METROPOLITAN DISSENT IN THOMAS HARDY’S FICTION:
CLASS, GENDER, EMPIRE

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

EDITIONS OF NOVELS

The thesis uses the Penguin editions of Thomas Hardy’s novels, which tend to select first editions as copy-texts. The logic for choosing the first editions lies in the project’s historicist approach and in its frequent concern with biographical details surrounding the original publication. In the interest of biographical accuracy, however, this study takes care to flag up any important changes made from earlier versions, for example holograph and serialised forms, to first editions (usually in volume form) that might further illuminate the findings of this study. As the project is also interested in perceptual changes over the course of the author’s life, it pinpoints any relevant subsequent revisions in later editions of the novels.

ABBREVIATED FORMS (IN FOOTNOTES AND ‘WORKS CITED’)

• UP: University Press
• Oxford UP and Cambridge UP in references are not preceded by place of publication

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES (IN FOOTNOTES ONLY)


CL  Thomas Hardy, The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, ed. by Richard Little Purdy, Michael Millgate and Keith Wilson, 8 vols (Oxford UP, 2012)


LN  Thomas Hardy The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy, ed. by Lennart A. Björk, 2 vols (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985; repr. 1988)

LW  Thomas Hardy, The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy, ed. by Michael Millgate (London: Macmillan, 1984; reissued 1985)

PV  Thomas Hardy, Thomas Hardy’s Public Voice: The Essays, Speeches, and Miscellaneous Prose, ed. by Michael Millgate (Oxford UP, 2001)
ABSTRACT

This thesis departs from a critical tradition in Hardy studies that has so far tended to interpret empire in the fiction in terms of the colonisation of Wessex. Instead, my project focuses on the entanglement of Wessex with overseas imperial spaces, arguing for multiple, varied and, more importantly, deeply uneven forms of contact with the empire in the fiction. It explores the particular linkages in Hardy’s texts between empire and the tripartite class structure (upper, middle and lower) that, as Hardy critic Roger Ebbatson has argued, became ‘progressively stabilised’ in Britain following the industrial and agricultural revolutions.

I identify a shift in Hardy’s fiction from elite- to labour-focused conceptions of empire. Whereas in the early fiction (1871-1882), India and Africa are more prominent imperial destinations for overseas movement, in later works (1883-1897), the settler regions of empire, including Canada, New Zealand, Brazil and Australia, become principal areas of relocation for Wessex emigrants and exiles. A cultural materialist approach is employed to explore this shift. To that end, I avoid reading the presence of empire in Hardy’s fiction through allegorical strategies that create congruence or equivalence between gender, class and colonial oppressions.

Each of the core chapters pivots around the imperial aspirations, interests, predicaments and perils of a different representative class. I demonstrate that each of the classes can be identified with a different imperial frontier in Hardy’s fiction. In addition, correlations are drawn between the presence of a given frontier and Hardy’s own specific location within the tripartite class structure. Chapter Two, the first of the project’s core chapters, considers how the relocation of the lower middle classes to India, including ambitions to achieve social mobility and prosperity, connects with Hardy’s own drive in the early fiction to secure an independent income. Chapter Three makes links between upper-class adventure, big-game hunting and the pursuit of imperial celebrity in the African interior and Hardy’s own efforts to introduce ‘fashionable’ spaces into the middle fiction. Chapter Four argues for indissoluble ties between the plights of rural working-class emigration to, and often return from, the settler regions of the empire and the author’s growing antipathy for ‘the business of social advancement’, relocation to his native Dorchester and consequent full immersion in local histories.

Despite the changing emphasis on social class and imperial frontier during each of the three core phases (early, middle and late) in Hardy’s prose years and an evident preoccupation with both elite and labour frontiers across those phases, the thesis maintains that the kind of critique that emerges throughout is working-class in orientation. In other words, all works ultimately challenge, through a range of formal devices, the exploitation of empire in order to oppress or deracinate class and gender. Out of these two principal points of dissent emerge other vital working-class critiques that ultimately humanise and affirm native colonial cultures and practices.

The project strives to engage and influence two strands of criticism. It aims to contest notions of global ‘interconnectedness’ across Wessex and the empire in Hardy studies. It also challenges foundational ideas within postcolonial studies arguing that regional and class antagonisms were harmonised into a ‘national imperial identity’ during Britain’s era of High Imperialism.
DECLARATION

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To Matt, Aedan and Eva
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1

METROPOLITAN DISSENT IN THOMAS HARDY’S FICTION: CLASS, GENDER, EMPIRE

1.1. HARDY, EMPIRE AND THE ‘NATIONAL IMPERIAL IDENTITY’

Hardy’s first novels appeared at the beginning of an era defined in British history as ‘conscious’ imperialism, in which, as the historian Bernard Porter explains, Britain’s ‘spheres of influence’ could ‘no longer be taken for granted: they had to be marked out on the map.’¹ London, the heart of the British Empire, made visible this change in imperial posture through some of the most radical transformations in architecture since the Great Fire.² Hardy scholar Keith Wilson notes that Hardy would have seen many of the profound physical changes that transformed late nineteenth-century London into an imperial city.³ During his posts as an architect’s assistant based in London – later as writer too – Hardy would have been able to see, in whole or in part, the construction of the Home and Foreign Offices (1868-73), the India Office (1863-8), the Natural History Museum (1873-81), the Albert Memorial (1863-75), Queen Victoria Street (1867-71), the Victoria Embankment (1863-70) and the Royal Albert Hall (1867-71), while in later years, he would see the completely redesigned ceremonial route of the Mall with the Queen Victoria Memorial at one end and Admiralty Arch at the other (1903-4).⁴

Unlike other English writers who are often coupled with this phase of conscious imperialism – including G. A. Henty, Henry Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, E. M. Forster and George Orwell – Hardy was never physically present within colonies beyond the British Isles.⁵ His overseas travels were limited to Ireland and Europe. His knowledge of Britain’s colonial transactions further afield would therefore have been mediated in multiple ways. As Hardy’s experience of London confirms, Britain’s rule over a quarter of the globe and a fifth of its population was everywhere visible within metropolitan space (in this thesis, the

³ K. Wilson, p. 156.
⁴ K. Wilson, p. 157.
terms ‘metropolitan’/‘metropole’ follow postcolonial critics’ use of these to mean ‘national’/‘nation’ rather than ‘city’). Historians and postcolonial critics have argued that signs of imperial expansion would have been mediated through foreign objects, materials used in manufacturing industry, household goods often bearing logos associated with overseas ventures, ideologically saturated printed and visual materials, textual and iconic representations in popular and juvenile fiction, newspapers and magazines, paintings, drawings, prints and photographs, religious tracts, exhibitions, music-hall turns and theatrical spectacles.\(^6\)

Hardy’s life records many mediated encounters with empire of this kind, a number of which are developed and contextualised in more detail throughout this thesis. The opening of the Great London Exhibition in 1862, Hardy writes, ‘influenced him in the choice of a date for his migration’ to London to pursue a career in architecture.\(^7\) This exposition had numerous colonial exhibits and was one of a number of world and colonial fairs to take place in the late Victorian era, with ever growing emphasis on Orientalist style and commercial appeal.\(^8\) During Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee in 1887, which included the procession of an empire-themed pageant, Hardy reflects on the presence of an Indian dignitary, the ‘Anniwalia of Kapurthala’ ‘among the presence of so many Indian princes’, who appeared in his ‘mass of jewels and white turban’ and remained aloof from ‘the babble and gaiety’ of the celebrations.\(^9\) The Diamond Jubilee in 1897, an even more elaborate display of Britain’s imperial might, saw Hardy entirely escaping ‘the racket’ with his wife Emma: ‘All the world […] was in London or arriving there, and the charm of a lonely Continent impressed the twain much’.\(^10\) The enthusiasm for national imperial spectacle in 1862, one that had determined the date for his move to London, seems by 1897 to have waned considerably.

Hardy’s relationship with imperial spectacle over the course of his prose output was indeed complex and often surprising. We learn that he enjoyed concerts at the Imperial Institute, which opened in a grand Imperial ceremony in 1893 and was one of many institutions and organisations aimed at disseminating imperial

\(^7\) LW, p. 40.
\(^8\) MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, pp. 96-120.
\(^10\) LW, p. 310.
propaganda. At the same time, it is apparent from Hardy’s autobiography that what attracted Hardy to the place were the ‘famous bands of Europe’ and the pleasant prospect of solitude, since the venue was ‘mostly neglected by Londoners’. In London, Hardy also met empire ‘pundits’ who claimed to speak from within, and back to, empire’s native cultures and geographies, in many cases eliciting from Hardy some of his most quietly cutting criticisms. Among these acquaintances, formed almost exclusively in the years after 1885, were members of the colonial administration, with whom Hardy’s connections seem to have been more a matter of ritual and formality than of political or personal affinity.

In 1885, for example, Hardy made the acquaintance of Lord Carnarvon, formerly Colonial Secretary, who had pressed forward with the confederation of southern African states during the First Boer War. In the Life and Work, Hardy recalls a gathering of titled persons at the Carnarvons’ ‘amid a simmer of political excitement’ over the disappearance of General Gordon in the Sudan and comments on ‘the intensely average conversation on politics held there by average men who two or three weeks later were members of the Cabinet’. Hardy likewise spent time in the company of George Curzon, who served as Viceroy of India (1899-1905) during the Indian famine (1899-1900) and did little to alleviate its effects. In his Romanes lecture ‘Frontiers’ (1907), Curzon exhorted Britain’s young men to ‘march forth, strong in the faith of their ancestors’ to carry out the work of Empire. In 1908, Hardy records a gathering of members of the aristocracy at Curzon’s, who ‘went into the wood by moonlight to listen to the nightingale, but made such a babble of conversation that no nightingale ventured to open his bill’. While an explicit critique of imperialism is not always recorded on these occasions, it is worth noting that some of Hardy’s most barbed opinions in his Life and Work concern the conduct of colonial social elites, including politicians, administrators, adventurers, celebrities and cultural

12 LW, pp. 298, 310, 317; Hardy’s note corroborates MacKenzie’s reflection that the Imperial Institute had relatively limited reach and success prior to 1914 (John M. MacKenzie, ‘Popular Culture’, p. 20).
15 LW, p. 179.
17 LW, p. 368.
figures. In 1890, for example, Hardy heard a speech he considered to be ‘in the worst taste’ by the celebrity explorer Henry Morton Stanley at a dinner given by the publishers of his travels, under the title In Darkest Africa (1890). As for Hardy’s meeting in 1894 with Frederick C. Selous, ‘the mighty hunter’ who had published his accounts in A Hunter’s Wanderings in Africa (1881), Hardy records that he was not ‘in sympathy’ with Selous’s fame, ‘wondering how such a seemingly humane man could live for killing’. In 1895, towards the end of his prose output, Hardy was likewise introduced to the Pitt-Rivers family, famed for their ethnological and archaeological collections from home and exotic places and who would have been a veritable mine of information about the empire.

Also in the context of establishing relations with influential public figures, Hardy was introduced to important literary writers with records of direct entanglements with the empire, including Kipling and Rider Haggard. In 1890, Hardy met Kipling and reflects on how Kipling spoke about the East, saying it had become ‘quiescent’ and recalling ‘curious details of Indian life’. In 1906, the socialist essayist and journalist Henry Nevison, who was also a British war correspondent during the Second Boer War, reports that during a visit to Hardy’s Max Gate in 1906, Hardy said he thought Kipling ‘would have been a very great writer if the Imperialists had not got hold of him’. In the 1880s and 1890s, Hardy and Rider Haggard, the writer of African romances and advocate of the British colonial presence in South Africa, were well known rivals in sales as well as writing styles. Although exchanges of communication between the two are recorded, Hardy’s well-documented disdain for imperial jingoism, greed and violence, as well as of Eurocentric pride more generally – sentiments which inform his letters, poems and

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19 LW, p. 237.
20 LW, p. 279.
21 Bownas and Jackson, p. 409.
22 LW, p. 236.
23 LW, p. 236.
25 In 1902, Hardy corresponded with Rider Haggard about the migratory lives of Dorset workfolk (LW, pp. 335-37); Rider Haggard, Rural England: Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches Carried out in the Years 1901 & 1902, 2 vols (London: Longman’s, 1906), I, 282-86.
epic drama in verse, *The Dynasts* – would have placed him at political odds with Rider Haggard.

Among the aims of my research has been to identify how Hardy’s novels reflect early signs of dissent in relation to Britain’s overseas project, signs that might, in turn, account for the more familiar critique of the imperialising project itself that surfaces in the context of the Second Boer War. Hardy’s fiction has been so strongly associated with Wessex that, at first sight, empire appears an improbable topic. So entrenched has been the legacy of localism that even research into imperial themes, as the next section will show, has tended to prioritise allegorical readings of Wessex as a domestic colony.

However, as my study shows, empire features in Hardy’s novels in ways that demand more serious engagement with the global dynamics of imperialism. Descriptions of various imperial activities, including architectural and agricultural development, colonial modes of production, lion-hunting, geographical exploration and colonial administration warrant more focused work on the overseas reach of imperialism within the novels. Descriptions of encounters with native African tribes in *Two on a Tower*, however brief, and the possibility these moments offer of pinpointing early signs of the author’s approach to colonial cultures are another reason to examine more closely the global dimensions of imperialism in Hardy. The thesis therefore relies on imperial history, partly via a centrifugal approach that, as David Trotter explains, considers ‘the radiation of influences from Britain into its wider hinterland’. The study therefore frequently turns to Bernard Porter’s *The Lion’s Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–2004* (2004) for its assessment of centrifugal impacts. Included within the range of centrifugal influences are both formal colonies (for example, India) as well as ‘satellite’ economies: areas where the British did not rule politically but that were, nonetheless, subject to Britain’s commercial interests (for example, Brazil). Adventure and geographical exploration in the African interior are likewise included within the centrifugal because of their contribution, historically, to more open forms of territorial conquest.

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26 Bownas and Jackson, pp. 410-13. Poems notably include ‘Drummer Hodge’, ‘Embarcation’ and ‘At the War Office’.
28 See Porter’s definition of ‘creeping colonialism’ to designate more informal types of imperial control (*Lion’s Share*, pp. 19-23).
However, due to the off-stage nature of imperial activities in Hardy’s fiction, the study adopts a centripetal approach more frequently, through which the effects of imperialism on metropolitan society and culture are considered. A centripetal approach, informed mainly by Andrew Thompson’s *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (2005), is in many respects more apposite to this study because in a number of the tales imperial travel is crucial to the metropolitan plot development, almost inevitably towards tragic outcomes. In other words, departure for the colonies in many of Hardy’s texts results in unpropitious developments for those left behind and/or for those who return. For example, in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, travel to India enables the metropolitan derailment of romantic attachments. In *Two on a Tower*, travel to Africa imperils Welland House and, alongside pressures directed towards the tale’s romantic drama, contributes to the steady demise of the heroine. In *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*, travel to, and often return from, the settler regions of empire produces examples of ‘failed’ emigration, which, in turn, contribute to metropolitan tragedy. Centripetal impacts in Hardy’s fiction, it seems clear, pose a significant challenge to Victorian imperial propaganda, which emphasised the benefit-bearing opportunities of imperial participation.

A number of further observations about the centripetal required, in addition, attention to differential and uneven participation within the empire in Hardy’s fiction. Andrew Thompson’s historical study of late nineteenth-century imperial influences directed towards the centre distinguishes between elite- and working-class types of contact with, and perceptions of, the empire. The core claim of Thompson’s study is that after the mid-nineteenth century, the sources of contact between mother country and colony rapidly multiplied, and, as a result, a range of relationships with the empire developed. […] the people of Britain became caught up in the processes of overseas expansion not only in vastly different but unequal ways. There was never likely to be any single or monolithic ‘imperial culture’ in Britain, therefore.  

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29 Trotter, ‘Colonial Subjects’, p. 6. Trotter’s article was significant in influencing a shift in postcolonial studies in the 1990s from evaluations of ‘centrifugal’ influences to more detailed considerations of ‘centripetal’ approaches in order to establish ‘the ideals and fantasies, generated in the metropolitan centres of empire, which made colonialism possible’ (p. 6).

Thompson’s key historical claims, as this thesis will show, account for the ways in which gender and especially class affect the different ways in which empire is mediated in the novels. They also help to explain why imperial peripheries with particular influences on plot development in works leading up to Hardy’s permanent return to Dorchester in 1883 are India and Africa, while those with greater formal impacts in the later works are the settler spheres of empire, principally Brazil and Australia, but also Canada and New Zealand. Thompson’s findings additionally clarify why story lines involving the settler regions of empire occur at greater frequency in the late works. Finally, Thompson’s views on uneven forms of social and economic participation of Britain’s social classes within the empire help to shed light on the range of dissenting responses in Hardy’s fiction, in which the imperial project’s alienations of class and gender are consistently addressed.

The uneven representation of empire throughout the fiction tends to vex and also perplex critical expectations of imperial influence and signification within late nineteenth-century Britain. For example, it seems curious – given that Hardy’s closest mediated encounters with India and Africa arrived, as suggested above, after 1885, when he made connections to cultural and political figures most strongly associated with these imperial frontiers – that the settler regions should feature more prominently in the late fiction. A more circumspect approach to the presumed effects of material culture on metropolitan perceptions of the empire therefore seemed necessary. Circumstances in biography, it will be shown, account for the selective spread of imperial migrations across the prose works. Even so, with its heavy reliance on biography, my project eschews the ‘biographical positivism’ of older critical dispensations. In order to avoid a ‘subject-centred’ philosophy, in which Hardy might be read as the beginning and end of knowledge, I rely on a wide range of texts (biographies, autobiography, letters, reviews, periodicals, articles and Commission reports) for my assessment of imperial impact in the life. In so doing, I aim to build a narrative in which the studied subject is seen to respond to the shaping forces of history and society.

Biography and history are therefore closely allied in this project, with historical discussion frequently framing or prefacing biographical and textual analyses. Nonetheless, the purpose of historical intervention is not to insist that Hardy

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always had full access to this history or to posit that this history is produced in authentic form in the fiction. Rather, it is to call attention to the way in which intrusions of empire in the author’s life and his fiction demonstrate the subject’s rootedness in history, and the way biography and fiction might be seen to respond to aspects of that history. In addition to emphasising historical context, I consider the way in which Hardy’s fiction responds to historical accounts that Hardy himself was reading at the time of production. Detailed attention both to historical context and, indeed, to the author’s own engagement with historical writing redresses a key problem identified in Fred Reid’s *Hardy and History* (2017). Reid maintains that ‘revolutionary’ critical enquiries into Hardy’s work – including class, gender and imperial approaches – while successfully defining historical context, have frequently neglected to attend to how the author himself responded to history. Reid argues: ‘Granted we study people in the past for the sake of our concerns in the present, we also study them with due respect for their own concerns, which must be understood in the context of their times.’ Each of the following core chapters contains insights into Hardy’s own reading of imperial history or history-making.

With an eye to history and biography, I consider how class and gender critiques of uneven participation within the empire ultimately pose a challenge to cardinal claims within postcolonial theory for the uniform or largely harmonising impacts of imperialism on national identity. For a number of decades now, critics across a range of disciplines, including postcolonial theorists, historians and Victorian scholars, have largely discouraged this kind of enquiry. Edward Said, for example, has posited that the nineteenth century saw the making of English nationality and its global expansion. He premises his claims on the historical argument that processes of enclosure dissolved rural communities, forged new ones under the impulse of industrialisation and also started ‘a new process of relocating England […] within a much larger circle of the world map’. By the time the process of global expansion was in full swing in the nineteenth century, ‘nationality’ was ‘a fully formed, fixed quantity’. Said’s reading of Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* as a narrative of restored productivity to Sir Thomas Bertram’s presumed slave plantation in Antigua and

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32 Fred Reid, *Hardy and History* (see above), p. 7.
recovered order and social harmony at Mansfield Park is symptomatic of Said’s theory of national imperial harmony.34

Other postcolonial critics have echoed these ideas. In her reading of Rider Haggard’s African romances, Anne McClintock interprets colonial participation in Africa as a narrative of ‘patriarchal regeneration’ or ‘imperial recuperation’ extending to familial bonds and ‘the national body politic’ within the metropole.35 Simon Gikandi maintains that empire harmonised Britain’s ‘antagonistic regional and class relationships’ into ‘a deep horizontal comradeship’.36 Stuart Ward posits that ‘the myth of a greater Britain’ that underpinned the project of imperial expansion ‘resonated at all levels of metropolitan culture’.37 Benita Parry records that ‘a national imperial identity’ existed in late Victorian Britain, for which colonial material culture formed and confirmed ‘an elevated self-image’.38 Her claim for metropolitan knowledge and awareness of the empire is, in part, a riposte to Fredric Jameson’s insistence on, in Parry’s words, ‘a new sense of the absent colonial system on the very syntax of [metropolitan] poetic language itself’.39 Jameson’s claims, which Parry challenges, nonetheless share with hers what I am calling the notion of metropolitan uniformity. Jameson notes that

colonialism means that a significant structural segment of the economic system as a whole is now located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and existential experience of the home country, in colonies over the water whose own life experience and life world […] remain unknown and unimaginable for the subjects of the imperial power, whatever social class they may belong to’.40

Thus, for Jameson the empire overseas was barely present to consciousness, while for Parry it was fully conscious; both, however, are oblivious to the ways in which attitudes to empire were mediated differently to the different social classes, and both

34 Said, pp. 108-09.
38 Parry, p. 113.
39 Parry, p. 111.
offer myths of national cohesion. Hardy’s work, by contrast, is conscious of those different mediations and therefore refutes myths of national uniformity.

Thus, the thesis questions critical claims made for the importance of material culture in consolidating a seemingly unified imperial identity and ‘vision’ of empire. Dane Kennedy’s account of African and Australian exploration, for example, suggests that exploration narratives ‘fed the public’s hunger for heroes who could embody some of the country or colony’s ideals and ambitions’. Ali Behdad’s study of Orientalist photography claims that metropolitan culture ‘voraciously consumed’ images of the Orient which were received as ‘factual and truthful’ representations, thus extending the tendency to read the process of reception of colonial material culture in late nineteenth-century Britain and, indeed, their impacts on perception as being rather unvaried and uncontested.

Consensus about the uniform nature of imperial culture is largely shared by Victorian scholars, for whom imperial commodities are broadly considered to carry, spread and strengthen national identity both within and beyond domestic borders. Suzanne Daly, for example, remarks on ‘the cultural work that colonial imports were doing within the realm of “the domestic,” understood both as the household and the nation-state’. A similar approach informs Elaine Freedgood’s study of the presence of imperial commodities in a range of texts from *Jane Eyre* to *Mary Barton*. Merrick Barrow’s analysis of Rider Haggard’s Quatermain romances reinforces both Daly and Freedgood’s findings in emphasising that the hunting trophy became a very important commodity fetish and feature of Victorian material culture and display that spread ‘across the social classes, between public and private spaces’.

1. The notion of a ‘consolidated vision’ of empire originates with Said, pp. 73-229.
preserve Englishness. Diana C. Archibald, for example, broadly examines the way that female emigrants become embodiments of English domestic ideals.\(^{47}\) In his evaluation of portable objects, John Plotz shows how commodities were ‘culture-bearing’ for those who travelled from the mother country to imperial peripheries – a means by which migrants far from home could stay ‘English’.\(^{48}\)

A number of postcolonial enquiries in recent years have shifted what one might call the uniformity model or paradigm largely in relation to national identity in the post-imperial era.\(^{49}\) In many cases, however, claims for disrupted, devolved or reinvented identities in a postcolonial era are predicated on the idea that colonial national cohesion was ‘cemented through a sense of comradeship at home’.\(^{50}\) Counterposed to these arguments are appraisals of the British Empire’s contested dimensions within British colonial society itself. Here insights are offered into ‘minor’ or ‘hidden’ forms of anti-colonial protest, or into cultures of hospitality.\(^{51}\)

Uniting the different arguments against the uniformity paradigm, irrespective of the period and location to which they attend, is the perspective that rupture, protest and heterogeneity are nurtured in the cross-cultural or colonial encounter, in other words through social mixing with colonial ‘others’. Unlike these evaluations of dissent in metropolitan society, my project demonstrates how it is entirely possible for colonial disavowal to emerge outside of direct colonial encounters and more immediately in response to unequal forms of imperial participation.


\(^{50}\) Whittle, p. 9.

Gregory Claeys’s *Imperial Sceptics* (2010) is the only prominent recent political study of imperial sceptics in Britain from the mid nineteenth century to the First World War to include coverage of a range of dissenting responses to Britain’s imperial mission that are not necessarily tied to the cross-cultural encounter; these include socialist, Positivist and religious objections to imperialism.\(^{52}\) The focus in Claeys’s work, however, is largely on metropolitan opposition to the centrifugal impacts of empire, in other words to those harmful influences that the British Empire introduces into colonised spaces and cultures. Despite emphasis on dissenting socialist perspectives within his work, there is little treatment of the way that empire feeds into, and indeed exacerbates, class and gender politics in the era.

A select number of recent literary interventions within the branch of settler colonial studies, by contrast, consider the way in which complicated expressions of cohesion emerge more directly in relation to how the empire affects domestic issues.\(^{53}\) Tamara S. Wagner’s *Victorian Narratives of Failed Emigration* (2016), in particular, demonstrates how cautionary tales of ‘failed’ emigration in a range of nineteenth-century metropolitan novels ‘explode’ prevalent ideologies of transportable domesticity and the cloning of metropolitan identities within the empire. The kind of literary critique Wagner identifies within chronicles of ‘failed’ emigration is framed more perceptibly as a response to British imperial propaganda. Unlike Claeys’s work on metropolitan dissent, Wagner’s analysis addresses forms of critique in relation to centripetal forces.

My work on imperial dissent in Hardy draws on Wagner’s important contribution in a chapter dedicated to ‘failed’ emigration to the settler regions of empire in Hardy’s late fiction. However, one of the claims this project advances in relation to ‘failed’ back-migration in Hardy’s late fiction is that the critique of emigration propaganda can be traced more assuredly to working-class plights. More broadly, however – and this is where my investigation looks beyond the settler


colonial nexus – the thesis maintains that there is scope to consider forms of dissent also in relation to migrations to other imperial frontiers. The logic for looking at metropolitan movement and disavowal in relation to other imperial frontiers is informed by the idea that the gaps between metropolitan wealth and poverty are not restricted to particular frontiers but necessarily split the empire as a whole.

Hardy’s life and work evince the inequalities of imperial participation on this more comprehensive scale due to the author’s wide, often first-hand, knowledge and experience of the flows of people and things from metropole to colony and from colony to metropole. Hardy’s significant class mobility and frequent movements between the country and the city in the second part of the nineteenth century afforded Hardy insights into different perceptions, forms of access, and activities within the colonies. This wide knowledge of different types of contact with the empire, encompassing working-class and aristocratic experiences, as well as regional specificities, including country and city, is not tantamount to the kind of privileged and invariably exclusive access, as Chapter Three argues, that well-heeled travellers had to the African interior, for example.

Hardy’s many mediated encounters with empire in London, principally via the capital city’s social and cultural elites, have already been summarised. A comprehensive approach of the kind that I am suggesting with respect to Hardy’s mediated encounters requires close attention to Hardy’s experience of imperial spectacle within the countryside and also via the working-class voice. Examples mentioned here are also contextualised more robustly throughout the thesis. The ‘signs of empire’, to borrow Parry’s apposite term, within Hardy’s native Dorset presented themselves in manifold ways.54 During Hardy’s childhood in the 1850s, for example, when the practice of transportation to Australia stopped, ‘Dorset was brought face to face with its substitute’, as convicts were placed in purpose-built single cells in Portland Prison and forced to do hard labour, including the construction of Portland breakwater in Portland stone.55 Hardy was able to learn about the defunct transportation regimes when his return to Dorchester in 1883 led to his full and deliberate immersion in early nineteenth-century chronicles of Dorset. This immersion in local history – unmentioned in Reid’s copious study of Hardy’s

54 The term ‘signs of empire’ is based on Parry’s chapter title ‘The Signs of Empire in Metropolitan Fiction’, pp. 107-18.
responses to history – resulted in detailed and prolific notes entered into a notebook that relies almost exclusively on local records.\textsuperscript{56} As the editor of the notebook, William Greenslade, asserts, ‘The central phase of the notebook […] leaves a powerful impression of a region in the grip of sustained economic depression and social privation’.\textsuperscript{57}

Dorchester was an assize town, in which periodic assize courts were held by a grand jury selected from the propertied classes. The assizes were a local spectacle and became a significant memory of offenders being frequently sentenced to transportation for ‘crimes’ as minor as poaching and trade union membership. This policy of forced migration to Australia, according to Brooke and Brandon, was part of a governing elite’s ‘hardening of attitudes’ towards the ‘common people’, which resulted in a significant rise in the number of capital offences starting in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{58} Transportation to Australia was considered an effective way of addressing fears of a home-based revolution after the end of the American War of Independence in 1775-1783, which was followed by the French Revolution in 1789-1799 and the Irish Rebellion in 1798.\textsuperscript{59}

Further reminders of empire from a rural working-class perspective and their importance for Hardy’s conception of uneven involvement in the empire would have included stories of emigration. In the years 1861-1900 – years approximately corresponding to Hardy’s experiments and publications in fiction – regions roughly correlating to Hardy’s semi-fictional Wessex, including Dorset, Wiltshire, Devon, Somerset and Cornwall, were the worst hit by rural depression and consequent emigration within England and Wales. Roughly 323,000 people left these areas: nearly half of the total number of English and Welsh rural emigrants.\textsuperscript{60} Relatives and friends of Hardy emigrated to settlement colonies under difficult circumstances and often with less than glowing outcomes to report.\textsuperscript{61}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[56] William Greenslade, ‘Critical Introduction’, in \textit{FN}, pp. xv-xxix (p. xv); Reid, \textit{Hardy and History} (see above).
\item[57] Greenslade, ‘Critical Introduction’, p. xxii.
\item[58] Alan Brooke and David Brandon, \textit{Bound for Botany Bay: British Convict Voyages to Australia} (Richmond, Surrey: The National Archive, 2005), p. 14. Death penalties were often commuted to transportation.
\item[61] Millgate, pp. 58, 61; Gittings, pp. 144, 185.
\end{footnotes}
Hardy’s familiarity with both elite and labour contacts with the empire was complemented by his close experience of empire through middle-class ideologies of social mobility and meritocracy. Hardy’s fellow architect apprentice, Henry Robert Bastow, who arrived in Tasmania in early 1861, had by 1873 become Victoria’s Departmental Architect and Surveyor in the State Schools Division. Bastow’s architectural successes find parallel in the achievements of Hardy’s architect employer in 1872, Professor Thomas Roger Smith. The latter travelled to India in 1864, where he ‘had made his name’ by introducing new architectural styles to Bombay. Finally, another friend of Hardy’s, Hooper Tolbort, came first not only in the Oxford Middle Class (or Local) Examinations of 1859, but also, three years later, in the competitive examinations for entry into the Indian Civil Service. In 1864, Tolbort obtained his appointment to the magisterial court at Benares and, from there, ultimately rose to the ranks of Deputy Commissioner of Umballa in the Bengal Civil Service.

