a product of an essentially oral culture. Although this categorisation of rural culture can be understood as a negative process, the interest in primitivism can also be considered positive as it provided a unifying cultural base for present society to express nationhood for all classes of British people. This positive perception of primitivism is evident in Tylor's 'doctrine of survivals' in which he proposed that there is nothing arbitrary or meaningless in culture. In Tylor's view culture resides within modern culture. He defines survivals as:

> Processes, customs opinions and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which the newer has been evolved […] Such examples often lead back to the habits of hundreds and even thousands of years ago.[74]

Tylor continues:

> Sometimes old thoughts and practices will burst out afresh, to the amazement of a world that thought of them long since dead or dying; here survival passes into revival.[75]

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[73]Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* vol i p.27.
[74]Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol i, p.15.
[75]Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* vol i, p.15.

As George W. Stocking argues in his work *Victorian Anthropology* (1987), Tylor's doctrine of survivals does not indicate creativity but an intellectual conservatism which allowed people to acknowledge that present culture is derived from an earlier state. Consequently, Stocking asserts, cultures such as those belonging to the rural labourer 'served as a crucial link between modern civilised and primitive savage man'.[76] Tylor confirms this view:

> Even when it comes to comparing barbarous hordes with civilised nations, the consideration thrusts itself upon our minds, how far item after item of the life of the lower races passes into analogous proceedings of the higher, in forms not too far changed to be recognised and sometimes hardly changed at all.[77]

According to Stocking, the primitivism of rural England was elegiac of merrie England, even if 'more raucous' aspects of it had been tamed by the conventions of the middle-class urban centre.[78] This cultural elegy for an old England was manifested in the ballad revival and interest in folklore during the nineteenth century and is indicated by the establishment of the Folklore Society in 1878. The establishment of a learned society devoted to the study of folklore along with its own journal, *Folklore Record*, suggests a positive attempt at understanding culture beyond the middle-class centre.[79]

Works such as John Brand's *Observations of the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, published as early as 1795, portrayed rural culture as community based and evolved from ancient culture. The descriptions of May Day customs and Harvest Home, for example, demonstrate the sense of community within rural villages.[80] Brand's work remained in print throughout the nineteenth century indicating its

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[76] George W. Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, London: Collier Macmillan Publishers,1987), pp.162-63.
[77] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol i, p.6.
[78] Stocking, p.213.
[79] http://folkloresociety.com/publications/folklore (accessed 20 February 2017)
[80] John Brand, *Observations of the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (1795), 3 vols, 3rd edition, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1875) vol i, pp.212-47, vol iii, pp.16-33.

popularity and the continuing attention paid by anthropologists to rural culture.[81] As Stocking argues, Brand's focus on village community culture provided an ongoing 'primitive' base point for the 'civilising processes that were transforming them'.[82] This cultural transformation is part of a continuing cultural evolution of the whole of society. The interest in rural culture by the middle classes and the use of rural tradition to formulate a national identity allied all classes together. Ballads were an intrinsic part of this process and subject to similar literary attention to mainstream literature.

An example of this literary attention is evident in the debate among scholars who favoured the communal authorship of the ballads and those who preferred individual authorship, continued throughout the nineteenth century. For example, W.J. Cunthorpe in *A History of English Poetry* (1895) asserted: 'Everything in the ballad - matter, form, composition is the work of minstrels, all that the people do is to remember and report what the minstrels had put together'.[83]

In contrast, Andrew Lang in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1875) says of the composition of ballads that 'the community produces songs as it produces languages', and as late as 1907 Cecil J. Sharp asserted that:

> Every time, every word of [a] ballad sprung in the instance from the head of some individual, recites, minstrel or peasant, just as every note, every phrase of a folk tune proceeded originally from the mouth of a solitary singer.

Sharp continues by suggesting that the audience (or community) fulfills the role of the later editor:

> Its part is to then weigh, sift and select from the mass of individual suggestions those which most accurately express the popular taste and

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[81] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. Lawrence Goldman, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2009), www.oxforddnb.com
[82] Stocking, p.210.
[83] W.J. Cunthorpe, *A History of English Poetry* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1895).

> the popular ideal, to reject the rest [. . .] This process goes on increasingly while the ballad lives; or until it gets into print, when of course, its process is checked, so far as educated singers are concerned.[84]

The nineteenth century also saw the formation of the Ballad Society in 1860, established by Frederick J. Furnivall.[85] The compilation of ballad collections continued throughout the Victorian period such as Thomas Osbourne Davis's *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems* (1846), Robert Bell's *Ancient Poems Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (1857), William Allingham's *The Ballad Book* (1865), Arthur Milman's *English and Scotch Historical Ballads* (1871), C.M. Yonge's *Historical Ballads* (1872) and, most notably, Francis J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-98).[86] Despite its peripheral status, nineteenth-century poets such as Tennyson, Rossetti, Wilde, Swinburne and Hardy followed the Romantic tradition of using the ballad form. These poets especially used the ballad form when writing poems concerned with social and national issues such as Tennyson's 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' and Wilde's 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol'.[87]

Taylor asserts that during the eighteenth century the use of trisyllabic metrical feet, commonly found in ballads, spread into other genres of verse.[88] An article from the *Times Literary Supplement* (1906), highlighted the relationship between speech rhythms and poetic metre, particularly those rhythms found in the ballad form. Hardy included the following excerpt from the article in his *Literary Notebooks:*

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[84] Andrew Lang, 'The Ballads', in *Encyclopædia Britannica,* ed. Thomas S. Baynes, 9th edn, (1875), Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, 1907), p.41.
[85] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. Lawrence Goldman, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2009), www.oxforddnb.com (accessed 11 August 2013).
[86] Thomas Osbourne Davis, *National and Historical Ballads Songs and Poems* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., 1846), Robert Bell, ed., *Ancient Poems, Ballad and Songs of the Peasantry of England: Taken Down from Oral Recitations Transcribed from Manuscripts Some Broadsides and Scarce Publications* (London: J.W. Parker, 1857), William Allingham, ed., *The Ballad Book: A Selection of the Choicest British Ballads* (London: Macmillan, 1865), Arthur Milman, ed., *English and Scotch Historical Ballads* (London: Longmans Green and Co.,1871), C.M. Yonge, ed., *Historical Ballads* (London: National Society's Depository,1882), Francis J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* 10 vols (Boston: Houghton, Miffin and Company 1882-98).
[87] Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', *The Examiner*, 9 December, (1854), p.780.Oscar Wilde, *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (London: Leonard Smithers, 1898).
[88]Taylor, *Hardy's Metres,* pp.54-5.

> There is no difference between the phrasing of accentuation of English as it is spoken and written in poetry. Every effect of spoken English can be reproduced in English poetry; and even now after so many centuries and so many varieties of poetic convention the language of our best prose to the language of our conversation [. . .] The extraordinary variety and freedom and variety of Ballad rhythms was possibly due, as Professor Saintsbury points, out, to a happy accident. In the fifteenth century great changes of pronunciation were occurring and in particular the final *e* was dropping out. These changes brought anarchy and uncertainty into the written literary verse which was not subject to the continual test of recitation; but it brought variety and the discovery of the new ballad effects into oral ballad verse [. . .] And it was found that this pronunciation improved instead of spoiling the metre. So the effect, produced at first by accident was imitated afterwards by design [. . .] And in the same way anapaestic effects came with the sounding of syllables not originally sounded. A pedantic literary poetry could not take advantage of such accidents. Its prosody was ready-made and changes of pronunciation only destroyed it.[89]

This article places the origins of poetic metre within the oral tradition. It also illustrates the ability of the vernacular art form to adapt and respond to linguistic changes to create new and diverse effects. This ability and flexibility ensured not only the survival of the ballad, but also the adoption and the infiltration of the peripheral art form into mainstream literary culture. Such infiltration can also be regarded as evidence of the assimilation of rural culture by the urban centre and in accordance with the uses of language, one which helped to underpin national culture. Thus the presence of the ballad form along with dialect in nineteenth-century literature is double-edged. It constitutes a simultaneous expression and celebration of

[89] Hardy, *Literary Notebooks*, p.206.

rural culture whilst contributing towards a nationalist identity which unites all classes. In turn, this new united identity underpins the British empire.

Later twentieth century critics have highlighted the complexity of ballad metre. According to Bertrand H. Bronson, ballad metre consists of fourteen stresses with a pause after the seventh stress which is set off by a rhyme between the seventh and eleventh pause. The pause is often filled by another stress, and the corresponding stress is filled in at the end. Bronson asserts that ballad metre is usually iambic though not necessarily regular. The ballad stanza can be divided into two types: common metre and long metre, and although they do not differ in actual length the position of the pause in each can change. In printed ballads, stanzas are usually four lines long and consist of four and three stresses, or in the case of long metre four and four.[90] The flexibility of the positioning and length of the pause in the ballad stanza indicates the presence of dipodic rhythm. George R. Stewart offers a detailed discussion of the use of dipodic rhythm in ballads. He argues that ballad metre is septemary, or a line of seven units, usually opening with an unstressed syllable which progresses to a masculine rhyme through alternate stresses and unstressed syllables:

U - U - U - // U - U - U -.[91]

Each word is a dipod, consisting of two half feet. The rhyme usually cuts off the line at the fourth syllable of primary stress and the secondary stressed syllables can be compensated by a pause which does not break up the verse.[92] This dipodic rhythm is demonstrated in the ballad 'The Elfin Knight', included in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* The ballad begins:

The El/fin Knight / sits on / yon hill

[90] Bertrand H. Bronson, 'The Interdependence of Ballad Tunes and Texts', in *The Critics and the Ballad: Readings*, eds. MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), pp.77-102, (pp.78-9).
[91] George R. Stewart, 'The Meter of the Popular Ballad', in Leach and Coffin, *The Critics and the Ballad: Readings*, eds. MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), pp.161-85,(p.163).
[92] Stewart, pp.163-67.

Ba ba/ ba lit/ tle ba

He blaws / his horn / baith loud / and shrill

The wind/ hath blawn/ my plaid / awa

He blaws/ it east,/ he blaws/ it west

He blaws / it where/ he lik/ eth best.

Dipodic rhythm is evident in this quotation, as is the masculine ending before each pause: hill, shrill, west, best.

Hardy's poem, 'The Sergeant's Song', published in *Wessex Poems,* follows a similar metrical pattern:

When Law/ yers strive / to heal / a breach,

And Par/sons prac/tise what/ they preach;

Then Bon/ey he'll / come poun/cing down,

And march / his men/ on Lon/don town!

Rolli /cum / - ror / um, tol / - lol - lo/ rum

Rolli / cum - ror / um tol / - lol - lay!

The alternate light and heavy stress pattern is prevalent in this stanza with a masculine rhyme on each pause. There is a slight alteration in the metrical pattern in the last two lines, or the refrain of the poem, indicating once again Hardy's willingness to experiment with all metres.

Bold highlights the various features of the ballad form drawing the distinction between popular ballads and those composed by minstrels. He argues that popular ballads are impersonal with no settings and rush into the plot. In contrast, he notes, minstrel ballads proceed at a leisurely pace. Attention is drawn to the presence of the narrator who tells the audience to 'lyth and listen' as he describes the typographical setting of the poem. Traditional ballads, Bold argues, are usually narrative songs, composed for a peripheral audience, whereas broadsides are found in urban areas and are usually political, topical, or satirical.[93] Characteristics of the traditional ballad include rhyme, epithets, magical numbers, dramatic narrative, burden or refrain. Some of these features are evident in 'The Enchanted Ring', included in Child's collection. The ballad begins:

In Lauderdale I chanc'd to walk,
And heard a lady's moan,
Lamenting for her dearest dear,
And aye she cried anon!
"Sure never a maid that e'er drew breath
Had harder fate than me;
I'd never a lad but on earth,
They forc'd him to the sea."

The lines follow the fourteen beat alternate stress pattern. The minstrel introduces the ballad, placing it in its typographical context and introducing the main protagonist. In the second stanza the female protagonist is introduced using dramatic dialogue. She takes over the narrative and tells her own story. The ballad has an element of magic in it in the form of an enchanted ring, which is guaranteed to protect its wearer from physical harm, unless it changes colour:

"But if this ring shall fade or stain,
Or change to other hue,
Come never muir to fair Scotland
If ye're a lover true!"

[93] Bold, pp.9-13.

(stanza nine).

Unfortunately, when her lover is in battle at Bahorne the ring becomes broken. Rather than returning to Scotland and bring the curse of the ring with him, the woman's lover retires to enter the priesthood where, during the course of his over-zealous praying, he relinquishes his wealth, giving it to the needy:

> Then to chapel he is gone,
> And knelt most piteously,
> For seven days and seven nights
> The blood ran frae his knee.
>
> "Ye'll take my jewels that's in Bahome
> And deal them liberalie,
> To young that cannot, and old that mannot
> The blind that does not see".

The 'Elfin Knight' also contains an element of magic and fantasy. Following the introduction to the ballad by the minstrel, the action is then recited by the minstrel in the reported dialogue of the Elfin Knight and the young female protagonist, who laments aloud that she has never married. The Elfin Knight sets her the impossible task of making him a sark, Scots dialect for shirt (*OED*), without cutting the fabric or using needle and thread in return for his hand in marriage:

> "If's ye maun mak a sark to me,
> Without my cut or seam" quoth he,
>
> And ye maun shape it knife-shearless,
> And also sew I needle -, threedless".
>
> (lines 17-20).

The female protagonist counter challenges the knight to till, harrow, harvest and thresh her land:

"If's ye maun till't wi your touting horn,
And ye maun saw't wi the pepper corn;

"And ye maun harrow't wi a thorn
And hae your work done ere the morn;

"And ye maun shear it wi' your knife
And no lose a stack o't for your life;

"And ye maun stack it in a mouse hole
And ye maun thresh it in your shoe sole;

"And ye maun dight it in your loof,
And also sack it in your glove;

"And we maun bring it over the sea,
Fair and clean, and dry to me;

"And when that ye have done your work
Come back to me, and ye'll get your sark".

(lines 25 – 38).

Neither protagonist can meet the challenges, so both go their separate ways. The ballad ends with a variation on the opening refrain as the Elfin Knight sings:

"My plaid awa, my plaid away
And owre the hills and far awa,
And far awa to Norawa;
My plaid shall not be blown awa".

The theme of challenge set by lovers is taken up by Hardy in his ballad 'The Sacrilege'. Hardy employs similar ballad conventions to those found in 'The Enchanted Ring' and 'The Elfin Knight'. 'The Sacrilege' was included in Hardy's

collection *Satires of Circumstance*, and tells the story of a man who attempts to prove his devotion to his lover by stealing a silk scarf from a market stall. The ballad opens using dramatic narrative as the male protagonist begins his tale. The typography of the poem is immediately established. This typography is repeated as an epithet in line two of each subsequent stanza with slight alterations to reflect the changing mood of the poem. For example, stanza one line 2 reads: 'Where Dunkery frowns on Exon Moor', stanza two, line 2; 'On Exon wild by Dunkery Tor', and stanza seven line 2 'As Dunkery pouts to Exon Moor'. After time, the woman becomes dissatisfied with her lover, and, the poem implies, begins to turn her attentions elsewhere. She challenges her lover to demonstrate his love further by stealing treasures from the cathedral. Her lover, goaded by his suspicions that she is being unfaithful, reluctantly agrees to the challenge. There are no magical forces acting in Hardy's ballad. Instead, the woman forces her lover into the deed. He says:

'I said, "I am one who has gathered gear
From Marlbury Downs to Dunkery Tor,
Who has gathered gear for many a year
From mansion, mart and fair;
But at God's house I've stayed my hand,
Hearing within me some command -
Curbed by a law not of the land
From doing damage there!"

'Whereat she pouts, this Love of mine,
As Dunkery pouts Exon Moor,
And still she pouts, this Love of mine,
So cityward I go.
But ere I start to do the thing,
And speed my soul's imperiling
For one who is ravishing
And all the joy I know,

(stanzas six and seven)

On his way to commit the crime the male protagonist asks his brother to avenge his lover if he is caught and executed:

> ‘I come to lay this charge on thee -
> On Exon wild by Dunkery Tor -
> I come to lay this charge on thee
> With solemn speech and sign:
> Should things go ill and my life pay
> For botchery in this rash assay,
> You are to take hers likewise - yea,
> The month the law takes mine.
>
> (stanza eight).

The narrative is assumed by the man’s brother in the second part of the ballad, after he is caught and hanged for his crime. Eventually the brother avenges the woman by pushing her into the river. Hardy’s ballad employs the traditions of the ballad form such as epithets and the love challenge. However, Hardy’s ballad omits the supernatural forces present in ‘The Enchanted Ring’ and ‘The Elfin Ring’. The overriding force in ‘The Sacrilege’ is the force of law, and implicitly, religious law. Hardy draws upon the oral tradition and places it within a modern context whilst retaining both thematic and structural elements of the earlier verse. A fusion between the contemporary and the traditional is created. This thematic and formulaic fusion reflects the linguistic fusion of standard English and dialect prevalent in Hardy’s work. Hardy’s poem ‘Vagrant’s Song’ further illustrates this fusion by a continuation of dialect, standard English and elements of the oral ballad. Published in *Human Shows*, the poem is subtitled ‘With an Old Wessex Refrain’ and reads:

> When a dark-eyed dawn
> Crawls forth, cloud-drawn,
> And starlings doubt the night-time’s close;
> And ‘three months yet’,
> They seem to fret,
> ‘Before we cease us slaves of snows,
> And sun returns

To lose the burns,
And this wild woe called Winter goes!'-
O a hollow tree
Is as good for me
As a house where the back-brand glows!
Che-hane mother; Che-hane, mother,
As a house where the back-brand glows!

II

When autumn brings
A whirr of wings
Among the evergreens around,
And sundry thrills
About their quills
Awe rooks, and misgivings abound,
And the joyless pines,
In leaning lines
Protect from gales the lower ground
O a hollow
Is as good for me
As a house of a thousand pound!
Che-hane mother; Che-hane mother,
As a house of a thousand pound!

'Vagrant's Song' is written in long metre with a caesura or pause, in the middle of the burden at the end of each stanza. The poem gives the rural vagrant a voice with which he expresses his plight using a fusion of standard English and dialect. The word 'back-brand' which is dialect in Somerset and Dorset for the large log placed at the back of a fire (Wright), and *'Che-hane mother*' is, as Hardy glosses, an old Wessex refrain. Hardy specifically draws attention to the refrain by his use of italics, and indicates that vagrancy in rural society is an age-old problem. The vagrant in the poem is an outsider at the margins of the periphery and the other to the urban centre. Hardy's linguistic hybridity in the poem represents the vagrant's alienated status.

The language he employs to express his plight has no fixed origin, and as with the vagrant himself remains in a constant state of flux.

The fusion of form and language present in Hardy's ballads could explain the continued negative responses by Hardy's critics. An unsigned *Academy* review (1899) says of Hardy's ballads:

> Based on Wessex stories and memories, we can imagine how effective they would be in Mr Hardy's prose. The misfortune is that we are reminded of this. We feel the novelist's method, the novelist's hand and wish the narrative disembursed of the metre.[94]

It seems that this critic would find Hardy's contemporary interpretations of the ballad form acceptable in prose but has difficulty in accepting that Hardy raises contemporary social concerns within the ballad form which as has been demonstrated, has been appropriated by the urban centre for the expression of national identity. The peripheral poet re-defines the ballad to express contemporary concerns and rural identities, a re-definition which presents an alternative perception of national identity and highlights the value of rural culture.

The complexity and diversity of Hardy's use of metre, form and language indicates that his work exceeds the accusations of poetic and metrical experimentation by critics evaluating his work. As has been demonstrated, Hardy began his literary career during a period of intense philological and prosodic enquiry. Hardy continued to create new metrical and linguistic effects in his verse throughout his literary career. In doing so Hardy ensures that peripheral culture is given a voice in his work. It is Hardy's use of the language of the rural voice which I now turn to, in a detailed examination of dialect in Chapter Three.

[94]'Unsigned Review, *Academy*, (1899)', in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, p.324.

Part Two

Chapter Three

Dialect and Class

In this chapter I discuss the extent to which Hardy's formulaic versatility, analysed in Part One of this study, is heightened through his fusion of standard English and dialect in his poetry. As has already been indicated in Chapters One and Two, literary commentators have criticised Hardy's poetry on two points - his metrical inconsistency and his seemingly clumsy insertion of dialect words within poems that are primarily written standard English. I intend to demonstrate that, alongside the prosodic and philological influences upon Hardy's work identified in Part One, his choice of language in his poetry is coloured by his ambivalent class position and the paradoxes facing the regionalist writer. I will argue that Hardy's linguistic hybridity constitutes an attempt to reclaim labouring-class dialect and culture from the dominant focus of urbanism and standard English. I contend that just as linguistic hybridity indicates equality of the rural periphery with the urban centre it also articulates an underlying anxiety of the middle class towards the morality and maintenance of the British empire, a concern that I will fully address in Chapter Four.

Hardy was born at Higher Bockhampton, Dorset, in 1842, the eldest son of Thomas Hardy senior, and his wife Jemima. Thomas Hardy senior came from a family of self-employed businessmen. He was a 'livier' or life holder of the tenancy for the family cottage and a builder by trade. By 1871 his business had prospered to the extent that he was able to employ eight men and a boy. The Hardy family thus

occupied an ambivalent class position. They were neither sufficiently educated nor wealthy enough to join the middle class, but were elevated by their status as employer above the majority of the labouring-class folk in their village.[1] The Hardy family however, were fully aware of rural poverty; Hardy's mother, Jemima (neé Hand), experienced extreme poverty during her childhood and her family was forced to seek parish relief.[2] Although the family was in a more fortunate economic position than many in the rural labouring-class, Hardy witnessed the gradual disintegration of rural society and the increased migration of rural labourers to the urban centre as the nineteenth century progressed. Hardy outlines the causes and effects of rural disintegration in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer'. He identifies the decline in life-holds as a major cause of rural fragmentation:

> The policy of all but some few philanthropic landowners is to disapprove of these petty tenants who are not in the estate's employ and to pull each cottage as it falls in, leaving standing a sufficient number for the use of the farmer's men and no more. The occupants who formed the backbone of the village life have to seek refuge in the boroughs. The process is designated by the statisticians as 'the tendency of the rural population towards large towns' is really the tendency of water to flow uphill when forced.[3]

Hardy was no stranger to migration. London offered greater opportunity than Dorchester for him to progress his career as an architect and also gave him easier access to mainstream literary culture.[4] Hardy's migration reflects the socio-historic situation present in nineteenth- century England, particularly in rural areas. Following the onset of the Industrial Revolution, the distinction between town and countryside gradually began to fade.