As Hardy’s biography shows in abundance, the empire was everywhere present and accessible to his creative imagination. The fiction, as this thesis demonstrates, responds to many of these experiences and spectacles in ways that reflect Andrew Thompson’s claim that metropolitan society ‘rapidly multiplied’ its relationships with the empire. It reveals, after Thompson, that ‘[t]here was never likely to be any single or monolithic “imperial culture” in Britain’. Before a more detailed outline is offered of how precisely Hardy’s fiction registers this preoccupation with differential entanglements with empire, it is necessary also to offer a critical overview of existing literary critical evaluations of Hardy’s treatment of empire. This is in order to demonstrate that there is still scope to consider not only the class, but also the overseas, dimensions of imperialism in his work. In Hardy’s fiction so far, imperialism has been explored mainly as a domestic phenomenon.

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64 Millgate, p. 69.
65 ‘India Civil Service’, *Dorset County Chronicle*, 19 May 1864, p. 843; Millgate, p. 223.
66 A. Thompson, p. 5.
1.2. **Hardy Studies and Postcolonial Enquiry**

Around the turn of the 1990s, debates within the field of imperial history and postcolonial theory, many of which have already been enumerated in the previous section, began to focus on the presence of the colonial within the metropolitan fiction of ‘high (or conscious) imperialism’. However, even though colonial peripheries are present in Hardy’s fiction, most Hardy critics have preferred, instead, to treat Wessex as a kind of domestic or local colony, in other words as a kind of allegorical example of colonial displacement.

Thus, Daniel Bivona, who relies on Disraeli’s conceptualisation of class conflict in Britain in imperial terms, offers a reading of Jude and Sue in *Jude the Obscure* as archetypes of imperial deracination within a domestic ‘underdeveloped world’. Roger Ebbatson considers Hardy’s approach in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ to display, after Fredric Jameson, a kind of colonial ‘gaze’ that affirms ‘the observer’s dominating superiority’, a process through which ‘the objects of the surrounding world can be effectively mastered and visually enumerated’.

In a reading of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Michael Valdez Moses offers a comparative study of Hardy, Conrad, Achebe and Vargas Llosa as chroniclers of archaic societies. In Hardy’s case, a lost world of a premodern era ‘must be archeologically uncovered for the contemporary reader’.

Allegorical readings in the twenty-first century build on this critical approach to Hardy’s fiction as a domestic incarnation of the imperial struggle. In his article on *Tess of the D’Urbervilles*, Adam Gussow marks ‘a series of striking parallels’ between Tess’s use of reverie, a kind of ‘spirit-work’, in her struggle against ‘colonial enclosure or male scopic desire’ and Australian Aborigines’ use of ‘the Dreaming’ rituals to ward off ‘the spectatorial Western eye’. In Genevieve Abravanel’s analysis of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, which is reliant on Paul Gilroy’s Black Atlantic paradigm, Wessex is a kind of eastern periphery under threat by Atlantic trade and exchange. This can be seen in the ‘marketing of American grain in England and the

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67 As previously noted, David Trotter’s ‘Colonial Subjects’ (see above) was significant in influencing this change.


emigration of English farmers to America to the novel’s presentation of gender relations in the language of slavery’. Localism in the novel, Abravanel concludes, in some respects successfully opposes, while in others becomes more permeable to, these Atlantic influences. Scott Rode, meanwhile, considers the conflicting desires of Clym and Eustacia in The Return of the Native in imperial terms. This he does by suggesting that Hardy’s construction of a map for the novel comprises a kind of cartographic imperial practice. Hardy’s roads, in Rode’s mind, mark ‘the limits or margins of her [Eustacia’s] desire’s fulfilment as well as the dominating (colonizing if you will) power of desire and cultural identity’. Thus, imperial and colonial tropes in Rode’s study designate material forces that act as domestic boundaries or containers to the fulfilment of desire at Egdon Heath.

The use of Wessex as a site on which to measure the effects of colonial depredation can also be seen on a larger and more systematic scale in the only published book-length study devoted exclusively to imperial themes in Thomas Hardy’s prose and poetry. In her Thomas Hardy and Empire: The Representation of Imperial Themes in the Work of Thomas Hardy (2012), Jane Bownas broadly examines the representations of three imperial phenomena in Hardy’s work: European imperialism in the present, and the Roman Empire and the Napoleonic Wars in the past. Her study frequently draws parallels between historic incursions of past empires into the British Isles (specifically the south coast of England) and the politics of European imperial expansion. In her discussion of Hardy’s war poetry, Bownas looks more closely at Britain’s expansionist agendas overseas, particularly in the context of the Second Boer War.

By contrast, her evaluation of the novels offers a model of Wessex as a colonised territory. She compares the colonisation of Wessex to Britain’s colonisation of overseas spaces and likewise defends this model of the domestic colony with the embattled status of Wessex in former times, through the imperial conquest of the Roman Empire and under the threat of Napoleonic invasion. Bownas’s broad rationale for drawing parallels between domestic and overseas colonialisms is fortified by Raymond Williams’s definition of the ‘New Metropolis’, according to

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74 The following survey of Bownas’s study is based on my published review of her book as Rena Jackson, ‘Thomas Hardy and Empire: The Representation of Imperial Themes in the Work of Thomas Hardy by Jane Bownas’, Thomas Hardy Journal, 29 (2013), 176-81.
which, cites Bownas, ‘the traditional relationship between city and country was …
rebuilt on an international scale. Distant lands became the rural areas of industrial
Britain, with heavy consequent effects on its own surviving rural areas’.75

Bownas’s conception of Wessex in the novels as an imperilled colony is
consistently defended through strategies that read newcomers to Wessex as purveyors
of imperialising agendas and Wessex natives and spaces as the victims of those
agendas. Thus, Alec d’Urberville in *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, like the British colonist
overseas, abuses his powers as a parvenu ‘to seduce and rape Tess’ and thereby also
violate the countryside.76 In a similar vein, Donald Farfrae in *The Mayor of
Casterbridge* is a type of ‘gentlemanly capitalist’ who introduces new agricultural
methods that consequently destroy rural economies and lead to the displacement of
local systems of governance.77 Michael Henchard, like Napoleon, engages in an
imperial struggle with the common people and with their subversive schemes to
undermine his unlawful claims to power.78 Edred Fitzpiers in *The Woodlanders*
represents the British Empire’s scientific and anthropological enterprises, through
which indigenous cultures are studied and classified according to fallacies in social
Darwinism.79 Felice Charmond in *The Woodlanders* is also considered to be as
remorseless an imperial invader as Fitzpiers, as she refuses to renew the life-hold on
Winterborne’s house and is remembered as possessing the power to evict Marty South
out of her cottage.80

Notably, characters in the fiction that are both natives and outsiders do not
possess imperialistic ambition in *Hardy and Empire*. Neither Clym Yeobright nor
Eustacia Vye in *The Return of the Native* is a disruptive force for Bownas, since
Clym’s strong associations with the heath clear him of supremacist motives and
therefore invalidate any potential readings of him, as Bownas suggests, as a kind of
precursor of Kurtz in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*.81 Meanwhile, despite Eustacia’s
status as outsider, she demonstrates a sufficiently convincing connection to the Egdon
Heath environment in Bownas’s view to qualify her comparison with the African

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75 Jane L. Bownas, *Thomas Hardy and Empire: The Representation of Imperial Themes in the Work of
Thomas Hardy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 23; citing Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*
76 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 25-27.
77 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 36-37.
78 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 75-76.
80 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, p. 110.
81 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 103-04.
princess in *Heart of Darkness*. Clym and Eustacia – both more native than foreign in Bownas’s study – are thus understood to share in the plights of Wessex dislocation.

The second aspect of Wessex’s status as a domestic colony in *Hardy and Empire* is that Wessex migrants to other places, both within domestic borders and beyond, are not straightforward exponents of imperialism. Unlike newcomers to Wessex, migrants to other regions within or around Wessex are generally considered oppressed rather than oppressive of other cultures. Jude and Sue in *Jude the Obscure*, for example, qualify, much as they do in Bivona’s study, as outcasts from civilisation on a scale that rivals the dispossession of colonised peoples overseas. The enforced travel of the poor around Wessex environs – of the order that includes Tess, Diggory Venn in *The Return of the Native* and migrant workers portrayed in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ – equally conveys a type of colonial dislocation. By the same token, migrants and emigrants from Wessex to colonial frontiers are rarely considered participants in destructive colonial practices in *Hardy and Empire*. Only rare nods to Britain’s colonial expansion are offered, for example, in relation to ‘farms which were gradually overspreading the country in the vicinity of Cape Town’ and Sir Blount Constantine’s colonial activities in *Two on a Tower*. In Bownas’s work, the theory of Wessex as a domestic colony overrides any serious consideration of Wessex travellers as colonisers of overseas territories.

Instead, Bownas prefers to read migrant experiences within the imperial frontiers – at times in rather contradictory ways – variously as forms of infraction of Western codes of conduct or as moments that either allow for ‘a revaluation of one’s conduct at home’ or that strengthen forms of interconnectedness and solidarity with their native and domestically colonised Wessex. Thus, Swithin St Cleeve’s pursuits as a scientist and astronomer in *Two on a Tower*, extending in the end to the Cape Observatory, offer Swithin the kinds of liberty that are not possible under social restraints at home. Sir Blount’s bigamous marriage to an African princess is implicitly viewed as a positive departure from ‘pernicious conventions’ – a transgression that can also be seen in Arabella’s double marriage to Cartlett in Australia in *Jude the Obscure*.86

82 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 100-02.
83 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, p. 114.
84 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, p. 115.
86 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, p. 18.
Moments of revaluation or ‘reappraisal of morality’, according to Bownas, present themselves when Sir Blount feels regret over his ‘harsh treatment’ of his English wife Viviette in the moments before his suicide in Africa: a regret that, according to Bownas, invites us to consider Angel Clare’s own remorse over his mistreatment of Tess while in Brazil.\(^{87}\) There is little room to dispute the claim that Hardy acknowledged the transformative potential of other cultures and practices;\(^{88}\) there is also little scope for questioning Angel Clare’s transformation in Brazil (though it is impossible to establish with certainty that Sir Blount has similar regrets); however, the present study posits that there is scope for questioning whether this change is regarded as positively in the fiction as Bownas deems it is. One of the arguments this project makes, particularly in chapter Three, is that positive portrayals of the colonial experience in Two on a Tower are designed to affirm colonial native rites rather than to valorise the conduct of Sir Blount. In Chapter Four, the thesis also problematises Angel Clare’s so-called moral illumination since it in fact comes ‘too late’ and consequently contributes to the tale’s tragic dénouement. Also in chapters Three and Four, I argue that while there is sympathy for Arabella’s motives for double marriage (namely for her articulated fear of being ‘left without a home’), there is little of the same recorded in the case of Sir Blount’s bigamous union.

This thesis also finds that imperial travel in Hardy’s prose works consistently translates into, or becomes an extension of, class divisions and – especially in the closing works – even class conflict. It is here that the project mounts a riposte to Bownas’s narrative of ‘interconnectedness’ between Wessex and its overseas travellers. Thus, according to Bownas, Stephen Smith, an architect’s assistant in India, exists in a relationship of affinity to his metropolitan compatriots, Elfride Swancourt and Henry Knight, much in the way that Sir Blount in Africa is considered allied to his wife Viviette and Swithin in Two on a Tower.\(^{89}\) One cannot fail to note in these readings for Wessex kinship how colonial migrations are forcibly detached from the class dramas of the tales. In favour of demonstrating Wessex solidarity and therefore cohesion in the face of colonising forces from without, Bownas’s study therefore not only occludes references to overseas colonialisms in the fiction but also

\(^{87}\) Bownas, Hardy and Empire, pp. 18, 19.

\(^{88}\) Angelique Richardson, ‘A Global Hardy’, Literature Compass, 13.3 (2016), 123-35 (pp. 125-26); Bownas, Hardy and Empire, pp. 19-30.

\(^{89}\) Bownas, Hardy and Empire, pp. 11-12.
tends to elide class friction. My study aims to bring into sharp relief the interplay between colonial activity and class enmity.

This fairly consistent critical tradition of viewing Wessex as an internal colony continues to hold sway. This model is explicitly ‘explore[d] and substantiate[d]’ in Andrew Hewitt’s recent reading of The Return of the Native as an island narrative. The article develops the ‘internal colonialism’ paradigm with a reading of Hardy’s novel as a castaway tale closely aligned with stories of colonial formation, maintaining overall that Hardy subverts some of the basic tenets of the castaway narrative by presenting examples in which natives at Egdon Heath ultimately fail to become colonists: ‘The relapse of the colonist is the return of the native’. In treating Egdon Heath like a domestic island, Hewitt’s study, like its predecessors, offers a version of Wessex that remains recognisably dissociated from the politics of British imperialism in its overseas incarnation. Sharing some affinities with Hewitt’s ‘island narrative’ critique, as also with Scott Rode’s study of imperial mapping, Susan E. Cook’s analysis of Tess of the D’Urbervilles identifies critique of imperial cartographic practices through emphasis on the local. Cartographic habits, claims Cook, are mimicked in the renaming of regional locations; however, by centring the novel on characters who feel both socially and geographically displaced, Hardy resists the narrative of geopolitical spread inherent in imperialism.

The most recent inflection of ‘the internal colonialism of the metropolis [in Reid’s case, ‘metropolis’ stands for ‘city’] over the rural periphery’ is given expression in Fred Reid’s brief analysis of imperial tropes in Far from the Madding Crowd. These include, for example, Weatherbury’s enmeshment in ‘a system of capitalist high farming and proletarianisation of the workforce’, references to the Roman Empire, and to tropes of ‘decline and fall’. As in Bownas’s study, the allusion to Britain’s overseas project in Reid’s evaluation is brief and generally tends to locate ‘reminders’ rather than critiques of empire within the fiction. A much lengthier section in Reid’s book is devoted to ‘Empire, War and Revolution’ (‘Part III’, especially chapters Fourteen and Fifteen), but here discussion of Hardy’s fiction is conspicuously absent.

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90 Andrew Hewitt, ‘The Castaways of Egdon Heath: The Return of the Native as “Island Narrative”’, Thomas Hardy Journal, 30 (2014), 102-20 (pp. 102, 112).
92 Reid, Hardy and History, pp. 126-28.
The repeated occlusion of overseas margins across Hardy’s prose and failure to analyse the way travel and emigration connect in material ways to the colonial programme are contested in my project. The materialist perspectives offered by the dissenting postcolonial scholar Benita Parry heavily inform my research. Despite this study’s broad refutation of her concept of the ‘national imperial identity’, it nevertheless endorses Parry’s persuasive objections to conflated forms of oppression. Parry confronts ‘allegorical strategies’ that create congruence or equivalence between gender, class and colonial oppressions. Her argument is that in their reading of affinities between colonial and metropolitan conditions or by enunciating metropolitan power relations in ‘abolitionist’ or ‘anti-colonialist’ vocabulary, critics have failed in many cases to ‘open the imperial project to ethical scrutiny’. Here is Parry: ‘those who seek to install parity between the egregious oppressions legitimated by a politics of empire […] are committing a category error by linking two distinct social realities’. To support her point, Parry combs through accounts of metropolitan writers of the colonial era – among them the Brontës, Austen, Stoker and Wells – in order to demonstrate and protest the flattening effects of these kinds of reductionism. In order to subject the imperial project to ethical scrutiny, Parry says there needs to be greater sensitivity to different specificities of oppression and a more robust critical recognition that the different classes in Victorian Britain contributed in various ways to imperial politics. These two important aspects, Parry insists, have the capacity to shock the reader into a renewed and troubled awareness of the violations of empire.

My study, which takes a cultural materialist approach, heeds Parry’s points. It endorses Parry’s claim that in order to acknowledge the ways in which works of fiction might develop an awareness of and also trouble the politics of empire, we should not subject class and colonial oppressions to confluations or ‘unsecured metaphorical linkages’. It also follows a point Gauri Viswanathan considers Raymond Williams to have made in The Country and the City, which is that ‘colonial territory does not function merely as an analogous term to country’. As Viswanathan adds, ‘Williams takes great care to stress that the relation of the metropolis to the country, on the one hand, and its relation to the colonies, on the other, cannot be understood as interchangeable.’ Williams, as Viswanathan expounds, recognises that

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93 Parry, p. 112.
94 Parry, p. 110.
95 Parry, p. 110.
96 Parry, p. 110 (Parry’s emphasis).
the ‘sociology of empire building’ is predicated on the ‘reciprocal relation of the colonies to British domestic difficulties’.  

It is for reasons supplied by Parry and Viswanathan that both the centrifugal and the centripetal impacts of imperialism are central to this study. In this way, the dynamics of colonial expansion and dispossession (the centrifugal impacts) can be shown to depend, in large measure, on imperialism’s intrusion into domestic politics (via centripetal impacts). For example, as Chapter Two maintains, architectural development in India designed to control native uprising (the centrifugal impacts) were based historically on new recruitment strategies within the British Raj proposing to include the working classes within its project of oppression (the centripetal impacts) but, as I will show, also introducing en route new forms of class alienation. This methodology exposes the interlocked (as opposed to the allegorical) nature of the oppressions of race, class and gender within Britain’s global project. It also qualifies the kinds of work that fall within the remit of this study. Although references to, or reminders of, the empire and overseas travel exist in many of Hardy’s prose works, the texts selected for appraisal in this study necessarily combine both trajectories of imperial influence. On the one hand, travel abroad in selected texts includes destinations under official colonial rule (for example, India), or under less formal kinds of imperial influence (for example, the African interior and Brazil), or within regions still beholden to the Crown despite forms of self-government (for example, Australia, Canada and New Zealand). On the other hand, overseas relocations selected for scrutiny in this project must also have direct consequences for plot development.

Hardy’s prose works (1871-1897) are concentrated at the apex of colonial expansion and, as this project argues, register the ‘centrality of change, and the complications of change’ associated not only with education and modernisation, as Williams has pointed out, but also with British global expansion.  

As such, important articles by Ralph Pite, Penny Boumelha and Angelique Richardson, in which the global dimensions of Hardy’s Wessex are stressed, inspire and inform this thesis.

97 Guari Viswanathan, ‘Raymond Williams and British Colonialism’, in Cultural Materialism: On Raymond Williams, ed. by Christopher Prendergast (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), pp. 188-210 (pp. 192-93; original emphasis).
98 R. Williams, pp. 197-214 (p. 197)
also acknowledge important work undertaken in recent years to survey Hardy’s global readership, reception, translators and networks both in the ‘Hardy Abroad’ series in the *Hardy Review* and in a special issue, titled ‘Hardy: Diverse Audiences’, in *Literature Compass*. Critical enquiries into the ‘disturbing cultural possibilities’ presented in chronicles of return migration in Hardy’s work likewise influence my research, especially the chapter on emigration to the settler regions. Finally, my study draws strength from significant efforts to wrestle with imperial themes in Hardy’s poetry, particularly his war poems. The following pages introduce innovation by attending to both the colonial and class dimensions of global migrations in Hardy’s fiction.

The core chapters examine the particular linkages between empire and the tripartite class structure (upper, middle and lower) that became ‘progressively stabilised’ in Britain following the industrial and agricultural revolutions. Each chapter pivots around the imperial aspirations, interests, predicaments and perils of a different representative class within this schema. My research demonstrates that each of the classes can be identified with a different imperial frontier in Hardy’s fiction. Thus, in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, discussed in Chapter Two, the lower middle classes move to India in order to achieve social mobility and secure independent practice. In *Two on a Tower*, considered in Chapter Three, the upper classes, namely landed gentry, move to the African frontier in order to hunt big game and to pursue fame and quick fortune. In many novels and short stories of the late fiction, evaluated in Chapter Four, the rural working classes emigrate to the settler regions of the empire, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Brazil.


103 Roger Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, in *Palgrave Advances in Thomas Hardy Studies* (see Whitehead, ‘Hardy and Englishness’, above), pp. 111-34 (p. 111). Ebbatson acknowledges the somewhat crude nature of this division but rightly argues that behind this model, whether entirely valid or not, lies a vigorously politicised social order in the nineteenth century.
In addition, this study shows that these altered correlations between class and frontier can be identified with changes in Hardy’s own status and location. Indeed, the core chapters correspond, in order, to Hardy’s first phase of formal work (1862-1874), his second period of prose output (1875-1882) and his final years of prose output (1883-1897). The link between the lower middle classes and India in the early fiction, for example, comes at a time in which the author himself was battling tirelessly to secure an independent middle-class income. This can be seen in his perilous fluctuation between architecture and letters during the early instalments of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. Among the aims of the first core chapter is to demonstrate how this period of career uncertainty coincides with biographical moments dating back to the late 1850s and early 1860s, in which a similar wavering between a number of training and employment possibilities feature prominently. This connection between present and past events, it will be shown, accounts for the presence of the Indian periphery in the early fiction.

The nexus between the upper classes and Africa surfaces at the end of a decade characterised by Hardy’s energetic pursuit of ‘fashionable’ society and London drawing rooms. This ambition was pursued initially under the conviction that the reading public would come to expect Hardy’s writings to explore ‘fashionable’ society after the mainly pastoral *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874). When *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876), a tale centred in part on London drawing rooms, failed to meet those perceived public expectations and to repeat the popularity of *Madding Crowd*, Hardy needed to make even more determined efforts to court London publishers and high society in order to prevent an irreversible down-spiral in his writing career. This was because, as Ebbatson notes, the publishing market was competitive, changeable and precarious.\textsuperscript{104} For a writer who had given up architecture and had to live by his pen, it was essential to keep publishers and readers interested. The end of this phase of more strenuous efforts to make an imprint on ‘fashionable’ society and literary culture culminated in the serialisation of *Two on a Tower*, the last of the novels to be written before Hardy’s permanent relocation to his hometown Dorchester. The weaving of plot around the exploits of landed gentry within the African interior may be seen as the only work to reflect the impacts of Hardy’s more determined pursuit of ‘fashionable’ material upon colonial travel in the fiction. *Two

\textsuperscript{104} Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, p. 115.
on a Tower also evinces – to a greater degree than do other works considered in this study – colonial travel’s most stubborn grip on plot development.

The perceptible shift to the special links between rural labour and the settler frontiers of the empire in the late fiction takes place after Hardy’s relocation to his hometown Dorchester and return to ‘the material he best knew’.\textsuperscript{105} The recovery of this material, regional in emphasis and inspired by local history, was made possible through the financial security that accrued to Hardy from slow but steady profits made on \textit{Madding Crowd}, published nearly a decade earlier. This gain empowered Hardy to move away from London, to make plans for a permanent home near his hometown Dorchester and, especially in the 1890s, ‘to say his say without literary or social compromise’.\textsuperscript{106} The radical focus on rural emigration and, frequently, its origins in poverty, political dissidence or expression as convulsive potential in the late fiction, is, rather ironically, indivisible from the author’s own enlarged material security and consequent revolt against publishing conventions. It is doubly ironic that during this final phase, with Hardy’s slackening (if not completely renounced) interest in London and change of imperial focus arrived the kind of acclaim that facilitated Hardy’s impersonal and politically dissenting connections with Britain’s colonial aristocracy.

Despite the changing emphasis on social class and imperial frontier during each of the three core phases (early, middle and late) in Hardy’s prose years and a clear preoccupation with both elite and labour frontiers across those phases, the kind of critique that emerges throughout is working-class in orientation. In other words, irrespective of the author’s social mobility and handling of different imperial frontiers, all works ultimately challenge in some way the use of empire in order to oppress or deracinate class and gender. This critique, which underpins all chronicles of imperial migration, opposes the way in which the imperial participation of social elites serves to displace dependents and members of the working classes at home. It also objects to the domestic elite’s habits of initiating or otherwise incentivising the relocation of the working classes and other social undesirables to imperial spheres. Out of this principal commentary emerge, as Chapter Three on African adventure records, other vital working-class critiques that ultimately affirm and humanise native colonial cultures and practices.

\textsuperscript{105} Millgate, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{106} Millgate, p. 276.
Although the principal riposte to multiple forms of class and gender exploitation of empire is shown to be consistent across the fiction, the nature of that response changes from period to period. In the early fiction, the critique of class oppression is communicated in mostly private, but nevertheless deeply subversive, forms of biographical appropriation and transposition. In the middle fiction, the expression of dissent is more overt and accessible to readers because the critique is communicated more consistently, often stridently, in the direct speech of those who are negatively affected by imperial travel. The imperial commentary in Hardy’s late fiction builds on the pattern of articulated critique in direct speech in the middle fiction but heightens the disruptive possibilities attendant on these communications by firmly embedding the dissenting utterances within public spaces. Also in the late fiction, modes of dissent are shown to be more radical because they are more political or collective in nature, or, particularly in the closing works, give scope for perilous reprisals against the abuses of imperial oppression.

In sum, the thesis makes the case for approaching Hardy’s prose works as major sources of late nineteenth-century imperial dissent. It aims to correct a widespread misconception within postcolonial studies that a harmonious ‘national imperial identity’ existed in late nineteenth-century Britain. It does this by recuperating a politics of resistance in Hardy’s fiction to the alienation of British labour and gender within the imperial programme. My work also aims to extend and augment Hardy studies of imperialism by focusing on the presence of overseas margins within the fiction and identifying there a politics of colonial entanglement based on uneven access to, and participation within, the empire.
2

INDIA, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CAPITAL FLOWS IN THE EARLY FICTION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reflects on middle-class links with the empire via a historical, biographical and literary critical analysis of references to India in Hardy’s *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873) and ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’ (1874). Both novel and short story work to expose and destabilise bourgeois ideas of imperial prosperity and social mobility that were popular in the 1860s and 1870s. The empire, as historians such as Andrew Thompson have argued, was far from being a powerful reminder to the British people of the things they held in common.\(^1\) Hardy’s fiction provides evidence for Thompson’s argument that empire was, in fact, experienced very differently (and often critically) by different social groups. The novel and short story examined in this chapter detail the alienating effects upon members of the provincial working classes of new imperial recruitment strategies that were developed in the second part of the nineteenth century as part of Britain’s renewed efforts to tighten its control over India, especially in the wake of the ‘Mutiny’ of 1857. Not only people and classes, but also objects, commodities, materials and communications move across the empire in these texts in often circuitous but always mappable and extremely telling ways. These texts therefore show that social division rather than national unity characterised Britain’s relationship with its empire, not least by highlighting profound inequalities of movement and access to people and commodities across imperial locations.

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), Stephen Smith, an architect’s assistant, goes away to India ‘to prepare drawings for work formerly done by the engineers’.\(^2\) In Hardy’s short story ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’ (1874), Oswald Winwood, a bright pupil of rural origins looks forward to a glowing future in India, in his case after taking a competitive examination. Both protagonists gain fame and fortune through their respective occupations in India. Stephen earns local recognition for his many architectural designs, including ‘a large palace, cathedral, hospitals, colleges, halls, fortifications’ (p. 346). Winwood’s contributions to the Indian Civil Service

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1 Andrew Thompson’s *Empire Strikes Back* (see Chapter One) is devoted to exploring different social conceptions of, and types of contact with, the British Empire from the mid nineteenth-century.

2 Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, ed. by Pamela Dalziel (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 130. Subsequent references to this novel will be noted parenthetically in-text.
(henceforward ICS) include local reports about ‘some translation from Hindostani that he’d been making’.³

Historically, both figures, the architect’s assistant and Indian civil servant, contributed to Britain’s revitalised attempts to tighten its grasp on India after the ‘Mutiny’ in 1857. Turning away from ‘the dangerous and hostile territory of cultural and social change’ before the Indian uprising, Britain’s renewed efforts towards ‘reform’ were now ostensibly concentrated on ‘enhancing’ the material welfare of the Indian people. As Bernard Porter avows, Victorians were far more ‘competent’ in the field of material improvement since it ‘required rather less of that quality of imaginative sympathy which they conspicuously lacked’.⁴

Engineers working in India (these would have included architects and surveyors) such as Stephen Smith became involved in projects ranging from the construction of railways and roads, irrigation works, the extension of telegraphic and postal services, the provision of sanitation and lighting, and bridge and dam building.⁵ Supervising such projects and other material ‘reforms’ would have been members of the ICS such as Oswald Winwood.⁶ Historically, the recruitment of Indian civil servants via open competition was intended to serve the Raj’s new post-‘Mutiny’ policies of good government and administration.

Under the guise of welfare provision, these kinds of imperial projects directly served British economic interests and often destroyed native economies, enterprise and environments.⁷ In A Pair of Blue Eyes, the economic interests vested in the drive to material reform are summarised by the narrator as

that exceptional heyday of prosperity which shone over Bombay about ten years ago […]. Building and engineering partook of the general impetus. Speculation moved with an accelerated velocity every successive day, the only disagreeable contingency connected with it being the possibility of a capsize. (p. 137)

The narrator reflects critically on the profit-driven energies of British colonialism and

³ Thomas Hardy, ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, in ECS, pp. 30-51 (p. 39). Subsequent references to this short story will be noted parenthetically in-text.
⁴ Porter (see Chapter One), p. 51.
⁶ A. Thompson, p. 23; Porter, p. 213.
capitalism by remarking on the unsustainable qualities of development under Britain’s rule and by communicating the possibility of ‘capsize’. It is significant that the nautical term ‘capsize’ was changed in later editions to ‘collapse’ since the latter designates more precisely and evocatively the collapse of economies and markets, and also of infrastructure. In this sense, it anticipates the physical collapse of renovations at the construction site in West Endelstow church later in the story. Both India and West Endelstow, this chapter will show in greater detail, are targets of the cruel reach of global capitalism.

The drive to material ‘reform’ in India likewise served British political interests. The role played by engineers in the construction of railways and roads helped facilitate the swift transportation of troops and munitions, whilst their development of networks of communication immensely strengthened Britain’s grasp on India.\(^8\) Indian civil servants likewise contributed to Britain’s tightening colonial grasp: they not only presided over development projects, but also enforced law and order with a view to thwarting forms of protest organised by Indian nationalists.\(^9\)

Always remaining abreast of current affairs, Hardy, as his Literary Notebooks indicates, read about major imperial events such as the Indian uprising, for example.\(^10\) It is little surprise, then, that his fiction should record knowledge, however minimal, of Britain’s centrifugal activities within its colonies. However, selected texts in Hardy’s prose oeuvre register, perhaps more pointedly, the centripetal impacts that empire had on different social classes within metropolitan society. These impacts, in turn, influenced different social conceptions of, and links with, the empire.

This chapter, devoted to Hardy’s early fiction (up to 1874), argues that new principles of open competition within Britain and the Raj turn India into a site to which the working classes attach hopes for upward mobility based on principles of meritocracy. Thompson calls this particular social ideology the ‘empire of merit’, additionally stressing that while labour and elites in imperial Britain for the most part experienced, imagined and appropriated empire in vastly dissimilar ways,

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\(^8\) Porter, p. 52. In The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856-1877 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984), Veena Talwar Oldenburg offers a damning indictment of Britain’s radical infrastructural changes to Lucknow for the quick suppression of uprisings. The parallels between the types of urban demolition that took place in Lucknow and those that were implemented in Paris, also in the 1860s, and with a view to controlling rebellion, are worth noting. The Communards’ uprising in 1871 was quickly crushed as a result of the Haussmannisation of Paris (see David P. Jordan, ‘Haussmann and Haussmannisation: The Legacy for Paris’, French Historical Studies, 27.1 (2004), 87-113).

\(^9\) Porter, p. 213.

\(^10\) LN, I, 12, 254.
occasionally, their interests converged. Particularly in the 1860s until the early 1870s, notes Thompson, India became ‘a forcing house for the principle of meritocracy and open competition’ both for Britain’s professional elite and artisanal working classes.

Thompson’s insights into ideologies of imperial meritocracy are inflected in both of Hardy’s tales. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, Stephen’s incentive for going to India follows class obstacles to marriage. The son of a stonemason and a dairymaid, Stephen is deemed unworthy of Elfride Swancourt, the parish vicar’s daughter. His decision to take the commission in India is considered a fast track to an income, a name and independent practice. This path to professional merit and prosperity is taken with the hope of eventually securing Elfride’s hand in marriage. His income in India is set initially at £400 a year. By the end of the tale he returns wealthy and professionally independent. India opens up opportunities to the architect’s assistant for an enlarged income, mobility and for independent practice: opportunities that are not as readily available to him within national spaces. Pamela Dalziel, for example, notes that Stephen’s income in India would have been ‘a solid middle-class income, nearly four times greater than Hardy’s salary when he began working [as an architect’s assistant] for the London architect Arthur Blomfield in 1862’.

Oswald Winwood’s career in ‘Destiny’ likewise reflects the prevalence of ideologies of imperial meritocracy within metropolitan society. Through open competition exams, Winwood benefits from opportunities for social advancement through the Crown’s introduction of a new ‘professional view of governance’ in India. As Winwood remarks ‘with ardour’: ‘Thanks to Macaulay, of honoured memory, I have as good a chance as the best of them! […] What a great thing competitive examination is’ (p. 34). The introduction of open competition examinations under the Raj conformed to new principles of professional governance based on the notion, as Thompson remarks, that ‘authority was acquired and exercised by men trained to rule’. In practice, however, the Raj never quite rid itself of

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11 A. Thompson, pp. 11, 17-29.
12 A. Thompson, pp. 20, 41.
13 Editor’s note in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (Penguin edn), p. 408.
14 Winwood is referring to the India Bill introduced by Sir Charles Wood in 1853, a Bill supported by Macaulay and which embodied clauses originally introduced by him in 1833 for the opening of appointments to competition (‘Destiny: Explanatory Notes’, in *ECS*, p. 372).
aristocratic forms of governance, where ‘authority was hereditary and exercised by men born to rule’.  

The prestige of Winwood’s post in the ICS is represented in an annual income of ‘eleven hundred a year’ (nearly three times Stephen’s income as an architect’s assistant) and, as the locals observe, in his becoming ‘a rising and aristocratic young man’ (pp. 40, 41). But as the disparities in Winwood’s and Stephen’s incomes indicate, class hierarchies were still maintained at the level of imperial governance despite the introduction of new forms of imperial development that recruited the energy and expertise of Britain’s lower middle classes. The way in which new systems of imperial development and governance based on merit might initiate new forms of social exclusion is confirmed at the end of Winwood’s speech in praise of competitive exams: ‘it will put good men in good places, and make inferior men move lower down’ (p. 34). Despite his conception of India as a path to social mobility, Winwood departs from England with a commitment eventually to return – as Stephen does in his promise to Elfride – and marry the niece and dependent of a penniless miller.

This chapter focuses on lower middle-class conceptions of India as a ‘forcing house for Indian meritocracy’ and pinpoints both covert and overt forms of critique of this imperial ideology. Covert forms of critique express themselves in subversive biographical transpositions of the architect’s and Indian civil servant’s destinies. Here, it is important to note that the careers in India of two members hailing from the lower middle classes are marked as much by losses as by successes. The private critique of imperial meritocracy emerges in the transposition of these losses and successes across the two tales. It will be shown that the colonial successes of the Indian civil servant with whom Hardy was connected in life are appropriated in the late instalments of A Pair of Blue Eyes to boost the career of the architect’s assistant. By contrast, the artisan’s loss of his metropolitan Intended in the early instalments of A Pair of Blue Eyes is converted into the Indian civil servant’s misfortune in ‘Destiny’.

Here, the strong biographical emphasis of the chapter becomes key to understanding this dynamic of displacement and recovery. Through a consideration of biography, one observes how principles of widening participation, at work within Britain and in relation to its expanding empire, are reinvented in Hardy’s two tales in

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15 A. Thompson, p. 10.
order to rebut Winwood’s definition of the ‘empire of merit’. This reinvention is apparent in the positioning of ‘inferior’ men in ‘good places’ and the pushing of ‘good’ men ‘lower down’ (cf. ‘Destiny’, p. 34). The biographical emphasis of this chapter makes the case for reading the swapping of fortunes as a significant literary response to the perils of upward mobility known to Hardy in the early years of his working life. To this end, Hardy’s complex relationship with his tutor and mentor, Horace Moule, during his first decade of work cements the link between biography and fiction. Sigmund Freud’s ‘screen memory’ (1899) becomes a theoretical concept through which to conceptualise the subversive and private use of biographical detail in fictional references to India.\footnote{‘Screen Memories’ is part of a collection of thematically linked essays by the same author: Sigmund Freud, The Uncanny, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003).}

More overt forms of dissent in relation to middle-class conceptions of empire emerge in sharp narratorial critiques in A Pair of Blue Eyes of related middle-class hypocrisy and of dogmas of self-help based on pure economic individualism. Other kinds of open riposte are recorded in the exposure of fallacies of liberated forms of trade and exchange within mid-nineteenth-century doctrines of ‘free’ trade. This is highlighted in perceptible asymmetries of movement of people and ‘things’ across imperial circuits in A Pair of Blue Eyes and in the alienation of labour. Drawing on Franco Moretti’s ‘map’ to demonstrate these inequalities of movement, the chapter shows how these critical responses flow out of the early fiction’s broad concern to undermine middle-class ideologies of imperial social mobility and prosperity.\footnote{Franco Moretti, Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History (London: Verso, 2005).}

\subsection*{2.2. Biography, India, Social Mobility}

The autobiographical Life and Work indicates that, for the young Hardy, ‘[t]he years 1872 and 1873 were pre-eminently years of unexpectedness’.\footnote{LW, p. 89. Sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.5 and 2.6 of this chapter are heavily based on an article published as Rena Jackson, “‘Years of Unexpectedness’: India and Social Mobility in Hardy’s Early Fiction”, Thomas Hardy Journal, 30 (2014), 121-43.} Hardy scholars have recently recognised that at the time of writing A Pair of Blue Eyes (1872-3), Hardy was experiencing the ‘constraints of economic necessity’ through professional uncertainty as well as dealing with the rejection of a marriage proposal on the grounds
of his low birth. A survey of the first decade or so of Hardy’s early adult years and up to events in 1872 indicates that the stresses of social mobility were a matter of course for the younger Hardy. What has not been considered so far in biographical coverage of these circumstances is the way that empire, specifically India, intruded upon Hardy’s life at some of the most fraught moments of this early struggle into a secure income and practice.

In the following predominantly biographical account, I define and connect two imperial moments, each culminating in the travel to India of people with whom Hardy was on close terms personally and professionally, with events in 1872 when Hardy was facing some of the employment and marriage setbacks already identified in recent studies. The presence of India in the fiction, this and the following sections argue, is informed by links with persons known to Hardy who had migrated to India a decade earlier. In and of themselves, however, these biographical chronicles of migration do not account for the introduction of migrations to India in the tales. Instead, it will be shown, the driving force behind the introduction of India into the fiction is the author’s renewed connection in 1872 with his former tutor Horace Moule and revitalised feelings of resentment towards him later that same year.

I start, then, with the two imperial moments that date back to the early 1860s. The first imperial moment connects starkly with an earlier and critically recognised episode in Hardy’s transition years to adulthood around the turn of the 1860s. Both incidents were to stand out for Hardy many years later. The earlier of these relates to the disappointment Hardy had known in his plans to pursue a university education. His ambitions to that effect had been sparked by Horace Moule’s lecture on ‘Oxford and the Middle Class Examinations’, delivered before the local Working Men’s Mutual Improvement Society on 15 November 1858. Moule explained that a new scheme was being introduced whereby the Oxford examination would no longer be linked to criteria of residence. ‘The advantages of Oxford, before this new scheme was set on foot, were only for the class who could afford to send their sons into

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residence.’

The new scheme would enable high-achieving students from the working public to undertake the Oxford examination at the local level.

Despite the long hours of study with intention to take this exam, Hardy was finally urged to abandon his plans. Moule, himself a talented Cambridge scholar from a respectable family of clergy in Dorchester, who took to mentoring Hardy in the late 1850s, advised his mentee against taking the exam. With less time and fewer financial resources at his disposal, Hardy was encouraged to settle for the small security of an architectural career. Confronted with a sense of his own inadequacy, Hardy made no attempt to publish either the poems or essays he claims to have written in 1858 and 1859. The writer also remarked decades later that if Moule’s opinion had been the contrary one, ‘[t]he upshot might have been his abandonment of architecture for a University career.’

The opportunity to advance through competitive examination was notably open to other able young men of modest middle-class backgrounds in ways that were not to the architect apprentice. Moule had spurred Hardy’s peer and rival, Hooper Tolbort – who had both time and resources – on to spectacular success at the local Oxford Examination in 1859. Under Moule’s guidance, Tolbort, the son of a Dorchester ironmonger, glazier and plumber, who in 1845 became the stepson of John Masters Hossey, came first not only in the Oxford Middle Class (or Local) Examinations of 1859, but also, three years later, in the competitive examinations for entry into the ICS.

The first incursion of India into Hardy’s early career, Tolbort’s spectacular success at the ICS examinations, was one that Hardy would remember clearly over twenty years later. In Tolbort’s obituary (1883), Hardy recorded that when Tolbort passed his examination, Moule ‘produced a copy of the Times, where our friend’s name stood at the head of the list, followed by 200 of lower rank’.

The prodigy took yet another set of ICS exams in England a year later, coming first, and in 1864 passed his examination at Calcutta in Hindi and Persian, thereby obtaining his appointment to

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20 ‘Oxford and the Middle Class Examinations’, Dorset County Chronicle and Somersetshire Gazette, 18 November 1858, p. 303.
21 ‘Oxford and the Middle Class Examinations’, p. 303; Millgate, p. 67.
22 Millgate, pp. 69-70.
23 LW, p. 38.
24 Millgate, p. 69.
25 Hardy, ‘The Late Mr. T. W. H. Tolbort, B.C.S.’, in PV, pp. 57-60 (pp. 58-59).
the magisterial court at Benares. From there he ultimately rose to the ranks of Deputy Commissioner of Umballa in the Bengal Civil Service.

The second intrusion of India into Hardy’s experiences is not explicitly mentioned in Hardy’s writings and is not as heavily charged with personal significance. However, it serves to highlight the kind of technical information that it in all likelihood supplied Hardy when he wrote about Stephen Smith’s architectural stint in India in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. In addition, the person chiefly associated with this moment exerted considerable pressure on Hardy in the summer of 1872 to take up what was finally looking like a promising future in architecture.

The person under discussion, Hardy’s architect employer in 1872, Professor Thomas Roger Smith, had travelled to India in 1864, the same year Tolbort had migrated. An entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* describes Professor Smith’s travels to India following an appointment to prepare the design for the exhibition buildings in Bombay. Though the planned buildings were in the end abandoned due to the cotton famine, Smith was nonetheless responsible for several other successful designs, including the post office and British Hospital at Bombay and the residency at Gunersh Kind. Professor Smith was already practising independently in 1855 and by the time he was commissioned to build designs in India had served as president of the Architectural Association in 1860-1861 and in 1863-1864. But according to J. Mordaunt Crook, Smith ‘had made his name in India’ by bringing ‘Ruskinian rundbogenstil’ to Bombay: Smith’s mixing up of ‘Italian Renaissance and Italian Gothic’ architectural forms. Professor Smith was apparently of the opinion that ‘[w]e ought, like the Romans and Mohammedans, to take our national style with us’. However, uncertainty over what exactly comprised English style, coupled with the recognition that ‘English Decorated Gothic’ would not be suitable to the climate of

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27 Millgate, p. 223; Hardy, ‘Tolbort’, p. 58. According to A. Thompson, members of the petite bourgeoisie accounted for a fifth to a quarter of successful candidates from the 1860s until the early 1870s, when the Indian examination increasingly became a rich man’s prerogative (A. Thompson, p.41).
28 I am grateful to Jonathan Memel for pointing out Professor Smith’s link to India in communications following on from the Thomas Hardy International Conference and Festival in Dorchester 2014.
India, resulted in an eclectic style of architecture – rundbogenstil – that would be ‘suitable for industrial work’.  

The stories of two individuals who had made a name for themselves in India, Professor Smith and Hooper Tolbort, inform the successful career fortunes of Stephen Smith in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and Oswald Winwood in ‘Destiny’. In ‘Destiny’, it is clear that Tolbort is to a large extent reflected in the character of Winwood. In ‘Destiny’, the report in the *Times*, in which Winwood’s unparalleled success at the competitive examination in London is announced, is based on Hardy’s experience of reading about Tolbort’s ICS exam successes:

In the middle of the sheet, in the most conspicuous place, in the excellent neighbourhood of the leading articles, was a list of names, and the first on the list was Oswald Winwood. Attached to his name, as showing where he was educated, was the simple title of some obscure little academy, while underneath came public school and college men in shoals. (p. 35)

In the earlier *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, Stephen Smith follows the career course of his namesake, Hardy’s architect employer T. Roger Smith. At the same time, Stephen Smith’s character combines something of both Hardy’s and Professor Smith’s situations. Professor Smith, as previously noted, was already an independent and well-established architect when he was commissioned to do work in India. Smith in Hardy’s tale, on the other hand, travels as an architect’s assistant, Hardy’s own occupation at the time of writing. Here, Stephen’s occupation in India also invokes the story of Hardy’s fellow-apprentice, Henry Bastow, who arrived in Tasmania early 1861 and practised as an architect’s assistant for a number of years before becoming Victoria’s Departmental Architect and Surveyor in the State Schools Division in 1873. In this capacity, Bastow designed and built hundreds of schools in neo-gothic style under government initiatives to reform white education in Victoria.  

However, Hardy, Professor Smith and Bastow’s stories are not the only ones variously merged in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. In a recent short biography of Hardy, Tim Dolin posits but does not dwell at length on the idea that Stephen Smith ‘is a curious

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30 Crook (see Chapter One), p. 560. In 1907, Hardy wrote to the historian of India, George Forrest, to say, ‘I think we in England have much to learn in the development of a new style of architecture— which architects say they hope to produce—from Indian examples’ (Hardy to George Forrest, 10 August 1907, in CL, III, 168; cited in Richardson, ‘A Global Hardy’ (see Chapter One), p. 125).

31 This much has been recognised by other Hardy scholars: Pamela Dalziel, ‘“Destiny and a Blue Cloak”: Introduction’, in ECS, pp. 24-29 (p. 24); Millgate, p. 69.

32 Gittings, p. 55; Millgate, p. 64; ‘Bastow Legacy Part 2’ (see Chapter One).
composite portrait of elements of Tolbort and Hardy’.\textsuperscript{33} This chapter supports Dolin’s reading. It would seem that Hardy had Tolbort in mind from the very early pages of \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes}. For example, details from Tolbort’s younger days are joined to Hardy’s own for a history of Stephen’s youth. Stephen tells Elfride that when he was nine he

went to live with my uncle, a blacksmith, near Casterbridge, in order to be able to attend a national school as a day scholar; there was none in this remote part then. It was there I met with my friend Knight. And when I was fifteen and had been fairly educated by the schoolmaster – and more particularly by Knight – I was put as a pupil in an architect’s office in that town, because I was skilful in the use of the pencil. (p. 76)

Two key facts here bear closer affinity to Tolbort’s situation: residence with an uncle and simultaneous supervision from a schoolmaster and a personal mentor. Dalziel notes that Hardy seemed not to have had a blacksmith uncle, even though he attended the National School in Lower Bockhampton and was a day scholar at Isaac Last’s Academy in ‘Casterbridge’ (historic Dorchester).\textsuperscript{34} Tolbort, however, was ‘apprenticed with his uncle, Mr Froud’, a chemist and druggist, after receiving ‘his general education at the Rev. W. Barnes’ school in South-street [Dorchester]’.\textsuperscript{35} As for Stephen Smith’s school tuition, Hardy, it seems, did not receive simultaneous supervision from Isaac Last and Horace Moule prior to his apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{36} Tolbort, though, was ‘so effectively encouraged by Horace Moule and by William Barnes’ that he took first place both at the Oxford Middle Class Examinations and at examinations for entry into the ICS.\textsuperscript{37} The borrowing of details at this early point in the tale are, at the very least, a way of disguising some of the biographical aspects of Hardy’s own upbringing. At most, they are early signs of mildly subversive transpositions, in which Tolbort’s skills and mobility potential are stealthily demoted.

It seems that Hardy also drew on Tolbort’s intellectual powers for his picture of Stephen. The reader finds out that Stephen’s ‘brain had extraordinary receptive power, and not an atom of creativeness. Quickly acquiring any knowledge he saw

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{33} Tim Dolin, \textit{Thomas Hardy} (London: Haus Publishing, 2008), p. 27.
\item\textsuperscript{34} Editor’s note in \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes} (Penguin edn), p. 403. In the manuscript and in \textit{Tinsleys’ Magazine}, ‘Casterbridge’ was originally ‘Exeter’. In 1895, Hardy altered ‘Casterbridge’ to ‘Exonbury’, a reinstatement of ‘Exeter’, as Dalziel suggests, in ‘Wessex’ disguise. In 1912, ‘builder’ replaced ‘blacksmith’.
\item\textsuperscript{35} Hardy, ‘Tolbort’, p. 58.
\item\textsuperscript{36} The earliest that is known of Hardy and Moule’s connection is that they were ‘on close terms at least as early as 1857’ (Millgate, p. 66). By that point, Hardy was already a pupil with the architect Hicks.
\item\textsuperscript{37} Millgate, p. 69.
\end{itemize}
around him [...]. He had not an original idea’ (p. 94).\textsuperscript{38} In Tolbort’s obituary, Hardy wrote that Tolbort was ‘a sort of universalist in knowledge [...]. But his genius, as far as it showed itself, was receptive rather than productive, though there is reason to suppose that had his life been longer spared he would have given to the world in his maturer years much valuable original work’.\textsuperscript{39} The cutting view of Stephen’s genius in \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes} (notably softened in Tolbort’s obituary notice) reveals Hardy’s resentment towards his fellow learner of yesteryear.

Insofar as he accrues impressive colonial achievements, Stephen Smith is also a ‘composite character’ of both Professor Smith and Hooper Tolbort. Stephen Smith’s spectacular architectural successes in India are reported in glowing terms, much in the way that Tolbort’s own sensational ICS successes were represented in the local papers and as Professor Smith’s have been recorded in architectural history.\textsuperscript{40}

Despite feats of social mobility recounted in Hardy’s tales, both stories include marriages thwarted through the undermining presence of rivals. In order to grasp fully the coexistence of material gain alongside romantic loss within the context of migrations to India, it is necessary to recall Hardy’s renewed ties with Horace Moule in the early months of 1872 and Moule’s eventual review of \textit{Under the Greenwood Tree} in September of the same year. These two incidents have not been given sufficient coverage in biographies of Hardy. Their significance will be contextualised within debates already identified at the start of this section alluding to the ‘constraints of economic necessity’ through professional uncertainty as well as the rejection of a marriage proposal on the grounds of Hardy’s low birth.\textsuperscript{41} These two events involving Horace Moule are scrutinised in the light of these other hardships because, as I will show in more detail in the next section, they influence the development of the India plot in the fourth instalment of \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes}.

By early 1872, Hardy had decided to give up his efforts to make headway as a writer in favour of his practice as an architect’s assistant. His many attempts to move

\textsuperscript{38} This criticism is softened in the 1877 edition, in which Stephen is said to have ‘no great creativeness’ and a few lines later ‘not many original ideas’ (editor’s note in \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes} (Penguin edn), p.405).

\textsuperscript{39} Hardy, ‘Tolbort’, p. 60; Dolin, \textit{Thomas Hardy}, pp. 26-27.


\textsuperscript{41} Dolin, ‘Introduction’, p. xvi; Mottram, p. 30.
up in the world since the early 1860s – variously with university, church and writing careers in mind – had met with disappointments and rejections, both real and perceived. It seems that Hardy had been inspired by Hooper Tolbort’s trail-blazing achievements but also repeatedly defeated in his intention to rival them. As Millgate comments, Hardy had sought ‘to make a mark for himself by sheer hard work and (like Hooper Tolbort) by success in open competitions’.42

Many of these energies were spent during Hardy’s years in London (1862-1867) when he was obliged to balance these other pursuits alongside his practice as an architect’s assistant. Millgate summarises the London years thus: ‘he [Hardy] was being pulled in so many directions by conflicting needs, ambitions, and fears, some of those moods of terrible depression’. Millgate additionally notes that Moule was elusive and ‘scarcely a reliable source of personal guidance’, and Hardy found himself constantly relying upon his own judgement and resources.43 In former years, Moule had exerted considerable power on Hardy’s intellect and literary ambitions and Hardy shared a ‘profound admiration and deep affection’ for him in return.44

The years 1867-1872, after Hardy chose to return from London to his native Dorset, saw his ongoing efforts to publish either rejected (as in the case of The Poor Man and the Lady), greeted with wariness (Desperate Remedies), or subject to such editorial misgivings as to lead Hardy to thrust aside his work (Under the Greenwood Tree). Hardy’s decision to settle on architecture in 1872 was in many ways the foregone conclusion to a long decade of failed ambitions. His thwarted endeavours to ‘make a mark for himself’ were diametrically opposite to Hooper Tolbort’s spectacular exam successes, rise to regional fame and many subsequent and widely reported promotions in the ICS.

In early 1872, his mind now settled on the need to devote his time exclusively to architecture, Hardy moved once again to the capital. Shortly after his move, Hardy ran into Moule, ‘whom he had not seen for a long time’, in the middle of a crossing by Trafalgar Square.45 A leader-writer for the Saturday Review at the pair’s meeting in 1872, Moule had also been a coach for the ICS competitive examinations in

42 Millgate, pp. 93, 77.
43 Millgate, p. 89.
45 LW, pp. 89-90.
London. At their meeting, Moule was apparently saddened to hear that Hardy ‘had thrown up authorship at last and for all’. He tried to dissuade Hardy from giving up writing altogether: should anything happen to Hardy’s eyes through architectural drawing, ‘literature would be a resource for him; he could dictate a book, article or poem, but not a geometrical design.’

The kind of sway that Moule held over many of his mentees can be seen in the after-effects that his career advice had on Hardy following their chance encounter. Hardy indicates that ‘Moule’s words were brought back to his mind one morning shortly after by his seeing, for the first time in his life, what seemed like floating specks on the white drawing paper before him’. Hardy was evidently sufficiently worried about his eyesight to obtain from Moule the name and address of an ophthalmic surgeon. As the reply letter from Moule exists independently of Hardy’s recollections in the Life and Work, it seems likely that Moule’s advice to Hardy near Trafalgar Square had had an impact on Hardy. Without Moule’s advice and Hardy’s subsequent sight scare, Hardy might have continued unhindered in his chosen architectural path. ‘Moule’s words on keeping a hand on the pen, and the specks in his eyes while drawing’ would urge Hardy to return to the idea of writing. Not long after this encounter Hardy agreed (albeit with a degree of indifference), following resumed communications with Tinsley, to recover the jettisoned manuscript of Greenwood Tree for publication. Two favourable reviews of this work, one in the Athenaeum, 15 June 1872, and another in the Pall Mall Gazette, 5 July 1872, prompted Tinsley to write a note to Hardy, dated 9 July 1872, to say he would be glad to consider more work from him.

Moule’s advice, followed by an unexpected warm reception of Hardy’s recovered work (originally cast aside after unsatisfactory feedback from Macmillan) that would be rewarded in the offer of a contract for serialisation with Tinsley, would have injected new optimism into Hardy’s writing ambitions. But as Hardy was to

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46 Millgate, p. 118.
47 LW, p. 90.
48 LW, p. 89.
49 Millgate, p. 130. Millgate cites Moule’s letter to Hardy, 17 April 1872, in the Dorset County Museum (p. 564).
50 LW, p. 91.
51 See Hardy, The Personal Notebooks of Thomas Hardy, ed. by Richard H. Taylor (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 29 (see footnote 82). The Athenaeum review is reprinted in CH, pp. 9-11; for an account of the Pall Mall Gazette review, see Millgate, pp. 130, 564; for an account of Tinsley’s letter, see Millgate, pp. 131, 564. Notably, both reviews are positively recalled in LW, p. 91.
52 Millgate, p. 127.
learn quickly, there was still no solid guarantee of success at this stage or, indeed, the finances and credentials to opt for a career change that could guarantee a secure income. Hardy’s hopes for marrying Emma on the strength of the £200 promised for the serialisation of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* were greeted ‘with open contempt’, when Emma’s father, a retired solicitor, allegedly later wrote to Hardy as ‘a low-born churl who presumed to marry into my family’.  

This scorn heaped on Hardy’s class origins and the failure of the £200 to assure Emma’s father of revenue in future would have punctured some of Hardy’s revived hopes for meaningful income by the pen. These recurring doubts, it is here suggested, would have been ramped up with the close succession of two communications around the end of September of 1872. These are given some attention in the remaining part of this section because, as I will argue, they provide an even sharper sense of the kinds of personal and economic pressures Hardy was facing during the early months of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. The particular timing of these communications account, as the next section will argue in greater detail, for the introduction of Stephen’s migration to India in the fourth serial instalment.

The first communication near the end of September was from Hardy’s architect employer. Now under contract to write, Hardy’s work as an architect’s assistant had to take a back seat. What Hardy had not anticipated, however, were the architectural successes that were starting to accrue to him just as he opted to take some time off from architecture in order to write. Initially, a letter from his architect employer, Professor Smith, 10 August 1872 – while Hardy was still in the early stages of writing *A Pair of Blue Eyes* – informed Hardy that one of the school designs submitted to the Board School competitions at the end of July had been successful. At this point, Professor Smith told Hardy, who drew designs for the successful entry, that he would be glad to take him on again for a time.

The Life and Work heavily suggests the receipt of another letter from Professor Smith, just before 30 September, when Hardy submitted the third serial instalment of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. In it, Smith informs Hardy that ‘another of the six Board-school competitions for which Hardy had helped him to prepare designs had been successful, and suggesting that he [Hardy] had “been at grass” long enough, and would be welcomed back on any more liberal terms, if he felt dissatisfied’. Only at this point did Hardy fully divulge to

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53 Millgate, p. 131; Mottram, pp. 29, 30 (original emphasis).
54 Millgate, p. 134.
Professor Smith what he was up to (writing *A Pair of Blue Eyes*) and ultimately ‘severed to his great regret an extremely pleasant if short professional connection with an able and amiable man’, noting that ‘he [Hardy] would have given much’ had this architectural success ‘come sooner’.  

Whatever hopes now lay in the pen as a source of income would have been freshly assailed with Moule’s review of *Greenwood Tree* on 28 September 1872, this being the second communication near the end of September to be evaluated in this section. It would seem that Moule, towards whom Hardy felt a debt of gratitude for ‘influenc[ing] him in this harking back [to writing]’ had taken Hardy to task in his otherwise ‘long and appreciative’ review for allowing the country characters ‘to express themselves in the language of the author’s manner of thought, rather than in their own’. Millgate argues that this comment may have caused some annoyance to Hardy ‘in view of Moule’s background and of his own’. It is my contention that it is the close coincidence of this review with those recent career uncertainties and marriage obstacles enumerated above that would have given Hardy major cause for disappointment.

The leniency shown to chronology as well as the overall silence about Moule’s encounter with Hardy near Trafalgar Square in Millgate’s *Biography Revisited* means that the impacts of Moule’s review have been underestimated. In what remains of this section, I tie together biographical strands that signal, but do not confirm in absolute terms, Hardy’s renewed disappointment in Moule. It is only when set alongside findings associated with the serial history of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* that the biographical claims of this section receive fuller endorsement.