The Industrial Revolution facilitated the mechanisation of industry and farming. The enclosure of land during the early 1800s had a disastrous economic and social effect

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[1] Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy*: *A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.29-30.
[2] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.14-15.
[3] Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' *Longman's Magazine*, 2 July, (1883), pp.252-69, (p.269).
[4] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.73-6.

upon rural society. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 that removed the levy on imported grain, also had a negative economic effect on the rural economy.[5] Enclosure led to an increase in rural unemployment. Norman McCord argues:

> Many country dwellers, suffering from over-population and under-employment, saw the towns as places where wages tended to be higher and employment opportunities greater, and perhaps there was more individual freedom than in close-knit rural communities.[6]

In 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' Hardy highlights the effects of migration and increased urbanisation upon language. Using as an example the Lady Day migration, which took place annually on 6th April to enable labourers to begin new employment contracts, Hardy observes that groups of usually intelligent rural children are 'degenerated' into 'dazed strangers' once they reach their new surroundings.[7] Such degeneration, he contends, is exacerbated by the continuing imposition of standard English in schools in which the 'printed tongue' is mixed with the children's native dialect or the 'unwritten dying Wessex English' as Hardy terms it, of south west England.[8] In his view, such a fusion of standard English and dialect creates a new hybrid language. Hardy had firsthand experience of this type of linguistic hybridity at home and at school. Although both his parents spoke dialect they only did so to their employees and other dialect speakers. Jemima Hardy forbade the use of dialect within the Hardy household. Despite a similar imposition of standard English within schools, Hardy doubtless heard dialect spoken by his classmates who were mainly the children of local labourers. Although Hardy knew the Dorset dialect, he only used it when addressing other dialect users and used standard English at all other times.[9] Thus Hardy became adept at code-switching between languages from an early age. In later life Hardy recalled the linguistic difficulties experienced by those migrating from the periphery to the urban centre. He asserts that the priority of each rural migrant, regardless of class, was to

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[5] Tom Williamson, *Transformation of Rural Farming and the Landscape 1700- 1870* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp.49-51, J.R. Wordie, *Agriculture and Politics in England 1815-1939* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), pp.33-69.
[6] Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.213.
[7] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', p.264.
[8] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', p.254.
[9] Millgate, *Biography*, p.30.

'obliterate his local colour' when arriving in London, 'and merge in the type of Londoner as quickly as possible'.[10] The amalgamation of self and language evident in this quotation is reflected in the paradoxical position of the regionalist poet**.**

Philip Larkin discusses the paradoxical position of the regionalist poet in his essay, 'The Poetry of William Barnes' (1983). Larkin argues that Barnes' phonetically written dialect poetry is difficult for standard English readers to follow due to their 'impatience' with non-standard forms. He asserts that such readers regard efforts to write in pure dialect as a 'futile attempt to deny the historical necessity of usage that a real artist turns to his own ends'.[11] In other words, the peripheral poet is expected by speakers of the standard language to disregard his native tongue and create poetry in the standard language which its readers can easily understand. If the regionalist poet persists in writing in dialect he risks the derision of his work by critics and its dismissal back to the periphery. Dialect poetry is forced, by the colonising effects of standard English, to reside within peripheral boundaries only. Larkin contends that Barnes chose to write in dialect 'because it was inextricably bound up, emotionally, with the subjects that moved him to write'.[12] This quotation reveals the dilemma the regionalist poet is often forced to face. He either chooses to write in his native dialect, to which he is bound emotionally, and risk the relegation of his poetry to the backwaters of literature, or he disregards his native dialect in favour of the standard English of the urban centre and critical acceptance of his work. For any degree of literary success, the regionalist poet is forced to turn from peripheral literature and assume the literary conventions of mainstream literature. I argue that Hardy attempts in his poetry to create a middle road, treading between both the regionalist and standard positions. It is this ambivalent position which gives Hardy's poetry its distinctive voice and gives rise to the negative criticism which his work has so often received. Hardy's ambivalent poetic position further reflects the increased fusion of the urban and rural during the nineteenth century and suggests that Hardy portrays the rapidly changing face of Victorian society in his work. Thus for Hardy, regional

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[10] Thomas Hardy, 'Dorset in London' (1908), in *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice: The Essays, Speeches and Miscellaneous Prose,* ed. Michael Millgate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp.276-83, (p.278).
[11] Philip Larkin, 'The Poetry of William Barnes', in *Miscellaneous Prose 1955-1982* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1983), pp.149-52, (p.149).
[12] Larkin, pp.150-51.

identities and distinctions become blurred and non-fixated, merging the urban and the rural.

A study of substantive dialect variants in Hardy's eight volumes of poetry indicates that he treads this middle road throughout his poetic career. I have conducted a survey of the instances of dialect in Hardy's poems. Taking James Gibson's *Variorum Edition of the Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy* as my copy text and arranging the poems according to their thematic concerns, I have identified 547 of Hardy's 948 known poems which contain at least one dialect word.[13] I then consulted manuscript versions of the poems and *VE* to examine the instances of dialect variants in Hardy's poems. Of the 547 poems including dialect words, 118 contained substantive dialect variants. These variants occur across the whole spectrum of poems and not just within poems that express one particular thematic concern. I have also identified multiple substantive dialect variants within individual poems. There is an increase of 108 instances of dialect words in the poems in *VE* and a decrease in dialect words in 83 poems. Although these figures are not hugely disparate, they do reveal an ongoing revision of dialect words in Hardy's work. In accordance with his metrical revisions, discussed in Chapter Two, these substantive variants suggest Hardy maintained a consistent interest in the uses of language throughout his poetic career which is manifested in linguistic hybridity in his work. There are no occurrences of substantive variants and accidental variants occurring at the same place in any of the poems. Hardy appears to have altered substantive and accidental variants independently of each other. It is apparent, however, that substantive dialect changes occur within poems which are predominantly written in standard English, just as accidental variants and dipodic rhythm appear amongst standard metrical forms. In each instance the apparently non-standard forms co-exist with the standard. It is this potential duality which requires discussion in relation to dialect in the poems.

It is unsurprising that Hardy uses words from his native Dorset dialect in those poems that recall the poet's memories of rural life. Here we see a nostalgic vision of

[13] Thomas Hardy, *The Variorum Edition of the Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy,* ed. James Gibson (London: Macmillan, 1979), (*VE*).

the past alongside an acknowledgment that rural culture as he remembers it is rapidly disappearing. Hardy's poem 'Domicilium', written very early on in his career reflects his nostalgia for disappearing rural culture. The poem is written in blank verse in iambic metre. Attention is drawn to the language in the poem by its Latin title and also by the use of alliteration. For example, line 2, stanza one reads:

> It faces west, and round the back and sides
> High beeches, bending, hang a veil of boughs.

A closer look at the language in the poem reveals a mix of standard English and dialect. The first two stanzas of the poem describe the cottage garden of the poet speaker's family home. In these stanzas, the Latin title of the poem is picked up by words of Latin derivation, such as 'variegated', 'esculents' and 'adjoining'. In the third stanza the landscape beyond the cottage garden is described. The stanza begins:

> Behind, the scene is wilder. Heath and furze
> Are everything that seems to grow and thrive

This wider landscape is described using a mixture of standard English and dialect. 'Heath and furze' takes the reader into the heart of Hardy's Dorset, where in contrast to the orderly cottage garden, the landscape is rugged, uneven and a place where only the fittest can survive:

> Upon the uneven ground. A stunted thorn
> Stands here and there, indeed; and from a pit
> An oak uprises, springing from a seed
> Dropped by some bird a hundred years ago.

Here perceptions of time are of little consequence on the heath, a position articulated in stanza four when the poet speaker recalls the childhood walks he enjoyed with his late grandmother. She is now 'blest with the blest', but when alive could recall 'days by-gone - long gone'. The poet speaker recalls his grandmother's memory of the heath when she moved to the cottage as a young woman. The garden plots and orchard were 'uncultivated', 'o'ergrown' and almost impassable and human

habitation virtually non-existent. The retreat further back in time in the poem is accompanied by dialect. In stanza five the poet speaker describes the local wildlife using dialect words: 'efts' meaning lizards and 'heathcroppers' meaning wild ponies (*OED*) were his grandmother's only neighbours at the time. There were also no fir trees bordering the garden, allowing the heath to encroach upon the garden and resist the imposition of civilisation upon it. The use of dialect words to describe this pre-civilised world of the heath equates the dialect with antiquity to suggest that rural culture has co-existed alongside nature for generations. The language and culture of the periphery has become naturalised. Hardy's use of dialect in this poem indicates a Barnesian recovery of dialect as the root of language.

Hardy's poem 'A Wet Night' published in *Time's Laughingstocks* (1909) also portrays a past rural culture closely bound up with the landscape.[14] The poem is written in four-beat lines in double and triple feet. The unevenness of the metre reflects the poet speaker's arduous journey across the moors on foot. The poet speaker bemoans the pouring rain that 'riddles' him as he tramps through the ewe-leaze in the first stanza. 'Riddles' means a coarse sieve in Old English (*OED*) and this choice of language combined within the metrical unevenness of the poem suggests the poet speaker embarks upon an arduous journey into his past. The first stanza reads:

> I pace along, the rain-shafts riddling me,
> Mile after mile out by the moorland way,
> And up the hill, and through the ewe-leaze gray
> Into the lane and round the corner tree;

The poet speaker journeys in a 'ewe-leaze', a term found in Dorset to denote an area set aside for sheep grazing.[15] The position of the poet speaker is linked to that of past walkers in the final stanza. Hardy's use of dialect in the first is echoed in the final

[14] Thomas Hardy, *Time's Laughingstocks and Other Verses* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909).
[15] Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (London and New York: Henry Frowde, G.P. Pulmans and Sons, 1898-1905). Further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

stanza when the poet speaker muses upon his ancestors' ability to walk the moor without difficulty:

> Yet sires of mine now perished and forgot,
> When worse beset, ere roads were shapen here,
> And night and storm were foes indeed to fear,
> Times numberless have trudged across this spot
> In sturdy muteness on their strenuous lot,
> And taking all such toils as trifles mere.
>
> (stanza three).

Although 'trudged' indicated a type of swimming stroke in standard English in the late nineteenth to twentieth century (*OED*), it is also dialect in Somerset, Devon and Cornwall to mean to carry on, haul with difficulty or struggle on (Wright). Hardy's poem suggests that past rural inhabitants were tougher and more adept at walking the moor. They exhibited a 'sturdy muteness' in their acceptance of the harsh conditions and, in doing so, the poem implies, enjoyed a close affinity with the natural landscape. This affinity is increased by the fact that they navigated the moor before 'roads were shapen there' (stanza three, line 2). The poem takes us on a journey back across the moor and deeper into past rural culture. Modern individuals, the poem suggests, are weaker and far less rigorous than their rural ancestors. They are less able to cope with physical demands of the landscape and only able to navigate it by roads. In contrast to the dogged, silent resilience of their ancestors, such conditions on the moor are to be 'calendared' (stanza two, line 4). The landscape is recorded on paper and charted and mapped by the road system. In this process, the natural affinity with the landscape that was experienced by past rural inhabitants has been lost, along with a local knowledge of the landscape that was passed down through the oral tradition. A mapped, urbanised understanding of the landscape has taken its place. Paradoxically, an attempt to know and map the landscape only enables the modern walker to scratch the surface of it and perceive it from a distance. The poet speaker attempts, via his journey and choice of language, to create links with the rural past, but realises that the appurtenances of the modern world, in this case roads and standard English, prevent this from being fully achieved.

The inability to fully retrieve the rural past is also apparent in Hardy's poem 'After the Fair'. Published in *Time's Laughingstocks* the poem which describes the atmosphere in a small market town described after the closing of the annual fair. The poem is written in alternating four and three beat lines of triple feet, to emphasise the hustle and bustle of the earlier fair and the descending hush upon the town square as folk make their way home. The contrasting use of sound is a recurrent motif throughout the poem. Street singers have sung out their songs in 'treble and bass', the corn market has 'lately thronged' and young people were heard 'shrilling the lately heard songs'. These sounds are replaced by the 'stammering echoes' of the town clock (stanzas one and two). Rural culture is presented as alive and thriving and subject to the trials of everyday life. The previously 'shy-seeming maiden' now 'rattles and talks', whereas her 'most swaggering' counterpart grows 'sad as she walks'. Similarly, the one who seemed consumed by 'cankering care' is now described as 'statuesque' (stanza three). 'Canker', derived from Old French *chancre* specifically meaning a sore or ulcer (*OED*) is also dialect in Scotland and southern England to indicate disease, particularly in agricultural crops and on bark on trees (Wright). The use of 'cankering' and the Latinate 'statuesque' to describe the alteration in attitude of the maiden indicates the continuing influence of Romance languages upon the Dorset dialect. It also suggests that the future of rural culture is in jeopardy, a theme which is developed in the rest of the poem. The poet speaker peers further back into time and muses about the history of the town. Stanza four brings the present, recent and distant pasts of the town into focus and into line with each other:

> And midnight clears the High Street of all but the ghosts
> Of its buried burghees,
> From the latest far back to those old Roman hosts
> Whose remains one yet sees,
> Who loved, laughed, and fought, hailed their friends, drunk their toasts
> At their meeting-times here, just as these!

Hardy recalls the previous inhabitants of the town, its 'buried burghees' to present a sweeping overview of the rural market town throughout history as a busy urban centre. The longevity of the town's existence is emphasised, yet there is still a sense,

prompted by the image of the echoing clock chimes in the first stanza, that the town is rapidly becoming a fading echo of itself. Despite Hardy's apparent celebration of life in the market town, he insists on looking backwards into the past. Although this past was once vibrant, the rushed clearing of individuals after the fair leaves an emptiness which suggests there is only a tentative future to be found in the town. The 'lately heard songs' in stanza two suggests the importation of culture from larger urban centre upon the smaller market town and as with previous cultures, rural culture in its present position will soon pass away.

In contrast, the poet speaker in Hardy's poem 'The House of Hospitalities', published in *Time's Laughingstocks,* seeks to grasp rural history within his recollection of Christmas past. Again, a sense of community is celebrated as the poet speaker recalls the gathering of friends at the Christmas celebrations. The poem is written in four-and-three beat lines of double feet both recalls the lively rhythms of rural dances and suggests the rigorous bowing of the viol. Despite this rhythm, the poet presents the rural past as a once vibrant culture which is now decayed and lost. Hardy uses a combination of dipodic rhythm and dialect to present this theme. For example, stanza three reads:

> And the worm has bored the viol
> That used to lead the tune,
> Rust eaten out the dial
> That struck night's moon.

The first line of this stanza comprises four two-beat feet followed by three beats in line two. Line three follows with a triple foot, then two two-beat feet. Line four consists of two two-beat feet. Enjambment and dipody are used to suggest the gulf between the past and the present. The enjambment at the end of line one is followed by an indent at the beginning of line two to indicate the length of time that has passed since the viol last played. A similar effect occurs in lines three and four to portray the passing of time. The rusted clock dial suggests that the poet speaker's perception of rural culture is locked in time and is unable to be resurrected. Dialect forms part of this decayed culture. The 'viol' which is given prominence in the poem is derived from the fifteenth-century Old French *viele* meaning fiddle, (*OED*). In

stanza two the poet speaker considers the songs sung at this time to be ‘quaint’, indicating that he has moved from his rural past, into the modern world. Yet in the final stanza he observes:

> Yet at midnight if here walking,
> When the moon sheets wall and tree,
> I see forms of old time talking,
> Who smile on me.

It is the turn of the old times now to smile upon the poet speaker in a reversal of roles, to indicate that the apparently decayed past, or ‘old time’, is still able to speak to and inform the present.

In his poem ‘The Oxen’, published in *Moments of Vision* (1917), Hardy’s poet speaker similarly hopes to cling on to the vestiges of his past rural culture.[16] The poem refers to the old rural belief that late on Christmas Eve animals kneel in homage to the infant Christ. The poet speaker recalls the unquestioned belief in the myth amongst rural folk during his childhood. Stanzas one and two read:

> Christmas Eve, and twelve of the clock.
> ‘Now they are all on their knees,’
> An elder said as we sat in a flock
> By the embers in hearthside ease.
>
> We pictured the milk mild creatures where
> They dwelt in their strawy pen,
> Nor did it occur to one of us there
> To doubt they were kneeling then.

Nowadays, the poet speaker observes, few would believe such ‘fair a fancy’ (stanza three, line 1). However, he concedes, this does not prevent a hope that the old myth may be true:

[16] Thomas Hardy, *Moments of Vision* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1917).

So fair a fancy few would weave
In these years! Yet, I feel,
If someone said on Christmas Eve,
'Come; see the oxen kneel

'In the lonely barton by yonder coomb,
Our childhood used to know',
I should go with him in the gloom,
Hoping it might be so.
(stanza three, lines 2-4, stanza four, lines 1-4).

The poet speaker reverts to dialect to express this hoped-for belief; 'barton' is dialect in southern England for farmyard (*OED*) and 'coomb' is Old English *coomb*, meaning a deep hollow or valley, and is commonly found in place names in southern England (*OED*). The reversion to dialect by the poet speaker locates his re-visitation of the past specifically in the periphery of southern England and suggests that past rural culture has not been completely overridden by modern society in secluded areas. The poet speaker is not ready to disregard his native culture entirely, a position which Hardy's poet speaker in his poem 'Old Furniture' also articulates. In this poem, published in *Moments of Vision*, the family heirlooms belonging to the poet speaker provide him with a tangible link with past culture and with deceased family members. Stanzas two and three read:

I see the hands of the generations
That owned each shiny familiar thing
In play on its knobs and indentations,
And with its ancient fashioning
Still dallying:

Hands behind hands, growing paler and paler,
As in a mirror or candle-flame
Shows images of itself, each frailer

As it recedes, though the eye may frame
Its shape the same.

A layered presentation of history is present in the poem which again suggests the longevity of rural culture. This is heightened by the typography of the poem in which every other line is indented. Although many of Hardy's poems use this typography, in this instance the layout could also emphasise the movements from past to present and back again. Similarly, the colon following 'dallying' at the end of stanza two heightens the enjambment of this stanza with the beginning of the next and thus heightens the sense of the movement of time in the poem. Later in the poem the poet speaker's imagination allows him to see the fingers of his ancestors as they re-set the aged clock and 'dance' on the strings of the viol:

On the clock's dull dial a foggy finger,
Moving to set the minutes right
With tentative touches that lift and linger
In the wont of a moth on a summer night,
Creeps to my sight.

On this old viol, too, fingers are dancing -
As whilom - just over the strings by the nut,
The tip of a bow receding, advancing
In airy quivers, as if it would cut
The plaintive gut.
(stanzas four and five).

Hardy's use of 'whilom', which is derived from Old English *hwilum,* meaning 'at times' emphasises the antiquity of the viol and the passage of time since it has been regularly played (*OED*). The poet speaker then fancies he sees the faces of his ancestors in the firelight as the 'lintern cinder' kindles. The flame 'goes out stark'- an abrupt reminder for the poet speaker that he lives in the modern world (stanza six, line 5). The final stanza concludes:

Well, well. It is best to be up and doing,
The world has no use for one to-day
Who eyes things thus - no aim pursuing!
He should not continue in this stay,
But sink away.

The poet speaker acknowledges that the rural past has little affinity with the urban present, a concern which is brought into focus by Hardy's perception of 'Wessex'. Hardy presents the geographical area he terms Wessex as a vibrant cultural entity. The labourers who live there contrast sharply to the representation of 'Hodge', the ignorant and often burlesqued rural labourer, commonly found in nineteenth-century literature. Hardy's labouring class is presented as consisting of individuals rather than one collective type - individuals who are acutely aware of and responsive to the social rupture of the period.

Hardy's Wessex has been the subject of much critical attention in works such as Simon Gatrell's *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (2003), and Michael A. Zeitler's *Thomas Hardy's Wessex and Victorian Anthropology* (2007).[17] Hardy initially used the term 'Wessex' in his novel *Far from the Madding Crowd*, first published in 1874, to describe the area of southern England in which he sets his novels and poetry - Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Devon and Somerset. Hardy asserts in his 'Preface' to the volume that his Wessex is 'a partly real partly dream country', suggesting that Wessex constitutes a generalised representation of southern England at the time.[18] Raymond Williams, in *The Country and the City* (1973), identifies a subtler presentation of Wessex which exists beyond the physical constraints of landscape. Wessex, he argues, is 'that border county so many of us have been living in: between custom and education, between work and ideas, between love of place and experience of change'.[19]

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[17] Simon Gattrell, *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Michael A. Zeitler, *Thomas Hardy's Wessex and Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).
[18] Thomas Hardy, 'Preface', *Far from the Madding Crowd*, ed. Suzanne B. Falck-Yi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.3.
[19] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus,1973), p.197.

It is this sense of cultural and psychological flux which Hardy articulates in his poetry which enables him to challenge the 'Hodge' stereotype. Hardy's stance runs contrary to urban middle-class perceptions of the period. As has been seen, Elworthy highlighted the difficulty he encountered when attempting to gather dialect words from labouring-class dialect speakers, commenting upon their tendency to shut themselves in an 'impenetrable shell of company manners'.[20] 'Hodge' was unflatteringly portrayed as slow, awkward, lacking in social ambition, and above all, his language was unintelligible. This stereotype recurred throughout nineteenth-century literature and social commentary. In his essay, 'John Smith's Shanty', published in 1874, Richard Jefferies describes the labourer from an unflattering perspective. Although from a rural background himself, Jefferies contends that despite his strength, the rural labourer possesses 'nothing of the Hercules about him'. Jefferies continues:

> The grace of strength was found wanting, the curved lines were lacking; all was gaunt and square. […] It was strength without beauty; a mechanical kind of power, like that of an engine, working through straight lines and sharp angles.[21]

Further on in the essay this almost inhuman being assumes distinctly bovine characteristics as he sits down for his meagre lunch of bread and cheese. Jefferies reports:

> He ate slowly, thoughtfully, deliberately; weighing each mouthful, chewing the cud as it were. All the man's motions were heavy and slow, deadened as if clogged with a great load. There was no 'life' in him.[22]

The response of R.H. Hutton to Hardy's presentation of rural characters in a review of *Far from the Madding Crowd* further indicates the general middle-class view of the rural labourer. Hutton states:

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[20] See 'Introduction', note 22.
[21] Richard Jefferies, 'John Smith's Shanty' (1874), in *Landscape and Labour* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1979), pp.148-67, (p.149).
[22] Jefferies, 'John Smith's Shanty, p.149

> The reader who has any general acquaintance with the civilisation of the Wiltshire or Dorsetshire labourer, with his average intelligence, will be disposed to say at once that a more incredible picture than that of the group of farm labourers as a whole which Mr Hardy has given us can hardly be conceived.[23]

Even seemingly liberal social commentators of the period expressed negative views of the rural labourer. For example, in 'On Socialism' (1879) John Stuart Mill suggests that the labourer is a helpless victim of class who is enslaved by his employer and unable to further his prospects.[24] In other words, the relentless drudgery that the rural labourer necessarily undertakes can only produce a lack of mental prowess and immorality amongst the class.