The neutral reference to Moule’s review in *Life and Work* does not make easy the task of recovering the nature of Hardy’s response to Moule’s review at the time. However, discontent and even animus can be inferred given the high degree of probability that Moule’s review followed shortly after Hardy’s final decline of Professor Smith’s offer to return to architecture and through which Hardy now had to rely completely on sales of *Greenwood Tree* and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as a source of income in the foreseeable future.

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55 *LW*, p. 94.  
56 *LW*, p. 91; Millgate, p. 130. The review appeared in the *Saturday Review* (repr. in CH, pp. 11-14). The *Athenaeum*’s review of *Greenwood Tree* notably expresses a milder critique than Moule’s of the author’s tendency ‘to make his characters […] speak too much like educated people’ (repr. in CH, p.10).  
57 Millgate, p. 130.
Several other biographical findings may combine to offer further support for reading Hardy’s displeasure with Moule’s review. Just before *Greenwood Tree* was due to appear in early June 1872, Hardy sent a special request to Tinsley to write a line to Moule stating that copies of the book had been sent out to reviewers. Hardy hints in this letter that Moule, rather than another member of staff at the *Saturday Review*, would review the book.\(^{58}\) It is possible to deduce from this letter that Hardy may have been counting on Moule to harness his reviewing powers to his advantage. Hardy’s reasons for enlisting Moule’s support in this case, besides the latter’s recent counsel to Hardy near Trafalgar to keep writing, would have been based on Moule’s previous public endorsement of his work in the presence of negative reviews of *Desperate Remedies*.\(^{59}\) Moule’s delayed review of *Greenwood Tree*, in this case more critical than the earlier reviews of the same novel in the *Athenaeum* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, would have presented Hardy with a dilemma. On the one hand, he could ignore the review but, in so doing, risk its exploitation in unfriendly hands. On the other, he might tactically handle this review, drawing on some of its positive points, to help at least maintain the appearance of friendly reception of his work.\(^{60}\)

Hardy’s letter to Tinsley four days after Moule’s review appeared might go some ways towards showing how Hardy resolved this dilemma. In his letter to Tinsley, Hardy states, ‘if you are going to advertise the Magazine to any extent whilst *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is going on, now would be the time—since some sentences from the notice of *Under the Greenwood Tree* in last week’s Saturday Review might be put close to the Advt of the Magazine—But of course you know best’.\(^{61}\) By calling upon Moule’s review to help promote sales of his work (via *Tinsley’s Magazine*), Hardy could project both to Tinsley and to the public the kind of confidence and composure that would be difficult to contest now that Hardy had acknowledged the review. By emphasising the qualities of ‘some sentences’, in other words the affirmative but not

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58 *CL*, I, 17.
59 When Hardy’s first novel *Desperate Remedies* (1871) had been slated in the *Spectator*, Moule wielded his own reviewing powers to praise the same work. Having failed to consult Moule over the publication of *Desperate Remedies*, probably on the basis of Moule’s many silences during Hardy’s London years, Hardy received a note from Moule bidding him not to mind the slating of the novel in the *Spectator* (*LW*, p. 86). The *Saturday Review* subsequently featured a positive review (repr. in *CH*, pp. 6-8) ‘almost certainly’ by Horace Moule (see editor’s note in *CL*, I, 13).
60 A series of published correspondences between Hardy and Tinsley (1869-1875), who had rejected for publication Hardy’s first novel *The Poor Man and the Lady* and published Hardy’s first three novels, confirm on several occasions the correlation between reviews, sales and publisher interest (see Richard Little Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (Oxford UP, 1954), pp. 329-35).
61 *CL*, I, 19.
the negative points, Hardy could silently neutralise the harmful aspects of Moule’s review. Tinsley’s reply to Hardy two days later, in which he states ‘I have put it [an advertisement of Greenwood Tree] with my weekly advertisements again, with a quotation from the Saturday. I shall have ready in a few days 1000 rather good bills for railways and street hoardings so that your work will be well before the public’, would have achieved Hardy’s desired ends.

The strategies employed above were, it seems to me, a thin veneer, and there is evidence in other portions of Tinsley’s letter to suggest that both Hardy and Tinsley were aware of this. As Tinsley prefaces his reply to Hardy’s suggested push for promotion: ‘I am almost afraid it is no use to advertise “Greenwood Tree” again’. This, when read together with Tinsley’s remarks about A Pair of Blue Eyes, also in the same letter, provide reason to question Millgate’s reading of ‘days passed pleasantly’ and claims for Hardy’s achieved ‘status’ during the early serial instalments: ‘I [Tinsley] am longing to read the 3rd portion of “Blue Eyes” for I shall lose my reputation as a judge of good fiction if you don’t do great things’. It is possible to see how, given the recent humiliation Hardy had received from Emma’s father and the fact that much was resting on sales of Greenwood Tree and A Pair of Blue Eyes now that he had turned his back on architecture, how Hardy might have been thoroughly disappointed that his former mentor had not pulled more weight with his review. Had Moule’s notice been more positive or published sooner, it might have helped get Hardy’s commitment to writing – now bereft of income from architecture due to the consuming demands of serialisation – off to a better start.

What this biographical section has been leading up to is a premise for questioning the cheerful tone with which progress on A Pair of Blue Eyes in its early serial stages has been read. My opinion is that Hardy’s encounter with Moule early on in 1872, just as Hardy had decided to devote his full attention to architecture, had rekindled his ambitions to the kind of intellectual success that had formerly influenced his extra-curricular pursuits. However, some of the comments in Moule’s review of

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62 Purdy, p. 8.
63 Millgate, p. 135; Purdy, p. 333 (original italics based on those provided in Purdy rather than Millgate, who emphasises in italics the entire phrase ‘shall lose my reputation as a judge of good fiction’). A view of Hardy’s achievement as a writer already in the early instalments, one that this chapter is disputing, is shared by Charles P. C. Pettit, ‘Merely a Good Hand at a Serial? From A Pair of Blue Eyes to Far from the Madding Crowd’, in The Achievement of Thomas Hardy, ed. by Phillip Mallett (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 1-21.
64 Millgate, pp. 134-35.
Greenwood Tree, arriving as they did at a time when Hardy was taking serious career risks in the name of those aspirations and with no assurances yet that these risks were going to pay off, would have stirred resentments of the kind Hardy had shared for his mentor in yesteryear. The next section will demonstrate that the unfolding of the India plot within the fourth serial instalment of A Pair of Blue Eyes is likely an immediate and targeted literary response to these revived antipathies.

2.3. INDIA IN THE EARLY SERIAL INSTALMENTS OF A PAIR OF BLUE EYES
A close examination of the serial history of A Pair of Blue Eyes and the position that India occupies within it strongly supports the view that Hardy was dissatisfied with Moule’s review. Along with other Hardy scholars who have recognised the high incidence of biographical details in A Pair of Blue Eyes, Millgate points out that Hardy allows resentment of Moule’s conduct to ‘resurface in the patronizing manner that the London intellectual Henry Knight adopts towards his protégé Stephen Smith’. But the resentment that Millgate largely alludes to connects principally to the disappointment Hardy had known through Moule’s ‘discriminatory advice’ to him with respect to the Oxford examination over a decade earlier.\(^{65}\) The following pages show that the serialisation history attests to recent animosities, which can be tied to Moule’s review of Greenwood Tree. I will argue that what makes this corollary likely is the development of the India plot in the serial instalment subsequent to Moule’s review.

A Pair of Blue Eyes appeared in serial form in Tinsleys’ Magazine September 1872–July 1873 and was published in three-volume form at the end of May 1873. The first copy of the serial instalment was submitted by 7 August 1872 for publication on 15 August.\(^{66}\) A letter from Hardy to Tinsley, 7 September 1872, in which Hardy indicates the submission of the second instalment, acknowledges Tinsley’s recent request for prompt instalments nearer the first of each month.\(^{67}\) Each instalment from then on would have appeared roughly two weeks later, in the middle of the month. It is also important to record that a designated ‘September’ issue, for example, would have been published in mid-August; October’s in mid-September and so forth.\(^{68}\) On

\(^{65}\) Millgate, p. 70.
\(^{66}\) LW, p. 92; Millgate, p. 131; ‘A Note on the History of the Text’ in A Pair of Blue Eyes (Penguin edn), p. xlii.
\(^{67}\) CL, I, 18.
\(^{68}\) LW, p. 92.
12 March 1873 Hardy sent off the final chapters of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* – not scheduled to appear in *Tinsleys’ Magazine* until the July number (published in mid-June).69

Hardy confirms after the first instalment that ‘he had shaped nothing of what the later chapters were to be like’.70 The serial nature of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and the demands of improvisation are important to underline because they reveal how events during composition had direct bearing on plot. The tale’s main Cornish setting, Stephen’s line of work as an architect’s assistant and his budding romance with Elfride are all appropriated from situations in the near biographical present. In the third serial instalment, submitted on 30 September 1872,71 Christopher Swancourt’s rejection of Stephen’s proposal of marriage to his daughter Elfride on the grounds of low birth mirrors the objections to marriage recently received by the author himself.

The fourth instalment introduces three compelling, and, I would venture, interconnected elements, all in the chapter titled ‘He Set in Order Many Proverbs’, that strongly signal new directions in the tale orientating themselves around Moule’s review. The fourth (December) serial instalment, the manuscript for which would have been submitted at the end of October/early November, is realistically the first instalment that could convey the frustration Hardy would have felt following Moule’s review of *Greenwood Tree* (28 September 1872).72 The third instalment (submitted 30 September) could hardly have incorporated a literary response to Moule’s review.

The first finding in the chapter ‘He Set in Order Many Proverbs’ is that Stephen meets Henry Knight for the first time within the timeframe of the novel. Up to this point, Knight’s profound intellectual influence on his former mentee has been credited but no textual indication given that Knight would feature as one of the characters in the plot. In this scene at Bede’s Inn, a crushing summary of Stephen’s relationship with Knight is offered: one of ‘affective sympathy, but no great intellectual fellowship’ (p. 131). It is important to register here that this poor opinion of the relationship between student and mentor diverges from the impression of the

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69 Millgate, p. 136. As the book was actually completed three months before the final instalments appeared in *Tinsleys’,* one may assume that the writing process accelerated mid-way to an extent that significant gaps may have formed between what appeared in *Tinsleys’* and what already existed in Hardy’s manuscript.

70 *LW*, p. 93.

71 *LW*, p. 94.

72 The holograph corresponding to the instalment in which this particular chapter takes place is regrettably not extant (‘A Note on the History of the Text’, in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (Penguin edn), p.xxxix).
same gleaned from the effusive praise that is frequently articulated in earlier instalments for ‘my friend Mr. Knight, the noblest man in the world’ (p. 51). The shift detected here might also go some way to explaining why in volume form, in a passage that had featured in a serial instalment prior to Moule’s review, Stephen’s pupil premiums as part of his placement at an architect’s office are no longer paid in part by Knight but are instead charged to Stephen’s mother.\textsuperscript{73}

The second important element that presents itself within this chapter in the fourth serial instalment is Knight’s plan to review Stephen’s fiancée Elfride’s book \textit{The Court of Kel Lyon Castle}, which Knight criticises in passing for its ‘badness’ (p.134). Knight’s acerbic review of Elfride’s book (albeit published in the fifth instalment) notably lambastes the book for its ‘impossible tournaments, towers, and escapades’ and for ‘bait’ that ‘is so palpably artificial that the most credulous gudgeon turns away’ (p. 149). Knight’s review of Elfride’s book is notably more patronising and disparaging than was Moule’s review of Hardy’s \textit{Greenwood Tree}. As such, it resembles the strident review of Hardy’s first novel \textit{Desperate Remedies} that appeared in the \textit{Spectator} (22 April 1871) and which Horace Moule ultimately sought to offset in his own review of the same novel. This disparity may have been required in order to accentuate Knight’s arrogance to readers, for whom the complexity of the biographical context would have remained unknown. It also may have been designed (albeit rather feebly) to screen any ‘viciously stimulated workmanship’ from readers like Moule.\textsuperscript{74}

The third factor that makes for clinching evidence of the author’s displeasure with Moule’s review is Stephen Smith’s allusion in the same chapter, submitted as part of the fourth serial instalment, to his newly formed plans to depart for India. Up to this point in the story, there had been no disclosure of such intent. Earlier serial

\textsuperscript{73} Dalziel maintains that this revision was designed ‘to emphasize the financial independence of the Smith family’ (editor’s note in \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes} (Penguin edn), p. 403). My argument suggests, instead, that the revision was intended to reduce – without making the change too obvious to readers – Henry Knight’s positive influence established in instalments prior to Moule’s review.

\textsuperscript{74} In an unsigned review of \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes}, published in the \textit{Saturday Review} (2 August 1873) and generally attributed to Moule, one cannot help but register the irony of the second sentence in the review indicating that ‘the novel now before us […] bears none of the traces of viciously stimulated workmanship’ (repr. in \textit{CH}, p. 15). Pamela Dalziel maintains a high degree of probability that Moule took offence at similarities between himself and Henry Knight in her reading of Moule’s statement in the review that Knight ‘is the least natural character in the book’ (see \textit{CH}, p. 17). Evidently, Horace Moule had also written to Hardy (21 May 1973) to say he had received the novel from the editor, though he had ‘vowed never to review a friend again’ (cited in Purdy, p. 12). This too might suggest that disguised affinities sketched between his review of \textit{Greenwood Tree} and Knight’s own review of Elfride’s book had not gone unnoticed with Moule.
instalments, it is true, had already borrowed small details from Hooper Tolbort’s and Professor Smith’s pasts, but these borrowings do not provide convincing grounds to suggest that Hardy had already conceived the India plot at those early points when he was consciously drawing on these particulars. Instead, as I have been arguing, the placement of India alongside the first appearance of Knight and in tandem with his proposed negative review – all within a chapter featured in the serial instalment immediately following Moule’s review of Greenwood Tree – confirms a more direct correspondence to recent events. It reveals the extent to which Hardy held Moule’s review responsible for potentially imperilling his prospects for professional and social advancement.

As such, the literary conception of migration to India some ten years after Tolbort’s landslide success at the Indian Civil Service examination, functions, in Freudian terms, as a ‘retrogressive screen memory’. Retrogressive screen memories, explains Freud in his The Uncanny, are produced when a recollection of childhood (in Hardy’s case, of early youth) is accounted for by later experiences.75 The screen memory ‘owes its value as a memory not to its intrinsic content, but to the relation obtaining between this content and some other, which has been suppressed’.76 For Hardy, a career in the Indian Civil Service was never an ambition per se and, as such, would explain why India would not have featured as an important nexus in Hardy’s writings up to this point. But now, when under ‘the influence of the two most powerful motive forces – hunger and love’, faced through renewed fears of jeopardised social mobility, India becomes an ‘intended means’, as Freud describes the screen memory, of illustrating a key turning-point in the history of the author’s life and, as this and the following section argue, within the tale itself.77 In other words, India, at the point at which it is introduced in the fourth instalment, becomes a screen memory for those moments in which mobility had been previously thwarted in Hardy’s young life.

The importance of India as a device for mediating the author’s concerns about career and marriage is not difficult to identify given the negative associations that India presented in relation to Hardy’s own ambitions following Tolbort’s ICS successes in 1862. Moule had not only limited Hardy’s horizons in the past but was

75 Freud (see above), p. 19.
76 Freud, p. 19.
77 Freud, p. 15.
also (or so Hardy imagined) diminishing his prospects in the present. The way in which India enforces possibilities of loss is the way in which it makes possible Knight's derailment of his former pupil's engagement to Elfride. As Stephen is to reflect later, Knight 'inflicted upon him the greatest snub of all, that of taking away his sweetheart' (p. 353).

2.4. CAPITAL FLOWS AND THE ALIENATION OF LABOUR

The process of derailment in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* through which Stephen loses Elfride to his rival is aided by a late nineteenth-century global system of commerce and exchange that alienates labourers from their work. This new global economy in Hardy's tale is responsible for circumscribing Stephen's return journey to Endelstow (the novel's main setting) to such a painfully circuitous route as to facilitate the flowering of romance between Knight and Elfride.

The plotting of those imperial circuits that result in the loss of the betrothed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* are informed by the author's strong awareness of the scope and impacts of global capitalism. Hardy was no stranger to the kind of spectacle whose stated aim was 'to promote and increase the free interchange of raw materials and manufactured commodities between all the nations of the earth'.

He had spent time at the 1862 London Exhibition – an exhibition that had influenced him in the choice of a date for his migration to the capital that year, the same year Tolbort spectacularly passed his ICS exam. Like its Crystal Palace predecessor in 1851, the 1862 London Exhibition contained a substantial collection of colonial exhibits, and the Indian collections in this case consumed 277 pages of the catalogue. Hardy's line of work as an architect's assistant in the employ of an architect who had made his name through famous architectural achievements in India and, additionally, Hardy's frequent correspondence with his friend Henry Bastow, an architect in Tasmania, would have made Hardy aware of asymmetric flows of raw materials and manufactured goods that, as John Plotz maintains, were a crucial component of Britain's expanding power.

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, these imperial asymmetries can be recognised as having a negative impact not only on colonised peoples, but also on English

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79 Bownas and Jackson (see Chapter One), p. 407.
80 Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (see Chapter One), p. 98.
81 Gittings, p. 55; Millgate, p. 64; Plotz (see Chapter One), p. 2.
The twin alienations of Indian and English labourers, ones that are explored at some length in this section, are subliminally represented in one of Stephen Smith’s letters to Elfride from India:

‘[…]. One day I bought some small native idols to send home to you as curiosities, but afterwards finding they had been cast in England, made to look old, and shipped over, I threw them away in disgust.

‘Speaking of this reminds me that we are obliged to import all our house-building ironwork from England. Never was such foresight required to be exercised in building houses as here. Before we begin, we have to order every column, lock, hinge, and screw that will be required. We cannot go into the next street, as in London, and get them cast at a minute’s notice. Mr. L. says somebody will have to go to England very soon and superintend the selection of a large order of this kind. I only wish I may be the man.’ (pp. 198-99)

The first part of the passage attests to Britain’s destruction of Indian cultural forms. It also confirms the monopoly of Britain’s manufacturing industry over India’s economy in the mid-nineteenth century. The native idols in this passage lodge within their very materials the horrors of a heady mix of cultural and economic expropriations based on the doctrine of ‘free’ trade, which governed commerce and exchange between the British Empire and its colonies from the mid-nineteenth century.

In this new economic order, many protectionist import and export duties on manufactured goods were repealed, its advocates hoping that it ‘would act on the moral will as gravitation in the physical, drawing men together’. As Ronald Hyam remarks, Lord Palmerston proclaimed free trade to be ‘the Dispensation of Providence’ in 1842. John Bright defended its ideas as ‘laws, which […] are not less the commandments of God’. And Richard Cobden described free trade as ‘the grand panacea which […] will inoculate with the healthy and saving taste for civilization all the nations of the world’ in 1861. It was envisaged that free trade would create a natural equilibrium of supply and demand.

In practice, ‘free’ trade enabled a stronger nation like Britain to play up its market demands to the detriment of colonial economies. Countries like India had little choice other than to accelerate their production of foodstuffs and raw materials for the benefit of European markets. Britain’s cotton, iron, shipbuilding and engineering industries especially gained from the cheap import of raw materials from the colonies.

83 Hyam, p. 110.
84 Porter, p. 53.
Industrial capitalism in Britain could gather speed, and further profits could then be made through the export of British goods as well as capital. As a result, India became controlled by Britain’s manufacturing industry.

The fake native curiosities in Hardy’s tale are among the many cheap, mass-produced, machine-made goods that flooded Indian markets. Thus, whilst making some effort to stimulate ‘development’ in India after the Uprising, the laissez-faire-minded British government was certainly not prepared to promote Indian industries directly, by subsidies or tariffs or state enterprise. ‘Free’ trade, according to Porter, thus ‘ruined the urban artisan class’ in India, which lost both its domestic and overseas markets:

The Europeans by the introduction of English articles into India have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the shoe-makers, etc., out of employ and have engrossed their occupations so that every description of native artisan has been reduced to beggary.

Far from acting as ‘gravitation in the physical, drawing men together’, free trade severed Indian workers from the ownership of the products of their own labour, from each other and from their native habitats.

The second part of the cited passage in Stephen’s letter to Elfride, in which the same global system is seen to dictate the way that building materials are produced and traded, anticipates the long and protracted journey that Stephen takes from India on his return journey to Endelstow. Having been commissioned to place an order for the aforementioned building materials, Stephen returns to England via Holyhead to Canning’s Basin (historic Canning Dock, opened in 1829) on the Liverpool waterfront, an important trade point for building materials, before he is free to return to Endelstow and his Intended, Elfride. Hardy’s architect employer Professor Smith’s experiences of imperial trade routes, combined with Hardy’s own knowledge of domestic pathways, are here recognisably the sources for the meticulous emphasis placed on the circuitousness of Stephen’s return journey from India to Endelstow. Through imperial circuits of trade and movement that prescribe travel via trade points.

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85 Porter, p. 27.
86 Porter, p. 52.
88 Cf. Hyam, p. 110.
89 Editor’s note in A Pair of Blue Eyes (Penguin edn), p. 415.
for building materials in the north, Stephen ultimately loses his fiancée to his middle-
class rival Henry Knight.

Before going into the specifics of how Stephen’s return journey and the loss of 
Elfride to Knight can be seen as a product of the alienation of English labour within 
imperial circuits, it is necessary to outline the way in which Stephen’s journey 
outwards to India already registers the effects of his alienation. This is in order to 
illustrate the pervasive reach of global capitalism. By this, we understand that even 
though capitalism in the late nineteenth century privileges, for example, Western over 
Eastern economies (as seen in the case of the ‘native’ god frauds), its reach is not 
confined to borders installed between nations. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, it performs a 
process of alienating work within metropolitan borders and extends this process of 
alienation to include forms of labour – namely via the ‘development’ of infrastructure 
– that are carried out in India.

Stephen’s journey out to and back from India is part of a broader and 
systematic pattern of the alienation of labour in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. Tim Dolin 
touches on this dynamic in his debate on the interaction between pre-professional and 
professional cultures in the novel. The pre-professional age is represented in 
Stephen’s father John’s broad-based artisanal skills:

> There was not the speciality in his [John Smith’s] labour which 
distinguishes the handicraftsmen of towns. Though only a mason, strictly 
speaking, he was not above handling a brick, if bricks were the order of the 
day; or a slate or tile, if a roof had to be covered before the wet weather set 
in, and nobody was near who could do it better. Indeed, on one or two 
occasions in the depth of winter, when frost peremptorily forbids all use of 
the trowel, making foundations to settle, stones to fly, and mortar to 
crumble, he had taken to felling and sawing trees. Moreover, he had 
practised gardening in his own plot for so many years, that on an 
emergency he might have made a living by that calling.

> Probably the countryman was not such an accomplished artificer in a 
particular direction as his town brethren in the trades. But he was, in truth, 
like that clumsy pin-maker who made the whole pin, despised by Adam 
Smith and respected by Macaulay, much more the artist than they.

(pp. 89-90)

A pre-professional mode of production is also reflected in Mr Swancourt’s and 
William Worm’s joint efforts to fix the chancel roof. The unspecialised pair work 
‘like slaves’ to pull down the old rafters, fix the new ones, put on the battens and slate 
the roof, though the ‘nails wouldn’t go straight’ (p. 31). When they try to build a

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chancel chair that in the end goes ‘all a-sway’, the product of labour is flung by Mr Swancourt ‘like fire and brimstone’ to the other end of the shop ‘all in a passion’ (p.32). The deployment of sermon rhetoric to characterise the vicar’s response to the work of his hands emphasises the pliancy of his various forms of labour too. The good humour and collegiality that prevail in the face of the flawed product signals a pre-professional mode of production in which the labourer is in control of his or her own product and mode of production.

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, Stephen’s specialised work in an encroaching professional age means the loss of such broad-based skills and therefore ownership of the conditions of his own labour. He is the target of the accelerated professionalisation of architecture starting in the 1860s, which, in history, would lead to disenchantment and even to outright hostilities in the 1890s between artist-architects and professional architects. For professional architects, as Dolin explains, ‘the provision of professional services and the promotion of professional values overrode the claims of creative expression.’ In this capitalist context of labour, Stephen’s career progression is marked by many phases and stages. In the early stage of training, Stephen had been articled to an architect to learn the tricks of the trade, towards which pupil premiums had been paid. This career trajectory continues with an obtained situation as ‘improver’ in a London office on low (or no) wages to gain work experience (p. 76). In the next phase of labour, Stephen is hired to prepare drawings as an assistant for the London-based independent architect Mr Hewby. And finally, the only path to independent practice available to Stephen that will expedite the process of professionalisation is through employment in India. In his new post in India, Stephen is described as ‘slaving away at an office in Bombay’ (p. 137). The slavery trope deployed here notably contrasts with the one that is evoked in Mr Swancourt and William Worm’s context of labour. Whereas in the latter scene, the image still chimes with control of one’s own labour and conditions of labour, in the case of the former, it signifies servitude to an alien force. It is the result of the alienation of labour within global spheres:

93 Dolin, ‘Introduction’, p. xviii
94 Editor’s note in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (Penguin edn), p. 403.
it is certainly an empirical fact that separate individuals have, with the broadening of their activity into world-historical activity, become more and more enslaved under a power alien to them […] a power which has become more and more enormous and, in the last instance, turns out to be the world market.95

Stephen’s alienation in India calls attention to a global system in which movement of labour, access to markets, and the movement of capital between and within countries are in fact heavily protected by the narrow economic interests of the invisible hand of a capitalist class.

The capitalist division of labour is evident not only in Stephen’s career progression, but also in the church restoration project at West Endelstow in which Stephen is involved prior to his departure for India. Here, scenes of labour are adversely affected by the alienating impacts of capitalism. The wealthy Lord Luxellian, the landowner of East Endelstow, commissions the project to appease dissenting parishioners; the church vicar Mr Swancourt coordinates the Peer’s commission by writing to the London architect Mr Hewby. Mr Swancourt is later dismayed when Hewby’s junior assistant, Stephen Smith, appears on the scene instead of Mr Hewby himself or a partner. Mr Hewby’s deployment of an assistant to prepare sketches of the church ensures that he, as principal architect, does not need to visit the site in person. Distant as the hand of Mr Hewby is, however, throughout the restoration process, it is never too remote to introduce tension on site through his own executive reach. Thus, Stephen receives a letter from one Simpkins Jenkins in the London office a few days into the job advising that ‘Old H. is in a towering rage with you for being so long about the church sketches’, and later equivocating in the same letter: ‘He will blow up just as much if you appear here on Saturday as if you keep away till Monday morning’ (p. 35). Other forms of labour power that contribute to the restoration process include iconoclasts and workers engaged in the demolition of the tower. The alienation of labour registers in Mr Swancourt’s alarm over how little urban professionals such as Mr Hewby know about their employees’ social backgrounds. This rupture is brought into even sharper relief when Stephen – in order to conceal his social origins – has to keep up pretences of not knowing his own father John when the latter is locally assigned by Swancourt to offer input into ‘the state of the walls’ at the church (p. 32).

A project that has been ‘professionalised’ to such a degree under the forces of capitalism in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* ironically results in the almost ‘alien’ arrival of building materials at West Endelstow Church:

Planks and poles had arrived in the churchyard, iron bars had been thrust into the venerable crack extending down the belfry wall to the foundation, the bells had been taken down, the owls had forsaken this home of their forefathers, and six iconoclasts in white fustian, to whom a cracked edifice was a species of Mumbo Jumbo, had taken lodgings in the village previous to commencing the actual removal of the stones. (p. 162)

The men in white fustian follow the building materials, their dispossession as palpably rendered as that of owls forced into flight with the start of renovations. Like the labourers on domestic soil, Stephen too becomes a mere accessory to architectural projects in India, as he is obliged to retrace his steps back from India to England in order to acquire the requisite building materials for architectural projects in India.

The connection between the two scenes of labour, in India and southwest England, is not merely analogical. The sites are structurally linked through ruptures in the relations of production. This can be seen in the way that Stephen’s work at Endelstow had been expedited by his London employer. It can also be seen in Stephen’s enlistment for work in India as the most expeditious way to gain independent practice. Like the workmen in white fustian who settle artificially into a void left through Stephen’s relocation, so Stephen is inorganically integrated into building projects in India started by engineers. Both sites, West Endelstow and India, are prey to the alienating effects of capitalism.

A double irony registers under this new social and economic order in Hardy’s tale. First, a global economy based on principles of free trade is powerless to make building equipment readily available on a global scale. In this sense, one sees the direct consequences within the novel of the imperial under-development of India’s economy. Second, the limited availability of these same materials at specific locations creates ruptures between workers and their labour. At West Endelstow, the divorce between labour and its materials reaches a dramatic climax when the east part of the church tower collapses unsupervised into its own demolition, killing the destitute widow Mrs Jethway who regularly tends to her son’s grave in the novel. As such, this episode anticipates what Hardy was to lament in later years as the ‘tragic and deplorable’ effects of church restoration in the second half of the nineteenth century – the obsession with ‘renewal in fresh materials’ – on social relations (‘memories,
histories, fellowships, fraternities’) with these buildings.\footnote{Hardy, Memories of Church Restoration, in \textit{PV}, pp. 239-53 (p. 251). The original paper was read on 20 June 1906 at an annual general meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, of which Hardy became a member in 1881, and was eventually published in its \textit{Twenty-Ninth Annual Report} (1906).} Within the global context, the divorce between labour and its means of production registers when Stephen is obliged to chase building materials located far away from India. This alienation creates a circuitous route in which he must travel back to England in order to obtain those materials that will complete projects based in India.

The journey Stephen must take is tortuous in another sense, for it places him at a considerable distance from those ports that are best placed to put him within convenient reach of Endelstow and his Intended. To trace how Stephen’s alienation operates, in the end, to destroy his romance with Elfride, a member of the upper middle classes, the rest of this section is devoted to considering asymmetries of movement of members of the different classes and associated ‘things’ (these will broadly include, both at invisible and visible levels, building materials, luxury items, a deposit-receipt and written communications) across imperial circuits.

To that end, I draw on Franco Moretti’s method of ‘distant’ reading, as it takes shape in his chapter on ‘Maps’ in his collection of ‘abstract models’ for literary analysis. In this method, the literary critic, if she wishes to elucidate the way a text represents the antagonistic relations between classes, for example, is enjoined to ‘choose a unit—walks, lawsuits, luxury goods, whatever—find its occurrences, place them in space… or in other words: […] reduce the text to a few elements, and abstract them from the narrative flow’.\footnote{Moretti, \textit{Graphs, Maps, Trees} (see above), pp. 2, 53 (original emphasis).} In my use of Moretti’s map, I begin with the asymmetric movement of two circulated things – a £200 deposit-receipt and a pair of earrings – across imperial circuits and within metropolitan spaces in Hardy’s work. The findings are charted in graphic form (see Map 1) in order to show ‘emerging’ qualities that are not necessarily visible at the lower level.\footnote{Moretti, \textit{Graphs, Maps, Trees}, p. 53.} Moretti emphasises the usefulness of such maps for conveying class struggle.\footnote{Moretti, \textit{Graphs, Maps, Trees}, p. 64.} However, whereas Moretti generally confines his maps of social conflict to national space, I have chosen to extend my map to depict class inequalities across imperial routes (albeit routes that come to a climax within the British Isles).
The letter from Stephen referencing the jettisoned native idols is opened in the presence of a deposit-receipt for £200 as well as a pair of earrings that rest on Elfride’s dressing table. In the letter, Stephen informs Elfride that the deposit-note is a year’s worth of savings from work in India. This figure of £200, also to recur in ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, is significant because it recalls the £200 advance that Hardy received from Tinsley for the publication of A Pair of Blue Eyes and which failed to convince Emma’s father of Hardy’s candidacy as a suitor for his daughter. In both tales, the £200 will become a sum that fails to secure metropolitan marriages.

To return to Elfride’s dressing table, the earrings, on the other hand, are a gift from Henry Knight. Distantly related to Elfride’s parvenu stepmother, Knight had responded to an invitation to visit Endelstow some months after Stephen’s departure for India. During one of Knight’s early encounters with Elfride, he had sparred with her by testing her gift preferences. Given the choice between ‘two things of about equal value’, would Elfride fall for a ‘well-chosen little library of the best music […] – bound in morocco, walnut case, lock and key – or a pair of the very prettiest earrings in Bond Street windows’ (p. 183)? Elfride had unwittingly betrayed a bias for, as Knight later reflects, ‘ornament to edification’ (p. 190).

Not yet in love with Elfride, Knight subsequently departs on a pleasure bent to Ireland, where, historically, middle-class tourism was becoming popular through the extension of the railway system. Before his trip, Knight rejects an invitation to revisit the Swancourts at Endelstow on his return journey, insisting that he will have to make his way back to London. Crossing subsequently from Bristol to Cork, he ‘pushe[s] on to the Lakes of Killarney, ramble[s] amid their luxuriant woods, survey[s] the infinite variety of island, hill, and dale there to be found’ (p. 188). Having decided to pursue Elfride in earnest while in Ireland, he ‘forsake[s] his orbit’ (p. 194) in order to buy her a pair of earrings. After visiting two high-class jewellery establishments in Dublin and making three separate purchases, Knight finally settles on a pair he considers to be ‘a truly artistic production’ (p. 191). He then decides to eschew a Dublin–Holyhead–London return journey in favour of a Dublin–Bristol–Endelstow route (see Map 1) in order to present Elfride with the earrings in person.

When faced with the £200 deposit-receipt and the earrings on her dressing table, Elfride ‘almost fear[s] to let the two articles lie in juxtaposition: so antagonistic were the interests they represented that a miraculous repulsion of one by the other was almost to be expected’ (p. 199). The interests represented by the two items –
Stephen’s labour paid in colonial remittance, on the one hand, and Knight’s cosmopolitan credentials rendered in the luxury items, on the other – draw attention to the competing affections of an industrial and a leisured class. The appearance of the earrings on the dressing table, in this case Knight’s second attempt to bestow the gift, juxtaposed with the void signalled in Stephen’s letter by the jettisoned native curiosities, further underscores class inequalities, as the purchasing powers are in this case weighted heavily in favour of Knight. The London intellectual’s welcome presence under the same roof as Elfride, juxtaposed with Stephen’s absence through social rejection, places Knight in a better position to repeatedly press for the acceptance of his gift.

Several days after receiving Stephen’s letter with his deposit-receipt and Knight’s earrings, Elfride receives another note, in which Stephen indicates that he had indeed been ‘chosen as the most fitting to execute the ironwork commission’ he had alluded to in the previous letter. ‘This duty completed, he would have three months’ leave’ (p. 199). Not long after, a telegram arrives for her from ‘the station in Stranton’ (p. 201), informing her that Stephen’s ship has been telegraphed off Holyhead and that Stephen would shortly be docking at Canning’s Basin. An inland note then follows from Stephen, indicating that he would then make his way down to Bristol, and ‘thence by steamer to Stranton, in order to avoid the long journey over the hills from St. Kirrs’ (p. 203). Stephen, the reader is told, is apparently unaware of the extension of the railway to Stranton (historic Boscastle) that took place that summer (p. 203). The arrival of the telegram announcing Stephen’s imminent docking through a messenger from Stranton station stands in ironic contrast with Stephen’s proposed arrival by steamer to Stranton in an inland letter pursuant to the telegram.

But the asymmetries of movement are even more significant than this. Stephen’s return route crosses Knight’s own recently completed trajectory of movement – both as originally conceived and as ultimately taken – at various points

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100 Given the significant focus on letters and telegrams in this chapter, see Karin Koehler, *Thomas Hardy and Victorian Communication: Letters, Telegrams and Postal Systems* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

101 The journey from St. Kirrs to Endelstow, taken by Stephen in the early pages of the story when the railway had not yet been extended, is approximately fourteen miles – much of it uphill – while the journey from Stranton to Endelstow is but two miles (p. 17).

102 In later editions, Hardy altered the extension of the railway to Camelton (answering to historic Camelford), a location a little further on from St Kirrs (St Launce’s in later editions and corresponding to historic Launceston) but not as far as Stranton (‘Castle Boterel’ in later editions and corresponding to historic Boscastle) to reflect real developments in the railway system. Hardy likewise adjusted the arrival of the messenger with the telegram from Stranton to Camelton.
in St. George’s Channel and also in Bristol (see Map 1). Though Plymouth or Bristol would have been more direct harbours from which to disembark, Stephen is consigned through his commission to travel instead on a circuitous route from India to Endelstow via Liverpool.

Knight’s middle-class independence had empowered him not only to pick and choose among various authentic luxury items, but also to choose the shortest circuits of travel in order to present them to Elfride. Knight has the privilege not only of travelling directly back from Dublin to Bristol, but also from Bristol to Stranton by train. Since Knight’s trip to Ireland had lasted but a week and had taken place later in the summer, when the extension of the railway from St Kirrs to Stranton would have been completed, it stands to reason that he would have taken a train journey from Bristol to Stranton. Stephen’s labour and prolonged absence from home, meanwhile, facilitate his exclusion from the benefits of the extended railway system.

At the very end of this circular route, dictated by asymmetries of movement, Stephen finally loses Elfride to his middle-class rival. For when Elfride sets out to see Stephen’s steamer arrive from Bristol to Stranton, Knight, who accompanies her on the journey, slips off the coastline cliffs. The long and dangerous cliffhanging ordeal results in the conclusive shift of her affection from the craftsman to the man of letters. This transference is sealed in Elfride’s return of the £200 deposit-note to Stephen by post to his parents’ address, where Stephen has returned with dashed hopes of ever meeting her as a lover again, and in her acceptance, instead, of the earrings and the attentions of their procurer.

Ultimately, imperial dispossession conspires to prevent Stephen’s marriage above his class. The dictates of capital accumulation, an economy based on ‘free’ trade and the accelerated forces of modernisation combine to produce the asymmetric movements of the working-class Stephen Smith and the middle-class Henry Knight, thereby ensuring unequal chances in marriage. The dynamic of movement through St George’s Channel with a drama that comes to a head off the cliffs of the North Cornish Coast is, to my mind, a more compelling feature of developments within the

love triangle at the heart of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* than circumstances attached to the oft-touted cliffhanging scene.\(^{104}\)

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**Map 1. Imperial Circuits in *A Pair of Blue Eyes***

The negative outcomes for the working-class subject, Stephen, of the asymmetric migration of objects and people across global spheres in Hardy’s *A Pair of Blue Eyes* offers a significant challenge to the consensus within Victorian studies, outlined in detail in Chapter One, in which imperial commodities are broadly considered to carry, spread and strengthen national identity both within and beyond

domestic borders. Hardy’s tale, by contrast, calls attention to the way that trajectories of movement of people and commodities across the empire operate to widen the gulf between Britain’s social classes.

2.5. **India in the Late Serial Instalments of *A Pair of Blue Eyes***

The previous sections examined how Stephen’s dramatic loss through migration to India, a plotline that was conceived in the fourth instalment of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, subsequent to Moule’s review, clearly performs a politics of alienation of the architect’s assistant. This alienation is of the kind that Hardy, an architect’s assistant by trade when the first instalment was submitted, had known in his own personal and economic aspirations in the first decade or so of work. However, while Stephen’s migration to India becomes the source of dramatic personal loss in the tale, it also becomes the source of great gain. Notably, these gains, already alluded to in the introduction to this chapter, are not made until much later in the tale. Here too, a telling biographical development might go some way to explain the reversal of fortunes in the fiction. In between the serial instalments in which the drama of loss would have been firmly plotted and the ones narrating Stephen’s claim to fame came another entirely unexpected turn in Hardy’s life. This turn, this section argues, influenced the role that India plays in the closing serial instalments of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*.

If Hardy’s income prospects were considered by the author to be imperilled during the early months of composition, they brightened considerably by the time he was working on the later instalments of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. On 30 November 1872, Hardy received a letter from Leslie Stephen, editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, seeking any new novel Hardy might now have in progress. Evidently the editor of *Pall Mall Gazette* had recommended *Greenwood Tree* to Leslie Stephen, who, also delighted with the book, proceeded to write to Horace Moule in order to obtain the identity and address of the writer of *Greenwood Tree*. Stephen was apparently unaware of the ongoing serialisation of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. Millgate contends that ‘[s]ince the

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105 S. Daly (see Chapter One), p. 9; Freedgood (see Chapter One); Barrow (see Chapter One), p. 79; Archibald (see Chapter One); Plotz (see Chapter One and above), p. 2. Although Plotz’s study recognises, as indicated earlier, the asymmetric nature of imperial flows, his work largely routes these asymmetries through more common binary oppositions of metropole–colony, through which Britain (as a nation) is seen to exploit its colonies or its domestic others (i.e. the domestic colonised) through capital flows within national borders. The debate about the exploitation of English labour does not extend beyond national borders.
Cornhill, first edited by Thackeray, stood in the very forefront of contemporary magazines in respect of both circulation and prestige, this was for a hitherto unknown writer an altogether extraordinary moment. Following Leslie Stephen’s request, the security of a middle-class income and professional recognition of the order that came to Tolbort and to Professor Smith in India were finally within grasp.

It is in this respect that the ‘composite portrait’ discussed earlier veritably reaches its fullest expression as subversion in A Pair of Blue Eyes. The very real prospect that Hardy might achieve an independent income through writing could allow at this point for bold comparisons between Stephen’s, Tolbort’s and Professor Smith’s situations.

The radical potential of the ‘composite portrait’ is confirmed in the exchange between Henry Knight and Stephen during a chance meeting in Hyde Park shortly after Stephen’s return from India as an independent professional. At this point, Knight mentions the ‘fuss’ made about Stephen at St. Kirrs the year before and concedes: ‘I must congratulate you on your achievements’ (p. 349). On the one hand, the encounter reflects the fortuitousness of Hardy’s meeting with Moule near Trafalgar Square in the early months of 1872. On the other, the nature of what passes between the pair contains elements of the kind of news that would have been exchanged between Moule and Hardy in London on 7 August 1862, when Moule produced a copy of the Times and in it the report of Tolbort’s brilliant ICS examination successes. Biographically, the scene supplants the architect’s decade of thwarted ambitions with the anticipated successes of the future, a future career in writing. This encounter in the novel likewise presents the architect as the subject of praise and not merely as a soundboard for praise that was biographically conferred on his better, the successful ICS candidate.

An additional literary projection of this positive reversal in Hardy fortunes in the closing instalments also arrives within the closing chapters of A Pair of Blue Eyes, specifically with Knight’s and Stephen’s restored ties. Phillip Mallett argues for the existence of homosocial bonds between Stephen and Knight, ones that are ‘re-established’ at the end of A Pair of Blue Eyes. ‘The four closing chapters’, notes Mallett,

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106 Millgate, p. 135. Contrary to Millgate’s earlier claim, Moule had not himself reviewed the work of the anonymous author of Greenwood Tree anonymously (p. 130). This is confirmed in CH.

107 Millgate, p. 76.
deploy the same urgent vocabulary as Hardy’s courtship narratives: the two men [Knight and Stephen] are by turns reckless, bitter, passionate, regretful, constrained, agitated, evasive, hurt, gentle, pleading. They choose the same hotel, travel in the same train and then in the same compartment.\textsuperscript{108}

Elfride’s death, according to Mallett, is therefore a plot device for reuniting Stephen and Knight. The ‘exigencies of plot’, Mallett concludes, mean that Elfride is ‘reduced to a medium of exchange in the discursive web of homosociality’.\textsuperscript{109} In the light of this chapter’s emphasis on Hardy’s reignited feelings of resentment towards Moule after the fourth instalment, there remains a need to account for this perceptible shift towards rapprochement at the end of the tale.

A possible explanation for this shift is that with Leslie Stephen’s offer to publish with the \textit{Cornhill} – an offer enabled through Moule’s disclosure to Stephen of the identity and address of the anonymous writer of \textit{Greenwood Tree} – Hardy may have experienced some regret over his now irreversible decision to present his mentor in an unsympathetic light. In response, Hardy might, then, attempt in the closing instalments of \textit{A Pair of Blue Eyes} to compensate for his unfavourable portrayal of the tutor. The compromise, it seems, would be to offer renewed ties between the Stephen and Knight. However, it is my contention that this renewal is far from being a reinstatement of former intimacies. The editor of the \textit{Cornhill}, after all, had read and liked \textit{Greenwood Tree} due to a recommendation from the \textit{Pall Mall Gazette}, in which one of the positive reviews of this work had featured. Moule’s review, it seems, had not played a part in influencing Leslie Stephen’s choice to read \textit{Greenwood Tree}.

There are a number of findings within the closing four chapters to suggest, indeed, that Stephen and Knight’s renewed ties do not parallel the strength of feeling that Stephen possesses for his tutor in the early instalments of the novel. Indeed, Stephen’s view remains unchanged that Knight had ‘inflicted upon him the greatest snub of all, that of taking away his sweetheart’ (p. 353). Moreover, the penultimate chapter includes these telling lines of reproach directed by Stephen to an as-ever patronising Knight:

You have no right to domineer over me as you do! Just because when I was a lad, I was accustomed to look up to you as a master, and you helped me a

\textsuperscript{108} Phillip Mallett, ‘Hardy and Masculinity: A Pair of Blue Eyes and Jude the Obscure’, in \textit{The Ashgate Research Companion to Thomas Hardy}, ed. by Rosemarie Morgan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 387-402 (p. 395).

\textsuperscript{109} Mallett, ‘Hardy and Masculinity’, p. 396.
little, for which I cared for you and have loved you too much, you assume too much now, and step in before me. It is cruel – it is unjust – of you to injure me so! (p. 368)

These words, ones that echo Tess’s own expression of indignation over Angel Clare’s abandonment of her on his way to Brazil in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (more on Tess’s note is in Chapter Four) represent a more discerning – more guarded – Stephen. It seems, then, that while the author recognised a need to adjust his unflattering representation of Moule in the tale, he was, by its end, beyond returning to his former blind adulation for his mentor.

These strong words of reproach in the closing chapters are, indeed, Stephen’s forceful declaration of the meeting of social equals.\(^{110}\) The two men’s arrival and departure by train at Stranton Station, both in search of Elfride, the station that had once expedited Knight’s return to Elfride to Stephen’s disadvantage, becomes an important way of emphasising this equality. In support of Mallett’s point, Elfride becomes the poetic sacrifice that must be made in order to sustain this equality. In order to ‘free up’ Elfride for her death, through which the reunion of Stephen and Knight as equals – rather less as lovers – might be made possible, the author must also choreograph Knight’s rejection of Elfride.\(^{111}\)

The final promotion to success of the lowly Stephen in the closing instalments in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, one that also empowers open criticism of the tutor, serves as a significant biographical riposte to the types of exclusion that open competition had signified for the author in his own pursuits of social and economic security in the early years of work. In this sense, whereas India during the early instalments had embodied a negative ‘retrogressive screen memory’, in the later instalments it becomes converted to a positive anticipatory literary projection.\(^{112}\) In other words,

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\(^{110}\) Mallett, ‘Hardy and Masculinity’, p. 396.

\(^{111}\) In my view, the cliffhanging ordeal and Stephen’s loss of Elfride were more likely written *prior to* Leslie Stephen’s offer, while Knight’s rejection of Elfride (so as to enable Knight’s and Stephen’s eventual reunion) were written *after* Leslie Stephen’s offer (cf. Mallett, ‘Leslie Stephen’s Bad Five Minutes in the Alps’, p. 58). This connects to the point offered earlier about the accelerated writing process, through which the manuscript material eventually became way ahead of Magazine appearances. The fifth instalment, submitted by the end of November or early December (for the January issue), in other words just as he was receiving Stephen’s offer, includes a proleptic moment, in which Elfride, when standing on the parapet of the soon-to-be-demolished church tower at West Endelstow, offers this reflection to an anxious Knight: ‘I felt on the tower that something similar to that scene is again to be common to us both’ (p. 166). This suggests that Hardy had already conceived the cliffhanging ordeal *before* Leslie Stephen’s communication.

\(^{112}\) This notion is loosely inspired by Freud’s ‘anticipatory screen memory’, which can be distinguished from the ‘retrogressive screen memory’ insofar as events recalled in a subject’s mind occur later in time than the screen memory (Freud, p. 19).
with the offer to serialise a future work with the prestigious Cornhill, India could be
now be appropriated in the fiction as a means of laying claim to colonial accolades of
the kind Tolbort and Professor Smith had amassed. This moment in Hardy’s prose
oeuvre can be singled out as being perhaps the only chronicle of overseas migration to
deliver spectacular material success. This success, in many senses exhibiting the
triumphalist aspects of imperialism – aspects that might suitably be the target of
postcolonial criticism for the devastations they wreaked historically on colonised
societies – ironically derives its force from existing social inequalities within
Victorian society. It is a fictional achievement imagined vicariously and subversively
by a member of the lower middle classes via the biographical imperial feats of the
professional middle classes (Professor Stephen Smith) and select members of the rural
petite bourgeoisie who could afford to finance the demands of independent study for
open competition (Tolbort).

But even as the achievements of members of the other classes are privately
ransacked in order to boost the position of the working-class Stephen Smith, the novel
retains a clear critical stance on the kind of middle-class hypocrisies that manipulate
Stephen’s imperial achievements for self-serving ends. This can be seen in examples
of strident narratorial criticism and social caricatures that are especially present in the
closing instalments of the tale. This critique, due to its explicit narratorial mode, was
apprehensible to readers. Reviewers, for example, remained opposed to these
examples of sharp criticism, in response to which Hardy purged a number of passages
in later editions. 113 Though Hardy ‘always remained a radical thinker on social
issues’, he had also internalised the kinds of criticism that had led to the rejections of
his first, darkly satirical manuscript The Poor Man and the Lady and so was known in
the early years to be especially quick to address aspects of social satire in his work
that were resented by critics. 114 Here attention is drawn to a number of explicit
criticisms of middle-class pretences that were prominent in earlier versions of A Pair
of Blue Eyes, but also to some that survived in later editions. Most of these explicit
attacks are supplied in the chapter ‘The Pennie’s the Jewel that beautifies a’.

The title of the chapter, borrowed from Robert Burns’s song ‘There’s a Youth
in this City’ (1789), is telling in this regard. As Dalziel observes, the youth in Burns’s
song is searching for a woman of beauty and fortune but is chiefly interested in ‘the

114 Millgate, p. 161.
siller’ (silver). ‘Like the townspeople of St Kirrs [in Hardy’s novel], Dalziel reflects, ‘he [Burns’s youth] bases his value judgements on material prosperity.’ The ‘worthy’ Mayor of St. Kirrs’s inflated speech in Hardy’s chapter, deleted in later editions, parallels the greed of the youth in Burns’s song. This can be seen in his lionisation of Stephen’s feats to exaggerated proportions:

St. Kirrs has her glories, gentlemen. And I blush with pleasure when I find recorded in to-day’s paper the intellectual and artistic prowess of our friend Mr. Stephen Smith […] so well known to us all. Stratford has her Shakespeare, Penzance has her Davy, Bristol has her Chatterton, London has Heaven-knows-who, and St. Kirrs has her Smith’. (p. 346)

More importantly, it can be seen in his invocation of blood ties with the Smiths in order to exploit Stephen’s colonial successes for self-promotion: “Yes, fellow townsmen” […] “we may well be proud to find that Mr. John Smith [Stephen’s father], to whom, humble in life as he is, I am related on the mother’s side, was a native of this town” (pp. 346-7; original emphasis).

Notably, though the speech itself was deleted in later editions, the location in which the mayor’s speech is delivered continues to be mentioned. The choice epithet for the venue changed, however, from ‘Every-Man-his-own-Hero Club’ in earlier editions to ‘Every-Man-his-own-Maker Club’ in later editions. This alteration, possibly in order to avoid associations with Thomas Carlyle’s heroic leader in Heroes and Hero-Worship, conveys a more solid sense of the self-serving motives of the mayor. The term ‘own-maker’, insofar as it is the very reverse of ‘mutual improvement’ (recall the name of the venue ‘Mutual Improvement Society’ where Horace Moule had delivered his famous speech about the Oxford examinations in November 1858), appears to pervert philosophies of working-class self-help in the mid-nineteenth century that were predicated on values of social cooperation alongside...

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115 Editor’s note in A Pair of Blue Eyes (Penguin edn), p. 425.
116 The deletion of this passage, among others, in later editions can be attributed to the Spectator (18 June 1873) reviewer’s criticism of the entire chapter as ‘forced and caricatured without any compensating humour’ (editor’s note in A Pair of Blue Eyes (Penguin edn), p. 425).
117 In 1887, Hardy made a number of successive notes of various attributes of Carlyle’s heroes from Heroes and Hero-Worship (Hardy’s edition unidentified), including: ‘It is a man’s sincerity & depth of vision that makes him a poet’ and ‘What he (the Genius) says all men were not far from saying, were longing to say’ (LN, I, 179, 392).
self-reform.\textsuperscript{118} It echoes denunciations such as Samuel Smiles’s of those doctrines of self-help that were empty and selfish and based on pure economic individualism.\textsuperscript{119}

The term chosen for the venue aptly summarises the vulgar individualism that is typical of St. Kirrs’s \textit{petit bourgeoisie} generally. The hypocritical ways of St Kirrs’s middle classes, like the mayor’s, are everywhere present in the same chapter. The locals patronisingly relay to Stephen’s parents, who are not aware of their son’s achievements in India

Why, your son has been feeted [sic] by deputy-governors and Parsee princes and nobody-knows-who in India; is hand in glove with nabobs, and is to design a large palace, cathedral, hospitals, colleges, halls, fortifications, by the general consent of the ruling powers, Christian, Pagan, and Devilish, all alike. (p. 346)

The levelling effects of the locals’ words to Stephen’s parents, in which Stephen’s activities and social and political alliances in India inhabit categories of sameness, serves to satirise middle-class apprehension of spaces and places beyond immediate reach or concern. But it also attests to their duplicitous conduct towards lower-class subjects, in this case Stephen’s parents. Stephen’s feats in India mean that the more affluent residents change their former politics of public exclusion of the lower-class Smiths. The trope ‘hand in glove’ in the passage above recalls the very image Stephen’s mother had used earlier in the chapter to impugn bourgeois hypocrisy: ‘\textit{hand in glove} when out of sight with you; but ready to spend money rather than speak when cutting their dash outside the door’ (p. 343; emphasis mine). The exploitations of Stephen’s imperial accomplishments in the chapter ‘The Pennie’s the Jewel that beautifies a’’ are thus scenes through which to expose and destabilise bourgeois conceptions of imperial prosperity and mobility that were popular in the 1860s and 1870s.

These moments of social critique, applied to the public sphere, return in the late fiction, in works such as \textit{The Mayor of Casterbridge}. Chapter Four examines the return of this satirical perspective in the late fiction, making the case for the emboldened use of it through polyphony in order to critique the exile of labour to the settler regions of empire.

\textsuperscript{118} Jonathan Rose identifies frictions that existed between notions of collectivism and individualism within different genres of self-help (\textit{The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes} (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 2001), pp. 68-69).

\textsuperscript{119} Rose, p. 68.
2.6. Transpositions in ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’

In my analysis of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, migration to India initially causes the architect’s loss of the Intended but ends in material prosperity that is ultimately manipulated in crude fashion by middle-class locals who rank higher socially to Stephen’s family. The following study of ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’ (1874) considers a final aspect of the private subversion of the Indian meritocratic ideal that was seen to be at work particularly in the closing instalments of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. This closing section argues that the fictional architect’s former alienation and thwarted marriage are scripted into the imperial trajectory of the ICS prodigy, Oswald Winwood.

This direction is taken forward – I would suggest with full intention – in the reversal of the India narrative from being a nexus of material prosperity to being a site of personal loss. The story itself pivots on an alliance between an upwardly mobile member of the lower middle classes and a penniless member of the lower classes. This happens when the ‘intellectual luminary’ Oswald Winwood falls for the niece of a destitute miller, Agatha, described as a person ‘of no repute’, instead of Frances Lovill ‘of great and long renown as the beauty of Cloton village’ (p. 30) whom he had been seeking out. After passing his open competition exams, he travels to India with a promise to return and marry his sweetheart. Despite his many vocational successes in India, however, he fails to fulfil his engagement to Agatha and loses her to another suitor: Farmer Lovill. This failing is more a matter of narrative design, usually achieved through strategies of emasculation, than of agency and choice. However, the stinging outcomes for the civil servant evidenced in this tale are also achieved through the plotting of the locals. The biographical context, set alongside those that were examined in earlier sections, will be considered with a view to considering the ironic reversal from material gain to personal loss in the tale.

In her reading of ‘Destiny’, Pamela Dalziel places weight on the thematic and technical parallels that ‘Destiny’ is considered to share with its immediate predecessor *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874) and its successor *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876), parallels that in her estimation confirm that the tale was both written and published in 1874.120 While my research into this short story supports Dalziel’s dating of the tale, it posits that the affinities she claims with *Madding Crowd* and *Ethelberta*

120 Dalziel, ““Destiny”: Introduction”, p. 25.
are substantially less significant and also less telling than those that exist with *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. The reason stronger links exist between *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and ‘Destiny’ lies both in the biographical and publication contexts and also in shared India plots.

Personal and professional circumstances in Hardy’s life had continued to improve since the publication of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. These changes, together with the terms of publication for ‘Destiny’, would empower the author to exercise kinds of freedom in the fiction that were not otherwise open to him. The short story was specially commissioned by the *New York Times* and published exclusively there five days before Hardy’s marriage to Emma. The union could finally take place thanks to the financial security acquired through profits from *Madding Crowd* – the piece Hardy eventually wrote for Leslie Stephen’s *Cornhill Magazine* – both in England and America. Additionally, since the publication of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, Moule had ended his own life. With Tolbort still in India, Moule now gone, and ‘Destiny’ due to appear exclusively in an American paper, Hardy could afford to cut Moule’s other publicly celebrated protégé and in so doing, avoid local scrutiny and censure.

Targeted ridicule is discernable in ‘Destiny’ in slights to Winwood’s genius. During his boastful speech on the merits of open competition, already discussed in section 2.1, Winwood remarks that ‘all bureaucratic jobbery will be swept away’ (p.34). When pressed by Agatha, his interlocutor, to unpack the meaning of this statement, Tolbort replies: ‘It is—well, I don’t exactly know what it is. I know this, that it is the name of what I hate, and that it isn’t competitive examination’ (p. 34). Winwood’s enthusiasm, as Millgate has noted, is ‘promptly undercut’ by his inability to explain what he means by the word ‘bureaucratic’. In this respect, the intellectual flaws that are covertly ascribed to Stephen in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* are now summoned in the literary incarnation of Tolbort.

Strategies of emasculation can also be seen in various formal occlusions of Winwood’s plans to travel to India. By narrative design, these plans remain outside of the public eye. Readers are not privy to the first spoken reference to Winwood’s India plans. The knowledge remains private to the two lovers, Agatha and Winwood, who share the information ‘beside the village high-road’, ‘[on] the bridge, which was aside from the line of light’ (p. 33). As for the news of Winwood’s stellar success in the

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122 Millgate, p. 69.
exams, it comes by letter to Agatha and is marked by a distinct lack of audience and formal public recognition. This is a far cry from the kind of pomp and display evidenced in the case of Stephen’s achievements.

Mockery can further be inferred from the fatal impercipience that leads the intellectual luminary to Agatha instead of Frances in the opening pages of the tale. Misled by an article of clothing, a ‘blue autumn wrapper’, Winwood mistakes Agatha for Miss Lovill. His decision to settle on Agatha despite being made aware of his error represents Winwood as being far too impressionable. The many years that Winwood is made to spend in India without making good on his promise to marry is another example of the way in which narrative design draws on strategies of emasculation.

The lampoon also registers in Winwood’s downfall at the hands of the lower orders. His ruin is served in part by a local conviction that his mobility has become a barrier to marriage with Agatha: ‘he’s a fine gentleman by this time, and won’t think of stooping to a girl like you [Agatha]’ (p. 40). The locals’ refusal to buy into the myth that his colonial prosperity will somehow benefit their community or materialise in the upward mobility of the impoverished Agatha is the very reverse of the kind of middle-class hypocrisy bent on exploiting Stephen’s achievements for self-promotion in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. This local conviction that there are no benefits to be gained from Winwood’s prosperity provides an incentive for encouraging Agatha to look in other directions.