Matthew Arnold considers that middle-class culture has the capacity to enlighten members of the labouring class, and liberate them from their drudgery and introduce them to the benefits of the modern world. In his essay 'Sweetness and Light' (1869), he proclaims that culture enables all of mankind to 'make the best that has been thought in the world everywhere' and to 'use ideas'.[25] Arnold does not enlarge on the place of origin of the best ideas. The works cited indicate that the general consensus amongst middle-class writers of the period was that the rural labourer was incapable of social progression or of creating his own culture and required a culture to be created for him. It is in this a critical atmosphere that Hardy attempts to present his native rural culture to a middle-class, urban audience. In an interview, Hardy says of the supposed 'Hodge':

> Certainly I have never met him. At close quarters no 'Hodge' is to be seen, it is a delusion. Rustic ideas, the modes, the surroundings appear retrogressive and unmeaning at first. After a time, if you live amongst them, variety takes

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[23] R.H. Hutton, 'Review of *Far from the Madding Crowd', Spectator,* (1874)', cited by Gattrell in *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex*, p.22.
[24] John Stuart Mill, 'On Socialism' (1879), in *On Liberty and Other Writings*, ed. Stefan Collins, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.221-79 (p.227).
[25] Matthew Arnold, 'Sweetness and Light' (1869), in *Culture and Anarchy an Essay in Political and Social Criticism with Friendship's Garland* (New York: Macmillan, 1883), pp.5-39, (p.38).

the place of monotony.[26]

Hardy's poem 'Song to an Old Burden', published in *Human Shows* (1925) reflects Hardy's view and articulates the variety and vitality to be found in rural culture.[27] The poem presents a thriving rural environment where a sense of community prevails. The poet speaker recalls past rural dances during which 'ancient airs' were played, indicating a long established culture. Technical terms are used to describe the music played. For example, 'catch' refers to the repetition in ballad forms while 'reel' and 'rigadoon' are the names of dances often performed in rural areas. The vitality of the dancers and musicians is emphasised - they have an appearance of 'rapid brightness' and possess a sense of joy. This vitality is emphasised by the use of *tujis-i-morkhub*, in which a word is repeated for emphasis, such as 'around, around, around' in stanza 1 and 'anew, anew, anew' in stanza three. The repetition of these words recalls the catch of a ballad and occurs on the same line in each stanza. It also creates a circular movement within the poem and recalls the long-held tradition of rural music. Hardy's family participated in this tradition. For generations they had formed part of the 'quire' at Stinsford Church and also played at numerous village events including weddings, dances and caroling. Hardy could recall accompanying his father and grandfather during his childhood to play the fiddle at different functions. He also inherited the old music manuscripts which had been handwritten by earlier generations of his family.[28]

Despite this sense of continuity, there is also an emphasis upon loss in the poem. The dancers and musicians are all deceased. The fiddler 'sleeps by the grey-grassed 'cello player' and the sweet voice which 'trilled' is heard no more' (stanza one, line 4, stanza two, line 2). The cheeks of the dancers are now 'wanned to whiteness' (stanza three, line 3). As with the other poems discussed earlier in this chapter, the poet speaker attempts to resurrect his decayed culture through memory. The theme of decay in the poem is expressed using standard English in contrast to the dialect words used to describe the lively rural dance and indicate the vibrancy of rural

[26] Thomas Hardy, 'Interview by (probably) his friend Charles Kegan Paul for *Pall Mall Gazette'*, 54, January 1892, 1-2, in *Thomas Hardy Remembered*, ed. Ray Martin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.9.
[27] Thomas Hardy, *Human Shows, Far Phantasies, Songs and Trifles* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1925).
[28] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.19-20, 40-1.

culture. For example, the fiddler is ‘all-ignoring’ of the cello player in the graveyard, and the eyes of the dancers are closed. The poet speaker expresses a sense of frustration that his native culture has decayed and in stanza four, lines1-2 exclaims: ‘What’s to me this tedious Maying / What’s to me this June?’ suggesting that he is unsure of the relevance of his past culture in the modern world. He cannot re-live the rural past which can only be recalled via a memory, in which ‘phantoms call the tune’. The title of the poem reflects the insecurity and cultural fragmentation sensed by the poet speaker. The word ‘burden’ can have two different meanings. As well as the meaning a heavy load or worry, it can also refer to the refrain found in a ballad. The poet speaker yearns for his native culture only to find it has decayed which undermines his native rural identity rendering it a burden to him. This suggests that the poet speaker might be a migrant returning to his former home. His sense of alienation and fragmentation occurs with the discovery that the culture he sought no longer exists in its original form: this reflects the social fragmentation that occurred throughout the nineteenth century.

Hardy’s poem, ‘The Rambler’, published in *Time’s Laughingstocks*, reflects this alienation and loss of self. In the first three stanzas of the poem, the poet speaker appears oblivious to his native environment. In contrast to other observers of the countryside, he neither sees the colour of the copses, the flowers surrounding him, nor hears the calls of the birds. The ‘constant, careful heed’ of others towards the countryside is not shared by the poet speaker, who readily admits that ‘such keen appraisement is not mine’ (stanza 3, lines 3-4). In the final stanza of the poem, however, the poet speaker has a moment of epiphany in which he begins to measure his rural surroundings from a new perspective. The tones, shapes, aspects and meanings of the periphery are now observed from ‘far back’, but were paradoxically ‘missed when near’ (stanza 4, line 3). I suggest that as in ‘Song to an Old Burden’, the poet speaker is able to view his native culture from a renewed perspective because he has migrated from the rural periphery. Migration creates a physical and psychological gulf that enables the poet speaker to perceive his home in ways in which he previously has been unable to do. However, a paradox occurs. Despite now seeming near to the landscape, he is actually ‘afar’ from it. His perception is no longer formed from his native viewpoint, but from the renewed and detached perspective of the returning migrant.

This new perception is again articulated in the poem by a hybrid mix of dialect and standard English in the poem. The poem fuses the standard English of the urban centre and the dialect of the periphery. The origins of the Wessex dialect lie in Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse and Old French. For example, stanza two of the poem uses 'awning', derived from Low German *havenug*, meaning a shelter from the wind and weather (*OED*) and 'whirr', derived from Old Norse *hverfa* (*OED*). Similarly, 'mead' and 'heed' are derived from Anglo-Saxon and Middle English respectively (Wright). These words contrast sharply with the Latin derived 'appraisement' and 'aspects' (*OED*) and suggest the ruptured identity of the poet speaker, who on his return to the periphery attempts to use dialect but can only speak in a hybrid language.

Hardy draws attention to these hybrid language choices through the use of alliteration and assonance in the poem. Examples include 'grassy ground', 'constellated daisies' and 'eve's brown awning'.[29] Hardy maintains that this hybridisation is evident too in other areas of rural culture, such as the dress of the rural labourer. In 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' he notes, the trade of each labourer available for hire at the annual hiring fairs was recognised previously by symbols of his trade attached to his dress. For example, shepherds held crooks, thatchers tucked straw into the brim of their hats and so on. Now, he remarks, there is 'no mark of speciality among them'. Traditional fabrics worn by labourers such as Russia duck, a type of untwilled linen, and drabbet, or twilled linen, have virtually disappeared. Instead many labourers prefer to wear the 'mechanic's slop' common among the urban workforce (*OED*).[30] The loss of rural identity is also apparent in the dress of the women. Gone, says Hardy, are the traditional wing bonnet, cotton gown and strong flat shoes in favour of 'shabby millinery', bonnets, hats, 'material' dresses and shaped heels.[31] The urbanisation of rural labourers is evident too in their attitudes and behaviour. Hardy contends that the rural labourer repeats 'what they

[29] Although these phrases may not appear strictly alliterative, the long 'a' sounds found in 'constellated daisies' are emphasised by the long, soft vowel sounds of the Dorset dialect. When spoken by those in southern England 'Eve's brown awning' similarly emphasises the vowel sounds and to the southern ear becomes alliterative.
[30] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', p.258.
[31] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', pp.258-59.

have heard to be current ideas of smart chaps in towns'. The women too, have 'acquired the rollicking air of factory hands'.[32]

Although Hardy accepts that the fragmentation of rural culture is inevitable, he does not necessarily consider it to be a negative process. Rural labourers, Hardy asserts are 'inter-social citizens', who despite losing their identity are 'widening the range of their ideas and gaining in freedom'. Hardy acknowledges that culture is not static, and rebuffs those who search for an idealised pastoral perception of England within Wessex. He asserts that the rural labourer cannot be expected to 'remain stagnant and old-fashioned for the pleasure of romantic spectators'. Rather, the rural labourer requires an increase in wages and improved living conditions and has become increasingly aware of his rights within the workplace. Hardy supports his view by reference to the trade unionist, Joseph Arch, who founded the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872.[33] Arch, like Hardy was the son of rural labouring-class parents and was acutely aware of rural poverty.[34] In contrast, Richard Jefferies, however, acknowledges the ability of the labourer to respond to economic developments and modernisation but considers the rural labourer to be lazy and unambitious. The only difference Jefferies can see in economic improvements for the labourer is in his ability to take advantage of his employer. Jefferies, in his essay 'The Size of Farms' (1874) writes in strikingly similar terms to Mill and Arnold, who were cited earlier, in his assumption that the rural labourer is not civilised enough, or more to the point, enough like the middle class, to markedly improve his prospects. The rural labourer remains for Jefferies a primeval being.[35]

Hardy's perception of the new rural identity contrasts sharply with Jefferies' view. In Hardy's opinion the destabilised condition of late nineteenth-century rural society has rendered rural labourers 'shrewder and sharper men of the world', who have 'learnt to hold their own with firmness and with judgement'.[36] Hardy considers such changes to be necessary for the survival of the rural labourer. As has been illustrated

[32] Hardy,' The Dorsetshire Labourer', p.262.
[33] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', pp.264-66.
[34] Simon Trezise, ''Here's Zixpence towards that, please God!' Thomas Hardy, Joseph Arch and Hodge', *The Thomas Hardy Journal*, vol vi, 2 June (1990), pp.48-62, (pp.48-51).
[35] Richard Jefferies,'The Size of Farms', in *Landscape and Labour* (Bradford-Upon-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1979), pp.123-37,(p.127).
[36] Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', p.262.

by the poems discussed, past rural culture can only be accessed via memory and is only properly expressed using dialect words. In contrast Hardy emphasises in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' that mere recollection of a culture is not enough to ensure its survival.

If Hardy seeks to record a passing rural culture in his poetry, the question remains why he did not use dialect glossaries in his work to explain the meaning of the dialect words he uses. A comparison of the use of glossaries in the work of Hardy and his fellow Dorset poet, William Barnes, reveals much about the effects of dialect upon the reader and its reception within mainstream literature. A close reading of Barnes' poem 'Woak were Good Enough Woonce' and Hardy's poem 'Silences' illustrates their disparate approaches to dialect in their work.

In contrast to Hardy, Barnes was encouraged by his parents during his childhood to speak dialect in the home, and his use of dialect further constitutes an attempt to record a rapidly disappearing rural culture amidst such urbanisation.[37] The poet also had personal reasons for writing in dialect:

> To write in what some may deem a fast out-wearing speech-form may be seen as idle as the writing of one's name in the snow of a spring day. I cannot help it. It is my mother's tongue and it is to my mind the only true speech of the life that I draw.[38]

In his poetry Barnes does not just record dialect words but also attempts to replicate the sounds of dialect through phonetic spelling via the use of breathings and accents such as the circumflex, acute, grave and diaereses. 'Woak Were Good Enough Woonce' is a good example of such dialect conventions.

The poem begins:

Ees; now mahogany's the goo,

[37] Alan Chedzoy, *William Barnes: The People's Poet* (Stroud: The History Press, 2010), pp.17-20.
[38] William Barnes, 'Preface', in *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect* (London: John Russell Smith, 1862), pp.3-4.

> An' good wold English woak won't do.
> I wish v'ok always mid avvword,
> Hot meals upon a woakèn bwoard,
> As good as thik that took my cup
> An trencher all my growèn up.
>
> (stanza one, lines 1-6).

To a non-dialect speaker Barnes' poetry is difficult to read and recite with the 'w' prefix in front of vowels as in 'wold' for old and 'woak' for oak. Similarly, the 'èn' suffix on verbs and adjectives such as 'woaken' and 'growen' sound cumbersome. There can have been few standard English readers with the time and patience to decipher the dialect and translate it into standard English, despite the aid of dialect glossaries included within the volumes of Barnes' verse. As a native speaker of the Dorset dialect Hardy was well-positioned to understand Barnes's verse. He says of Barnes' use of dialect that:

> The veil of dialect, through which in a few cases readers have to discern whatever of real poetry there may be in William Barnes, is disconcerting to many [. . .]. As long as the spelling of Standard English is other than phonetic it is not obvious why the old Wessex language should be phonetic except in a pronouncing dictionary.[39]

The Scotsman and publisher, Alexander Macmillan, shared Barnes' enthusiasm for dialect, but like Hardy, he cautioned against excessive use of it. In a letter to Barnes he advised:

> I can always make a good shot at what words mean, having Scotch characters in them. But it does not fall to the lot of the whole British public to have the blessing of a Scotch birth. For the sake of the more unfortunate can't you do something? [40]

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[39] Thomas Hardy, 'William Barnes', in *The English Poets: Selections with Critical Introductions Browning to Rupert Brooke*, ed. Thomas Humphrey Ward, 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1918), vol v, pp.174-76.
[40] Alexander Macmillan, *Letters to William Barnes*, (21 October 1864), cited by Chedzoy in *People's Poet*, p.166.

Macmillan's criticism indicates that Barnes' decision to write in dialect restricts his audience to dialect speakers who can understand it without having to consult dialect glossaries. In preferring to write in dialect Barnes destines himself to remain a regionalist poet. Early reviews of Barnes' poetry confirm its regionalist status. For example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1844) said of Barnes' use of language in his 1844 volume of poetry that it is:

> Not brought from a distance to decorate or adorn the native complexion of pastoral life; it is twin-born with the subject, and between the thought and expression there is nothing discordant or unsuitable.[41]

The regionalism identified by the reviewer in the above quotation is exacerbated by Barnes' choice of subject matter. In his poem 'Woak Was Good Enough Woonce', the poet speaker laments the decline in popularity of traditional oak for home furnishings in favour of mahogany. Oak, synonymous with the English countryside mirrors the decline of rural culture and indicates an increasing urbanisation of the periphery. Prompted by his observation that the fashionable mahogany is 'the goo', the poet speaker embarks upon a nostalgic reminiscence of rural life fifty or sixty years ago. One of his earliest memories is of his 'woakèn bwoard' upon which his slice of bread or 'trencher' was placed. The poet speaker elaborates, giving a detailed account of rural mealtimes:

> Ah! I do mind en in the hall,
> A-reachèn all along the wall,
> Wi' us at father's end while tother
> Did teäk the maidens wi' their mother;
> An' while the risën steam did spread
> In curlén clouds up over head
> Our mouths did wag, an' tongues did run,
> To meäke the maidens laugh o' fun.

[41] 'Review', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (1844), no pagination.

(stanza one, lines 7-14).

A sense of community prevails in this stanza over any preoccupation of rural poverty or crude table manners of the labourer described by Jefferies. In stanza two the poet speaker describes his Tudor oak bedstead. It is very dark, 'black an' bright' with a pair of carved figures on the headboard. His clothes are stored in 'cwoffers', large chests handed down the generations from 'Kinsv'ok dead an' out o' mind' (stanza 2, line 12). The oak which symbolises the continuity of rural life is again emphasised. In the final stanza, however, the poet speaker acknowledges that times have changed. He makes no attempt to reconcile the traditional with the modern, or to acknowledge that all cultures evolve. Instead he simply states:

> Along the dell, vrom tree to tree
> Vrom Woodcomb all the way to Lea;
> An'woak wer all vo'k did avvword
> Avore his time vor bed or bwoard.
>
> (stanza three lines 11-14).

There is a poignant sense of regret in these lines that the days of oak will never return. Paradoxically, in emphasising this regret, Barnes suggests rural culture is old-fashioned and decayed and confirms the middle-class stereotype of the unprogressive rural labourer. Sue Edney, in her essay 'Times Be Baddish Vor the Poor: William Barnes and his Dialect of Disturbance in the Ecologues' (2009) refutes the suggestion that Barnes was a mere recorder of rural culture and argues that his concern for the poor was tempered by his position as a schoolmaster of middle-class students which prevented him from being too outspoken in his views.[42] This may be so, but in creating a modern versus traditional antithesis in his poetry Barnes resists the assimilation of rural life by the urban centre and destines his dialect poetry to remain a regionalist literature.

[42] Sue Edney, 'Times Be Baddish Vor the Poor: William Barnes and His Dialect of Disturbance in the Ecologues', *English*, no. 222 (2009), 206-229.

In contrast, Hardy uses predominantly standard English in his poem ‘Silences’, published in *Winter Words* (1928) to recall past culture.[43] The first stanza reads:

There is the silence of a copse or croft
When the wind sinks dumb,
And of a belfry-loft.
When the tenor after tolling stops its hum.

Where a sense of community pervades Barnes’ poem, Hardy’s is characterised by an immense emptiness. A death-like stillness dominates the poem; there is silence in the copse or croft and, in stanzas two and three, silence surrounds a desolate pond and the deserted house. The poet speaker returns to his family home and attempts to assimilate once more with his past culture. The human inhabitants of the house have been silenced. An eerie quiet surrounds the pond in stanza two ‘where a man once drowned’ and the ‘music strains’ of the inhabitants of the house in stanza three are now inaudible to the poet speaker. The rural past is presented as a lost culture, which is entombed and irrecoverable to the modern world. Or so it seems, until a closer look at the language of the poem reveals an alternative perspective.

Hardy’s poem is not a dialect poem in the overt sense. Instead, it contains dialect words, sparingly used, which indicate his affinity with his rural labouring-class origins. For example, the phrase ‘There is a silence of a copse and croft’ in stanza one instantly places the poem in the rural periphery as both dialect words recall pre-urbanised rural culture. Similarly, in stanza three, lines 1-4, the poet speaker asserts:

But the rapt silence of an empty house
Where oneself was born,
Dwelt, held carouse
With friends, is of all silences most forlorn!

Here ‘dwell’ and ‘carouse’ indicate the varied history of English. ‘Dwell’ is derived from Old Norse *dwellen* and imported to Britain following the Viking invasion and

[43] Thomas Hardy, *Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres* (London: Macmillan, 1928).

'carouse' from Old German *gar aus trinken* (*OED*). Both words became entrenched within the Dorset dialect. It is not just the poet speaker who returns to his origins in the poem; the language Hardy employs similarly returns to some of the earliest recoverable roots of the English language. Hardy's combination of standard English and dialect in the poem asserts the equal validity of both languages and is dramatised by his poet speaker who has assimilated himself into rural and urban culture in two ways: with the culture he has migrated to and through his assimilation back into his native culture. The silence of rural culture in the poem suggests that he has failed to adapt and assimilate with either. Yet this silence can be understood from the opposite perspective. The voice of the rural periphery lies underneath the silence in a layered presentation of history which contributes to an ongoing present. The post-colonial critic, Stuart Hall, summarises this process of adaptation and assimilation. He asserts:

> Cultural identities come from everywhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical they undergo constant transformation - far from being eternally fixed in an essentialised past they are subject to the constant 'play' of history, culture and power.[44]

As Hall suggests, all cultures exist in a constant state of flux. Consequently, the origins of culture can never be fully recovered in its original form. In Hardy's presentation of cultural history the ancient rural and the modern urban centre fuse to create a new present which relies upon both and silences neither.

The presence of ongoing cultural histories is also apparent through a close examination of the 1844 edition of Barnes' poem 'The Hwomestead a-vell into Hand' and the version of the poem in *Select Poems of William Barnes* (1908), which Hardy edited.[45] The poems in the 1844 edition of *Poems of Rural Life* are arranged in subsections according to the seasons, followed by a 'miscellaneous' section at the end of the volume. Barnes' arrangement echoes that of John Clare's *The Shepherd's*

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[44] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Colonialist Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harlow, New York: Longman, 1994), pp.392-403, (p.394).
[45] William Barnes, *Select Poems of William Barnes*, ed. Thomas Hardy (London: Henry Frowde, 1908).

Calendar (1827) and further links his volume with the English pastoral tradition.[46] *Poems of Rural Life* was re-printed in various editions. The 1888 edition indicates a greater similarity of dialect to standard English in Barnes' verse. Although the 1888 edition was published posthumously, the volume includes the Preface which Barnes included in the 1879 edition and is a re-print of this edition which was sanctioned by Barnes. There is an increased standardisation of dialect in 'The Hwomestead a-vell Into Hand', in this edition compared to that of the 1844 version. For example, the spelling of 'var' in the 1844 version retains the 'v' for 'f' in the later edition but alters the Dorset 'ar' sound for the standard English 'or'. Similarly, 'git' becomes the standard English 'get', 'cood' becomes 'could' and 'archets' becomes 'orch'ds'. The long vowel spelling 'aight' is likewise changed to the standard English 'eight'. Hardy says of the 1879 edition of *Poems of Rural Life* that:

> The quaint archaic spelling of the original edition puzzled the stranger's eye to an extent with which his industry was unwilling to cope. But by the adoption of a modified style of spelling in the next edition, which has ever since been adhered to, this difficulty was to a great extent removed, and acquaintance has been made far and wide whose exceptional knowledge of rustic life is as unquestionable as his power to cast memories of that life in beautiful and pleasing form.[47]

Hardy chose to use Barnes' 1879 edition as the copy text for the 1908 *Select Poems*. His scepticism towards the phonetic spelling of dialect words is reflected in his editorial practice in *Select Poems*. Hardy chooses not to restore the text of the 'Hwomestead a-vell Into Hand' to its 1844 version and uses the 1879 version as his copy text. He also omits stanzas three and four of the original version, though this could be due to space constraints in the 1908 volume.

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[46] John Clare, *The Shepherd's Calendar with Village Stories and Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1827).

[47] Thomas Hardy, 'Review of William Barnes's *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect*', *New Quarterly Magazine*, October, (1879), 469-73, in *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice*: *The Essays, Speeches and Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Michael Millgate (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 2001), pp.16-17.