In the end, Winwood’s ruin is attained through the scheming of the locals to thwart a union between him and Agatha. Frances Lovill, lately become the wife of Agatha’s uncle, decides to wreak revenge on Agatha for stealing her man Winwood many years ago by conspiring to unite Agatha and Farmer Lovill (Frances’s distant relation) in Winwood’s absence. In addition to colluding with Parson Davids to encourage docility in Agatha, in order to bring her around to the idea of marrying Farmer Lovill, Frances Lovill deceives Winwood whilst the others are out in pursuit of the runaway Agatha at the end of the tale. When Winwood, lately returned from India, comes calling for Agatha, Frances falsely reports that Agatha ‘had gone for an early drive with the man [Farmer Lovill] [she] was to marry to-day’ (p. 51). In so doing, Frances clears the path for the wedding between Agatha and Farmer Lovill to

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123 In life, Hooper Tolbort married in the Punjab the titled Clare Cunliffe, daughter of General Sir Robert Henry Cunliffe, Baronet, of Acton Park, Denbighshire (Hardy, ‘Tolbort’, p. 59). The wedding took place in autumn 1875, a year after the publication of ‘Destiny’. 
take place later that day, thus securing a final separation between Winwood and Agatha.

Winwood’s afflictions of poor health, ones that prevent a timely return to England to marry Agatha, help to secure his defeat. As such, his constitution contrasts with Stephen Smith’s, through which Stephen is led to wonder ‘why people [migrants to India] complained so much of the effect of the climate upon their constitutions’ (p.137). Winwood’s ‘severe illness’ prevents him ‘from sailing at the time he had promised and intended for the last twelvemonth’ (p. 51) and thereby confounds his earlier assurances to Agatha that many live in India ‘for years in a state of rude health, and return home in the same happy condition. So shall I’ (p. 34).

Finally, Winwood’s powerlessness registers more subliminally in the utter futility of his gained wealth. The doting Stephen in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, a man of £400 a year, supplies £200 in remittance to his beloved Elfride as a token of his commitment to a future with her. Winwood, meanwhile, a man of £1,100 is rendered incapable of producing the £200 that could have freed his Intended from a debt that Farmer Lovill promises to forgive her uncle in return for his niece’s hand. Thus, Agatha does not appear to benefit from colonial remittance at her hour of need.

Winwood’s opinion that open competition can ‘put good men in good places’ whilst making ‘inferior men move lower down’ is thus assailed in ‘Destiny’ as the successful man Winwood is moved into low places. While India in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* becomes a medium through which losses, initially, but gains, ultimately, accrue to the artisan Stephen Smith, in ‘Destiny’, India becomes a receptacle for the bright and successful but utterly defeated ICS luminary, Oswald Winwood. The tales are unquestionably early and later responses to the vicissitudes of work, friendship and social mobility in 1872-1873: years that are aptly, if somewhat understatedly, introduced as ‘years of unexpectedness’ in *Life and Work*.

2.7. **Conclusion**

New recruitment strategies in the third quarter of the nineteenth century based on open competition and principles of meritocracy epitomised the exclusion from opportunity for the working Hardy even as they enabled others to move on to stellar imperial successes. Hardy’s unexpected encounter with his much-revered tutor in 1872 and renewed disappointment in him created particularly fertile terrain for turning India, that ‘forcing house’ for meritocratic ambitions, into a nexus of Hardy’s
own failed – but also recovered – personal and professional aspirations. This chapter has demonstrated that this nexus is covertly represented in the architect’s and civil servant’s metropolitan losses and gains during employment in India.

The perils of upward mobility – real and imagined – during the first decade of Hardy’s working years are conveyed in the alienation of labour and in asymmetries of movement of people and things within imperial circuits. These features of global capitalism culminate in Stephen’s crushing loss of his Intended to his middle-class mentor in the first part of A Pair of Blue Eyes. Brighter socioeconomic prospects by the end of 1872 empowered the writer to appropriate some of his rival’s spectacular ICS achievements for a portrayal of Stephen’s impressive architectural feats in India in the closing chapters of the tale. By 1874, the solid attainment of an independent income from writing, mobility through marriage and the offer to publish away from English soil allowed for more targeted subversions of imperial meritocracy. In ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, the ICS luminary’s wealth and achievements are stripped of all glory as the drama of the loss of the Intended is driven with a vengeance aptly captured in its chief executioner’s surname: Lovill.

Imperial dissent in the early fiction, when compared with the critiques elicited in the next two chapters, is at its most private and disguised. However, the social caricature of middle-class ideologies of meritocracy and critique of the devastating restrictiveness of ‘free’ trade across imperial circuits of trade and exchange in A Pair of Blue Eyes ensure that the imperial riposte is not totally concealed in the early fiction. The next chapter examines African adventure, exploration and hunting in the (late) middle fiction and links these activities with the imperial aspirations of Britain’s upper classes. It also considers how forms of imperial critique become more explicit.
3
AFRICAN ADVENTURE, EXPLORATION AND HUNTING
IN THE MIDDLE FICTION

3.1. INTRODUCTION
The previous chapter focused on the special links between middle-class ideologies of imperial meritocracy and India in Hardy’s early fiction. It demonstrated a correlation between the alienation of labour in India and the author’s own struggles to achieve secure employment and social mobility. In addition, the chapter called attention to the way in which representations of India in Hardy’s A Pair of Blue Eyes and ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’ are governed by a logic of uneven contact with the empire in the late Victorian era. This chapter explores the narrative consequences of a similar logic, only in this case with members of the upper classes as privileged travellers within global spheres.

In particular, this chapter turns attention to the presence of the African interior in Hardy’s Two on a Tower (1882) and contextualises it in terms of the special connections that existed historically between metropolitan elites and this particular sphere of imperial influence. A core claim of the chapter is that African adventure, a distinctly upper-class pursuit, leads to divisions in Hardy’s text between African imperialists and their dependents within the metropole. In other words, Two on a Tower demonstrates effectively how oppression abroad compounds oppression at home. This can be seen in the restrictive impacts of African adventure on the female protagonist, Viviette Constantine, constraints that are likewise felt among labourers on the estate. Despite these limitations, voices critical of the imperial mission and its domestic effects are expressed at the levels of form and content. Dissent is likewise recorded in the tale’s rejection of the kinds of debasing representations of African cultures that circulated in late nineteenth-century Britain and which can be traced to well-heeled male travel.

Among Hardy’s more obscure and neglected novels, Two on a Tower revolves around the absence of Sir Blount Constantine, a country squire who departs for Africa to pursue his passion for animal blood sports. He leaves behind his wife Viviette and his estate Welland and charges Viviette ‘to avoid levity of conduct in attending any
ball, rout, or dinner to which I [Viviette] might be invited'. During her husband’s prolonged absence, Lady Viviette forms a friendship and in due course a romantic attachment to the much younger and lowly Swithin St Cleeve, a lad ‘of striking beauty, scientific attainments, and cultivated bearing’ (p. 12). Sir Blount’s reported death in Africa leaves his wife and estate in terrible financial straits. This financial ruin leads Swithin’s paternal great-uncle to try to separate Swithin and Viviette. He does this by bequeathing £400-a-year to Swithin for the rest of his life on condition that he departs from English soil to study the southern constellations and postpones marriage till the age of twenty-five.

Not prepared to yield to his great-uncle’s conditions, Swithin conceals knowledge of the bequest from Viviette and marries her in secret. However, their union is nullified by news from Africa that Sir Blount had not died at the date that was first announced but rather some months later, that is after Viviette and Swithin’s marriage. In addition, Viviette learns that her late husband did not die of malaria, as was first reported, but by shooting himself, after joining an African tribe and marrying a native princess. At this point in the plot, Viviette discovers Swithin’s great-uncle’s bequest.

The terms of the bequest induce guilt in Viviette, who fears she has been responsible for obstructing Swithin’s career. She decides to divulge the terms of the bequest to her brother, Louis, a former attaché in the diplomatic service of the English foreign office in ‘Rio Janeiro’. Having lately returned to England, Louis wishes to find a good match for his sister in order to improve his own chances of marrying into a wealthy family. He therefore seeks to prevent an alliance between Swithin and his sister by persuading Swithin of the merits of travel. Swithin succumbs to the pressure, accepting the terms in his great-uncle’s bequest, and departs from England to study the southern constellations.

Without a contact address for Swithin, Viviette is unable to summon him back when she discovers she is bearing his child. She quickly marries an unwanted suitor, Bishop Helmsdale, to avoid scandal. Years later, having more than fulfilled the terms of his bequest, Swithin returns to England and finds Viviette aged and now widowed a second time. Swithin is attracted by a younger girl, Tabitha Lark. However, out of sense of moral obligation, Swithin declares his preparedness to marry Viviette, only

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to have her die of shock in his arms: ‘Sudden joy after despair had touched an overstrained heart too smartly’ (p. 262).

Viviette qualifies, along with Tess and Marty South in *The Woodlanders*, as being among the most ill-treated in Hardy’s fiction. As Hardy scholars have argued, responsibility for her demise is shared among all the principal male characters of the tale. The troubles that afflict her originate with the imperial misdeemours of her husband, Sir Blount, and are compounded by other male oppressors’ exploitation of her misery. These include Swithin’s great-uncle, Viviette’s brother Louis and, in the end, Swithin too. This chapter extends enquiries into gender oppression in *Two on a Tower* by introducing a colonial dimension to the argument. It posits that a clear link exists in Hardy’s tale between the liberties of its key male figures to move freely across colonial spaces and the ever-circumscribed movement of its female protagonist within metropolitan spaces. In the sections that follow, I explore the way the African frontier and South America stoke up those ‘masculine’ qualities that lead to Viviette’s deterioration.

The chapter additionally argues that these colonial pursuits that are directly responsible for Viviette’s misfortunes are not only distinctly ‘masculine’ in character, but are also inexorably bound up with the ambitions of Britain’s social elite. As such, the kinds of imperial travel that are explored in *Two on a Tower* encompass, in various forms, all three elite ideologies of empire qualified by Andrew Thompson: ‘empire of privilege’, ‘empire of merit’ and ‘empire of profit’. This can be seen in strong alliances existing between the interests of the landed classes, entrepreneurs, businessmen and professionals across global spheres in Hardy’s tale. These specific links between the upper classes and the empire, this chapter argues, install divisions in *Two on a Tower* not only between the masculine and feminine, but also between the metropolitan social classes. The tale demonstrates deeply unsympathetic female and working-class responses to the stock masculine upper-class heroism of African adventure.

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2 Peter Fjågesund remarks on the ‘essentially male values which prevent a woman from living a life of freedom. Lady Constantine’s husband, her brother and the Bishop are all closely connected with traditionally male power structures’ (Fjågesund, ‘Thomas Hardy’s *Two on a Tower*: The Failure of a Symbol’, *Thomas Hardy Journal*, 14 (1998), 85-93 (p. 91)). Joan Grundy also calls attention to the role of males as oppressors in the novel (‘*Two on a Tower* and *The Duchess of Malfi*’, *Thomas Hardy Journal*, 5 (1989), 55-60 (p. 56)). Jane Thomas analyses the ‘gendering process’ in the novel, which distorts ‘individual sexuality and sexual relationships in general’ (*Thomas Hardy, Femininity and Dissent: Reassessing the ‘Minor’ Novels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 113-30).

3 A. Thompson, pp. 9-37.
Evidence for disunity additionally registers in uneven perceptions of African space and race that, as I argue in the final core sections, problematise cultural critical interventions suggesting that racist ideologies in late nineteenth-century print culture met with the eager and undiscerning approval of metropolitan subjects. By uneven perception I mean the presence in the metropole in this period of different modes of perceiving Africa, from the arrogant assumption of controlling ‘knowledge’ to the kind of manifestly limited and decidedly less controlling or arrogating perspectives employed by Hardy’s novel. News of Sir Blount’s deeds in Africa is usually postponed both spatially and temporally. Through such devices, the novel – it will be shown – declines to feign what Roland Barthes has called ‘the reality effect’. In other words, Hardy’s novel makes no claim to controlling ‘knowledge’ of African lifeworlds.

In addition, the novel shows a surprisingly sympathetic approach to African peoples and cultural rites. This humanistic conception of the racial ‘other’ at this relatively early point in Hardy’s career prefigures what Hardy scholars have recognised with regard to letters and war poems in subsequent years as homage paid to the transformative potential of other cultural practices. In this sense, early signs of anti-colonial thought in Hardy’s fiction are remarkable for the way in which they converge outside the kinds of ‘affective communities’ that Leela Gandhi researches in fin-de-siècle ‘crosscultural collaborations between oppressors and oppressed’ and which she traces to cosmopolitan London. This chapter argues, instead, that resistance to forms of colonial ‘othering’ in *Two on a Tower* stems from the implied author’s a deep distrust of distorted and dehumanising depictions of African cultures in the travel accounts of Britain’s social elite.

In order to demonstrate the narrative effects (both formal and thematic) of these multiple expressions of metropolitan dissent, this chapter compares the

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4 See summaries in Chapter One, including Parry, p. 110; Kennedy, pp. 235-36; Behdad, p. 2.
6 Bownas, *Hardy and Empire*, pp. 16-20; Richardson, ‘A Global Hardy’ (see previous chapters), pp.125-26.
7 Gandhi (see Chapter One), pp. 1, 6. In Hardy’s autobiography, there are no mentions of encounters with racial ‘others’ by this point in his career, let alone of any meaningful connections with them. During Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee in 1887, Hardy was to comment on the Annamalia of Kapurthala ‘among the presence of so many Indian princes’ in London (*LW*, p. 210). This isolated example suggests that Hardy’s first-hand encounters with race were limited mainly to national spectacle (more on imperial spectacle in metropolitan space can be consulted in John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (see Chapter One)).
relationships between gender, class and race in Hardy’s novel with those present in the more familiar ‘Africanist’ writings of the late Victorian era. The latter texts will include H. Rider Haggard’s African romances (1880s), Joseph Conrad’s novella *Heart of Darkness* (1902) and William Garden Blaikie’s biography of David Livingstone (1880), which Hardy was reading during the early stages of writing *Two on a Tower*. The chapter also connects the various pressures and effects that African adventure exerts on the metropole in Hardy’s tale with the author’s much-remarked-on interest in (but also failure to recreate) ‘fashionable’ spaces in works written after *Far from the Madding Crowd* and before his permanent return to Dorchester, to ‘the material he best knew’.

### 3.2. Africa, History, Biography

Although Sir Blount is completely absent from the metropole in *Two on a Tower*, the plot is to a large extent determined by his imperial activities. As such, Hardy’s novel challenges conventions in Victorian literary criticism that conceptualise imperial migrations as a kind of plot device, a convenient way of getting rid of characters. In Franco Moretti’s reading of *Mansfield Park*, for example, Sir Thomas is sent to Antigua because ‘[Austen needs him out of the way. Too strong a figure of authority, he intimidates the rest of the cast, stifling narrative energy, and leaving Austen without a story to tell’.*

In *Two on a Tower*, despite minor forms of insubordination against Sir Blount, his departure ultimately does not free up the plot from his stifling presence. Moreover, the constraints that he is able to impose in his absence on the social and economic life of Welland are crucial to the development of the plot. In this sense, the squire’s despotism registers as much at the level of form as at the level of content.

Given that Sir Blount’s negative impacts on the metropole are the main source of misery in the tale, this section, along with sections 3.3 and 3.4, is devoted to formulating the connections between metropolitan calamity and the particular colonial activities with which Sir Blount is associated. This section investigates the

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9 Millgate, p. 217.


11 Ken Ireland similarly notes that ‘His Lordship’s absence’ is ‘critical to the plot’ but does not link Sir Blount’s control of plot to imperial activity (*Thomas Hardy, Time and Narrative: A Narratological Approach to His Novels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 116).
biographical and historical contexts of his colonial involvement, while the following two examine the impacts that these links have on the life of his estate. Section 3.4 scrutinises more closely the imperial ties of Swithin’s great-uncle and Viviette’s brother, Louis, and considers the way that these links, in turn, boost the impacts of Sir Blount’s calamities by helping to secure a final separation between Viviette and Swithin.

One of the keys to understanding the survival of the squire’s ‘tyranny by distance’ – a concept of my own coining that will be deployed throughout this chapter – lies in the gendered nature of exploration and adventure within the African interior. Feminist and postcolonial readings have identified strong links between African adventure and masculinity in ‘Africanist’ writings of the late Victorian period. The very nature of expeditions within the African interior – perilous and usually impermanent – tended to exclude women in the late Victorian era. In Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, according to Nina Pelikan Straus, the ‘Congo wilderness’ accounts for what is essentially ‘a Conradian encounter between men and men’, a tale of ‘[m]ale heroics’ that excludes women – mainly the Intended, the depraved ivory-hunter Kurtz’s fiancée in the ‘sepulchral city’ of Brussels – from colonial knowledge. Elaine Showalter adds that the interminable process of ‘narrative transmission from one man to another’ in Conrad’s novella extends itself to the imagined readers of the tale ‘as the masculine audience for *Blackwood’s*’. In H. Rider Haggard’s 1880s African trilogy – *King Solomon’s Mines* (1885), *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and *She* (1887) – men, notes Anne McClintock, are ‘agents of power and agents of knowledge’. Indeed in Haggard’s tales, the adventurers within the African interior are all males sharing in quests that, as the narrator notes in the

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13 One notable exception here is provided in the case of the female explorer Mary Kingsley, whose travels in West Africa were published as *Travels in West Africa* (1897), *West African Studies* (1899) and *The Story of West Africa* (1900).

14 Straus, pp. 128-30.

15 Showalter, p. 96; for a broad discussion of masculinity across Conrad’s works, see Linda M. Shires, ‘Conrad’s Theatre of Masculinities’, in *The Victorian Novel and Masculinity* (see Thomas, Chapter Two), pp. 189-213.

opening lines of *King Solomon’s Mines*, have ‘not a petticoat in the whole history’. In *Two on a Tower*, one identifies similar gender divides that empower Sir Blount’s African adventure while excluding its female protagonist, Viviette, from colonial participation and knowledge.

However, the kinds of pressures that Sir Blount’s absence exerts on plot development are the result not only of his status as a male but also of his position as a member of Britain’s social elite. The work of historians, in particular, confirms that the links that existed between Africa and Britain’s upper classes in the nineteenth century were especially strong. P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins note that English travellers and explorers to Africa were primarily members of the established gentry and of the professional classes in the south. James Epstein posits that in the second half of the nineteenth century an alliance between London and a commercially driven oligarchy of landowners in the south of England became the heart of imperial economic activity. Dane Kennedy’s work reinforces these alliances between the wealthy classes when he posits that ‘exploration of Africa […] composed mainly of an increasingly prosperous, educated and politically mobilized middle class’ who were supported by ‘allies in government and the business community’. Working-class whites, with but a few exceptions, were overwhelmingly absent from African expeditions. It was ‘feasible’, remarks Kennedy, ‘for a single white man to oversee an African expedition’.

Sir Blount’s enterprise in Africa is described by Viviette as ‘a mania for African lion-hunting […] for he was inordinately anxious to make a name for himself in that field’ (p. 23). Big-game hunting, like the foxhunt, was of upper-class origin.

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17 H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines* (London: Puffin, 1994), p. 7 (original emphasis). Subsequent page references to this text are noted in-text parenthetically.
20 Kennedy, p. 237.
21 White servants were scarcely involved in African expeditions since local natives were considered more suitable to fulfil intermediary roles due to language and landscape familiarities. Many of the hired intermediaries, including guides and porters, were, according to Kennedy, deracinated figures within their own cultures and, quite frequently, victims of white explorers’ violence and sexual predations (Kennedy, pp. 159-94).
22 Kennedy, p. 80. The following explorers were ones to do so: Mungo Park, Friedrich Hornemann, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, Alexander Laing, David Livingstone, Samuel Baker, Verney Lovett Cameron and Joseph Thomson.
Hunting opportunities in the ‘white’ highlands of Kenya lured a small immigrant clan of British aristocrats, though ‘gentleman emigrants’ to the colonial world from the mid nineteenth century were usually scarce. African safari also attracted European professional hunters who, like Sir Blount, were keen on becoming national celebrities. Publicly celebrated Victorian explorers and hunters included Frederick C. Selous, whom Hardy met in person (see Chapter One), and Samuel Baker. The kinds of hunting activities that Sir Blount embarks on were in many ways the antithesis of the slow process of settlement abroad. Going out to woodland and prairie, cutting and clearing trees and carefully husbanding cattle and sheep on grasslands were not activities that brought instant gratification of ‘the urge to accumulate’. Laurence Kitzan maintains that Africa, especially south of the Sahara, was regarded as a region where one could escape ‘the grinding path to prosperity’ by getting very rich very quickly and taking all or part of the plunder ‘back to England’.

Sir Blount’s passion for lion hunting reflects this perception of Africa, often expressed in literary form as a treasure hoard, a perception that is invoked in the words of labourers at Welland, who at one point mistake Swithin – recently returned from the Cape – for ‘a diment-digger, or a lion hunter’ (p. 257). Sir Blount’s ambitions resemble the quest for treasure, gold, diamonds and ivory in King Solomon’s Mines that enable the travellers to retire to England rich. His hunting mania and origins in the ‘gentlemanly’ classes find their parallels in the qualifications

25 Pieterse, p. 112. Big-game hunting took on different forms in different imperial regions. The shikar in British India, for example, remained a purely sporting occasion for members of the aristocracy. In the case of South Africa, pioneer settlers at the turn of the nineteenth century undertook large-scale hunts but these were intended principally to clear territory of predators or to provide food. It was only with growing demands for animal products from European markets in the Victorian era, usually for ivory, horns, ostrich feathers, and skins and hides of wild animals, that settlers turned to hunting big-game for trade (John MacKenzie, The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988), pp. 90-91).
26 Laurence Kitzan, Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 22. The famous adventurer Frederick C. Selous, who had made a career out of hunting in Africa, published his A Hunter’s Wanderings in Africa (1881) around the time Hardy would have been gathering material for Two on a Tower. Samuel Baker published accounts of his expeditions in In the Heart of Africa (1884) and Wild Beasts and Their Ways (1890).
27 Kitzan, p. 91.
28 Kitzan, pp. 47, 91.
and social backgrounds of Rider Haggard’s protagonist Allan Quatermain, and in Kurtz’s obsession with ivory in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness.*

The extension of the hunting cult to places like Africa coincided, as MacKenzie points out, with the creation of the *battue*, the large-scale slaughter of carefully reared birds, and the renewal of aristocratic enthusiasm for the chase within metropolitan borders. Fox hunting, otter hunting, hare coursing, the shooting of pheasant and grouse, deer driving and stalking all entered upon a ‘golden age’ in the late Victorian era. Hardy’s biographer Millgate maintains that Hardy was ‘oppressed’ by the mass slaughter of game birds on local Wimborne estates around the time that *Two on a Tower* was written. Hardy’s concern for animal welfare finds expression in the fiction in the malevolent aspirations of an animal-killer hailing from Britain’s landed elite.

As the animal resources of southern Africa became more important to the international economy in the first decades of the nineteenth century, they came to be studied and hunted for science as well as for sport. Sir Blount disguises his own hunting ambitions, as his wife Viviette further notes, in a charade of geographical exploration: ‘he dignified [his mania for African lion-hunting] by calling it a scheme of geographical discovery’ (p. 23). By exploiting the veneer of science, Sir Blount expects to benefit from funds that were increasingly made available to explorers from the mid nineteenth century. Colonial governments, societies and private parties often financed the costs of exploration, including the hiring of native guides and porters, and supplied food, stock and medicine, in addition to goods with which to engage in local trade.

Exploration was frequently backed by the state because the intensely practical discipline of geography provided the information that helped officials ‘to demarcate spheres of influence’, to negotiate with rivals over territorial acquisition and to identify a colony’s resources and how best to exploit them. The Royal Geographical

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29 See Barrow’s discussion of the hunting trophy in the Quatermain romances. He reads the hunting trophy as a specifically masculine imperial souvenir and commodity fetish that became a very important feature of Victorian material culture and display, pp. 79-80.
31 Millgate, pp. 218-19.
32 More on Hardy and animals can be found in Anna West, *Thomas Hardy and Animals* (Cambridge UP, 2017).
34 Kennedy, pp. 2, 112, 164, 237.
35 A. Thompson, p. 24.
Society had few doubts about the importance of geographical knowledge to an expanding imperial state and sought to popularise exploration in the third quarter of the nineteenth century by securing official funding.\textsuperscript{36} In this sense, claims Thompson, it was ‘the people involved in establishing the disciplines of geography, geology, botany and anthropology who provided the real impetus for overseas expansion’.\textsuperscript{37}

The travel accounts of the missionary and doctor David Livingstone, which Hardy read at the turn of 1882,\textsuperscript{38} illustrate many of these links between scientific exploration in the African interior and the financial backing of the British government, societies and wealthy sponsors. The missionary doctor and explorer had travelled and mapped vast areas in central and southern Africa in the mid nineteenth century. Livingstone often received recognition and remuneration from bodies such as the Royal Geographical Society. His ‘discovery’ of the Zouga in 1849 was ‘communicated to the Royal Geographical Society in extracts from [his] letters to the London Missionary Society’. For his successful location of ‘an interesting country, a fine river, and an inland lake’, Livingstone received from the Royal Geographical Society, via the London Missionary Society, a sum of twenty-five guineas.\textsuperscript{39} During his early travels, geological, zoological, botanical and meteorological specimens were sent to leading figures in the various fields of science.\textsuperscript{40} Livingstone’s expedition as British consul to hunt out natural resources along the Zambezi river and to explore the possibility of opening it up to boats, and in final years, to find the source of the Nile were heavily funded by the British government.\textsuperscript{41} Quests to find him when he went ‘missing’ during his Zambezi expedition were also heavily funded by the government.\textsuperscript{42}

Although himself a man of humble Scottish origins, Livingstone, during his many decades in Africa, received funding not only from official bodies but also from affluent private supporters. During his early travels across the South African desert, the hunter William Cotton Oswell, who was to accompany Livingstone on several of

\textsuperscript{36} A. Thompson, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{37} A. Thompson, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{38} LN, I, 144, 376. I will expand on this connection in the final core section of this chapter.
\textsuperscript{39} Blakie, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{40} Blakie, pp. 51, 83, 95-96.
\textsuperscript{42} Jeal, p. 61.
his journeys, was reported to have defrayed many of the expedition costs.\textsuperscript{43} James Young, the inventor of paraffin, financed, along with the Foreign Office, a significant portion of Livingstone’s expedition costs to discover the source of the Nile.\textsuperscript{44} Following his famous meeting with the journalist and explorer H. M. Stanley, who had set out on his own quest in search of the ‘missing’ missionary explorer, Livingstone received generous supplies from the wealthy James Gordon Bennett of the \textit{New York Herald}, who had also funded Stanley’s mission.\textsuperscript{45}

These special links between Africa, scientific exploration and affluence are variously reflected in Victorian fiction. In Elizabeth Gaskell’s \textit{Wives and Daughters} (1866), the explorer Roger Hamley of Hamley Hall makes a ‘discovery’ of the fictional district of ‘Arracuoba’ in Africa, which is then relayed by Lord Hollingford at an annual gathering of the Royal Geographical Society. In Haggard’s tales, it is the wealthy Englishman Sir Henry Curtis who initiates and finances the Quatermain quests. In \textit{Heart of Darkness}, Kurtz’s expedition to Africa is in the service of the official and commercially driven International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs, which is a fictional reference to the proto-NGO International African Association that formed with similar aims during the early stages of the colonisation of the Belgian Congo.

The types of exploration and hunt for resources in Africa undertaken in fiction by characters like Sir Blount historically paved the way for aggressive territorial acquisitions, of the kind that notoriously followed the official partitioning of Africa among European countries at the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference. However, already in the 1870s and in the run-up to the Berlin Conference, Africa was becoming politically volatile. France had made forward moves in Senegal in 1879, and in 1881 occupied Tunisia. Britain, for its part, occupied Egypt in 1882.\textsuperscript{46} By the time Hardy was writing \textit{Two on a Tower}, Britain was embroiled in the First Boer War in South Africa, motivated by diamond- and gold-strikes in the region and by a compulsion to protect

\textsuperscript{43} Blaikie, pp. 99, 101, 108-09; Jeal, p. 29. MacKenzie records that Oswell had originally joined Livingstone during sick leave from his job with the East India Company, granted due to fever contracted, according to his son and biographer, as a result of too much hunting. During Oswell’s service with the East India Company, according to MacKenzie, he had ‘established himself as a hot-tempered official who delivered summary punishments of flogging, and he joined his younger colleagues in pig sticking, hunting and shooting’. Oswell’s failure to return to work after his period of sick leave was due to being waylaid by an abundance of hunting opportunities during his time with Livingstone (\textit{Empire of Nature}, pp. 101-02).

\textsuperscript{44} Jeal, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{45} Jeal, pp. 61, 72.

\textsuperscript{46} Hyam (see Chapter Two), p. 214.
important trade routes (both land and sea). To that end, Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877, renounced it in 1881 after being beaten by Boer fighters on the Majuba, and over the next few years encircled it, instead, to cut off the Boer settlers’ independent access to sea routes.  

Rider Haggard was himself able to promote British interests in South Africa thanks to the kind of economic security he enjoyed as a member of a social elite. In 1877, following Britain’s annexation of the Transvaal, Haggard hoisted the British flag over the Boer republic and served for a time alongside Shepstone as a peripatetic Registrar of Transvaal’s High Court. The younger son of minor country gentry, with a father who, according to Norman Etherington, ‘played the bluff, overbearing squire convincingly enough’, Haggard had previously been appointed to an unpaid post as an assistant to the Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Natal, Sir Henry Bulwer. This post was secured through the family’s Norfolk social connections. In 1879, he briefly took up ostrich farming in the Transvaal, an occupation dedicated to the farming of plumes and feathers for rich Europeans: including the decorative arts, millinery, costumes, uniforms and fans. After the Transvaal was returned to the Boers in 1881, Haggard returned to England to train as a barrister and wrote a defence of colonial policies in South Africa, which aligned him with Conservative imperial interests and against Gladstone’s ‘anti-imperialist’ Liberals who had won the general election of 1880.