The content of the omitted stanzas however, provides an alternative explanation for the reasons why Hardy omitted them. In the two stanzas Barnes emphasises the sense of pride the rural labourers have in their work, under the guardianship of a benevolent squire. The labourer in the poem contentedly farms his 'little patch o' parrick' in all weathers so that 'ev'ry stroke o' work we het /did better over lan's.' In omitting these stanzas, Hardy negates Barnes' presentation of an idealised rural past in which the workforce contentedly labours for the good of the landlord. Although such a rural society is never likely to have existed the omission of these stanzas undermines Barnes' concern with the effects of enclosure for 'liefers' such as Barnes and Hardy's parents. Hardy is more interested in raising the profile of Barnes' poetry as lyric poetry in the 1908 volume, shadowing any concern Barnes has with the conditions of the rural labouring-class. This is especially evident in Hardy's re-naming of the subdivisions of Barnes' earlier volumes into 'Lyric', Elegiac', 'Descriptive', 'Meditative' and 'Humorous' poems rather than following the seasonal subdivisions made by Barnes. In doing so Hardy diminishes any connections Barnes has previously made with the pastoral tradition. In his 'Preface' to the volume, Hardy compares Barnes to other mainstream poets such as Tennyson, Gray and Collins. He distances Barnes from the 'old premeditating singers in dialect' and describes him in the following terms: 'Primarily spontaneous he was academic closely after [. . .] a far remove from the impression of him as the naif and rude bard who sings only because he must'.[48] In equating Barnes with these poets Hardy distances him from the rural aesthetic in favour of the mainstream literary tradition.

A further distancing of Barnes' poetry from the rural aesthetic occurs in Hardy's reduction of dialect glossaries in the 1908 text. A full-length glossary is included in the 1844 and 1888 editions, which Hardy reduces to a series of small glossaries at the foot of the page in the 1908 edition. Hardy says in his 'Preface' to the volume that such glossaries are:

> A sorry substitute for the full significance the original words bear to those who read them without translation and know their delicate ability to express the doings, joys and jests, troubles,

[48] Hardy, 'Preface', in *Select Poems*, pp. iii-xii, (p.ix).

> sorrows, needs and sickness of life in the rural world as elsewhere. The Dorset dialect being - or having been - a tongue and not a corruption, it is the old question over again, that of the translation of poetry which to the full is admittedly impossible.[49]

In this quotation Hardy identifies the inherent difficulty in translating dialect - that of replicating the essence of the original in translation without obscuring meaning. This difficulty is identical to that involved in translating between standard languages. Hardy considers dialect glossaries to be more of a hindrance than a help in the translation process since the subtleties of a particular language can easily be lost in translation. It can be argued that the physical act of consulting a glossary distances the reader from the text and disrupts the flow of the poem. Such a disjointed reading is likely to influence the reader's perception of the text and renders the act of reading more arduous. A text which requires greater effort to read is also likely to have less enjoyment for the reader, leading to negative judgements regarding the value of dialect in the work. As Hardy argues the 'veil of dialect' does indeed distort the meaning of the text for non-dialect speakers and readers.

Conversely in his 1908 'Preface', Hardy laments the decline in dialect, which as he expresses in 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', is attributable to the imposition of standard English upon rural school children. Hardy asserts:

> Education in the West of England as elsewhere has gone on with its silent and inevitable effacements, reducing the speech of the country to uniformity and obliterating every year many a fine old local word. The process is always the same; the word is ridiculed by the newly taught, it gets into disgrace; it is heard in holes and corners only; it dies; and worst of all it leaves no synonym.[50]

[49] Hardy, 'Preface', in *Select Poems*, pp.vii-viii.
[50] Hardy, 'Preface', *Select* Poems, p.iii.

According to Hardy, the subordination of dialect by standard English leads to an impoverishment of the English language, leaving gaps in the language where there is no standard English substitute to adequately replace the dialect word. Despite his concern with the demise of dialect Hardy's editing of Barnes' verse and his stance in the 'Preface' indicates his own ambivalent linguistic position. He recognises the limitations which dialect imposes upon an understanding of a poem and its associated negative effects such as limiting readership and the prompting of negative reviews regarding the aesthetic value of the poem. On the other hand, Hardy laments the decline of a language which is most fitted to describe the rural society beloved of himself and Barnes. This subordination of one language by another indicates that an evolution of language occurs over time. Charles Darwin identified the subordination of one language by another to be part of the evolutionary process. He asserts 'Dominant languages spread widely, and lead to the gradual extinction of other tongues. A language like a species which once extinct as Sir C. Lyell remarks, never reappears'.[51] The philologist, Archibald Sayce, agrees: 'Language, like the rocks, is strewn with the fossilised wrecks of former conditions of society'.[52] Max Müller similarly asserts:

> Here, too, the clearly marked lines of different strata seemed almost to challenge attention, and the pulse of former life were still throbbing in the petrified forms imbedded in grammars and dictionaries.[53]

Rather than relegating dialect to the vestiges of time and evolution, as suggested by the above quotations, I propose that an alternative understanding of linguistic hybridity in Hardy's editorial practice and in his own poetry is also possible. In my following reading the rural periphery attempts to reclaim dialect from an increasing colonisation by standard English found in the urban centre.[54]

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[51] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), 2nd edn (London: John Murray, 1882) p.90.
[52] Archibald Sayce, *The Principles of Comparative Philology*, cited by Dennis Taylor, in *Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.249.
[53] Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, 4 vols (London: Longmans, 1867-75), vol iv, pp.66-7.
[54] See 'Introduction' of this thesis, pp.23-26, for a full discussion of this process of the reclamation of dialect from the standard English of the colonising urban centre.

An overtly dialectal approach such as that employed by Barnes in his poetry denies the presence of the standard English of the dominant urban centre. This position is not necessarily subversive. Barnes' decision to write entirely in dialect does not in itself attempt to reclaim peripheral language from the centre. Rather, his limited audience created by his use of dialect restricts his readership and ensures his poetry remains within the periphery.

Linguistic hybridity in Hardy's poetry alongside his alteration of dialect forms so that they resembled standard English or closely during the editorial process indicates the appropriation and reconstitution of the coloniser's language. The appropriation of a language occurs when the subjugated people claim the language of the coloniser to bring about social change. The creative impulses which initiate and respond to this act of abrogation produce a linguistic continuum in which overlapping forms of language converge to produce a language and literature which is hybrid in nature. Hardy's refusal to include lengthy dialect glossaries when editing Barnes' poetry and the inclusion of dialect words amidst the predominantly standard English of his own poetry acts as a code of the other which is only fully accessible to and understood by those with a knowledge of dialect. The nuances of dialect words can only by fully comprehended by a native dialect speaker. In doing so, Hardy attempts to override the negative effects of the regionalist label upon his own and Barnes' work and ensure that dialect co-exists as an equally valid language to standard English or as part of the 'play' of history, culture and power identified by Hall.

An examination of Barnes' and Hardy's presentations of individual rural characters further reveals this linguistic appropriation of language. Barnes' poem 'The Shepherd o' the Farm', first published in his 1844 volume follows the same dialect conventions found in the poems previously discussed. The poem describes the work of a shepherd, who is contented with his life and is proud of his work. The first stanza reads:

> I be the Shepherd o' the farm:
> And be so proud a-rovèn round
> Wi' my long frook a-thirt my yarm
> As ef I wer a king a-crownèd.

The 1888 version adopts an increased standardised spelling. For example, ‘yarm’ becomes ‘eärm’ and ‘a-rovèn’ becomes ‘rove’. Such standardisation continues in stanza two where ‘da’ becomes ‘do’ and ‘sheädes become ‘shaides’. The poem follows the seasonal pattern of the rural year in accordance with the arrangement of the volume as a whole, portraying activities such as lambing, sheep dipping and shearing. Hardy again uses the 1888 version as his copy text for the 1908 *Select Poems*.[55]

The shepherd in Barnes’ poem lives off the land in harmony with the changing seasons. There is no social rupture in the poem, which reinforces the theme of the continuous rolling of the seasons, suggesting a solid unchangeable certainty to the shepherd’s existence. The shepherd lives an almost sedentary life, the pace of which is reflected in Barnes’ choice of language. The shepherd ‘bide [s]’ all day among the sheep and

> Da zit upon the zunny dawn
> While shaides o’zummer clouds da vlee
> Wi’ silent flight along the groun.
>
> (stanza four).

The silent flight of the clouds indicates that even the weather does not disrupt the harmony and tranquility of the scene. The sheepdog passes a ‘zultry hour’ with his ‘nose a-stretched upon the grass’. The busiest time of year for the shepherd - shearing time, finds him ‘at the burn vrom dawn to dark’. The shepherd and his farmhands make the most use of the available natural light until the sheep are finally sheared and stamped ‘wi’ maister’s mark’. The marking of the sheep with the farmer’s mark reinforces the social hierarchy of the farm. Once the shearing has been completed, the benevolent master welcomes the shepherd and the rest of the workforce into the farmhouse kitchen for a communal celebration:

> Then we do eat, an’ drink and zing

[55] Both the 1888 and 1908 editions omit stanza five of the 1844 version of the poem.

> In maisters kitchen, til the tun
> Wi' merry sounds do shaike an' ring.
> (stanza ten, lines 2-4).

The social order of the farm, and implicitly of the whole of society is reinforced and celebrated at the end of the poem. The rural labourer toils happily and subordinately with no apparent ambition to increase his own wealth or improve his own social position.

In contrast, the placid pastoral landscape of Barnes' poem undergoes sudden violent change in Hardy's 'The Sheep Boy', published in *Human Shows*. The poem is written on a rising/falling rhythm of double and triple metrical feet to articulate the crashing waves and storm clouds as a storm heads inland from the sea. The rhythm of the poem is mirrored in Hardy's choice of language. Hardy employs formal standard English to describe the movement of the storm. Words such as 'concave', 'myriads', 'consternation', 'demesne' and 'flexuous' throughout the poem sound weighty and threatening and have Greek and Latin etymological origins. In contrast are the local dialect words and place names which Hardy chooses: 'entroughed', 'Draäts-Hollow', 'Pokeswell Hill' and 'Kite's Hill'. In a departure from his usual stance of not including phonetic spelling, Hardy emphasises the local through the phonetic spelling of 'Draät's'.

The approaching storm is metaphor for the linguistic colonisation of rural dialect by standard English. Such colonisation is compounded by the references to Paganism and Christianity in the poem. The shepherd boy notices the sudden flight of some swarming bumble bees and wonders if it is an omen of something to come. The bees instinctively know of the impending storm and take flight. Although the shepherd's natural instincts are not as fine-tuned as those of the bees, he reads and attempts to understand the warning signs of nature. He responds too late as the storm clouds travel 'up the vale like the moving pillar of cloud raised by the Israelite' (stanza three, line 7). This Biblical reference reinforces the subordination of rural language and folklore by mainstream literary culture and religious belief. The presence of two cultures articulated by two distinct languages or dialects in the poem again indicates

the articulation of a linguistic continuum in Hardy's work. Ultimately, the storm subsumes the boy and the landscape of which he is part.

In contrast to Barnes' shepherd who acts as an articulator of the status quo upon the pastoral landscape, Hardy's shepherd is an intrinsic part of the landscape. Hardy's shepherd has no more control over his destiny than the subservient shepherd in Barnes' poem. Barnes' shepherd is answerable to the will of his 'maister', Hardy's shepherd is answerable to the destructive forces of nature. Hardy's use of metaphor in the poem allows him to graphically demonstrate the subsuming of one culture into another. The storm leaves nothing uncovered as it rolls 'inland', up and over the vale, engulfing the landscape with its 'clammy vapour curls' until the entire vale is 'folded into those creeping scrolls of white' (stanza three, lines 3,4,11). The apocalyptic image, resonant of the New Testament book of Revelations, suggests Hardy's sheep boy is no player with nature; rather he is victim of a nature-like dominant culture that plays upon him.

Neither Barnes' nor Hardy's shepherds are given any individuality in the poems. They are both rural types. Barnes' shepherd reinforces the status quo and is apparently happy with his subordinate position that is naturalised by communal rural practices and is no threat to rural culture. Hardy's shepherd is presented as neither pleased nor otherwise with his position: the reader is not informed. Although Hardy's shepherd has no more independence that Barnes' he represents the subordination of all cultures by another. There is a sense in the poem that one particular culture is under threat by another. Thus the rural voice is not accidental to the intellectual and philosophical debates of the period but an inherent part of them, debates of which Hardy was acutely aware. He was conversant with the works of Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill and was particularly interested in Herbert Spencer's positivism.[56] In his work, *Principles of Sociology* (1876) Spencer argues that the present social entity overrides the past: 'A society cannot undergo

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[56] Hardy was an avid reader of works by Comte, Mill and Spencer. See Millgate, *Biography*, p.88, and Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy's Library at Max Gate: Catalogue of an Attempted Reconstruction*, http://www.utoronto.ca/fisherhardyaata2.html (accessed 7 September 2014), Thomas Hardy, *The Life and Works of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Athens: University of Georgia Press,1985), pp. 59, 355-6, 100, 150-51, 185, 214, 400.

metamorphosis in a precise manner and order: the effects of surrounding influences predominate over the effects of inherited tendencies'. Conversely he asserts 'Where societies descending one from another in a series, have pursued like careers, there results a type so far settled in its cycle of development, maturity and decay, that it resists metamorphosis'.[57] Thus two processes are in force at once: one which reacts to the current social situation and the other which attempts to retain past traditions and cultures and resists change. In his earlier work *First Principles* (1863), Spencer defines evolution as

> Characterised not only by a continuous multiplication of parts but also by a growing oneness in each part. And while an advance in heterogeneity results from progressive differentiation, an advance in definiteness results from progressive integration. The two changes are simultaneous; or are rather opposite aspects of the same change.[58]

Spencer continues:

> The more highly developed things become the more definite they become. Advance from the indefinite to the definite is as constantly and variously displayed as advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. [. . .] *Evolution is a change from an indefinite precoherent homogenicity, to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; through continuous differentiations and integrations* (Spencer's italics).[59]

It can be argued that an increasing awareness of middle-class identity, indicated by Arnold's assertion of the middle class as custodians of culture, suggests the development of a society which has, in Spencerian terms, resulted in a defined and integrated culture and one in which the boundaries between the rural and urban, labouring and middle classes are blurred. In raising the profile of the middle class as

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[57] Herbert Spencer, 'Social Metamorphoses', in *Principles of Sociology* (1876), ed. Stanislav Andreski (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp.136-45, (p.137).
[58] Herbert Spencer, 'The Law of Evolution', in *First Principles* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), pp.146- 218, (p.196).
[59] Spencer, *First Principles*, pp.214-16.

the dominant section of English culture the profile of its subordinated other - the rural periphery - is simultaneously raised. I argue that Hardy demonstrates such an awareness of parallel and merging social sectors in his poetry, the acknowledgment of which is ultimately expressed by linguistic hybridity in his work. Just as linguistic hybridity indicates the reclamation of rural culture from the dominant urban centre and an expression of rural equality with the urban centre, it can also indicate an underlying anxiety of the middle class towards the identity, morality and maintenance of the British empire, which I will discuss in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

Dialect and Empire

A prevalent theme in previous chapters of this thesis is the duality of language and metre in Hardy's poetry. In Part One I have identified the linguistic duality present in Victorian society which was highlighted by the philological enquiry of the period. This philological enquiry acknowledged the presence of standard English in the speech forms of the middle class in the urban centre and dialect in the speech of the labouring class in the rural periphery. I have demonstrated that Hardy employs standard English and dialect in his verse to articulate the hybrid nature of language in Victorian society to propose the equality of all languages and the cultures that these languages articulate.

I have also argued that duality is present in Victorian prosody through the combination of regular metre and dipody. I have identified these multiple metrical

techniques in Hardy's verse and asserted that his metrical stance is compounded by his additional use of the non-standard poetic techniques found in rural poetry.

My reading of language and metre in Hardy's poetry suggests the multidimensional nature of Victorian society. Hardy's insistence of the equality of all cultures is evident in his hybrid approach to language and metre. In my previous chapter 'Dialect and Class', I have argued that Hardy employs a combination of standard English and dialect in his verse to reclaim rural dialect from the dominant colonising effects of urban culture and standard English.

In this chapter I demonstrate how post-colonialist criticism can assist in our understanding of duality in Hardy's poetry and in the colonisation of culture in the rural periphery by the urban centre. I will employ post-colonialist criticism to establish parallels between the coloniser and colonised in the British colonies in the nineteenth century and the middle-class, standard English speaker in the English urban centre and the labouring-class, dialect speaker in the rural periphery. The examination of nineteenth-century social criticism and literature from the period will establish these parallels and enable me to argue that despite there being no identifiable moment of colonisation or conquest of the rural periphery by the urban centre post-colonialist theory constitutes a valid perspective to understand rapidly changing social structures in Victorian England. I assert that linguistic hybridity in Hardy's work can be considered as evidence of the effects of imperialism upon middle class identity and anxiety regarding the morality of the British empire. I also argue that imperialism blurs British class distinctions to enable greater equality between the middle class and labouring class. I will demonstrate that such blurring indicates that ultimately no identities be fixed and can only contribute to a layered understanding of history and the present. This understanding of the non-fixation of identities will enable me to examine issues surrounding migration and identity in Chapter Five.

Stuart Hall in his essay 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' defines the non-fixation of identity. He asserts that:

> Cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all, lying unchanged outside

> history and culture. It is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark. It is not a once-and-for-all. It is not a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute Return.[1]

Hardy's poem, 'In Tenebris III', included in his volume *Poems of the Past and Present* (1902) supports Hall's perception of the non-fixation of identity. The Latin title and Biblical motto of the poem are taken from Psalm 119.[2] The title translates as 'In the Darkness', and the motto is:

> 'Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!
> My Soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace!'

These Biblical allusions lull the reader into expecting a formal poem, sombre in tone and accepting of Christian doctrine. The poem, written in dactylic hexameter, or the heroic line of six feet in falling rhythm, echoes the classical emphasis of the Biblical allusions. However, as Taylor notes, Hardy deviates from a strict observance of the heroic metre as he omits the penultimate dactyl in the third line and the lines are rhymed.[3] The first stanza of the poem reads:

> There have been times when I well might have passed and the ending
> have come -
> Points in my path when the dark might have stolen on me, artless,
> unrueing-
> Ere I had learnt that the world was a welter of futile doing:
> Such had been times when I well might have passed, and the ending
> have come![4]

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[1] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Colonialist Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harlow, New York: Longman, 1994), pp.392-403, (p.395).
[2] Thomas Hardy, *Poems of the Past and Present* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902).
[3] Dennis Taylor, *Thomas Hardy's Metres and Victorian Prosody* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1988), pp.262-63.
[4] Please note Hardy's unusual typography in this poem and others quoted throughout this thesis.

Enjambment occurs after ‘ending’ and before ‘have come’ in lines 1 and 4 to emphasise the death of selfhood through an acceptance of religious doctrine and social convention. In a reversal of Christian perception of light as symbolic of eternity, Hardy emphasises the darkness which any one particular doctrine can cast upon the self. Dialect assists in the new proposition of an alternative perception of reality. ‘Rueing’ is derived from Old Saxon *hreuwen*, meaning to affect with contrition or sorrow (*OED)*. Despite its negative connotations, Hardy’s coinage ‘unrueing’ reveals a new sense of light and understanding and escape from restrictive doctrine to reveal a seemingly fatalistic sense of nihilism. Yet this understanding is not depressing, as it suggests an early modernist perception of self which coalesces with the fluid relationship between language and metre in the poem. The non-fixation of metre, language and identity evident in the poem suggest the rupture of standard English and dialect in the poem and indicates the fusion of cultures.

The falling rhythm of ‘In Tenebris III’ renders dialect in the poem understated. This, however, does not lessen its effect. For example, the second and third stanzas are quatrains and follow a regular ABAB pattern. In stanza two language and metre are combined to express the child’s simple assumption of conventional modes of thought. The child attempts to inflict ‘summer-seeming order’ upon the crocus border as he ‘upgathers’ snow from it and glows in ‘gladsome faith’ that he quickens the year. The use of Middle English ‘gladsome’ (*OED*) and Hardy’s use of ‘upgathered’ echoes William Barnes’ use of prefixes and suffixes in his poetry and prompts the reader into regarding archaic language and dialect as expression of the certainty of Christian doctrine.[5] In hindsight, the poet speaker realises his past delusion as he recalls standing on Egdon Heath with his mother:

> Or on that loneliest of eves when afar and benighted we stood,
> She who upheld me and I, in the midmost of Egdon together […].

[5] William Barnes, *Poems of Rural life in the Dorset Dialect with a Dissertation and Glossary* (London and Dorchester: John Russell Smith and George Simmonds, 1844).

During the sixteen century 'benighted' meant to be overtaken by the darkness of the night, a notion which evolved into an expression of intellectual and moral darkness during the seventeenth century (*OED*). The concept of intellectual darkness anticipates the child's moment of epiphany in stanza four:

> Or on the winter-wild night when, reclined by the chimney-nook
> quoin,
> Slowly a drowse overgat me, the smallest and feeblest of folk there,
> Weak from my baptism of pain; which at times and anon I awoke
> there -
> Heard of a world wheeling on, with no listing or longing to join.

The child's apathy is realised whilst he is slouched against the 'chimney-nook quoin', which is dialect in Dorset, Somerset, Berkshire and the Midlands for a corner of masonry.[6] Derived from Old French and Latin for wedge (*OED*) 'quoin' constitutes an instance of residual language, infused in local dialects following the Roman invasion of Britain. Hardy's use of dialect here suggests the shared etymology of standard English and dialect. Hardy continues to forge linguistic links in the remainder of the poem. Upon waking, the child hears of a world 'wheeling on with no listing or longing to join'. 'Wheeling', derived from Anglo Saxon *hweorwol*, describes wheel tracks in Wiltshire, and in this instance is metaphoric of social movement.[7] 'Listing' is derived from Old Saxon *lustian*, meaning to be pleasing or to desire, and occurs in Devon, northern England and Scotland (Wright). The alliteration of 'listing and longing' combines both standard English and dialect words and avoids a clumsy intrusion of dialect to negate the superiority of any one language as expresser of social reality in favour of the fusion of standard English and dialect to merge the languages of the urban centre and rural periphery.

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[6] Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (London and New York: Henry Fowde, G.P. Pulmans and Sons, 1898-1905). Further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

[7] George Edward Dartnell and Revd. Edward Hungerford Goddard, *A Glossary of Words Used in the County of Wiltshire* (London: Henry Frowde, 1893). Further references to this volume will be given in parentheses in the text.