Joseph Conrad, for his part, may not have aligned himself with imperial interests in quite the same way that Rider Haggard did, but he, like his counterpart, owes much to his aristocratic connections for his presence in the Congo following the partitioning of Africa. In his critical biography of Joseph Conrad, Batchelor notes that Conrad himself ‘was never the typical seaman that his reading public was in due

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47 Porter, pp. 100-05. This Britain did by declaring a protectorate over southern Bechuanaland (1885), occupying the Zulu coastline between Natal and Mozambique in 1885 and 1887 and empowering the diamond millionaire Cecil Rhodes’s commercial company to occupy Matabeleland and Mashonaland to the north by the end of the decade. Britain was prepared to sacrifice the interests of native African populations (handing the fate of some to the Boers, whilst surrendering that of others to Rhodes’s company) in order to ensure that she retained commercial ascendancy over trade routes.


50 Norman Etherington, ‘Critical Introduction’, in *The Annotated She: A Critical Edition of H. Rider Haggard’s Victorian Romance with Introduction and Notes by Norman Etherington* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1991), pp. xvi-xliii (pp. xv-xvi). In 1902, Hardy wrote an account of the changing lives of rural labourers in the English countryside to Rider Haggard, who by this point was investigating the conditions of agriculture and agricultural labourers’ (LW, pp. 335-37). I will return to this particular communication in Chapter Four.
course to see in him’.\textsuperscript{51} Batchelor offers compelling evidence for Conrad’s generously financed upbringing and global travels. Descending from Poland’s hereditary class of landowning gentry (the \textit{szlachta}),\textsuperscript{52} Conrad, in youth, received an allowance of 2000 francs a year from his wealthy uncle and guardian Tadeusz Bobrowski; it seems Conrad spent a good deal more besides. His uncle routinely bailed him out of debts, amounting to at least thirty thousand French francs by the time Conrad was twenty (an estimated equivalent of eighty to a hundred thousand English pounds at the time Batchelor’s biography was published in 1994).\textsuperscript{53} By the age of twenty, Conrad had made three voyages to the West Indies as a tourist rather than a sailor.\textsuperscript{54} Wealth helped Conrad, as it did Rider Haggard, obtain unofficial apprenticeships, in Conrad’s case with various English sail-ship companies following his arrival in England. His ongoing allowance from his uncle placed his income well above that of other sailors (in some cases even of the Captain).\textsuperscript{55}

The influences of patronage, ones that are demonstrated also in historical alliances outlined earlier between explorers and wealthy (sometimes official) sponsors, are visible in \textit{Heart of Darkness}. For example, Marlow obtains his appointment ‘by hook or by crook’ as the skipper of a river steamboat with a Continental Trading society through his well-connected aunt: “I know the wife of a very high personage in the Administration, and also a man who has lots of influence with,” &c., &c.\textsuperscript{56}

Hardy, meanwhile, as I argue in Chapter One, had not yet been introduced into the social circles of an Africa-linked aristocracy when \textit{Two on a Tower} was being conceived (never mind possessing the lineage, capital, connections or incentive to warrant travel there). It was only in 1885, as Hardy’s reputation grew, that he first made the acquaintance of Lord Carnarvon, at whose dinner – as mentioned in Chapter One in relation to Hardy’s particularly scathing critique of this occasion – a number of ‘brilliant and titled people’ gathered to dissect the disappearance of General Gordon in the Sudan. It appears that some were ‘hoping that General Gordon is

\textsuperscript{52} Batchelor, pp. 2, 28, 43.  
\textsuperscript{53} Batchelor, p. 29.  
\textsuperscript{54} Batchelor, p. 23.  
\textsuperscript{55} Batchelor, p. 25.  
\textsuperscript{56} Joseph Conrad, \textit{Heart of Darkness}, in \textit{Heart of Darkness and Other Stories}, ed. by Gene M. Moore (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 1999), pp. 29-105 (p. 36). Subsequent page references to this work are noted parenthetically in-text.
murdered, in order that it may ruin Gladstone!’ Various personages exchanged words with Hardy, and one Dowager Viscountess Galway said to him that ‘she half-believed Gordon was still alive, because no relic, bloody rag, or any scrap of him had been produced, which from her experience of those countries she knew to be almost the invariable custom’.\textsuperscript{57} Millgate notes that the poor opinion that Hardy often formed of mainly Conservative personages cannot have been unrelated to his own Liberal sympathies.\textsuperscript{58}

One might add to Millgate’s observation that particularly uncensored opinions of various high profile personages in the \textit{Life and Work} seem to coincide with these personages’ boasted links to Africa. In 1890, Hardy’s critique of Henry Morton Stanley’s bad speech (recounted in Chapter One) would have inevitably been a dissenting response to Stanley’s brutal campaigns in equatorial Africa during his quest to ‘find’ and ‘rescue’ Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatoria, in the aftermath of General Gordon’s death in Khartoum. Hardy’s strong negative reactions to Africa-linked celebrities in the last decade of his novel-writing years are prefigured, as the next sections will argue more systematically, in an overall disapproving picture of Sir Blount in \textit{Two on a Tower}.

3.3.\textbf{TYRANNY BY DISTANCE AND FEMALE DISSENT}

Hardy’s tale offers a convincing narrative of imperial aggression in that Sir Blount’s taste for animal blood sports in Africa mirrors the tyranny he inflicts over subjects at Welland. In this and the following section, I explore the impacts of Sir Blount’s tyranny on metropolitan society and the way in which these are perpetuated from his location in Africa. This section specifically assesses forms of tyranny that materialise in the oppression of Sir Blount’s wife, Viviette. In addition, it considers Viviette’s dissenting responses to his despotism by remote control.

Sir Blount’s violent disposition towards his wife can be inferred from a passage in which one of the labourers recalls an incident in which he had seen ‘Sir Blount a-shutting my lady [Viviette] out-o’-doors’ (p. 136). Viviette herself notes that her husband was ‘a mistaken – somewhat jealous man’ (p. 22). Throughout the tale, Viviette’s physical responses to possible sightings of her husband confirm a history of abuse. These include gestures of self-defence, for example ‘raised […] hands in

\textsuperscript{57} LW, p. 179.
\textsuperscript{58} Millgate, p. 246.
horror, as if to protect herself from him’, an ‘uttered shriek’, and a turn ‘shudderingly to the wall, covering her face’ (p. 134). As Swithin reflects, ‘Nothing told so significantly of the conduct of her first husband [Sir Blount] towards the poor lady as the abiding dread of him which was revealed in her by any sudden revival of his image or memory’ (p. 138). Sir Blount’s brutality towards his wife and the animals he hunts reinforces Ashis Nandy’s opinion of empire that ‘the drive for mastery over men is not merely a by-product of a faulty political economy but also of a world view which believes in the absolute superiority of the human over the nonhuman and the subhuman, the masculine over the feminine’.^59

What makes Hardy’s version of imperial aggression – against the feminine, the nonhuman and the ‘subhuman’ – so distinctively upper-class in remit, apart from the tale’s preoccupation with an aristocratic sport, is Sir Blount’s simultaneous control over metropolitan and African environments. Sir Blount’s status as gentry means he thinks he can leave his estate and other effects intact during his travels to Africa. This reach might be counterposed to Arabella Donn’s situation in Jude the Obscure, through which her family are compelled, with the folding of their pig-breeding business, to sell off their ‘goods and other household effects’ through auction in order to emigrate.^^60 As cottage tenants, the Donns are in no position to determine, as Sir Blount can, what happens to their metropolitan residence after their departure. In Two on a Tower, however, Sir Blount, a privileged traveller, exerts significant pressure on the choices and opportunities of metropolitan subjects. This is an important contrast in Hardy’s fiction between privileged and impoverished forms of travel to the imperial frontiers.

In Sir Blount’s case, the demand for loyalty from Viviette prior to leaving for Africa becomes one of the means through which he brings that pressure to bear on her in his absence. He reads Viviette a lecture in which, ‘[h]e bade me [Viviette] consider what my position would be when he was gone; hoped that I should remember what was due to him, – that I would not so behave towards other men as to bring the name of Constantine into suspicion’ (p. 23). Angered that Sir Blount should be suspicious of her, Viviette makes ‘a very rash offer on my part’ to live ‘like a cloistered nun during his absence; to go into no society whatever’ (p. 23). This offer satisfies Sir

[^59]: Nandy (see Chapter One), p. x.
[^60]: Thomas Hardy, Jude the Obscure, ed. by Dennis Taylor (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 71. Citations from this work are henceforward noted in-text parenthetically.
Blount, who, according to Viviette, ‘instantly held me to my word, and gave me no loophole for retracting it’ (p. 23). As a consequence, Viviette avoids fairs, club-walking and feasts, the locals observing how ‘my lady is a walking weariness’ (p. 17). Viviette declares, ‘my life has become a burden’ (p. 23). Sir Blount’s control over Viviette, exerted as much through absence as when present, drives the plot forward.

The many years of withheld communication on Sir Blount’s part and ensuing rumours or conflicting reports about his activities engender not only fear but also uncertainty and guilt in Viviette. A reported sighting of Sir Blount in London received by letter raises questions for Viviette about her wifely obligations. However, her fretfulness keeps her from disclosing the contents of the anonymous letter and from requesting outside help to confirm the report. Indeed, Viviette is reluctant to relay the contents of the letter to Parson Torkingham, whom she had summoned with the intention of asking him to confirm the sighting: ‘either from timidity, misgiving or reconviction, [she] had swerved from her intended communication’ (p. 24). The interview ends with no disclosure. The text indicates that this reluctance to divulge the contents of the letter is rooted in a fear of being perceived by the parson as a woman who might be after any excuse to break her vow to her husband. This dread of being misapprehended, including closely related feelings of guilt and shame, recurs throughout the tale.

Despite restrictions upon Viviette’s freedom, she takes advantage of Sir Blount’s absence to oppose and even subvert some of his possessive tendencies. Viviette’s power to supplant Sir Blount’s style of lordship over land and subjects registers more subliminally in the invasion of male spaces in the early chapters of the book. Rings-Hill Speer, where stargazing and romance take place, is a masculine space that is progressively invaded and pervaded by the feminine. In the opening pages of the book, Viviette and a servant conveying her in a landau behold the phallic form, ‘a classical column, which, though partly immersed in the plantation, rose above the tree-tops to a considerable height’ (p. 3). The pillar is a monument to masculinity, standing on the hereditary estate of her husband and being ‘a substantial memorial’ to Sir Blount’s great-grandfather who fell in the American war. Viviette had previously avoided the pillar, owing to ‘its insulation by this well-nigh

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61 See Fjågesund’s discussion of the phallic significance of the column as a site of Viviette’s ‘erotic awakening’ (p. 90). Jane Thomas additionally discusses the ‘panoptic function’ of the column (p. 115).

62 Fjågesund, p. 89.
impracticable ground’ (p. 3) and ‘the tedious relations with this husband [the owner of Rings-Hill Speer]’ (p. 4; my italics). The inhospitable terrain that prevents Viviette from reaching the tower in the opening pages renders the column unapproachable. Previously, she avoided the column because of unpleasant relations with its master.

Now driven by curiosity and ‘self-assertiveness’ (p. 6) in her husband’s absence, Viviette eventually infiltrates the tower. Although Swithin has occupied the tower first and made use of it for his astronomical activities, it is Viviette who endows it with a conquering feminine presence:

[A] soft rustle of silken clothes came up the spiral staircase, and, hesitating onwards, reached the orifice, where appeared the form of Lady Constantine. She did not at first perceive that he [a sleeping Swithin] was present, and stood still to reconnoitre. Her eye glanced over his telescope, now wrapped up, his table and papers, his observing-chair, and his contrivances for making the best of a deficiency of instruments. (pp. 38-39)

Further still, Viviette makes arrangements to buy an equatorial telescope and to fix it on the column for her own use, allowing Swithin, her ‘Astronomer Royal’, have use of it whenever he chooses (p. 47). Swithin, in turn, addresses her as ‘his Queen’ (p.47). These moments confirm female patronage of the column.

Viviette’s takeover of Rings-Hill Speer during Sir Blount’s absence makes for an illuminating and productive contrast with the African romances of Rider Haggard, in which male travel is often described as the penetration of female spaces. In his *King Solomon’s Mines*, for example, a map in the possession of Allan Quatermain indicates that the hunters must infiltrate a hidden valley by travelling between two mountains known as ‘Sheba’s Breasts’ on the way to the treasure cave. In his analysis of gendered landscapes in Haggard’s *She*, Norman Etherington records that it does not require much imagination to see the female body also dominating the topography of *She*. The narrow passes between the beautiful shrubbery [en route to the lost capital of Kôr] suggest the loins of a woman. The two extinct volcanic mountains where most of the action occurs suggest breasts standing up from the broad African plains.

Showalter observes that in *She* the travellers must ‘proceed through nightmarish landscapes’ of ‘vapourous marshes and stagnant canals, … like a Freudianly female *paysage moralisé*’. In Hardy’s work, disparity emerges then between male conquest

63 See McClintock’s discussion of this trope, pp. 1-4.
64 Etherington, p. xxxiv.
of feminised African geography and female expropriation of masculinised spaces during male absence from the metropole.

More explicit examples of Viviette’s defiance of her husband’s heavy-handed running of his estate are recorded when she decides to invest in an equatorial telescope, the price of two grand pianos (p. 44), and to initiate sizeable alterations to the column itself in order to facilitate Swithin’s feats in astronomy. The permanence of these significant alterations defies Sir Blount’s more ‘severe’ method of granting short leases, ‘a distinctive arrangement […] as between landlord and tenant, with a stringent clause against driving nails into the stonework’ (p. 52). Magnanimity as a mode of defiance continues in the arrangements Viviette makes for Swithin to pay with her own cash for the equipment and later to own in perpetuity the ‘equatorial, dome, stand, hut, and everything that has been put here for this astronomical purpose’ (pp. 53, 56).

Other instances of female dissent are recorded in passages of direct speech, in which Viviette attests to her husband’s aggressive character. These include comments to Parson Torkingham, noted earlier, about Sir Blount’s ‘jealous’ nature, his ‘mania’ for lion hunting and charade of geographical exploration in Africa. His failings, Viviette observes, would have stopped her from marrying him had she known about them prior to marriage. In this respect, Viviette’s candour sets her apart from Kurtz’s Intended in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, for example, who describes her lover as having a ‘noble heart’ (p. 104). This important difference creates an opening for recovering voices of female opposition to patriarchal drives for imperial mastery, pinpointed by Nandy, that may not be quite as easy to recover from other more recognisably ‘Africanist’ texts.

Despite moments of female dissent, the fear of the absent squire, including the possibility of his sudden return, looms heavily over moments of assertiveness and insubordination. Remarks about the entailed risks of Viviette’s support for the changes to the column – principally of provoking the ire of the absent landlord – lead to ‘a sudden displacement of blood from [Viviette’s] cheek’ (p. 45). “Ah – my husband!” she whispers… “I am just now going to church,” she adds in a repressed and hurried tone’ (p. 45). The alterations to the column not only defy Sir Blount’s heavy-handed running of his estate but also ‘contravene’ the terms of Viviette’s seclusion. Rumour is afoot that Viviette, a married woman, has taken an interest in Swithin: ‘If Sir Blount were to come back all of a sudden – oh, my’,
exclaims the handmaid who has noticed Viviette’s association with the young astronomer (p. 50). As a result of these questions, Viviette is once again thrust upon her own ‘domestic void’ as she steps up efforts to maintain the appearance of virtue, at first by taking extra care not to be seen the company of Swithin (pp. 52, 54) and then by avoiding his company altogether (p. 69).

Meanwhile, Sir Blount’s whereabouts continue to be unaccounted for until a report of his death is received. Mr Torkingham has been entrusted with the task of preparing Viviette for the news. As he stalls for time, Lady Viviette insists on knowing the full truth instantly – ‘No, tell me here’, and ‘I am quite ready’ (p. 72) – and learns, as a result, that Sir Blount had died of malaria on the banks of the Zouga eighteen months ago. As such, Viviette stands apart from Kurtz’s Intended in *Heart of Darkness*, who, as Straus asserts, becomes the target of a ‘protective lie’ through Marlow’s occlusion of truth about the circumstances associated with the ivory hunter’s death. In her demand for knowledge, Lady Viviette, by contrast, is far from being cast in a role which is played by Kurtz’s Intended as the ‘white lady in the tower’.

Viviette then receives news of financial ruin on account of her husband’s imperial profligacy. The ‘seriously involved conditions’ of his affairs (p. 73) are such that Welland is assailed by pecuniary difficulties:

Sir Blount’s mis-management and eccentric behaviour were resulting in serious consequences to Lady Constantine; nothing less, indeed, than her almost complete impoverishment. […] The horses were sold one by one; the carriages also; the greater part of the house was shut up, and she resided in the smallest rooms. (pp. 73-74)

The contractions of space enjoined by the squire’s jealousy are now made worse by material desolation. Viviette is eventually obliged to reckon, through Sir Blount’s piling debts, with a house that is no longer ‘thrown open to gaiety’ (p. 129) and that must languish in a state of dilapidation. One of Sir Blount’s distant relatives is to inherit Welland (p. 129) but until such a time, one of the ‘capricious conditions’ – the text is unclear as to what these are – is that Viviette is ‘bound to occupy the house’, with no ‘stipulation in the event of [her] remarriage’ (p. 130). Effectively, Lady Viviette is condemned to occupy a house that is no longer habitable and can no longer offer security or a sense of belonging. Lady Viviette’s travails, ones which she puts

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66 Straus, p. 129.
down ‘to her situation as a woman’ (p. 198), therefore cannot be read apart from her position as the excluded spouse of a country squire whose title and means have facilitated adventure in Africa but – in the absence of profit – have also led to bankruptcy.

The imperilled state of Welland appears in part to confirm Andrew Thompson’s view that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the empire could not do much to protect aristocratic finances or properties.67 Problems of heavily encumbered family estates in England did not tend to be resolved through service abroad and properties often had to be sold off.68 Sir Blount is not, of course, employed in the upper rungs of the colonial administration, but his imperial recklessness and impoverishment of his metropolitan estate mirror what Thompson identifies as the imperial aristocracy’s excesses of travel. Whether home or away, Sir Blount conducts his affairs in such a way that prioritises his own whims and sense of entitlement over the needs of those bound to him. Hardy’s narrative provides a convincing picture of the way in which social elites may continue the work of dispossession in ways that exceed and transcend national borders. Sir Blount, in fact, does not have to be physically present on metropolitan soil for the effects of upper-class hubris to make victims of wife and estate. Although never physically appearing within metropolitan space throughout the tale, Sir Blount continues to stalk, haunt and cause upheaval primarily for his wife and estate but also, as I will be arguing in the next section, for other Welland residents.

In addition to the ever-multiplying austerities that aristocratic conceit has introduced to the metropolitan manor, misery at Welland is cultivated via spectral-like apparitions of the squire. Not long after Sir Blount is misreported to have died of malaria, Swithin is forced to dress himself in Sir Blount’s ‘old moth-eaten greatcoat, heavily trimmed with fur’ and ‘a companion cap of sealskin’ (p. 133) to escape Welland House into the rain undetected. His ‘shadowy fur-clad outline’, mistaken for an apparition of her dead husband, frightens Viviette in her own private chambers (p.134). It seems fitting that the means by which Viviette should be haunted are the furs of dead animals that have been left behind at Welland: a signature of Sir Blount’s wealth, status, violence and global reach. Sealskin within the fur industry was often

67 A. Thompson, pp. 11-17.
68 A. Thompson, p. 14. Thompson is mainly referring to official imperial commissions of Britain’s social elite.
acquired through especially violent methods, involving clubbing rather than the use of a firearm, and seals were not always dead before being skinned. An anonymous article in the comic magazine *Judy* (1875), titled ‘The Strange Story of a Sealskin: A Tale of Metempsychosis’, treats the practice of seal-clubbing humorously. The allusive reference to sealskin in Hardy’s tale is subversive, for it evokes the way in which the victims of Sir Blount’s tyrannical hunt share in – almost by physically inhabiting – the seal’s living death.

This episode of ghostly stalking in some senses anticipates the freakish scene that is ultimately to precipitate the tragic outcomes of the story. By now secretly married to Swithin, Viviette receives a visit from her solicitor’s head clerk to inform her that Sir Blount had not died at the date that was first announced. He introduces a newspaper report by a correspondent for the *Cape Chronicle*, in which an Englishman just arrived from the interior notes that a considerable misapprehension exists in England concerning the death of the traveller and hunter, Sir Blount Constantine. According to the wanderer, Sir Blount had in fact died at a later date than was previously supposed, having settled in the interim with a native African tribe and eventually ending his own life (p. 196).

The traveller’s return to South Africa with the express intention of debunking the earlier rumour of Sir Blount’s death suggests that the intelligence has come from Sir Blount himself. It seems Sir Blount had wilfully concealed information from his wife about his whereabouts in Africa. This argument for wilful concealment is strengthened by circumstances communicated in the earlier misinformed report, in which Sir Blount’s death, for a while kept from public knowledge, is attributed to one of Sir Blount’s fellow-travellers. This traveller had allegedly retraced his steps after Sir Blount’s death on the Zouga ‘into a healthier district, remained there with a native tribe, and took no pains to make the circumstances [of Sir Blount’s death] known’. The inaccurate report adds: ‘It seems only by the mere accident of his having told some third party that we know of the matter now’ (p. 72). The culpability of ‘some third party’ in the first report has been implicitly transposed with Sir Blount’s in the second, accurate report.

This withheld information has meant the premature execution of Sir Blount’s will and of its entailed pecuniary straits, an error for which Viviette’s solicitor offers

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to make restitution (p. 198). In addition to having to bear the premature financial consequences of Sir Blount’s reticence, Viviette is made to return to those old feelings of fear and guilt, for her marriage to Swithin, now annulled, was solemnised while Sir Blount was still living. Her response to a newspaper illustration in which the squire is pictured ‘with his pistol to his mouth’ (p. 202) confirms the recurrence of guilt: ‘It was as though her first husband had died that moment, and she was keeping an appointment with another in the presence of his corpse’ (p. 202). Sir Blount’s tight control, in many senses more virulent in his absence and supreme at death, repeatedly prevents his wife from pursuing a life beyond his reach.

Two on a Tower, then, reveals that patriarchal, upper-class forms of control over colonial and metropolitan female environments are not only invulnerable to national borders (as argued previously), but also that the ravages to colony and metropole of this form of power are materially linked. In other words, through the deployment of material ‘presence’ across borders, whether in the form of apparitions (a kind of imprint of physical presence), property, possessions, and binding agreements, upper-class patriarchy establishes its rule over multiple spaces concomitantly. This argument for material connections between patriarchal rule over colonial environments and patriarchal rule over metropolitan female spaces is therefore distinct from claims made in both feminist and postcolonial theory for the metaphorical, allegorical or overlapping relationships between different sites of oppression.70

In this respect, the interdependence of the two sites of oppression – in Africa and at Welland – resembles the kinds of reciprocal connections outlined in the previous chapter between the alienations of Indian and English labourers, and between ‘development’ projects in India and the church restoration at West Endelstow in A Pair of Blue Eyes. Both tales expose the way in which disempowerments choreographed by social elites can operate irrespective of borders that divide colony and metropole.

Because of these structural links, Sir Blount’s migration to Africa forecloses possibilities of ‘freeing up’ the plot. Two on a Tower, then, does not lend itself to the

70 Susan Fraiman, for example, has maintained that Antigua in Mansfield Park provides a platform for ‘imagined commonality between English women and African slaves, a potentially radical overlap of outrage’ (Fraiman, ‘Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism’, Critical Inquiry, 21.4 (1995), 805-21 (p. 813)). Many other examples of allegorical readings within Victorian and postcolonial studies are summarised and refuted in Benita Parry, p. 110 (see more detailed discussion of Parry’s response to the allegorical mode in Chapter One).
kind of reading that Moretti applies to Sir Thomas’s departure for Antigua in *Mansfield Park*, as discussed at the start of Section 3.2. However, this is not to say that because it is impossible to ‘rid’ the metropole of Sir Blount’s stifling influence, it therefore remains unfeasible for the plot to develop effectively. The fear and austerity Sir Blount imposes upon Welland from Africa are what gives the plot its momentum. The next section will continue to explore the text’s narrative momentum by focusing on the obstacles that Sir Blount’s distant tyranny poses to other forms of metropolitan movement and association.

3.4. **WIDER IMPACTS AND CLASS DISSENT**

In this section, I consider the expanding impacts of curtailed freedoms of movement and association generated through Sir Blount’s tyranny by distance. I do this by analysing the manner in which his distant rule affects other characters and alliances within the metropole. These effects on other characters within the tale are by-products of the tyranny that is directed, above all, towards his wife, Viviette. The focus in this section is on the way in which Sir Bount’s control of his wife prevents the potential for a cross-class alliance between Swithin and Viviette. This portion of the chapter also captures the way in which Sir Blount’s despotism creates opportunities for other upper-class players, also with links to the empire, to influence plot development in adverse ways. As in the previous section’s focus on female dissent, I consider a range of metropolitan critical responses to these harmful impacts from both members of the labouring classes and the narrator.

Prior to Sir Blount’s misreported death, Viviette’s anxiety over consorting with members of the opposite sex means that she and Swithin, whom she assists with his astronomical activities, are forced to avoid being seen in each other’s company. Swithin has to enter ‘like a spectre’ (p. 54) into Welland estate to collect bank-notes from Viviette to pay for the equatorial equipment and tower alterations. Only a hand reaches out of the window to pass him the parcel with the notes. When Viviette decides to risk joining Swithin to do some stargazing, she emerges ‘muffled up like a nun’ and ‘str[ikes] across the park’ with Swithin for the tower (p. 54). In due course, Viviette withdraws altogether from Swithin’s company after a bout of remorse over her alliance with him: ‘She [Viviette] knelt down [at church], and did her utmost to eradicate those impulses towards St Cleeve which were inconsistent with her position as the wife of an absent man, though not unnatural in her as *his* [Sir Blount’s] *victim*’
(p. 70; my italics). The narrator, it seems, is at pains to emphasise that Viviette’s feelings towards Swithin are completely legitimate given her circumstances, as Sir Blount’s absence tightens rather than slackens Viviette’s unfair treatment at his hands.

The distance Viviette feels compelled to keep from Swithin as a result of her renewed efforts to observe her vow of loyalty means that Swithin receives news of Sir Blount’s misdemeanours and their consequent effects upon Viviette via messengers from Welland. The separation is felt acutely when the ‘seriously involved condition’ of Sir Blount’s financial affairs is made known to Swithin via Parson Torkingham, for up to this point in the tale, Viviette herself had been the sole communicator to Swithin of news regarding Sir Blount, usually while the pair were at the column (pp. 9, 32-33). Swithin’s estrangement from Viviette means that possibilities for showing solidarity directly to the victim, Viviette, are closed off.

This example of separation is but one of many instances of enforced division between Swithin and Viviette, who are compelled to ‘behave as strangers to each other’ (p. 128) throughout the tale. After the first report of Sir Blount’s death, it is the ‘rack and ruin’ bequeathed to Viviette, coupled with her ‘inward bashfulness’ (p. 84) and concern that she might distract Swithin from his hoped-for career in astronomy (p. 88), that keep her from occupying common space with Swithin. Viviette’s guarded approach to Swithin reveals how far she has internalised some of the painfully narrowed modes of association and mobility of her pre-widowed state. As a result, she distances herself from Swithin, often for long periods: three months on one occasion (p. 93).

Movement through metropolitan space is fraught for Viviette and Swithin due to Sir Blount’s insidious control from a distance. As a result, two episodes of private encounter between Viviette and Swithin turn into elaborate schemes of concealment and isolation within various spaces within the tower or circumvention within its perimeters. These incidents affect not only the lovers but also the local labourers and servants, who, in one episode, are locked out of the tower one moment so that Viviette might avoid discovery by them, only then to have the door of the hut slammed upon them ‘without ceremony’ the next, so that Swithin can assist Viviette to escape from the dome unseen (p. 83). The workfolk had originally turned up at the column because Swithin had invited them to ‘look at the comet through the glass’ (p.77). This incident demonstrates well the tensions that pervade the novel between Sir Blount’s legacies of sexual patriarchy and, by now with his first reported death,
also economic austerity – through which, as noted above, Viviette feels shame at being seen with Swithin – and acts of defiant generosity initiated by Viviette. Her magnanimity in purchasing the equipment for Swithin has opened up spaces for wider social inclusion, while the poverty bequeathed to her through Sir Blount’s imperial recklessness means the segmentation of space and the separation of the classes.

Detailed plans for a secret wedding in due course are set in place, in which independent travel is arranged to and from the church in London where Viviette and Swithin are to be married in a private ceremony. In order to avoid upper-class opprobrium given Viviette’s reduced circumstances and Swithin’s financial insecurity (p. 95), their marriage remains concealed from friends and family. The pair agree that Swithin should never expose the true nature of their union until Viviette permits it, and that Swithin should never call on Welland after the union without making prior arrangements with Viviette (p. 99). The marriage, in other words, does not alter the painfully circumscribed patterns of association.

Here, the presence of Viviette’s brother, Louis, builds on the legacies of constraint imposed by the squire. While Swithin and Viviette are secretly formalising their wedding plans, Louis informs his sister by letter that he plans to visit. He states that he hopes to find ‘another vent for my energies; in other words, another milch cow for my sustenance’ (pp. 104-05). One of the tasks in which he intends to put himself to good use is in finding a match for his sister: ‘A genial squire, with more weight than wit, more reality than weight, and more personalty than reality (considering the circumstances)’ (p. 105). Louis hardly minces words in proposing that his sister ‘might make a position for us both by some such alliance; for, to tell the truth, I have had but in-and-out luck so far’ (p. 105). This frivolous approach to Viviette’s widowed state echoes Sir Blount’s trigger-happy ‘mania’ for lion hunting and scheme of geographical discovery (p. 23). It also recalls Sir Blount’s flippant plans – as the locals summarise them – to go ‘into one side’ of Africa and ‘to come out the other’ (p.17). The recurring prepositions ‘in/into’ and ‘out’ in both Louis’s and Sir Blount’s mission statements reinforce the links between the two ambitions.