Hardy's poem 'The Lost Pyx' further demonstrates the effects of merging cultures. Included in Hardy's *Poems of the Past and Present*, 'The Lost Pyx' is a humorous tale written in ballad form of nineteen quatrains with an ABCB and ABAB rhyme scheme. The poem tells the Dorset legend of a hapless priest who reluctantly sets out late at night to administer the last rites to a dying parishioner, and accidentally drops the religious relic, the Pyx, along the way. Throughout the poem, Hardy employs standard English and dialect to articulate a legend specific to Dorset, but which simultaneously draws upon nineteenth-century perceptions of Christianity and myth, such as the crucifixion of Christ and Arthurian Legend.[8] The moment when the priest drops the Pyx is described thus:

> When he would have unslung the Vessels uphung
> To his arm in the steep ascent,
> He made a loud moan: the Pyx was gone
> Of the Blessed Sacrament.
>
> Then in dolorous dread he bent his head:
> 'No earthly prize or pelf
> Is the thing I've lost in tempest tossed,
> But the Body of Christ Himself!'
>
> (stanzas nine and ten).

The comic presentation of the priest's predicament debunks standard forms of religious belief and also assimilates standard myth into peripheral culture. Such cultural assimilation is further reflected in Hardy's use of standard English to describe the Dorset version of the Pyx legend. For example, in stanzas thirteen to fifteen the animals of the vale gather round and protect the lost Pyx:

> And gathered round the illumined ground
> Were common beasts and rare,
> All kneeling at gaze, and in pause profound

[8] Victorian poets often drew upon Arthurian legend in their work. See, for example, Alfred Lord Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King* (London: Macmillan, 1894).

Attent on an object there.

T'was the Pyx unharmed 'mid the circling rows
Of Blackmore's hairy throng,
Whereof were oxen, sheep and does,
And hares from the brakes among;

And badgers grey, and conies keen,
And squirrels of the tree,
And many a member seldom seen
Of Nature's family.

These stanzas recall Dorset mythology, where animals pay homage to religious relics, a theme which is also the subject of Hardy's poem 'The Oxon', in which animals worship the infant Christ. The protection of the Pyx by the animals in 'The Lost Pyx' renders them custodians of a religious relic, sacred to Christianity, and suggests the encompassment of the centre by the periphery. This encompassment also indicates a cultural shift away from the urban centre as the dominant subjugating culture towards a new centre, which merges the peripheral and urban. The cultural shift is further apparent by the fusion of languages in stanzas twelve to fifteen. Stanza thirteen consists entirely of standard English. The use of the Latin derived 'illumined' and 'profound' (*OED*) describes the gravity of the gaze of the animals upon the holy relic, from outside of the circle. Once inside the circle, however, the language becomes much less formal and a dialectal tone is assumed.

In linking the dialect and colloquial 'T'was', to the Pyx and also to a specific location within the periphery, Blackmore, Hardy promotes a combination of the urban and periphery as the new centre of cultural reference. By the end of the stanza 'brakes' describes the copses scattered across the vale, derived from Old English *brack*, found in southern counties of England (Wright). Then, in stanza fifteen, 'conies', dialect for rabbits, is used (Wright). Such linguistic disruption of standard English by dialect to describe the animals from within the circle implies that dialect is equally equipped to fully express this emerging culture and fuses standard English into a new combined urban and peripheral language. Close reading of these poems

indicates the fusion of cultures, a position that I will demonstrate was exacerbated by the expansion of the British empire during the nineteenth century and its imposition upon the consciousness of all classes in British society.

Hardy's poem, 'Murmurs in the Gloom', published in *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922), was written during the second Boer War, which spanned 1899-1902.[9] The first three stanzas of the poem read:

I wayfared at the nadir of the sun
Where populations meet, though seen of none;
And millions seemed to sigh around
As though their haunts were nigh around,
And unknown throngs to cry around
Of things late done.

'O Seers, who well might high ensample show'
(Came throbbing past in plainsong small and slow),
'Leaders who lead us aimlessly,
Teachers who train us shamelessly,
Why let ye smoulder flamelessly
The truths ye trow?

'Ye scribes, that urge the old medicament,
Whose fusty vials have long dried impotent,
Why prop ye meretricious things
Denounce the same as vicious things
And call outworn factitious things
Expedient?

A sense of scepticism towards overt patriotism and a criticism of the leaders of the British Empire pervades these three stanzas. In the first stanza an equality of all races is proposed as every race meets 'at the nadir of the sun'. The *OED* defines the

[9] Thomas Hardy, *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1922).

nineteenth-century use of ‘nadir’ as ‘the lowest or worst point (of something); the place or time of greatest depression, degradation’. The ‘meeting of populations’ at the ‘nadir’, or lowest point of the sun indicates a return to the origins of human culture and places all nations at the beginning of pre-civilised, pre-imperial human existence. The poet speaker suggests that mankind has forgotten the equal origins of all races and that this racial equality has been swept away by imperialism. The meeting of populations is ‘seen by none’ and has been replaced by a world burdened with misery:

> And millions seemed to sigh around
> As though their haunts were nigh around
> And unknown throngs to cry around
> Of things late done.
> (stanza one, lines 3 - 6).

The poet speaker in the poem continues to criticise those in authority for their stale, lacklustre government: leaders are seen to lead ‘aimlessly’, teachers can only teach ‘shamelessly’ and the ethics which the imperial mission purportedly represents are left to smoulder ‘flamelessly’ (stanza two, lines 3-5). In the third stanza the theme of truth and knowledge is expanded. Present knowledge is denounced as stale. It is ‘fusty’, ‘long dried’, ‘impotent’, ‘outworn’ and ‘expedient’. Both the ‘meretricious’ and ‘vicious’ are fused together, blurring the boundaries between good and evil.

Predominantly written in iambic pentameter the poem uses Welsh chain rhyme or *cadwynodyl* combining once more non-standard and standard poetic devices to express scepticism towards the status quo. The poem continues:

> ‘O Dynasties that sway and shake us so,
> Why rank your magnanimities so low
> That grace can smooth no waters yet,
> But breathing threats and slaughters yet
> Ye grieve Earth’s sons and daughters yet
> As long ago?

> ‘Live there no heedful ones of searching sight,
> Whose accents might be oracles that smite
> To hinder those who frowardly
> Conduct us, and untowardly;
> To lead the nations vawardly
> From gloom to light?’
> (stanzas four and five).

The poet speaker asserts that there is no ‘grace’ to be found in imperial acts. The use of vocabulary with connotations of Christianity suggests that those who use Christianity to underpin empire are grossly mistaken. The present political situation, the poet speaker asserts, is one of gloom, and lacks direction. There is no-one able to effectively counteract imperialism and lead society towards an enlightened perception of mankind.

Hardy does not stand alone in offering a critique of imperialism during the nineteenth century. J.A. Froude in his article ‘South Africa Once More’, published in *The Fortnightly Review* (1879) contends:

> The spread of the English race over the globe has been attended with a stain which clings to us through all coming time. In every country to which we have gone except India, the coloured man has been degraded and destroyed before us.[10]

Neither Hardy nor Froude were the first to express concern regarding the morality of the British empire. George W. Stocking asserts that during the eighteenth century the British empire was based upon free trade as increasing industrialisation in Britain lead to the need for new markets abroad. The British Navy provided protection for British people and products shipped across the globe, a force that went unchallenged.[11]

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[10] J.A. Froude, ’South Africa Once More’, *The Fortnightly Review*, 1 October, (1879), pp.450-73, (p.455).
[11] George Stocking Jr., ‘Evolutionary Ideas’, in *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1987), pp.238-73, (p.240).

In *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge* (2008), Bernard Porter charts the scepticism by liberal critics towards empire from the eighteenth century onwards.[12] Early anti-imperialists, such as Adam Smith, Porter argues, focused upon the economic cost of empire and advocated emancipation for economic self-interest.[13] In *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith argues:

> After all the unjust attempts therefore, of every country in Europe to engross to itself its whole advantage of the trade of its own colonies, no country has yet been able to engross to itself anything but the expense of supporting in time of peace and of defending in time of war the oppressive authority which it assumes over them. The inconveniences resulting from the possession of its colonies, every country has engrossed itself completely. The advantages resulting from their trade it has been obliged to share with other countries.[14]

Another critic, Richard Koebner, highlighted the excessive profiteering made by plantation owners.[15] Alongside these economic concerns some critics of empire expressed a sense of unease at the possible treatment of natives in the overseas colonies by imperialists. For example, John Cartwright asserted: 'It is high time that we opened our eyes to the unintentional encroachments we have been making upon the liberties of Mankind'.[16]

Jeremy Bentham also questioned whether the imperial omission constituted a violation of human rights. In his treatise, *Emancipate Your Colonies* (1793), he argues that the subjugation of the colonies is contrary to political morality: 'You chose your own government: Why are not other people to choose theirs? Do you

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[12] Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp.3-5.
[13] Porter, pp.7-8.
[14] Adam Smith, *An Enquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strachan and T. Caddell, 1776), p.40.
[15] Porter, pp.6-7.
[16] Cited by Porter, p.6.

seriously mean to govern the world, and do you call that *liberty*? What is become of the rights of man?'[17]

Edmund Burke further suggested that imperialism causes the moral degeneration of the national character of Britain: 'Liberty is in danger of being made unpopular to Englishmen. Contending for an imaginary power, we begin to acquire the spirit of domination and to lose the relish of honest equality […].'[18] Such abuse of power Burke later asserts is contrary to the 'doctrine of trusteeship' or the moral obligation of the governing nation over her imperial subjects. Burke contends 'Such rights or privileges, or whatever you choose to call them, are all in the strictest sense a *trust*; and it is of the very essence of every trust to be rendered *accountable*.'[19]

This doctrine of trusteeship was echoed and developed by the anti-slavery campaigner, William Wilberforce, into a 'civilising' mission by imperialists with the aim of 'elevating' the subjugated races into apparently enlightened western modes of thought. Wilberforce proposes:

> Let us endeavour to strike our roots into the soil by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions; our laws, institutions and manners; above all as the source of every other improvement of our religion, and consequently our morals.[20]

Wilberforce's civilising mission of the colonised races is expressed in similar terms to Mathew Arnold in his suggestion that middle-class culture has the ability to elevate the labouring class from economic drudgery and immorality.[21]

By the mid-nineteenth century Richard Cobden and John Bright of the Manchester School created an imperialist criticism which amalgamated both economic and moral concerns. Bright asserted that British foreign policy was 'nothing more or less a

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[17] Cited by Porter, p.8.
[18] Edmund Burke, 'A Letter to The Sheriff of Bristol on the Affairs of America', (1777), in *On Empire Liberty and Reform: Speeches and Letters*, ed. David Bromwhich (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp.135-98, (pp.181-82).
[19] Cited by Porter, p.20.
[20] Cited by Porter, p.20.
[21] See page 128 of this thesis.

gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain' which merely enabled landowners to increase their wealth at the expense of those least able to afford it.[22] Cobden agrees, and asserts:

> You cannot afford all this waste. The more you waste of the capital of a country the more people will be wanting employment [. . .] in proportion as the extravagances of Government increases, poor-rates and the expense of a repressive police increase also.[23]

Cobden and Bright both suggested that the reluctance of the government to reform foreign policy was linked to issues of franchise reform at home thereby creating a link between class subjugation in England and racial subjugation abroad. They asserted that had the franchise been extended to the lower classes, the government would be forced to re-think its foreign policy. Cobden contends: 'If you had a thorough representation in Parliament you could not persuade the people of this country to spend half the money which is now spent under the pretence of protecting them'.[24] Cobden implies that if the labouring class had been granted the franchise then this group of the electorate would consider Britain's assets to be better spent improving the lives of the labouring class instead of propping up and expanding the colonies abroad.

Hardy's poem 'Drummer Hodge' highlights this relationship between class in England and race abroad. The poem was first published as 'The Dead Drummer', in *Literature* a few weeks following the onset of the Second Boer War in 1899.

The poem begins:

> They throw in Drummer Hodge, to rest
> Uncoffined - just as found:
> His landmark is a kopje-crest
> That breaks the veldt around;

[22] Cited by Porter, p.12.
[23] Cited by Porter, p.12.
[24] Cited by Porter, p.11.

And foreign constellations west
Each night above his mound.[25]

In naming the deceased soldier in the poem 'Hodge', Hardy explicitly creates a link between rural Wessex and the South African landscape. The poem continues:

Young Hodge the Drummer never knew -
Fresh from his Wessex home -
The meaning of the broad Karoo,
The Bush, the dusty loam,
And why uprose to nightly view
Strange stars amid the gloam.
(stanza two).

In these stanzas the rural 'Hodge' is a foreigner in the imperial land, indicating that contrary to British notions of racial superiority, the imperialist remains an alien upon the soil of the subjugated races. The imperialist never fully owns the land or culture of those nations he dominates. Interestingly, Hardy expresses this understanding of imperialism through the ordinary Wessex soldier, who as his name implies, was a rural labourer prior to the onset of the war. Hardy's uncertainty regarding the status of the imperialist in foreign lands is expressed by the labouring-class protagonist, who has been silenced by death. A fusion of imperialist and subjugated races occurs in Hardy's use of South African Boer and the Wessex dialects. The soldier's unmarked grave indicates he has not survived long enough in the imperial colony to enable an imperial mapping of the land. The 'Karoo' will remain eternally unfamiliar to him. In an attempt to grasp some sense of familiarity, the soldier's final resting place is described using dialect. The African bush consists of a 'dusty loam' whilst overhead the 'strange stars' shine above the 'gloam'. In old English 'gloam' means dark or twilight (Wright). The soldier is surrounded by the strange unfathomable murkiness of his resting place and will never be at home there. Stanza three reiterates this theme of cultural, racial and geographic alienation:

[25] Thomas Hardy, 'The Dead Drummer', in *Literature*, 25 November (1889), p.513.

Yet portion of that unknown plain
Will Hodge for ever be;
His homely Northern breast and brain
Grow to some Southern tree,
And strange eyed constellations reign
His stars eternally.
(stanza three).

Destined to remain eternally alien, the soldier finds no final resting place. He is doubly subjugated. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the rural labourer requires his culture and language to be fused with the urban centre at home in order to survive economically and culturally. In death, whilst serving the imperialist interests of the same ruling classes, he remains an alien with no voice or linguistic marker of his existence. He has lived and died as a voiceless person, one of thousands of individuals without identity who underpin the empire.

In Hardy's poem a reversal of the racial other and class occurs. The labouring-class soldier is representative of the middle-class and landowning imperialist, who despite claims to the lands of the empire, is destined to remain foreign. For Hardy there is no fear of the effects of the fusion of the races created by imperialism. Rather, a sense of loss of the imperialist self-identity pervades. Empire highlights the lack of identity of the rural labouring-class in England in the poem and indicates that Hardy draws upon an imperialist concern to highlight the plight of the rural labourer at home. In locating the rural labourer beyond his own environment and equating him with the imperialist, Hardy implies that empire diminishes the identity of the coloniser, thereby blurring class distinctions. It is interesting that these class distinctions are blurred outside native soil, and the journey to Britain's colonies can only permit this to happen. The blurring of class distinctions could not occur in Victorian Britain as it would disrupt the rigid class structure and undermine the authority of middle-class culture used to underpin empire. It can be argued that migration to the colonies from the mother nation offers the rural labourer a small degree of equality with the middle- class imperialists in the colonies. However, the transportation of British middle-class values and culture to the colonies and imposition of these values upon

the colonised subjects mirrors the cultural subjugation of the labouring class at home and is evident in British foreign policy from the 1840s onward.

Norman McCord identifies an increasing aggressiveness in British imperial policy in India during the 1840s. In 1843 the British annexed Sind, and in 1845 and 1848-49 wars between British India and the Sikhs in the Punjab resulted in the annexation of the area.[26] The cultural colonisation of India by the British occurred at the same time, with the establishment of English as the language of the Indian administration and the minimal recognition of Indian languages and cultural traditions by the British.[27] Some government ministers in London were displeased at this aggressive expansion. The future Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, who briefly served as Colonial Secretary at the time, questioned the wisdom of continued expansion. The defence of this expanding empire, Gladstone considered, would be an increasing difficulty:

> The multiplication of colonies at the other end of the world must at all times be a matter of serious consideration; but especially at a time when we have already land infinite to defend that we cannot occupy, people to reduce to order whom we have not been able to keep in friendly relations, and questions in so many departments of government to manage […].[28]

Voices expressing concern, such as Gladstone's, were few and the Indian Mutiny of 1857 saw a greater increase in the hardening of British imperialist attitudes towards those they governed in the colonies.[29]All Indian affairs were entrusted to a new department and headed by a secretary of state, whilst within India the Viceroy became a Governor-General and was the sovereign's representative there.[30]

Gladstone continued his criticism of imperialist tactics throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, most notably in the campaigning speeches he gave as the Liberal party parliamentary candidate for Midlothian in the 1880s general election.

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[26] Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1991), pp.206-07.
[27] McCord, p.208.
[28] McCord, p.206.
[29] McCord, p.301.
[30] McCord, p.302.

In his first Midlothian speech, Gladstone explicitly criticises the over-ambitious, expansionist foreign policy of the Conservative government led by the Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield). Gladstone contends:

> There is no precedent in human history for a formation like the British Empire. A small island at one extremity of the globe peoples the whole earth with its colonies. Not satisfied with that, it goes among the ancient races of Asia and subjects two hundred and forty million of men to its rule. Along with all this, it disseminates over the world a commerce such as no imagination ever conceived in former times such as no poet ever painted […]. We have undertaken to settle the affairs of about a fourth of the entire human race, scattered all over the world. Is that not enough for the ambition of Lord Beaconsfield?[31]

Elaine Hadley in *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Mid-Victorian Britain* (2010) argues that franchise extensions in the 1830s and 1860s created an unpredictable and largely unknown electorate in government deliberations concerning empire because they had hitherto been voiceless sector of society. As Hadley notes and Gladstone demonstrates, the fiscal pressure upon Britain, created by the empire rendered empire a central issue to general election campaigns.[32] As has been seen, it was a concern which Gladstone raised during his electioneering. In a fusion of private and public issues, Gladstone appeals directly to the domestic concerns of electorates which he insists are bound up with imperialism:

> These are not the transactions with which you are familiar from youth upwards in the scene and upon the stage of domestic affairs, but transactions largely concerned with the most distant quarters of the globe and likewise involving that complicated subject of the foreign relations of the country with almost everyone of the states of

[31] W.E. Gladstone, 'First Midlothian Speech', in *Midlothian Speeches* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971), pp.25-58, (pp.46-7).
[32] Elaine Hadley, 'A Body of Opinion Gladstonian Liberalism', in *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp.291-339, (p.323).

> the civilised world.[33]

In this personal society, Gladstone envisages everyone has a role to fulfil:

> It is upon individual exertions of you as true Britons and true patriots, each in his own separate place, every man in his own office and function to contribute that which he can contribute.[34]

The notion that everyone has a social, and implicitly imperial, role to play raises notions of equality. In his third Midlothian speech, Gladstone asserts:

> Acknowledge the equal rights of all nations. Nay you must sympathise in certain circumstances with one nation more than another [. . .]. But in point of right all are equal.[35]

Equality encompasses all classes and all races, and as early as 1837 Charles Dickens in his *Sketches by Boz* made the equation between the slaves in the colonies and the labouring-classes at home. His character Boz asserts:

> "You *are* a slave," said the red-faced man, "and the most pitiable of all slaves."
> "Werry hard if I am," interrupted the greengrocer, "for I get no good out of the twenty million that was paid for 'mancipation, anyhow!"
> "A willing slave", ejaculated the red-faced man, getting more red with eloquence and contradiction - "resigning the dearest birthright of your children - neglecting the sacred call of Liberty - who standing imploringly before you appeals to the warmest feelings of your heart and points to your hapless infants, but in vain''[36].

The 'twenty million' mentioned in this quotation refers to the compensation money paid to plantation owners following the abolition of slavery, which Dickens implies, would have been better spent on poor relief to alleviate the negative effects of the

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[33] Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches*, p.60.
[34] W.E. Gladstone, 'Introductory', in *Midlothian Speeches*, pp.17-24, (p.19).
[35] W.E. Gladstone, 'Third Midlothian Speech', in *Midlothian Speeches*, pp.95-129, (p.126).
[36] Cited by Grace Moore in *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race and Colonialism in the Works of Charles Dickens* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.45-6.

1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.[37] Linda Colley further argues that the anti-slavery campaign served to distract the labouring-class from the inequities of their own situation and to consider themselves more fortunate than slaves in the colonies.[38] Indeed, Walter Bagehot suggests that an appeal to higher ideals by politicians causes the labouring class to forget personal hardships and be swept along in a tide of patriotism. Bagehot says of orators:

> Thousands have made the greatest impression by appealing to some dream of glory, or empire, or nationality. The ruder sort of men - that is, men - that *one* stage of rudeness - will sacrifice all they hope for, all they have, *themselves*, for what is called an idea - for some attraction which seems to transcend reality, which aspires to elevate men by interest higher, deeper, wider than that of ordinary.[39]

One fails to see that any appeal to patriotic ideals has in any way benefitted the drummer in Hardy's 'Drummer Hodge' since imperialism and patriotism have cost him his life and destined him to rest in an unmarked grave. He remains one of the unknown rural labourers, subordinate to his masters in England and additionally, a servant of empire. Despite the blurring of identities suggested in 'Drummer Hodge', the rural labourer/imperial soldier loses the identity he has at home. His unmarked grave is a poignant reminder of his lack of identity within empire, suggesting that imperialism negates the identity of the colonising race.

Hardy's poem 'Geographical Knowledge' further demonstrates the effects of empire upon the identity of the imperial nation. The poem, published in Hardy's collection *Times Laughingstocks* (1909), reveals the extent to which the international becomes local.[40] The poem begins:

> Where Blackmoor was, the road that led
> To Bath, she could not show,

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[37] Moore, p.45.
[38] Moore, p.46.
[39] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (1867) ed. Paul Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p.7.
[40] Thomas Hardy, *Times Laughingstocks and Other Verses* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909).

Nor point the sky that overspread
Towns ten miles off or so.

But that Calcutta stood this way,
Cape Horn there figured fell,
That here was Boston, here Bombay,
She could declare full well.
(stanzas one and two).

The female protagonist, who is the mother of a sailor, has lost knowledge of local geography at the expense of gaining knowledge of empire, a theme which is developed in stanzas three and four:

Less known to her the track athwart
Froom Mead or Yell'ham Wood
Than how to make some Austral port
In seas of surly mood.

She saw the glint of Guinea's shore
Behind the plum-tree nigh,
Heard old unruly Biscay's roar
In the weir's purl hard by….

The use of ‘surly’ to describe the seas and ‘unruly’ Biscay indicates the subordination of non-European parts of the world to western culture by the British imperial mission. The use of the dialect ‘athwart’ (*OED*) and local place names suggests that imperialism involves a loss of local geography, language and culture for the rural labourer. Yet the female protagonist expresses maternal pride in her son’s imperialist exploits, proudly explaining that:

‘My son's a sailor, and he knows
All seas and many lands,
And when he's home he points and shows
Each country where it stands.

‘He's now just there - by Gib's high rock -
And when he gets, you see,
To Portsmouth here, behind the clock,
Then he'll come back to me!’
(stanzas five and six).

The price of this imperial mission, the poem suggests, is the loss of self-identity of the rural labourer and the fracture of familial relationships. Not only has the female protagonist lost her local knowledge, but her family is ruptured whilst her son is away at sea. This fracture of rural society alienates the rural labouring class from their native land and culture and imports the alien into rural society. As discussed earlier, the importation of new cultures into the rural compounds the fragmentation of rural society created by increased urbanisation. The international becomes local and the equality of all classes becomes apparent as the rural labouring class become international citizens alongside their middle and landowning class countrymen. The cost of this equality is the loss of rural self-identity. This loss is compounded by the reliance of the labourer upon industrialisation and the empire which provided a market for British goods. Although the rural labourer can, to a degree, be considered removed from industrialisation, the gradual urbanisation of rural society and the machanisation of farming throughout the nineteenth century facilitated an increased availability of commodities in rural towns and the blurring of the rural and urban. As Hardy demonstrates in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ the rural labourer takes advantage of this increase in commodities, but paradoxically becomes increasingly reliant upon the material appendages of urbanisation for his/her identity.[41]

By the late 1890s over-production in Britain, coupled with concerns regarding German economic growth led to the need for new markets abroad.[42] The search for new markets was concentrated upon Africa and facilitated by commercial companies which were chartered by the Crown, such as The British South African Company in Rhodesia, The East African Company in Uganda and the Niger Company.[43]An

[41] Hardy, ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, *Longman’s Magazine*, 2 July (1883), 252-69, (pp.258-59).
[42] Porter, pp.41,46.
[43] Porter, p.41.

increase in patriotism accompanied these new ventures. W.E. Henley in his 'Introduction' to C. de Thierry's *Imperialism* (1898) asserted:

> The British Empire is by way of realising the fact that it is the greatest and strongest which the world has ever seen […]. We have renewed our pride in our flag, our old delight in the thought of a good thing done by a good man of his hands, our faith in the ambitions and traditions of the race.[44]

Thus trade followed the British flag, rendering the flag an economic asset. This increased pride or jingoism in being British became, as Porter contends, an excuse for increased race pride, bellicosity, social Darwinism and impatience with liberalism and humanitarianism.[45]

Increased British trade in Africa created additional defence demands as trade interests needed to be protected. Tensions arose between the British and Dutch Boers from 1886 onwards following the discovery of gold in the Transvaal. The British Prime Minister of Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes, attempted to secure the British presence in South Africa by the exploitation of areas of unrest in the region such as the Rand Goldfield in Transvaal, initiating the second Boer War which lasted three years. Such imperialist motives and actions were not without their critics. *The Economist* ran a campaign against the British South African Company, and in particular Cecil Rhodes, demanding Rhodes' resignation and an enquiry into the affairs of the company.[46]

In a letter to his friend, Florence Henniker, Hardy assumes a distinctly pacifist stance towards the Boer war. He asserts 'I constantly deplore the fact the 'civilised' nations have not learnt some more excellent and aphoristic way of settling disputes than the old and barbarous one'.[47] Hardy also said of his poems written during the time of the Boer War that 'Not a single one is Jingo or Imperial - a fatal defect according to the

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[44] Cited by Porter, p.36.
[45] Porter, p.39.
[46] Porter, p.43.
[47] Thomas Hardy, *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, eds. Michael Millgate, Richard Purdy and Keith Wilson, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978-2012), vol ii, p.232.

judgement of the British majority at present, I dare say'.[48] Hardy's stance is demonstrated by some of his poetry written at this time.

His poem 'At the War Office London', published in *Poems of the Past and Present*, is explicitly linked to the Boer War by its subtitle 'Affixing the Lists of Killed and Wounded 1899' and suggests the personal cost of the war, a theme which is developed throughout the poem. The poem is retrospective, looking backwards in time a year previously when 'Peace smiled unshent/ from Ind to Occident' (stanza two, lines 1-3). Hardy employs archaic and obsolete words to articulate his concerns. 'Unshent' is archaic meaning undamaged, (*OED*) and 'blanched' is Middle English meaning to whiten (*OED*). Hardy's use of these linguistic forms provides a touchstone to a pre-imperial and peaceful Britain and complement the retrospective theme of the poem.

Hardy similarly uses dialect and obsolete words such as 'hue', 'nether' and 'heedfulness' to express concern with empire in his poem 'The Souls of the Slain', published in *Poems of the Past and Present* and written in 1899, the poem makes explicit reference to South Africa and Britain. In a note positioned directly under the title, it is explained that if an imaginary line were drawn from South Africa to the Bill of Portland, Dorset, it would link the two countries. Hardy draws attention to 'The Race', 'the turbulent sea-area off the Bill of Portland, where contrary tides meet', which in the context of the two countries also carries racial connotations. Alone at the Bill, the protagonist in the poem fancies he hears and sees the souls of those fallen in war and returning home:

> And I heard them say 'Home!' and I knew them
> For souls of the felled
> On the earth's nether bord
> Under Capricorn, whither they'd warred,
> And I neared in my awe, and gave heedfulness to them
> With breathings inheld.
> (stanza five)

[48] Hardy, *Collected Letters*, vol ii, p.277.

The next stanza continues:

Then, it seemed, there approached from the northward
A senior soul-flame
Of the like filmy hue:
And he met them and spake: 'Is it you,
O my men? Said they, 'Aye!' We bear homeward and hearthward
To feast on our fame!'

But the captain tells the sailors that their families 'linger less / on your glory and war-mightiness' and focus instead upon 'dearer things' (stanza seven, lines 3-5). Mothers remember their sons' childhoods and fathers regret telling heroic stories to their sons that whet their appetites for war. Similarly, wives remember their husbands' homely deeds whilst sweethearts either mourn or have found 'new loves' (stanzas eight - eleven). The reactions Hardy portrays of those left behind at home can hardly be considered jingoistic and suggests a conflict between pro and anti-imperialists. In stanza thirteen the sailors disagree and split into two factions echoing this conflict:

Then bitterly some: 'Was it wise now
To raise the tomb-door
For such knowledge? Away!'
But the rest; 'Fame we prized till to-day;
Yet that hearts keep us green for old kindness we prize now
A thousand times more!'

The company disbands. Those 'whose record was lovely and true', or implicitly those who value their rural culture, head homewards, whilst those of 'bitter traditions', or imperialists who seek British expansion abroad, head back out to sea

(stanza fourteen).The fates of the two groups of sailors reveal much about Hardy's stance towards war, overt patriotism and empire. Stanzas fifteen and sixteen read:

And, towering to seaward in legions,
They paused at a spot
Overbearing the Race -
That engulphing, ghast, sinister place -
Whither headlong they plunged, to the fathomless regions
Of myriads forgot.

And the spirits of those who were homing
Passed on, rushingly,
Like the Pentecost Wind;
And the whirr of their wayfaring thinned
And surceased on the sky, and but left in the gloaming
Sea-mutterings and me.

The tone of the first of these two stanzas is weighty, using verbs and adjectives such as 'engulphing','sinister', 'plunged', 'fathomless' and 'myriads'. It is notable that there is little use of dialect and an increase of Latin derived words occurs in this stanza. The sailors in this group can be viewed as pro-imperialist who chose seafaring and implicitly, the expansion of the nation's territories. They plunge off the Bill and into the depths of the conflicting currents of the Race to embrace the racial conflict created by empire. There is, however, no glory to be found. The sailors'embracement of empire ends in their banishment to the fathomless regions, where their seemingly heroic deeds will be forgotten. There is no peace to be found in empire, they are without rest and destined to swirl in the ocean currents for eternity. The pro-imperialist perception of glory is demonstrated to be flawed and the use of Latin derived words in this stanza indicates that, like the Roman empire, the British empire is destined to fall.

In contrast stands the fate of the sailors who chose to return to the land and the simpler pleasures of an implicitly pre-imperial rural life. Stanza sixteen is much lighter in tone than its predecessor and it is no coincidence that Hardy introduces Old

English and dialect words such as ‘wayfaring’ and ‘gloaming’ (*OED*) in this stanza to portray the actions of the second group of sailors. The spirits of these sailors move onwards towards home ‘rushingly’. They are unrestricted by sea or weather and are compared to the ‘Pentecost Wind’. In Christianity, the Pentecost wind is a symbol of the gift of the Holy Spirit.[49] The equation of the Pentecost wind with the anti-imperialist sailors casts doubt upon the notion of imperialism as a civilising mission underpinned by missionaries intent on spreading Christianity to the colonies. In equating this group of sailors with Christianity, Hardy suggests that those who chose the personal memories of those at home over imperialism receive a lasting glory. Hardy’s presentation of the effects of empire upon rural society in ‘The Souls of the Slain’ contrasts sharply with the loss of identity suggested in ‘Geographical Knowledge’, to indicate a new post-imperialist perception of self. This new perception does not rely upon empire for its identity, rather, it reappraises and utilises pre-imperial society as a touchstone for an emerging less confident society. As ‘Souls of the Slain’ indicates, this re-appraisal is not without its casualties, and the question of whether urban and rural pre-imperial identities can be fully reclaimed remains. Hardy’s understanding of the difficulties surrounding the reclamation of pre-imperial identities is demonstrated in his poem’ The Revisitation’.

The first poem in Hardy’s 1909 collection, *Times Laughingstocks and Other Verses*, ‘The Revisitation’ consists of quatrains divided into 4 and 8 beats in falling rhythm and 3 and 7 beats in rising rhythm. These metres correspond to the thematic concerns of the poem; namely an attempt to return to the past by the poet speaker via a journey through the rural landscape. The conflict between past and present is reflected in the disparate rhythms in the poem, but bound together by an ABAB rhyme scheme. The present is portrayed in the 4 and 8 beat lines and the past in 3 and 7 beats.

Hardy also makes good use of non-standard poetic devices such as *tujis-i-morkhub, tujis-i-zaiad* and *comharda* throughout the poem.[50] For example, *tujis-i-morkhub,* or

[49] Encyclopaedia Britannica, www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic450394/Pentecost (accessed 14 January 2105).
[50] See Appendix B for definitions of such devices and others used in this thesis.

the repetition of words in the same phrase, occurs in stanza two when the poet speaker returns to Waterstone after twenty years absence and meets again with his former lover, Agnette. The repetition of 'July' enhances the sense of return and foreshadows future discord and rupture:

> In a joyless hour of discord, in a joyless-hued July there –
> A July just such as then.

In contrast, the use of *comharda* or correspondence, creates unity between stanza lines to enhance the thematic concerns of the poem to signify unity between past and present. An example of this occurs in stanza four:

> Too, as that which saw her leave me
> On the rugged ridge of Waterstone, the peewits plaining round;
> And a lapsing twenty years had ruled that - as it were to grieve me -
> I should near the once-loved ground.

Comharda occurs between 'leave' and 'grieve' and 'peewits plaining round' with 'once loved grounds' to establish the continuity between past and present. Similarly, *tujis-i-zaiad,* in which an adjective and its superlative form are employed within the same phrase to intensify thematic concerns, occurs in the phrase 'living long and longer' (stanza fourteen, line 1), to reiterate temporal certainty in the poem. These examples illustrate Hardy's ability to draw upon various poetic devices to further his thematic concerns, which in 'The Revisitation' raise further issues of cultural reclamation. From the onset of the poem, Hardy uses standard English and dialect to describe the Dorset landscape. Recalling his 'primal' years he gazes out of the 'wan-lit' barrack window, to remember 'peewits', Dorset dialect for lapwings, 'plaining round' and his last meeting with his lover (Wright). 'Wan' is an Old English prefix expressing a negative (*OED).* In the context of the poem 'Wan-lit' indicates that the poet speaker's memory is obscured through the passing of time. Despite this, the poet speaker, or 'war-torn stranger' cannot resist the lure of the surrounding landscape. Once out of the barracks he resumes his rural identity and is referred to as

a ‘swain’, Anglo-Saxon for a youth, shepherd, servant or country lover.[51] His re-awakened perception of self is accompanied by a threatening storm which forebodes an unsettling change, and by the introduction of animals into the scene. The landscape and animals are described using dialect, indicating a linguistic regression by the poet speaker. He narrates:

> I adventured on the open drouthy downland thinly grassed,
> While the spry white scuts of conies flashed before me, earthward, flitting,
> And an arid wind went past.
> (stanza nine, lines 2-3).

‘Drouthy’ is dialect for dry and occurs in Dorset, Cornwall and Scotland and is possibly of Gaelic origin.[52] ‘Conies’ (rabbits), also occurs in Scotland and intermittently across England, and is derived from Old French *cannil* and Latin *cunicular*; again indicating the etymological similarities between standard English and dialect (Wright, Skeat). Enjambment expresses the ‘flit’ of the rabbit dart across the landscape. This is followed by the Latin derived ‘arid’ and corresponds with the earlier ‘drouthy’.The flit of the rabbit provides a linguistic and visual link between the two languages to suggest the equal validity of both languages in describing the landscape. Stanzas twelve and thirteen demonstrate even greater sophistication in Hardy’s handling of language and form. Stanza twelve returns to the image of the peewits. Their ‘wailing soft and loud’, reveal their ‘pale pinions’ up against the ‘cope of cloud’. Cope is derived from Old Norse *kāpn*, meaning a canopy of darkness, long cloak or cape (Skeat). The effect of a layered sky scape created by Hardy’s use of imagery fuses with his choice of language to symbolise the subordination of the peripheral dialect by the Latin derived standard English.

The intrusion upon the landscape by Agnette distorts the effect created by the image of the silhouetted bird, and implicitly disrupts the present social order. Agnette has

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[51] Walter W. Skeat, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882). Further references to this volume will be given in parentheses in the text.
[52] ‘Dialect’, *The Thomas Hardy Association Forum Discussion Group* http://coyote.csusm.edu/pipermail/hardy-1/2010-April/002924.html. Entries for 6-8 April 2010, (Accessed 6-8 April 2010).

not ventured from the landscape and demonstrates 'some long-missed familiar gesture' which lures the poet speaker to 'list and heed'. This line ending contains two Old Saxon words; *lodian* (heed) and *listian* (list), and contrasts sharply with the Latin 'vesture' (*OED*), to describe the loosely fitting clothes Agnette is wearing. It is notable that Agnette is described using hybrid language. Agnette's outer appearance is described using a Latin word and the effects of her mannerisms using Old Saxon words. Her outer 'vesture' symbolises the subordination of rural culture by urban middle-class culture but is only the veneer of her true self. The use of the Old Saxon 'list' and 'heed' as Agnette gestures to the poet speaker suggesst Old Saxon is the true expresser of the rural self. Agnette's cloak is loosely fitting, thereby indicating the fragility of the present dominant social order and could easily be disregarded to reveal the older, peripheral culture underneath and initiate cultural reclamation.

The dialogue between the two protagonists constitutes a dialogue between the poet speaker's pre and post-colonial self. The original parting of the lovers indicated a cultural shift. They argue, part, and he joins the army, thereby absorbing new cultures via migration. In contrast, Agnette remains on the heath and becomes further entrenched in the landscape through her inheritance of her father's fief. The dialogue between these two 'selves' dramatises the post-colonial moment as they sit upon the 'ancient people's stone' and speculate whether rural folklore has assisted in the resumption of their pre-colonial selves:

> Any heartstring has a signal-thrill between us twain or no? -
> Some such influence can, at times, they say, draw severed souls to-
> gether'.
> I said 'Dear, we'll dream it so'
>
> (stanza twenty-two, lines 2-4).

These lines indicate how pre-colonial cultural appendages become renewed touchstones of identity for individuals and societies during cultural reclamation. However, the poet speaker's reply to Agnette that they will 'dream it so', expresses profound scepticism towards the possibility of complete cultural reclamation. As in 'In Tenebris III', the poet speaker sleeps and experiences a moment of epiphany upon waking which in both poems is expressed using dialect.'Overweary' from his

‘wayfaring’, the poet speaker’s gaze towards Agnette is critical, rather than devotional. He struggles to muster the intense feeling he felt towards her previously. His physical absence has also become a psychological rupture from peripheral culture and has resulted in a subdivided self. As he regards Agnette, the poet speaker asserts:

> That which time’s transforming chisel
> Had been tooling night and day for twenty years, and tooled too well,
> In its rendering of crease where curve was, where was raven, grizzle-
> Pits where peonies once did dwell.
> (stanza twenty-eight).

Daylight too reveals Agnette to be less of the romantic figure than she initially appeared. She is reduced to ‘skin and bone’, her complexion the texture of rugged ‘grizzle pits’. The ruptured and decayed presentation of both protagonists suggests colonisation negates the cultural identities of the coloniser and colonised. The dawning of the poet speaker’s subdivided self is accompanied by a literal dawn rising over the landscape. In a paradoxical description of the sun as giver of light and caster of shadows, the poet speaker is conjoined with the landscape:

> A red upedging sun, of glory chambered mortals view not
> was blazing in my eyes
> (stanza twenty-five, lines3-4).

Hardy’s coinage ‘upedging’ suggests the glory of the moment of cultural reclamation, but is undercut in stanza twenty-six:

> Flinging tall thin tapering shadows from the newest mound and mole-
> hill,
> And on trails the ewes had beat.

The ambivalent nature of the sun reveals the flaws inherent in attempted cultural reclamation. The futility of reclamation is finalised as Agnette descends the slopes alone and disappears, indicating the submergence of peripheral culture into the

landscape. The poet speaker returns to his barracks, acknowledging his 'native weakness' in his ability to fight to reclaim rural culture which possesses 'in that emaciate shape of bitterness and bleakness / A nobler soul than mine' (stanza thirty-four, lines 3-4). Soon he leaves the periphery again, but not before Hardy inserts a final dialect word 'elsewither', to describe the poet speaker's next journey. Thus we are reminded afresh of older terms of language and culture, indicating the poet speaker will carry his pre-colonial cultural appendages to new cultures and that all cultures contribute to an ongoing layering of history and the present.

The difficulty in reclaiming pre-imperialist identities is further apparent in Hardy's poem, 'In Front of the Landscape', included in Hardy's *Satires of Circumstance* (1914). The poem consists of twelve sestets in the following rhyme schemes ABCDB, ABCDEB x 10 , ABCDED[53]. The poem begins:

Plunging and labouring on a tide of visions,
Dolorous and dear,
Forward I pushed my way as amid waste waters
Stretching around,
Through whose eddies there glimmered the customed landscape
Yonder and near

'Tide of visions', in stanza one, line 1, suggests a thematic concern in the poem with multiple cultural perceptions. However, stanzas one and two suggest that upon his return to his native landscape. The 'feeble mist' at the beginning of stanza two is a metaphor for a rapidly disappearing culture and is enhanced by the enjambment following 'yonder and near' at the end of stanza one:

Blotted to a feeble mist. And the coomb and the upland
Coppice-crowned,
Ancient chalk-pit, milestone, rills in the grass-flat
Stroked by the light,

[53] Thomas Hardy, *Satires of Circumstance Lyrics and Reveries with Miscellaneous Pieces* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914).

Seemed but a ghost-like gauze, and no substantial
Meadow or mound.

(stanza two).

Hardy combines standard English and dialect and archaic words to articulate this rapidly disappearing culture and suggest that one culture is absorbed into another. For example, the new 'tide of visions' in stanza one is both 'dolorous and dear', whilst the usual landscape is both 'yonder and near'. The familiar landscape in stanza two was once 'coppice-crowned', but now likened to a 'ghost-like gauze' in stanza two. The inability to distinguish a particular landmark upon the landscape indicates the lack of a defining moment of colonisation of the periphery, and exacerbates the poet speaker's sense of displacement and cultural alienation:

What were the infinite spectacles featuring foremost
Under my sight,
Hindering me to discern my paced advancement
Lengthening to miles;
What were the re-creations killing the daytime
As by the night?

O they were speechful faces, gazing insistent,
Some as with smiles,
Some as with slow-born tears that brinily trundled
Over the wrecked
Cheeks that were fair in their flush-time, ash now with anguish,
Harrowed by wiles.

(stanzas three and four).

The peripheral culture the poet speaker has returned to is unrecognisable to him. The dialect and poetic 'brinily' and 'trundled'(Wright and *OED*) are used to describe in terms of degeneration and decay to contrast sharply with the past vibrancy of previously thriving rural culture:

Then there would breast me shining sights, sweet seasons
Further in date;
Instruments of strings with the tenderest passion
Vibrant, beside
Lamps long extinguished, robes, cheeks, eyes with the earth's crust
Now corporate.
(stanza six).

It is notable that standard English rather than dialect is used in this stanza suggesting an appropriation of the language of the urban centre to describe the vibrancy of a past culture. However, the accuracy of the reclamation of culture through memory is questioned in stanza nine, when the poet speaker articulates an objective perspective of cultural reclamation. The scenes he recalls are 'miscalled of the bygone', indicating the inherent flaws in an idealised reclamation of cultural identity. He acknowledges his own contribution to the decline of his native culture through migration, but contends that his cultural alienation enables him to objectively perceive the decline of rural culture as part of an evolutionary process of social movement in which one culture is ultimately subsumed by another:

For, their lost revisiting manifestations
In their live time
Much had I slighted, caring not for their purport,
Seeing behind
Things more coveted, reckoned the better with calling
Sweet, sad, sublime.

Thus do they now show hourly before the intenser
Stare of the mind
As they were ghosts avenging their slights by my bypast
Body-borne eyes,
Show, too, with fuller translation than rested upon them
As living kind.
(stanzas ten and eleven).

Upon first reading these stanzas suggest the inevitability of cultural decline and the futility of reliance upon the Adamic language proposed by a linguistic continuum. However the linguistic balancing out of standard English and dialect occurs in the poem, which overrides the dangers of the continuum which roots a post-colonial culture firmly in its past, but also avoids the paradox of the colonisation remaining the touchstone for both the coloniser and colonised. The poem suggests however that neither the identity of the coloniser or colonised can be fixed.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the concrete distinctions between coloniser and colonised in the British colonies and class distinctions in England became less defined throughout the nineteenth century. The blurring of identities coincided with an increasing awareness of the local as international with a slowly growing tide of concern regarding the maintenance and morality of empire. The poems discussed in this chapter propose the non-fixation of identity. As 'In Front of the Landscape' particularly demonstrates fluid identity is especially related to the effects of migration upon society and individuals, a theme which I will explore in greater depth in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five

Migration and Identity

In the previous chapter I examined the blurring of class distinctions that occurred in nineteenth-century England due to the unifying effect of the British empire

upon all classes. The blurring of class distinctions was experienced by those who enjoyed the material benefits of empire and also by those, like Hardy, who expressed concern regarding the maintenance and morality of empire. I have established the non-fixation of identity created by such class blurring and demonstrated the ways in which Hardy represents fluid identity in his poems.

In this chapter I discuss the extent to which Hardy questions the legitimacy of identities created by imperialism and how Hardy's migration poems can help us to reach an understanding of the loss of self-identity in all sections of society during the nineteenth century. I consider the sense of cultural alienation and rootlessness felt by the rural migrant returning from the urban centre to the rural periphery. I employ the works of post-colonialist critics such as Stuart Hall and Salman Rushdie to argue that the absence from the periphery and the sense of rootlessness it creates is not necessarily negative. I contend that physical and psychological distance enables the regionalist writer to re-imagine the rural periphery from within urban literary conventions and remain loyal to his cultural origins.

Hardy's poem, 'In Time of the Breaking of Nations', published in *Moments of Vision* (1917) supports the stance assumed and previously discussed in 'The Souls of the Slain' and questions the legitimacy of all identities created by imperialism.[1] Written in 1915, the poem fuses private and public concerns to suggest that centuries-old rural culture continues regardless of imperial concerns. Stanza one reads:

Only a man harrowing clods
In a slow silent walk
With an old horse that stumbles and nods
Half asleep as they stalk.

In stanza two the poet speaker prophesises that this slow paced rural life will 'go onward the same/ though Dynasties pass,' (lines 3-4), a theme which continues

[1] Thomas Hardy, *Moments of Vision* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1917).

in stanza three. In this stanza ‘A maid and her wight/ came whispering by/ wars annals will cloud into night / ere their story die’, indicating that the rituals of rural culture will continue through generations and outlive empire. The poet speaker suggests, rather naively, that rural culture has remained uninfluenced by imperialism, a position that suggests rural culture is peripheral to the rest of nineteenth-century British society. However, in his poem ‘In Times of Wars and Tumults’, also published *in Moments of Vision* and written in 1915, Hardy suggests that war and, implicitly, empire destabilises all identities. War is portrayed as a stage upon which soldiers act out conflict. The soldier in stanza one remarks:

> ‘Would that I’d not drawn breath here!’ some one said,
> ‘To stalk upon this stage of evil deeds,
> Where purposelessly month by month proceeds
> A play so sorely shaped and blood-bespread’.

The soldiers are portrayed as puppet-like beings, directed in a ‘sorely-shaped’ play which has no structure. Their puppet-like status indicates they are not in charge of their destinies or identities. Their position is enhanced by the presence of the poet speaker in the poem who comments upon the action from an omnipresent position. He muses upon the fate of the soldiers had they not gone to war and suggests that human beings exhibit similar behavior both on and off the battlefield:

> Life would have swirled the same. Morns would have dawned,
> On the uprooting by the night-gun’s stroke
> Of what the yester moonshine brought to flower;
> Brown martial brows in dying throes have wanned
> Despite his absence; hearts no fewer have been broke
> By Empery’s insatiate lust of power.
>
> (stanza three).

Thus life continues despite war and personal relationships fail, as in peacetime. In Contrast to ‘The Souls of the Slain’, any thoughts of glory upon their return home

is denied for these soldiers. There is no identity to be attained by the defence of empire. Hardy implies that the dissolution of empire leads only to a fragmentation of self and cultural alienation. So how can a pre-imperial culture be reclaimed when all identities have fragmented?

Salman Rushdie in his essay 'Imaginary Homelands' identifies the opportunities which a ruptured society creates for the production of literature. He contends:

> Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures, at other times, that we fall between two stools. But however ambiguous and shifting this ground may be; it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy.[2]

Hardy frequently 'straddles' two cultures in his work to express the shifting territory between rural periphery and urban centre, a position which is illustrated by his poem, 'The Roman Road', published in *Times Laughingstocks and Other Verses* (1909).[3] In this poem Hardy once more attempts to override imperial histories. The Roman road cuts across the heath 'as the parting-line in hair' and sears the personified heath forcing an aggressive Roman imperial identity upon the passive rural periphery (stanza one, lines 1-3). The poet speaker, however, is not haunted by the memory of the 'tall brass-helmeted Legionaire', but by his 'mother's form' who guides his 'infant steps' (stanza two, lines 1, 3-4). The personal history of the poet speaker overrides the imperial. Unfortunately, an identity based upon this particular past is not without its difficulties. The poet speaker draws only upon a childhood memory of the heath. He does not map the heath himself in the poem, remembering only the paths he was guided along by his mother. In this sense a perception of the heath has been created for him by her just as the Roman road is inflicted upon the rural landscape. The ability of the poet speaker to create his own perception of the heath lessens the effectiveness of the alternative personal presentation of his local environment and gives equal attention to the

[2] Salman Rushdie, 'Imaginary Homelands', in *Imaginary Homelands* (London: Vintage Books, 2010), pp.9-21, (p.15).
[3] Thomas Hardy, *Times Laughingstocks and Other Verses* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909).

personal and imperial images. This equal weighting indicates the presentation of a multi-layered society.

In his poem 'In a Eweleaze Near Wetherbury', published in *Wessex Poems* (1898) Hardy also highlights the relationship between the individual, landscape and an identity tied up with the conflicting effects of imperialism upon all cultures.[4] The poet speaker recalls a past dance with his lover upon the 'leaze' or meadow. The poet speaker asserts:

> The years have gathered grayly
> Since I danced upon this leaze
> With one who kindled gaily
> Love's fitful ecstacies!
> (stanza one, lines 1 – 4).

However, the poet speaker acknowledges the progression of time since his youthful dancing:

> Yet I note the little chisel.
> Of never-napping time
> Defacing wan and grizzel
> The blazon of my prime.
> (stanza two, lines 1 – 4).

Today, he concedes, his former lover would shun his renewed advances:

> But she'd scorn my brave endeavour,
> She would not balm the breeze
> By murmuring'Thine for ever!'
> As she did upon this leaze.
> (stanza three, lines 5 – 8).

[4] Thomas Hardy, *Wessex Poems and Other Verses* (London: and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898).

Although ‘In a Eweleaze Near Wetherbury’ can be read as a poem which is concerned with failed relationships, it can also be read as an elegy for declining rural culture. The poet speaker can be viewed as a returning migrant and his former lover as metaphoric of a traditional rural culture which is in decline. Upon his return the poet speaker scrutinises rural culture from a renewed perspective. Although time and distance have alienated the poet speaker from his native environment and culture he maintains:

> But despite the term as teacher,
> I remain what I was then
> In each essential feature
> Of the fantasies of men.
> (stanza one, lines 5-8).

The poet speaker attempts to recover his previous relationship with rural culture, only to learn that the ironic ‘little chisel of never-napping Time’ has been hard at work. The movement of time is also etched into the rural landscape in the poem. It defaces ‘wan and grizzel’. ‘Wan’, which is Old English for pale and sickly and ‘grizzel’ meaning grey, is to be found in the Devon dialect.[5] It is no coincidence that Hardy presents the defacement of rural culture using rural dialect. The rural culture the poet speaker returns to has been, like himself, subsumed by time. Nevertheless the poet speaker declares:

> Still, I’d go the world with Beauty,
> I would laugh with her and sing,
> I would shun divinest duty
> To resume her worshipping.
> (stanza two, lines 1-4).

[5] Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect*, 6 vols (London and New York: Henry Frowde, G.P. Pulmans and Sons 1898-1905). Further references to this work will be given in parentheses in the text.

In the first stanza, the poet speaker maintains that he remains his earlier self. By the final stanza rural culture shuns him and scorns his 'brave endeavour'. The poem implies that the migrant poet speaker cannot return and reclaim his lost culture, it has already slipped beyond his grasp and is now alien to him, and his memory of it is flawed.

In other poems Hardy also suggests the ability of rural culture to override the imperial is uncertain. For example in 'Rome on the Palatine', published in *Past and Present* (1902) the poet speaker muses upon past and present societies during a visit Rome.[6] The poem begins:

> We walked where Victor Jove was shrined awhile,
> And passed to Livia's rich red mural show,
> Whence, thridding cave and Criptoportico,
> We gained Caligula's dissolving pile.

The ruins have the effect of transporting the poet speaker back in time into ancient Rome, so that he begins the ruins in their former glory:

> And each ranked ruin tended to beguile
> The outer sense, and shape itself as though
> It wore its marble gleams, its pristine glow
> Of scenic frieze and pompous peristyle.
>
> (stanza two).

The poet speaker's reverie is suddenly interrupted by the sounds of modern culture as an orchestra begins to play a Strauss waltz. The interruption of the modern orchestra prompts the poet speaker to imagine the he also hears 'the old routs the Imperial lyres had led' (stanza three, line 4), suggesting competition between ancient and modern culture and indicating that neither achieves cultural supremacy over the other. Hardy's poem, 'Rome the Vatican: Sala delle Muse', also celebrates the equal

[6] Thomas Hardy, *Poems of the Past and Present* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902).

validity of all cultures. In an imaginary conversation with the Muses, the poet speaker expresses concern regarding the validity of different art forms. In stanza four he laments:

> ‘To-day my soul clasps Form; but where is my troth
> Of yesternight with Tune: can one cleave to both?’

The Muse replies:

> -‘Be not perturbed’, said she. ‘Though apart in fame,
> As I and my sisters are one, those, too are the same’.

The poet speaker persists in the next stanza:

> -‘But my love goes further - to Story and Dance and Hymn,
> The lover of all in a sun-sweep is fool to whim -
> Is swayed like a river-weed, as the ripples run!’

The Muse responds:

> ‘Nay, wooer, thou sway’st not. These are but phases of one;
> And that one is I; and I am projected from thee,
> One that out of thy brain and heart thou causest to be -
> Extern to thee nothing. Grieve not, nor thyself becall,
> Woo where thou wilt; and rejoice thou canst love at all!’
>
> (stanza five).

Hardy’s Muse clearly embraces all art forms. The validity of these forms is apparent in the non-standard poetic devices in the poem. For example, in stanza three, lines 3 and 4 the Persian device *tujis-i-merkhub,* or the repetition of words, is used to emphasise the inclusiveness of the cultural forms that the poet speaker employs. The lines read:

> I worship each and each; in the morning one,

And then, alas! another at sink of sun.

Such inclusiveness is carried over into Hardy's use of language in the poem, in which he combines standard English with dialect. For example, 'whither', 'cleave' and 'troth' are to be found in general dialect use, and 'becall', meaning to abuse, call names or rail at, occurs in the dialects of Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and the Isle of Wight (Wright). Hardy's Muse urges him not 'becall' or berate himself over his choice of art forms and to rejoice instead that he has the ability to recognise, appreciate and articulate them. An equal position of each culture is seemingly achieved, but at a cost: the loss of identity of both. Each culture becomes drowned amongst a cacophony of other cultures and cannot exist without an acknowledgment of others.

The consequences of the equality of all cultures are further explored by Hardy in his poem 'His Country', published in *Moments of Vision*. In this poem, written in 1913, the poet speaker travels beyond the shores of England and finds that his experiences do not equate with his preconceived and possibly imperialist expectations:

I journeyed from my native spot
Across the south sea shine,
And found that people in hall and cot
Laboured and suffered each his lot
Even as I did mine.

Thus noting them in meads and marts
It did not seem to me
That my dear country with its hearts,
Minds, yearnings, worse and better parts
Had ended with the sea.

(stanzas one and two).

These stanzas imply an imperialist fear of contamination of the sovereign country with its inferior colonial subjects. Stanza three, however, proclaims: ‘And all the men I looked upon/ Had heart-strings fellow-made (lines 3-4), suggesting the equality of races which renders the contamination of one race by another impossible. This concern is expanded further in stanza four:

I traced the whole terrestrial round,
Homing the other side;
Then said I, ‘What is there to bound
My denizenship? It seems I have found
Its scope to be world-wide’.

Country borders along with cultural differences have been dissolved, a position which is confirmed in the final stanza, which reads:

I asked me: ‘Whom have I to fight,
And whom have I to dare,
And whom to weaken, crush, and blight?
My country seems to have kept in sight
On my way everywhere’.

.

In this world of equality there is no border to cross, no-one left to govern and no cause for war. The world has become a mass of international citizens where each individual is everyone’s countryman. An additional stanza in the version of the poem included in *Moments of Vision* suggests that even Christianity, the justification for the expansion of the British empire, is subject to world-wide equality. Imperialists mock the poet speaker’s observations:

‘Ah you deceive you by such pleas!’
Said one with pitying eye.
‘Foreigners- not like us- are these;

Stretch country- love beyond the seas? -

Too Christian!'- 'Strange', said I.

The imperialist ironically considers the notion of equality to be 'Too Christian!' thereby undermining the religious justification for empire and the 'civilising' missions of Christian missionaries. The staunch imperialist ultimately undermines imperialism along with its associated notions of racial, social and religious superiority. Identity in the poem collapses into a vague mass of equality within which the blurring and loss of individual identities occurs. The identity of each world citizen ultimately becomes that of all mankind and overrides the subjugation of all races and classes.

It is noticeable in the poem that the poet speaker migrates before he can understand and express notions of equality. In doing so he is unfettered by the restrictions of patriotism and racial superiority which imperialism has placed upon the sovereign race. In consequence he is paradoxically alienated from his own country. There is no possibility of him shedding any anxiety created by imperialism through the recovery of pre-imperial origins. Instead, the migrant poet speaker can only forge a path forwards through the mass of fluctuating identities. As Stuart Hall asserts 'We all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and culture which is specific. What we say is *positioned* always 'in context'.[7]

A problem arises with Hall's perception of culture and historical positioning when there is no concrete identity or history from which to position oneself. There is no starting point to place one's perceptions 'in context', indicating the rootlessness of those who have migrated from their native culture. It is a position which Rushdie explores in 'Imaginary Homelands'. Rushdie highlights his own position as a migrant writer and expresses his sense of rootlessness upon leaving his homeland: 'It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants, or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim or look back' [. . .].[8]

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[7] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harlow and New York: Longman), pp.392-403, (p.392).
[8]Rushdie, p.10.

An examination of biographical evidence suggests that Hardy's initial migration to London as a young man and his subsequent return to Dorset was uneasy. Millgate mentions the 'scorn' Hardy faced from friends and neighbours who considered his return to Dorset to be a sign that he had failed to achieve either fame or fortune in London.[9] Richard Little Purdy records in an interview with Florence Emily Hardy that Hardy found the reactions of Dorset locals towards him to be 'cold' upon his return to Bockhampton from London.[10] Charles Lewis Hind, editor of *The Academy*, notes that upon learning that a Dorchester bookshop did not stock Hardy's novel, *Jude the Obscure*, the shop assistant remarked that 'perhaps we have not the same opinion of Mr Hardy in Dorchester as you have elsewhere'.[11] Similarly, Hardy's friend, Herrmann Lea, was told by an elderly Dorset resident that Hardy should 'do some useful work', instead of writing a lot of rubbish that no-one wants to read'.[12] Although biographical evidence taken from past conversations must be treated with caution the quotations cited indicate that there was some lack of appreciation of Hardy's work in his local environment. As has already been noted, Hardy observed upon first arriving in London that the priority of all migrants was to lose any trace of dialect.[13] The reverse process can occur. Upon returning to his native Dorset, the influences of metropolitan life upon Hardy must have been keenly observed by his fellow Dorset men, just as Hardy would have noticed afresh their rural customs and manners. The biographical evidence to suggest Hardy's alienation from his native culture is further supported by the theme of return in his poetry.

Hardy's poem, 'Welcome Home', published in *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922), is preoccupied with the position of the migrant who enthusiastically returns to his 'native place' to 'dwell in amity' with his former neighbours (stanza one, lines 1, 6).[14] The theme of return is highlighted by Hardy's use of *rudeef* , or the rhyming of words and phrases throughout the poem. Arriving home in his native village one

[9] Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.97.
[10] Richard Little Purdy, 'Richard Little Purdy and Florence Emily Hardy Interview', 8 August 1935, MS *Purdy-Hardy Collection*, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
[11] James Gibson, ed. 'The Ten Years 1880-1889', in *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp.28-61, (p.53).
[12] Gibson, *Interviews and Recollections*, p.55.
[13] See page 115 of this thesis.
[14] Thomas Hardy, *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1922).

night the poet speaker finds that many locals are already in bed and reluctantly respond to his loud calls by peering out from their upstairs windows. In contrast to his own enthusiastic greetings, the poet speaker receives a lukewarm response:

> 'Did you? . . . Ah, tis true,'
> Said they, 'back a long time,
> Here had spent his young time,
> Some such man as you . . .
> Goodnight'. The casement closed again,
> And I was left in the frosty lane.
> (stanza three).

The poet speaker's former neighbours do not even recall his name. His identity means nothing in his native land - he is literally shut out by the banging casement. The poet speaker has, at best, become a distant memory in his neighbour's minds and has no place amongst the warm cottages of the villagers. He is twice alienated: firstly, within his migrant culture and secondly, within his native culture which shuts him out in the frosty lane.

The double alienation and non-identity of the returning migrant is a theme which is also expressed in Hardy's poem 'Paying Calls', published in *Moments of Vision.* In this poem the effects of migration and return upon language are explored. The poet speaker journeys back into the periphery, 'Beyond where bustle ends' to pay a visit to old friends whom he has not seen for years (stanza one, line 2). He seeks his friends in their old, familiar meeting places:

> It was the time of midsummer,
> When they had used to roam;
> But now, though tempting was the air,
> I found them all at home.
> (stanza three).

The poet speaker finds that the local community has changed in his absence. The

reluctance of local people to 'roam' in preference to staying at home indicates that they have aged during the intervening years, and implies that rural culture is in decline. The poet speaker's memory of rural culture is a faded picture and lacks affinity with the rural present. The disillusionment the poet speaker feels continues:

> I spoke to one and other of them
> By mound and stone and tree
> Of things we had done ere days were dim,
> But they spoke not to me.
>
> (stanza four).

Despite their conversation, the migrant and the locals do not remember the same things. The poet speaker observes that 'they spoke not to me'. Rather than implying that the locals ignored him, the poet speaker expresses the anxiety that temporal and geographic distances have created revised memories of his cultural past; memories which do not accord with those found in the rural periphery. Rushdie highlights the difficulties of cultural alienation:

> If we do look back we must do so in the knowledge which gives rise to profound uncertainties - that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will in short create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind.[15]

It can be argued that in his poem 'Paying Calls', that a 'Dorset of the mind' is envisaged by the poet speaker and implicitly, by Hardy himself. According to Franz Fanon, the difficulties faced by the returning migrant are exacerbated when that migrant is also an intellectual. Fanon asserts :

[15] Rushdie, p.10.

> The native intellectual who comes back to his people by way of cultural achievements behaves in fact like a foreigner. Sometimes he has no hesitation in using a dialect in order to show his will to be as near as possible to the people, but the ideas that he expresses and the pre-occupations he is taken up with have no common yardstick to measure the real situation which the men and women of his country know.[16]

Fanon's analysis certainly applies to Hardy's position. During the five years he spent in London as a young, single man Hardy significantly broadened his intellectual and cultural interests through his employment in a large architecture business, a rigorous programme of self-education and experiences such as visits to the theatre, opera and National Gallery.[17] Thus upon his return to Dorset Hardy had acquired not only new knowledge but also some of the characteristics of city dwellers. It can be argued that Hardy's experiences in London provided him with a new position from which he could compare his native culture. As Rushdie observes, migration can initiate new creative opportunities to be seized upon by the migrant writer:

> If literature is in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again, our distance, our long geographical perspective may provide us with such angles.[18]

Despite the uncertainties and shifting identity experienced by the migrant writer, Rushdie implies the geographical distance enables the migrant writer to examine his native culture from renewed perspectives. It can be argued that in the case of a declining culture such as nineteenth-century rural society, renewed perspectives permit the opportunity for cultural survivals within the emerging culture which allow some vestige of the old culture to remain. Hardy's use of dialect in his poems indicates his 'long-angled' view of rural culture, which he uses as a touchstone for his past whilst addressing his poetry to urban and (increasingly

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[16] Frantz Fanon, 'On National Culture', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, (Harlow and New York: Longman,), pp.36-52 (p.41).
[17] Millgate, *Biography*, pp.74-7, 83-8.
[18] Rushdie, p.15.

urbanised) rural audiences. His poem, 'Wessex Heights', published in *Satires of Circumstance* (1914) and written in 1896 following the critical rejection of Hardy's novel *Jude the Obscure,* and the end of his relationship with Florence Henniker.[19] 'Wessex Heights' has often been interpreted as a poem which expresses the sense of disillusionment caused by rejection.[20]

The poem is, as Tony Fincham argues in his essay 'Wessex Heights', a 'hymn to Romanticism', in which the brooding, solitary poet speaker is wanders the wild peripheral landscape.[21]An alternative reading of 'Wessex Heights' is possible, however, which illustrates Rushdie's perception of the 'angles' which enable the new perspectives from which a migrant writer is able to write. Dennis Taylor asserts that 'Wessex Heights' is a poem in which the solitary poet speaker creates a divided self in an attempt to define his identity.[22] Taylor's reading of the poem appears convincing especially on examining the opening stanza:

> There are some heights in Wessex, shaped as if by a kindly hand
> For thinking, dreaming dying on, and at crises when I stand,
> Say, on Ingpen Beacon eastward or on Wylls-Neck westwardly,
> I seem where I was before my birth, and after death may be.

It can also be argued that the migrant poet speaker's escape to the hills constitutes an attempt to return to his pre-imperial origins and suggests a Romantic alienation from society and a return to nature. Hardy's migrant echoes William Wordsworth's migrant in his poem 'Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey'.[23] In Wordsworth's poem the thoughts of nature have sustained him during his absence from the periphery:

> Though absent long,

[19] Thomas Hardy, *Satires of Circumstance Lyrics and Reveries with Miscellaneous Pieces* (London: Macmillan and Co.,1914).
[20] For a full examination of the critical reception of *Jude the Obscure* and Hardy's relationship with Florence Henniker, see Millgate, *Biography*, pp.340-45, 308-14, 352.
[21] Tony Fincham, 'Wessex Heights', *Thomas Hardy Journal*, vol xxxii Autumn, (2016),61-82, (p.67).
[22] Dennis Taylor, *Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.342.
[23] William Wordsworth, *Wordsworth and Coleridge Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1802*, ed. Fiona Stafford, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.193-98.

These forms of beauty have not been to me,
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:
But oft, in lonely rooms, and mid the din
Of town and cities, I have owed to them,
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration:

(Lines 23-31)

The poet speaker concludes:

That after many wanderings, many years
Of absence, these steep woods and lofty cliffs,
And this green pastoral landscape, were to me
More dear, both for themselves, and thy sake.

(Lines 157-60)

In contrast, Hardy's migrant can only feel alienation upon his return:

In the lowlands I have no comrade, not even the lone man's friend -
Her who suffereth long and is kind; accepts what he is too weak to mend:
Down there they are dubious and askance; where nobody thinks as I,
But mind-chains do not clank where one's next neighbour is the sky.

In the towns I am tracked by phantoms having weird detective ways –
Shadows of beings who followed with myself of earlier days:
They hang about at places, and they say harsh heavy things -
Men with a wintry sneer and women with tart disparagings.

(stanzas two and three).

In stanza four the theme of alienation is developed as the poet speaker suggests that his migration to the town has resulted in a self-inflicted betrayal of identity:

Down there I seem to be false to myself, my simple self that was,
And is not now, and I see him watching, wondering what crass cause
Can have merged him into such a strange continuator as this,
Who yet has something in common with himself, my chrysalis.

A biographical reading of the poem suggests Hardy felt an acute sense of alienation during his migration from Dorset to London. This alienation has three effects: his physical alienation from the periphery, his cultural and social alienation within the urban environment, and his psychological alienation from his native rural culture which constitutes a betrayal of his self. His identity is ruptured, a destabilisation which is not alleviated upon his return to the periphery. Stanza five develops the paradoxical theme of his return:

I cannot go to the great grey Plain; there's a figure against the moon,
Nobody sees it but I, and it makes my breast beat out of tune;
I cannot go to the tall-spired town, being barred by the forms now passed
For everybody but me, in whose long vision they stand there fast.

The poet speaker is constricted by his rural past when visiting the town. The rural periphery however offers him no liberation either:

There's a ghost at Yell'ham Bottom chiding loud at the fall of the night,
There's a ghost in Froom-side Vale, thin-lipped and vague, in a shroud of white,
There is one in the railway train whenever I do not want it near,
I see its profile against the pane, saying what I would not hear.

As for one rare fair woman, I am now but a thought of hers,
I enter her mind and another thought succeeds me that she prefers;
Yet my love for her in it fullness she herself even did not know,
Well, time cures hearts of tenderness, and now I can let her go.

(stanzas six and seven).

The migrant poet speaker cannot avoid the ghosts created by personal relationships which constantly follow him, nor can he find a new identity in the urban centre. It is only upon creating a long-angled distance from both the urban centre and the rural periphery that the poet speaker is able to find some liberty:

> So I am found on Ingpen Beacon, or on Whylls-Neck to the west,
> Or else on homely Bulbarrow, or Little Pilsdon Crest,
> Where men have never cared to haunt, nor women have walked with me,
> And ghosts then keep their distance; and I know some liberty.
>
> (stanza eight).

The lofty position of the poet speaker on the hills above the town and rural landscape provides him with some liberty from the constraints of the past and present. This liberty, in contrast to Wordsworth's migrant, is only achieved via an acceptance of rootlessness and a physical and psychological detachment from all social structures.

The theme of rootlessness as the only possible identity is also evident in Hardy's poem 'Where They Lived', published in *Moments of Vision*, in which the migrant discovers a decaying culture upon his return to his former home:

> The Summerhouse is gone,
> Leaving a weedy space;
> The bushes that veiled it once have grown
> Gaunt trees that interlace,
> Through whose lank limbs I see too clearly
> The nakedness of the place.
>
> (stanza two).

The decay and emptiness of the garden is coupled with the demise of old inhabitants:

And where were hills of blue,
Blind drifts of vapour blow,
And the names of former dwellers few,
If any, people know,
And instead of a voice that called ‘Come in Dears’,
Time calls,‘Pass below!’
(stanza three).

Even for those who have remained in the periphery time has brought changes which negate past identities and render society rootless. Hardy explores this theme further in his poem ‘Midnight on the Great Western’, published in *Moments of Vision*. The setting of the poem positions the poet speaker and subject of the poem at midnight, between an old and a new day. This temporal uncertainty complements the theme of cultural flux in the poem. The poet speaker observes the appearance and demeanour of a young boy travelling alone on the Great Western Railway:

In the third-class seat sat the journeying boy,
And the roof-lamps oily flame
Played down on his listless form and face,
Bewrapt past knowing to what he was going,
Or whence he came.

In the band of his hat the journeying boy
Had a ticket stuck; and a string
Around his neck bore the key of his box,
That twinkled gleams of the lamp’s sad beams
Like a living thing.

The boy in the poem is given no name or concrete identity. A clue is given to his social status as he travels third class, and his listless face suggests he is underfed. His listlessness also suggests a lack of purpose and direction, indicating he is ‘past knowing to what he was going / or whence he came’ (stanza one, lines 4-5). The only sense of life associated with the boy is the key to his box that is hung

around his neck, and that twinkles in the artificial light ‘like a living thing’. Thus the boy’s identity is founded upon a manmade light, indicating his natural identity has been overridden by social convention. In this sense the journeying boy is everyman whether native, migrant, urban or rural dweller, of any class imperialist or anti-imperialist. All identities are only created by present society. The progression of time dictates that the present is constantly destabilised. Identities located in the present are likewise unstable and in a constant state of flux. The poet speaker in the poem observes:

> What past can be yours, O journeying boy,
> Towards a world unknown,
> Who calmly, as if incurious quite
> On all at stake can undertake
> This plunge alone.
>
> Knows your soul a sphere, O journeying boy,
> Our rude realms far above,
> Whence with spacious vision you mark and mete
> This region of sin that you find you in,
> But are not of?
>
> (stanzas three and four).

The boy in ‘Midnight on the Great Western’ assumes the same detached position as the poet speaker in ‘Wessex Heights’. His ‘spacious vision’ provides him with the long angles required to observe society. Only through this perspective can he gain a tentative freedom from the social imposition of identity and gain a stable sense of self.

Hardy’s migration poems highlight the sense of alienation and non-fixation of identity and a cultural centre created by imperialism. As has been demonstrated in this chapter migration allows the regionalist poet to successfully re-imagine the periphery from within urban literary conventions whilst avoiding alienation from his cultural origins. Ultimately, this fluid identity is liberating and enables him to express an early modernist sense of self.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that a purely textual critical approach to Hardy's poetry proves an inadequate methodology to fully understand and appreciate the function of dialect and metre in his work. Hardy's poetry is broad in its scope, in its subject matter, language and metre. This scope necessitates an equally wide

multi-faceted critical methodology, which has been adopted in this study, to fully appreciate and understand the skill with which Hardy writes. Only when his poetry has been viewed from multiple angles can critical judgements of his work be fully articulated. The broad critical framework inherent to this study acknowledges the need to understand the function of prosody in Hardy's work. This broad approach must simultaneously reside alongside the prosodic since prosody reflects, and is informed by, the social situation of each historical period. Thus a social critique and prosody are reliant upon each other and the employment of either of these critical approaches automatically facilitates the other.

One of the prevailing social concerns during the nineteenth century was the plight of the poor, both in urban and rural areas. Although this study focuses upon the rural poor, many of the observations made regarding class differences apply also to the urban poor of the period. The main emphasis in this study has not been upon the economic situation of the rural poor, although this has been acknowledged, but upon the cultural and linguistic disparities between classes in Victorian society. The cultural subjugation of the labouring class by the middle and land-owning classes has been intrinsic to this study and to fully articulate the extent of the cultural subjugation of the rural poor, postcolonial theory has been employed. This enables an understanding of the manner in which cultural subjugation can flourish within society. Although class subjugation cannot be expressed in identical terms to racial subjugation, post-colonial theory provides an appropriate critical base from which to study class subjugation. The linguistic subjugation of the labouring class reflects racial subjugation found in colonialist cultures. The combination of the above critical positions adopted in this study provides the wide critical framework necessary to understand rather than undermine the use of language and metre in Hardy's work.

In Part One of this study I have discussed the debates surrounding philology and prosody in the nineteenth century. I have demonstrated that Hardy had a great interest in prosodic and philological issues and these are widely reflected in Hardy's poetry.

In Chapter One I have argued that Hardy's interest in philology reflects the wider philological study of the nineteenth century, a process which began as early as the sixteenth century following the gradual standardisation of the English language. This standardisation attempted to generate a 'correct' language to assist with the maintenance of empire and create a new British imperial identity. An attempt was made to preserve the languages or dialects which were rapidly fading due to this linguistic standardisation and an interest in antiquarianism ensued.

The rise of the British empire also prompted a sense of nationalism in Britain that was underpinned by the emerging imperial identity of the ruling classes. The role of language as a unifier of the Roman empire was recognised. The new imperial identity sought to find a language to serve as unifier of the British empire, and Anglo- Saxon was selected to serve. Paradoxically, Anglo-Saxon was still spoken within the dialects of the labouring classes in the rural counties of England. Thus a simultaneous rejection and appropriation of dialect by the ruling classes occurred which was inextricably linked to the maintenance of the British empire.

In response to this paradoxical situation the English dictionaries of the period began to acknowledge the evolution of language and trace the etymology of words. By the nineteenth century intense debate had arisen between those philologists who were concerned with earlier meaning of words and those more interested in the current meanings of words. The ground-breaking *Oxford English Dictionary* attempted to strike a moderate approach with the acknowledgement of the inter-dependence of past and present meanings of words. Perhaps even more importantly was the implication in the *OED* that all forms of language, including dialect, are as valid as each other.

Hardy began his literary career at the time of this intense debate, and demonstrates his interest in the history and use of language by making contributions to the *OED*. My analysis of substantive variants in Hardy's poems reveals that he was constantly tinkering and experimenting with words in his poems throughout his long poetic career. Hardy attempts to create a language of reconciliation in his poems in which the word he deems most appropriate in any particular instance is chosen, regardless of its status as a dialect or standard

English word. He uses neither language for the sake of doing so, but for its fitness to articulate the poetic themes and ideas he expresses. He employs a balanced perspective and his linguistic hybridity maintains the equilibrium between two disparate languages. It must be noted however, that Hardy favours dialect over standard English in his poetry to express themes of loss and cultural decline. The increased instance of dialect in the poems with these thematic concerns indicates that Hardy reverts to his mother tongue in order to express the subjects closest to him. Despite the pressure of urban mainstream literature and his desire to be considered a serious poet, Hardy cannot divorce himself from the culture of his childhood.

Dialect in Hardy's work is not glossed, an act which increases the spontaneity of his verse. It requires a dialect speaker, however, to fully understand the nuances of dialect words and suggests that particularly in poems concerned with rural poverty, the decline of rural culture and agnosticism, Hardy's dialect serves as a code of the other, only able to be fully understood by its native speakers. In this sense, Hardy's use of dialect can be viewed as an attempt to reclaim rural culture from the colonising effects of standard English over dialect and to prevent dialect from being merely archived in dialect dictionaries. Dialect is also akin to speech forms, the most self-conscious expression of which is found in Hardy's ballads.

Metre in Hardy's poetry is often irregular, leading to criticism that Hardy's poetry Is awkward and ungainly. Hardy creates an art, which upon initial reading, appears to be uncrafted and fresh in its spontaneity. As has been demonstrated through an examination of Hardy's *Literary Notebooks*, Hardy is no haphazard writer of poems, but an accomplished metricist and prosodist who meticulously followed the leading prosodic debates of the period. In this poetry Hardy practices the metrical experimentation outlined in these debates, particularly in his expression of all forms of loss. In this sense, his work belongs to the mainstream literature of the period. The difficulty found by many critics, however, is that Hardy's poetry sometimes has a clunking metre which is often disrupted by poetic devices not commonly found in mainstream literature such as *rudeef* and *cadwynodyl*. These devices are frequently found in regionalist poetry. More notably, in his poems of loss Hardy combines the dipodic rhythm found in

prosodic theory and non-standard poetic devices to effectively express experiences of profound emotion such as the psychological rupture caused by death, failed relationships and declining cultures. It is this fusion of the mainstream with the peripheral which critics have found disconcerting and have been unable to appreciate. Hardy cements his hybrid position by the inclusion of phrasal verse and speech rhythms in his poetry. The influence of rural culture is unavoidably felt in his poems. It is an influence which Hardy learns to combine with the conventions of mainstream literature with increased subtlety throughout his poetic career. Hardy establishes himself as a mainstream Victorian poet, but through his assertion of the equal validity of the conventions of rural poetry, he remains loyal to his native roots particularly in his use of the ballad form.

As in the cases of philology and etymology, an interest in the ballad as an art form arose from the middle-class desire from the eighteenth century onwards to reclaim a rapidly disappearing English culture. The ballad had its origins in the vernacular and non-literate oral society. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an increasing collation of rural ballads. During this process dialect in the ballads was changed nearer to standard English forms by compilers who sometimes considered that the peripheral art form lacked literary worth. Connections between the ballad as an art form and the Homeric poems were made by some scholars. In accordance with philology and etymology the implied links between the rural ballad and the Ancient Greek empire once again utilised the culture of the periphery as the touchstone of pre-imperial identity for British imperialism and provide a myth of origin for the nation.

During this process of collation the ballads were edited and ‘improved’ by middle-class scholars who removed any ‘vulgar’ subject matter from them. This subjugation of peripheral art forms was compounded by the work of nineteenth century anthropologists some of whom considered rural culture to belong to the second stage of the evolution of culture dubbed ‘barbarism’, with civilisation represented by middle-class culture at the apex of the evolutionary pyramid. As such, the ballad could have no artistic merit and any poetic techniques within the ballad form were considered to have arrived there by accident. Despite the supposed low position of rural culture on the evolutionary scale, the interest generated in ballads at this time

suggests that many anthropologists recognised the value in primitivism and native culture. Many later nineteenth century poets followed the lead of the Romantic poets and drew upon the ballad as an art form. As a native of the rural periphery, Hardy unashamedly employed the ballad form in his own work with the frequent use of refrain and ballad metres in his poetry. Hardy makes one change however. In line with the Romantic poets he replaces traditional ballad motifs with nineteenth century contexts and concerns. The rhythms of much of his poetry, particularly in his ballads have their origins in speech and reside in close proximity to dialect.

In Part Two of this study I have focused upon the effects of Victorian philology and prosody on Hardy's poetry and the manner in which they are manifested in his work to portray rapidly changing Victorian society.

The use of dialect as a spontaneous expression of oral culture and speech forms has been documented in Chapter Three of this study. Hardy's ambivalent class position rendered him fluent in the Dorset dialect and in standard English and able to code switch between languages. As his essay 'The Dorsetshire Labourer' demonstrates, Hardy was acutely aware of a rapidly changing rural society in which increased fusion of the rural and urban and brought irreversible changes to employment, culture and language. Hardy's own cultural position, coupled with the changing nature of rural society provided him with the impetus needed to express themes of cultural hybridity in his poems, and are most notably articulated by the use of language in his work.

My examination of substantive variants in Hardy's poems reveals that Hardy undertook regular revision of his work and that his interest in the use of dialect continued throughout his lengthy poetic career. Hardy employs dialect to draw attention to various themes in his work such as the presentation of a vibrant rural culture, the local knowledge of rural landscapes, cultural survivals and conversely, cultural decline. Hardy presents rural culture and the rural labourer as vibrant and progressive. His view contrasts sharply with the middle-class view of the rural labourer as backward and lacking ambition. As has been demonstrated, Barnes portrays the rural labourer as rather sedentary in his outlook and contented with his

subservient social position. In contrast, Hardy portrays a vibrant rural culture, but one which is rapidly changing and becoming increasingly urbanised.

Alongside these changes awareness amongst rural labourers of their rights as employees and an understanding of political and social affairs develops. Although such rural fragmentation can be viewed as a negative change Hardy's presentation of rural culture indicates it is an intrinsic part of contemporary social structures. The disparate position of both poets is evident in their use of dialect. In Barnes' work his reliance on the use of confirms the antiquity of the periphery, but in doing so destines rural culture to remain firmly in a regionalist past. In contrast, Hardy's linguistic hybridity reflects a constantly shifting culture in the midst of linguistic and cultural flux. The rural culture Hardy presents, adapts to and assimilates urban culture. Hardy transplants rural culture from the periphery into the urban centre and in doing so ensures that rural culture is not completely eradicated by or fused with urbanism. Rural culture, according to Hardy, becomes an inherent part of the cultural evolution of nineteenth century society, and if the status of middle-class culture is raised by increasing urbanisation its other, rural culture, simultaneously highlighted.

Hardy's transplantation of rural culture to the urban permits him to explore imperialism and migration in his work. As has been demonstrated, in Chapter Four migration is an issue of which Hardy has personal experience and is also closely linked to nineteenth century British imperialism. From the late eighteenth century onwards liberals expressed anxiety regarding the maintenance and morality of the British empire. However these anxieties were often concerned with the economic cost of empire to Britain and with the effects of imperialism upon the sovereign race rather than with the crushing effect of the process on the subjugated people. Many anthropologists of the period considered the subjugated races to be lower down the evolutionary scale and required European races to 'civilise' them. The contact between the imperial and subjugated races facilitated fears of the contamination of the sovereign race by the subjugated races resulting in the degeneration of European culture. Such concerns were expressed in the literature of the period, particularly in relation to language. The fear of the corruption of standard English by words transported from the subjugated nations to Britain mirrors the fear of the corruption of standard English by dialect.

Other critics, however, acknowledged the effects of imperialism upon subjugated races and were particularly critical of Britain's aggressive policy of expansionism during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is notable that the subjugation of the rural labourer is not acknowledged, rather the status of all classes as contributors to the empire is articulated. Everyone, in British society, it seems, has a role to play in the maintenance of empire and in return is able to enjoy the material benefits of empire.

Hardy's work reflects some of this anxiety regarding empire. Sharply critical of imperialism and imperialist warfare, Hardy demonstrates that there is no glory in empire and that all empires are doomed to failure and overridden by emerging cultures. Imperial identity becomes unstable. Britain may know of foreign lands, but this knowledge is gained at the cost of losing British, and in particular local, identities. Imperialism renders the imperialist 'foreign' in subjugated lands and an alien within his homeland. Thus in Hardy's view, pre-imperial identities cannot be fully reclaimed, neither can any particular culture become a touchstone for imperialist identity. Hardy contends, in line with contemporary anthropologists, that all cultures undergo constant evolution. He departs from their position, however, in his assertion that no one culture ultimately gains supremacy over another. In the view of many Victorian anthropologists subjugated races are civilised and overridden by eurocentrism. For Hardy, all identities are fragmented and country borders dissolved by imperialism. Rather than lamenting imperialist identity, the opposite process occurs, rendering all races international rather than national citizens.

Hardy's migration poems, discussed in Chapter Five, express the ability of the migrant to articulate this paradoxical position. The migrant is in a 'no man's land' a position in which he finds no identity within the migrant culture and also finds himself an alien upon his return to his native culture. Migration, however, provides the impetus for a long-angled detached perception of all societies. This detached position enables a view of all cultures which avoids the infliction of restrictive identities upon individuals. For the migrant and, implicitly, the whole of imperial society a state of flux and non-identity becomes the only possible identity. This is

not necessarily restrictive. Born into a society which undermines his native origins, Hardy identifies an articulation of self which serves for both the rural periphery and the urban centre.

The multi-theoretical stance assumed in this study reveals Hardy to be an intellectually curious, philologically scholarly and formally experimental poet. His deep, personal connection to his rural origins is unsettled by his migration from the periphery and return. Hardy draws upon these experiences to articulate larger concerns of class distinctions and imperialism during the nineteenth century. Hardy's multi-cultural understanding of society is articulated by paying close attention to dialect and standard English. In doing so, Hardy engages with and speaks for all societies. In doing so he advocates the equality of all mankind to express equality for all classes and races, rendering him a poet for all time.

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Appendix A

Annotated Bibliography of Works and Articles on Dialect in the Poetry of Thomas Hardy

The following library catalogues, databases and publishers lists have been consulted in the preparation of this bibliography:

Library Catalogues

The British Library
The Congress Library
The London Library
National Library of Australia
Nottingham Trent University Library

Databases

ABELL
APAIS National Library of Australia
Arts and Humanities Citation Index
Bulletin of Thomas Hardy Society of Japan
Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature
EThOS (The British Library)
JSTOR
LION
Oxford Reference On-line
The Thomas Hardy Association Checklist, St Andrew's University (updated fortnightly)
The Thomas Hardy Society
Thomas Hardy Miscellany
The London Library Online Resources
Victorian Studies on the Web
The Victorian Web

Publisher's Lists

British Books in Print
Cambridge University Press
Macmillan / Palgrave
Oxford University Press
Penguin
W.W. Norton

The bibliography is organised into five categories: primary materials, secondary sources, journal articles and essays, theses and other works consulted.

Primary Materials

Hardy, Thomas, *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Samuel Hynes, 5 vols (Oxford : Clarendon Press 1982-1995) This edition contains substantive and accidental variants of all known editions of the poems and also includes dialect glossaries where necessary.

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Chapman, Raymond, *The Treatment of Sounds in Language and Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with Andre Deutsch, 1984). Includes brief references to Hardy's use of dialect in his poetry and prose.

Cox, R.G., ed., *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage* (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul,1970). Contains contemporary Victorian reviews on Hardy's work, some of which comment upon his use of dialect.

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Appendix B

Non-standard poetic devices in Hardy's poetry.

Bob and wheel - A refrain of four lines with an ABAB rhyme scheme at the end of the main narrative. The 'bob' is a short stress followed by the longer 'wheel'.
Cadwynodyl - Welsh chain rhyme. For example:

> 'Someone said: 'Nevermore will they come: evermore
> Are they now lost to us? O it was wrong!'

Comharda - Irish correspondence, as in noise/choice.
Cynghanedd - Welsh internal rhyme in which the first half of the line which matches the internal line of the second half. For example: 'All that raged the war they waged'.
Dipodic rhythm/dipody - the substitution of a metrical stress by a caesura or pause.
Eekfa - Persian device in which two words have the same final vowel sounds and differing consonants.
Rudeef - Persian rhyming of the whole word, not just a syllable, as in her/her.
Skot-hending - Norse half rhyme in which the words have different vowels but similar consonant sounds as in met/bad.
Tujis-i-morkhub - Persian repetition of words.
Tujis-i-zaiad - Persian device in which two rhyme words come together, one of which is one syllable longer than the other.