In Louis, as in Sir Blount, the reader encounters Ashis Nandy’s picture of the colonial aggressor. As a bureaucrat lately returned from ‘Rio Janeiro’, a place Louis insists ‘may do for monkeys, but it won’t do for me’ (p. 104), he is complicit with British imperial interests in nineteenth-century South America. Brazil was never officially governed by the British but its economy was very much dictated by British
trade interests. With South America, Britain exchanged her manufactures for wool, hides, sugar, a little cotton and a great deal of guano (used to fertilise the agricultural revolution).71 In the nineteenth century, notes Eric Hobsbawm, South America and India were the most vital ‘underdeveloped’ regions for British capital exports.72 By the 1880s, when Hardy was writing Two on a Tower, Latin America, according to Hobsbawm, had doubled its share of British holdings, thereafter representing about twenty percent of British global holdings.73

Andrew Thompson signals that wherever profit could be made, business and entrepreneurship increasingly became valued in Colonial Office recruitment policies.74 Direct intervention by the British Foreign Office and the subsequent official use of the machinery of state in the service of commerce occasionally happened if it deemed that trade agreements were breached. Around the 1840s and 1850s, Latin American republics were thought to be in violation of international law by defaulting on their debts or failing to give adequate protection to British traders and their property. In such cases, Britain in cooperation with other interested members intervened to ‘safeguard’ her economic interests. In South America, these interventions tended to be limited to the threat of force, which was usually ‘sufficient to secure the offending country’s return to “civilised” conduct’.75 Louis’s diplomatic service in Rio Janeiro is therefore directly aligned with a social elite’s drive for global profit.

Viviette’s brother’s involvement with this form of ‘creeping’ colonialism and sordid conceptualisation of his role in Viviette’s life reinforces Nandy’s claim that ambitions to mastery are driven by beliefs in the superiority of the human over the animal and by ideologies of racial and patriarchal superiority.76 To Louis, Viviette is ‘another milch cow’, ready for his ‘sustenance’. The use of the qualifier ‘another’ quite plainly equates the exploitation of Viviette’s misery with the abuse of South

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71 Porter, p. 18. In Hardy’s A Laodicean, Abner Power, who helps build explosive devices for European anarchists and is eventually injured himself by one of his bombs, is left to seek his fortune in the guano trade of Peru (Roger Ebbatson, Heidegger’s Bicycle: Interfering with Victorian Texts (Eastbourne and Portland, Oregon: Sussex UP, 2006), pp. 42-62 (p. 58)).
73 Hobsbawm, p. 126.
74 A. Thompson, p. 30.
75 Porter, p. 21.
76 Nandy, p. x. See Chapter One for a discussion of ‘creeping colonialism’.
American economies by the commercial interests of the British Empire. Both the feminine and the colonial are described via animal tropes.

However, in *Two on a Tower*, the equation of the feminine, colonial and animal happens not only at the level of discourse. Following her secret marriage to Swithin in London, Viviette travels heavily veiled on their return journey to Welland in order to fend off gossip. On the journey, she receives a ‘severe’ graze to her cheek from the whip of her unwitting brother, who decides to administer ‘the lash’ to his jibbing horse (p. 120). Louis, also on his way to Welland, uses the whip, ‘being either impatient, or possessed of a theory that all jibbers may be started by severe whipping because that plan had answered with one in fifty’ (p. 120). Viviette and horse are literally both victims of Louis’s violence.

The patterns of restricted movement started by Sir Blount’s maltreatment of Viviette are made even narrower by the arrival of the colonial bureaucrat. The graze that Viviette receives to her cheek from her brother’s whip means she must delay her return to Welland. This is so that her wound can heal in order to avoid detection by Louis, who has seen the veiled woman he has wounded walking arm in arm with another man. Once again Rings-Hill Speer becomes the location for Lady Viviette’s concealment, Swithin now proposing to keep her ‘a captive in the cabin’ and preparing for ‘an incarceration of two or three days’ (p. 122). Thus, Louis’s ‘vexatious and indolent’ habits of travel (p. 132) add considerable difficulty to Viviette’s relationship with Swithin. Already without ‘a friend in the parish’ (p. 128), Viviette is further prevented, through Louis’s uninvited and unannounced presence at Welland following her incarceration at the column, from meeting in secret with her new husband. Louis’s unexpected appearance at Welland ruins the couple’s secret meeting and forces Swithin to flee on pain of being discovered. The reason he cannot comfortably conceal himself within Welland walls is because the house is in such a state of disrepair that most of it is ‘shut up’. As a result of these limited spaces to manoeuvre, Swithin invokes ‘the gauntness and alarms’ of Welland (p. 133) as a deterrent to his seeking hiding within its confines. Consequently, since Swithin is unable to retrieve his own greatcoat and hat from downstairs without being

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77 Grundy, too, makes note of the violence signified in Louis’s whipping (p. 56). Millgate notes that in addition to concern over the mass slaughter of animals on local Wimborne estates around the time *Two on a Tower* was written, Hardy and Emma were known to have openly protested ‘the abuse of horses and other creatures, whether beaten, neglected, or given tasks too great for their strength’ (p. 218). See too *LW*, p. 159.
discovered by Louis, he borrows vacant ones belonging to Sir Blount from a closet nearby. In the process, he frightens Viviette in a manner discussed in the previous section, before escaping into torrential rain. Here, one sees how the destructive impacts of Sir Blount’s financial affairs, leading to reduced living arrangements at Welland, are aided by the intrusion of the foreign diplomat.

The poverty meted out by the decadent colonial hunter and the ever-shrinking spaces of mixing consequent on the foreign diplomat’s unbound habits of travel repeatedly combine in *Two on a Tower* to limit possibilities of free movement and association. This continues to be the case when the ‘fur clad’ Swithin, confused for Sir Blount and who had struck fear into Lady Viviette at the house not moments before, startles a group of labourers wandering near Welland, among them Hezzy Biles, Nat Chapman and Haymoss Fry. The workmen later remember Swithin’s ‘high smell, a sort of gamey flavour, calling to mind venison and hare, just as you’d expect of a great squire, – not like a poor man’s ‘natomy’ (p. 137). The group of labourers are convinced the ‘walking vapour’ is Sir Blount returned from the dead to avenge himself after the workmen had agreed that ‘it seemed a true return that [Sir Blount] should perish in a foreign land’ for mistreating his wife Viviette (p. 136). The workfolk recall after their encounter that the ghost of Sir Blount ‘closed in upon us’ and then ‘closed in upon us still more’ (p. 136), thus evoking images of a hunter closing in on his prey. In a sense, then, this metaphor places the labourers, along with Viviette and other hunted animals, squarely within the imperial adventurer’s path of destruction.

The labourers’ disdain for Sir Blount’s heavy-handed treatment of Viviette, one that in their opinion is deserving of imperial death, echoes further iterations of solidarity-as-protest in the opening pages of the novel, in which the locals observe that Sir Blount’s prolonged failure to communicate has left Viviette ‘neither maid, wife, nor widow’ (p. 17). Viviette’s melancholy – what is otherwise considered by the workfolk to be typical of that ‘onnatural tribe of mankind’ (p. 17) – is overwhelmingly accepted in Viviette’s case given the circumstances. Sympathy to her misfortunes following her material ruin is also forthcoming: ‘my lady seems not to mind being a pore woman half so much as we do at seeing her so’, claims Sammy Blore to Swithin on behalf of his fellow-labourers (p. 74). The labourers’ solidarity with Viviette and disapproval of Sir Blount’s behaviour – ‘His [Sir Blount’s] goings-on made her [Viviette] miserable till ’a died’, observes Hezzy Biles to his companions
unites labour and gender concerns against an imperial patriarchal elite. As in Viviette’s case, the dissenting working-class voice is empowered in passages of direct speech. These articulations of critique and solidarity in direct speech mark a certain departure from the mainly narratorial satirical commentary on St Kirrs’s middle-class hypocrisy and ideologies of imperial meritocracy in ‘The Pennie’s the Jewel that beautifies a’” (within the serial and first volume editions of A Pair of Blue Eyes). This more democratic approach in Two on a Tower sees narrator and characters united in their condemnation of Sir Blount.

Further expressions of working-class solidarity include the labourers’ approval of Viviette’s marriage to Swithin. Unlike the more well-to-do in Two on a Tower, the workfolk do not consider Swithin and Viviette’s respective stations in life to be inimical to marriage: ‘I’d up and marry him, if I were she;’ exclaims Hezzy Biles, ‘since her downfall has brought ’em quite near together, and made him as good as she in rank, as he was afore in bone and breeding’ (p. 79). This opinion is emphatically not shared by the wealthy male globetrotters in Two on a Tower. As in the case of Louis’s interferences, the intrusion of Swithin’s paternal great-uncle strengthens the negative legacies of Sir Blount’s imperial recklessness. This is despite the great-uncle’s declared intention of protecting Swithin from the poverty in which Sir Blount has left his wife. As the letter from Dr St Cleeve, in which he outlines the terms of the bequest, indicates, the object of Swithin’s attentions ‘is so impoverished that the title she derives from her late husband is a positive objection’ (p. 114). This concern, although diametrically opposed to Louis’s view that the title Viviette derives from her late husband might still attract an advantageous alliance, nonetheless shares with Louis’s reasoning a general disdain for the prospect of downward mobility.

The great-uncle’s letter exposes many of the same traits of misogyny, class arrogance and colonial aggression that define the characters and imperial motives of Sir Blount and Louis. Class conceit is visible in the great-uncle’s expression of surprise that ‘any issue of your [Swithin’s] father’s marriage should have so much in him, or you [Swithin] might have seen more of me in former years’ (p. 112). This vilification of Swithin’s parents’ cross-class alliance, an alliance between a parson and a farmer’s daughter, aligns itself with the views, as Haymoss Fry describes them earlier in the tale, of other ‘topper-most folk’ who had refused to speak to Parson St Cleeve’s wife on account of her low origins (p. 12). The same class antipathy drives the great-uncle to exhort Swithin to avoid a union with the impoverished Viviette.
The other logic behind the uncle’s hostility to Swithin’s settling on Viviette is, as the narrator explicitly states, ‘hardened’ misogyny (p. 115). Himself a seventy-two-year-old ‘bachelor’ at death, Dr St Cleeve insists: ‘Avoid her, and every one of the sex, if you mean to achieve any worthy thing’ (p. 114). The great-uncle explicitly defines the terms of his bequest as ‘preventive measures’ (p. 113), a phrase that conjures up the Malthusian doctrine of the ‘preventive check’ or ‘preventive foresight’, in which problems of subsistence can be ‘positively’ avoided through reduced fertility and marriage choices (usually guided by class considerations). To combat the trap of marriage and the risk of poverty, Swithin is implored by his distant relative to take up travel and to study the southern constellations: ‘There is more to be made of the southern hemisphere than ever has been made of it yet’ (p. 113). The great-uncle draws on his own experience of travel to the Cape in order to convince Swithin to engage in the same.

Nandy’s traits of the imperial aggressor, all of which are embodied in the great-uncle, are also reinforced in Dr St Cleeve’s recourse to tropes of colonial conquest. In his effort to persuade Swithin to travel, his great-uncle equates the southern hemisphere to a ‘mine’ that ‘is not so thoroughly worked as the Northern, and thither your [Swithin’s] studies should tend’ (p. 113). The mining of skies in itself does not immediately lead to patterns of displacement associated with the invasion of territories. However, the two activities, scientific exploration and conquest, commonly derive, as Jane Bownas has pointed out, from the Enlightenment axiom – so damaging in the colonial context – ‘knowledge is power’. The mining metaphor becomes even more politically charged when considered against the context of the First Boer War, which unleashed imperial hostilities with the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa. By attaching this inescapably violent image of ‘mining’ in the southern hemisphere to the misogynistic importuning of Swithin’s great-uncle, a portrait of the colonial aggressor is successfully foregrounded.

Viviette’s accidental discovery of this letter at a later point in the tale is significant for the way in which it magnifies the impacts of some of Sir Blount’s other forms of tyranny by distance. The letter is discovered after Sir Blount’s confirmed

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time of real death, as a result of which Swithin and Viviette’s marriage is nullified. In other words, the re-emergence of the letter on the heels of evidence to confirm that Sir Blount had withheld information about his being alive (and married) in Africa now makes it difficult for Viviette simply to repeat her wedding vows. The letter divulges opinions that would be impossible for Viviette to discard ahead of her recommitment to Swithin. Viviette is convinced that the cynical views in the great-uncle’s letter ‘had been implanted in him [Swithin]’ and ‘lay in him like seeds […] which accident might some day bring near the surface and aerate to life’ (p. 212). In other words, Viviette considers it impossible for her to remarry Swithin at this point in the knowledge that the great-uncle’s words contain the potential to turn Swithin against her.

Viviette’s unearthing of the letter coincides with the return of her old feelings of shame over ‘keeping an appointment with another [Swithin]’ (p. 202) and at being in contravention of the oath she took after Sir Blount had read her a lecture. This shame, linked to an added sense of guilt within her that she might be standing in the way of Swithin’s career, prompts her to enlist her brother’s help to persuade Swithin to accept his great-uncle’s bequest. Louis successfully coaxes Swithin away from English soil by turning to his ‘traveller’s conceit’ (p. 220) in order to extol the merits of travel. Louis’s ‘traveller’s conceit’, like Dr St Cleeve’s, becomes a catalyst for the separation of Viviette and Swithin. In Two on a Tower, the imparted ‘wisdom’ of upper-class travellers significantly contributes to the tragic outcomes of the tale. The claim for the positive transformative potential of overseas travel in Hardy scholarship therefore requires further nuance. As I argue in section 3.5.2 below and in my analysis of Tess of the D’Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure in the next chapter, Hardy’s sympathy for other perceptions of morality and ways of living may be shown to lie more firmly with the rites and practices of other races and in choices made by members of the rural working classes abroad, under constrained conditions, than with the enlarged worldviews of privileged globetrotters.

To return to Two on a Tower, the separation of the classes is successfully engineered through the joint efforts of a social elite, all ‘free’ males with strong links to empire. Africa, in addition to boosting the interests of the rich and leisured, in the end is exploited to guarantee the parting of the classes and to nurture within Swithin

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some of the same traits of egotism exuded by Sir Blount, Louis and Dr St Cleeve. Swithin’s uptake of the bequest, unknown whereabouts following his departure, sojourn abroad beyond the stipulated terms of his great-uncle’s legacy and withdrawn affection (if not his word) by the end of the tale contribute, as do the imperial activities of the other key males, to the heroine’s tragic downfall.

Imperial travel in Two on a Tower produces misery, oppression and conflict at home. These effects have not previously been emphasised in critical readings of imperial movement in this novel or in Hardy’s fiction generally. Bownas, for example, has argued that Swithin’s travels are ‘free from the restraints imposed by a society on the other side of the globe’. She posits, in addition, that in Hardy’s fiction, more broadly, all Wessex migrants overseas and their metropolitan kin are understood to share forms of ‘interconnectedness’. My study shows the notion of Swithin’s freedom from domestic ‘restraints’ as well as the idea of ‘interconnectedness’ to be crucially at odds with the social discord and disharmony that the empire produces across Hardy’s oeuvre.

Insofar as it disrupts concepts of social harmony in imperial context, Hardy’s tale might also be productively contrasted with representative postcolonial readings of nineteenth-century literature, both domestic and ‘Africanist’. Edward Said’s study of upper-class links with slave plantations in Jane Austen’s Mansfield Park suggests that imperial revenue supplies domestic advantages and comforts that allow most characters, including the ‘spiritual mistress of Mansfield Park’, the commoner Fanny Price, to be ‘properly at home’. Anne McClintock’s analysis of Rider Haggard’s African romances similarly emphasises the way that African adventure extends out of upper-class interests, specifically the desire of Britain’s ‘withering […] ancient squirearchy’ to recover wealth and thereby patriarchal and national power.

McClintock’s reading of upper-class imperial ambitions concludes, as does Said’s reading of Austen, that this imperial elite successfully brought cohesion to metropolitan society. This narrative of ‘imperial recuperation’ in Rider Haggard, according to McClintock, is achieved through privileged movement across three

81 Bownas, Hardy and Empire, p. 16.
82 See argument in Chapter One; Bownas, Hardy and Empire, p. 15.
83 Said, pp. 108-09.
84 McClintock, p. 234.
realms, ‘from the physical body of the white patriarch restored in the colonies to the familial bond with the son/doctor in Britain to the national body politic’.  

My study of Two on a Tower, by contrast, records the divisive impacts on metropolitan society of upper-class imperial patriarchy. Sir Blount’s African hunting ambitions pay no dividends at the local level, nor are they pursued with any guise of offering home or recuperation to any lesser being. They are not designed to restore anybody, not even his own, to tolerable comfort; hence the irony in the name Welland. Any expressions of solidarity in the text are reserved for the metropolitan victim of colonial activity, Viviette, and therefore constitute themselves emphatically in opposition to the colonial adventurer. By making it clear that Sir Blount is a self-serving tyrant prior to his departure, Two on a Tower closes off readings that might, for example, suggest that imperial profit, had it been acquired, might have introduced metropolitan prosperity and social harmony. In this sense, Hardy’s approach echoes rare insights, seldom developed into book-length studies, which emphasise the indissoluble material connections between class disunion/ resistance and the politics of colonial expansion in nineteenth-century domestic literature. The final sections consider the way metropolitan division can also be seen in dissenting metropolitan approaches to African space and race.

3.5. Uneven Perceptions of ‘Africa’

So far, this chapter has concentrated on the impacts of uneven access to Africa – incarnated in privileged modes of travel – on spaces of social mixing as they apply to gender and class. To further shore up the notion of a non-uniform imperial identity in the latter part of the nineteenth century, this final section argues for divided metropolitan approaches to African place, space and race. For its assessment of dissimilar approaches, this section continues to juxtapose Hardy’s Two on a Tower with Conrad and Rider Haggard’s fiction. Also included within this comparative

85 McClintock, p. 240.
86 Fraser Easton’s materialist critique, for example, makes an excellent case for reading different sites of oppression in Mansfield Park (labour, slavery, gender) as part of a single Atlantic colonial system of trade that falls prey to the forces of ‘economic modernization’. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 is behind the ‘poor returns’ of the West Indian estate and in turn determines the kinds of domestic oppressions of which Fanny Price and others at Mansfield and beyond are targets. In response, Mansfield Park mounts, via Fanny Price, ‘a sustained attack’ on this system, an attack that directly affects the urban and rural sites of oppression on the eastern side of that Atlantic continuum, including Northamptonshire, Portsmouth and Norfolk (Easton, ‘The Political Economy of Mansfield Park: Fanny Price and the Atlantic Working Class’, Textual Practice, 12.3 (1998), 459-88 (pp. 459, 479-80)).
analysis are a number of other works by Hardy and the travel accounts of the missionary and doctor David Livingstone, which, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, Hardy read about in William Garden Blaikie’s 1880 biography.

According to Parry, visual and printed materials about the empire disseminated within the metropole communicated to metropolitan society ‘the colonized’s unwholesome nature and proclivities’. Kennedy reinforces this perspective in his study of nineteenth-century accounts of African exploration by calling attention to the use of ‘charged adjectives’ such as ‘primitive’, ‘savage’, ‘empty’ and ‘dark’ in these works. In line with Parry’s and Kennedy’s logic, the more perceptibly ‘Africanist’ texts examined within this chapter might be considered to perform this kind of communication. Livingstone’s accounts of battles ‘against a hostile climate, lethal life-forms, and indigenous opposition’ might be numbered among the many cultural forms that, as Parry maintains, provided justification for colonial rule in the final quarter of the century. Rider Haggard’s works might similarly fall within that body of writing that, by foregrounding native malevolence, might be thought to sponsor and abet the causes of imperial expansion. Conrad’s depiction of Africa, while undeniably painting a bleaker picture of the colonial project itself, nonetheless carries distinctive hallmarks of ‘othering’ – for example in tropes of primitivism, exoticism and various forms of native alterity – that might communicate the existence of impassable barriers between races. These three authors, then, if not always united by an unwavering devotion to imperial dominance, have in common a variety of modes for making strange and unrecognisable the native other in their writings in ways that, according to Parry, would have rallied national support for the imperial cause.

Also common to these writers, of course, are different degrees of first-hand experience of the native geographies they bring to life in their diary entries or fiction: experiences made possible, as noted in section 3.1, through affluence. As also noted earlier, Hardy did not possess the kind of capital or celebrity to bring him within the social circles of an Africa-linked aristocracy in 1882. In the absence of comparable direct modes of access to African geographies and cultures, Hardy turned, as most

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87 Parry, p. 113.
88 Kennedy, p. 238.
members of a reading public might have done, to a written account in which direct links of this kind are represented.

As such, Hardy’s representation of ‘Africa’ is in a unique position to put to the test a number of claims, outlined in some detail in Chapter One and some of which are recapped here, about the way in which printed and visual materials were received within metropolitan society. According to Kennedy, African and Australian travel accounts ‘fed the public’s hunger for heroes who could embody some of the country or colony’s ideals and ambitions’. This public desire, in turn, required explorers to accentuate in their journals and memoirs ‘their drive, insight, and courage while minimizing their fears, doubts, and confusion’.\(^90\) For Parry, signs of empire within metropolitan spaces formed or confirmed ‘an elevated self-image in the reader/viewer’.\(^91\) Behdad’s recent study of Orientalist photography maintains that metropolitan culture ‘voraciously consumed’ images of the Orient, which were received as ‘factual and truthful’ representations.\(^92\) Underlying these perspectives is the view that the process of reception of printed and visual materials about the empire and, indeed, the impact of these upon metropolitan perceptions of race were uniform and uncontested.

In order to determine the accuracy of these claims, the rest of this section is divided into two parts. The first subsection (3.5.1) conducts a comparative assessment of various narrative strategies employed in a number of Hardy’s works and in canonical ‘Africanist’ fiction in order to establish ways in which these might reflect different levels of access to, and perceptions of, non-native spaces and places. The second subsection (3.5.2) hones in more specifically, also through a comparative study, on the way in which asymmetrical knowledge produces varied insights into African space and race.

The distinction between ‘space’ and ‘place’ in the following sections is based on the degree to which location is invested with ‘lived dimensions’.\(^93\) Different types and intensities of spatial experience, according to the human geographer Edward Relph, can be placed within ‘a continuum that has direct experience at one extreme

\(^90\) Kennedy, pp. 235-36.
\(^91\) Parry, p. 113.
\(^92\) Behdad, p. 2.
and abstract thought at the other’. In *Two on a Tower*, I argue below, Africa is constructed as an abstract ‘space’ due to the dearth of biographical experience. Rouen in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, meanwhile, is a ‘place’ clearly invested with qualities of first-hand knowledge. At times, a more relaxed deployment of spatial vocabularies in my study complements Relph’s view that ‘space’ and ‘place’ ‘are dialectically structured […]’, since our understanding of space is related to the places we inhabit, which in turn derive meaning from their spatial context.

3.5.1. Uneven Perceptions of Non-Native Spaces and Places
Among the striking features of *Two on a Tower*, in addition to its unique focus on tyrannous constraints imposed from afar on the use of metropolitan spaces, is its negotiation of a narrowed purview of ‘Africa’. Despite Viviette’s keen desire to possess knowledge and detail about her husband’s activities in Africa, that knowledge is variously masked, postponed, distorted, rationed or buried in multiple layers of representation. These difficulties of knowledge transmission are notably distinct from those that flow from the heroine’s dramatised timidity which can be seen, for example, in Viviette’s decision not to divulge to Parson Torkingham the contents of the letter regarding the alleged sighting of Sir Blount in London. The devices of postponement I will be discussing in this section are ones that may be attributed to the range of vision of Africa available to the creative sensibility behind *Two on a Tower*. This range of vision, while separate, nonetheless shares many of those limitations and anxieties of representation discernible in the characters of the tale.

There are several ways in which the narrative is designed to mask and postpone knowledge. The first is marked by a tendency to introduce knowledge about ‘Africa’ and Sir Blount through ‘minor’ characters or to ascribe the origins of knowledge to other agents who remain absent from the scene (servants, messengers, travellers). The nature of Sir Blount’s involvement in Africa is first recorded in the tale through an exchange at choir practice between Tabitha Lark, who is employed to read to Lady Constantine, and some of the workers. Tabitha explains that Sir Blount has been away in Africa ‘for two years and more’ and is now ‘lost’ (p. 17). In this scene, none of the main protagonists is present. This moment introduces a culture of

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94 Relph, cited in Seamon and Sowers, p. 44.
95 Relph, cited in Seamon and Sowers, p. 44.
hearsay in *Two on a Tower*, in which any readerly effort to lay hold of ‘truth’ about ‘Africa’ is repeatedly undermined.

Even when assigned to convey knowledge about Sir Blount, ‘minor’ characters themselves often seem prevented by narrative design from articulating this information in a transparent way. Parson Torkingham’s servant Mills, who shows up at choir practice to summon his master to go and speak with Viviette about the first letter regarding the alleged sighting of Sir Blount in London, is described as ‘a man asking from the darkness’ (p. 20). His errand is to mention that ‘She’s [Viviette’s] just had a letter, – so they say, – and it’s about that I believe’ (p. 20). The reference to ‘so they say’ and to ‘a letter’ believed to be about a fairly imprecise ‘that’ produces the combined effects of hearsay and postponement. Viviette’s own flagging words at the end of her own arranged meeting with Torkingham to discuss this letter also amount to inarticulacy: ‘I have received this letter, and I wanted to say – something’ (p. 24).

Some of the narrative deferrals within the first received letter likewise recur in Torkingham’s mission to prepare Viviette for the news of her husband’s death. The parson approaches Viviette in order to tell her that he has ‘serious intelligence’ which he would like to impart to her, only to postpone its disclosure to ‘the first moment you [Viviette] can receive me, after reaching home’ (p. 71). When Viviette insists on hearing the news there and then, Torkingham concedes merely that ‘I have received a telegram […] in which I am requested to prepare you [Viviette] …’ (p. 72). Only after Viviette stresses again that she is ready to receive the intelligence does Torkingham give up the news of Sir Blount’s death from malaria. But even here, evidence to confirm Sir Blount’s alleged passing on the Zouga is said to have come to knowledge ‘through some third party’ (p. 72).

The labours of knowledge transmission are likewise marked in the employment of several mediums of communication to convey knowledge, including telegrams, letters and newspapers. With the first report of Sir Blount’s death, Torkingham receives instructions by telegram ‘in which I am requested to prepare you [Viviette] …’ (p. 72). In the case of the second and accurate report, Mr Cecil’s head clerk pitches up with a copy of ‘this evening’s paper’, in which the account of Sir Blount’s death is recorded, and reads it out to Viviette (p. 194). The report itself repeats information made known to the correspondent of the *Cape Chronicle*, where
The effects of mediated knowledge through printed materials are enhanced by the rationed and drip-fed transmission of each communication. The telegram to Torkingham with information about the squire’s first death requests that the parson prepare Viviette for the contents of a letter that would follow. Thus, while some information about Sir Blount’s alleged death arrives with Torkingham, further particulars about the death and Sir Blount’s financial affairs must wait until the arrival of a letter. This time lag is emphasised in the parson’s reply to Swithin, who has pressed him for details about the death: ‘We shall have more particulars in a day or two, doubtless’ (p. 73).

The final report is the most elaborately parcelled out. The intelligence itself arrives on three separate occasions over the course of three chapters, each conveyed by a different agent or voice. On the first, it is the head clerk of Viviette’s solicitor Mr Cecil who brings and reads out the report in the evening paper. On the next morning, Mr Cecil himself arrives to deliver a box containing ‘letters, dated memoranda in Sir Blount’s handwriting, notes referring to events which had happened later than his supposed death, and other irrefragable proofs that the account in the newspapers was correct’ (p. 197). On the Sunday morning following, the illustrated newspaper arrives via ‘a hand that [Viviette] did not recognise’ (p. 202).

Limited perceptions of ‘Africa’, in addition to being produced through time delays, are likewise imposed by the circuitous migration of knowledge. This constraint is especially evident in the context of the last report, as information travels from the African interior down to the Cape, then to Portsmouth, then to ‘Warborne’ (modern Wimborne) and from there, to Welland. From the start of its trajectory to its end, intelligence also passes through many hands: Sir Blount’s fellow traveller, the correspondent for the Cape Chronicle, the agent in England into whose hands the Chronicle is entrusted in order to produce a local report for the ‘evening paper’, then the agent who conveys the newspaper to Mr Cecil and finally into the hands of his clerk to convey to Viviette.
These laboured paths of communication are unquestionably reflective to a degree of the way that news migrated historically to and from Africa. However, I would suggest that the numerous examples of distance-making between Africa and the metropole in Two on a Tower, whether via space, time or through multiple levels of representation, are more than just a matter of realism. They are functions of imagination and perception. The more limited the biographical access to ‘Africa’ is – from physical presence within its native geographies to proximity to human sources of information – the greater the production of distance in the fiction.

This argument for the interconnectedness of uneven access, distance and perception is supported by significant differences that arise between the migration of knowledge in Hardy’s tale and in Rider Haggard and Conrad’s Africanist narratives. In King Solomon’s Mines, for example, the return passage to the metropole is remarkably direct and the task of knowledge dissemination remains largely the protagonist’s prerogative. Allan Quatermain, who is the first-person narrator of the tale, communicates throughout his African adventure with the implied reader of his tale: his son Harry, training in London for the medical profession (p. 7). In the concluding paragraph of the tale, Quatermain notes:

Today is Tuesday. There is a steamer going on Friday [from Durban], and I really think I must […] sail by her to England, if it is only to see my boy Harry and look after the printing of this history, which is a task I do not like to trust to anybody else. (p. 292)

Quatermain sets himself up as the repository of ‘African’ knowledge, in his case by insisting on purveying his manuscript directly to the metropolitan publisher. The concluding lines confirm a pattern of arrogated rights to knowledge and its distribution by bringing the storyteller, his son and metropolitan (always male) readership into common space.

In Conrad’s Heart of Darkness the return trajectory of Kurtz’s papers and belongings from the African interior to the metropole is also fiercely guarded against third-party interferences. Before Kurtz’s death, Marlow receives ‘a packet of papers and a photograph, – the lot tied together with a shoestring’. Kurtz instructs Marlow: “Keep this for me,” […] “this noxious fool” (meaning the manager) “is capable of prying into my boxes when I am not looking”’ (p. 97). Marlow complies with Kurtz’s injunction and blocks the manager’s requests for the box (leading to ‘two rows’). Marlow holds forth: ‘I had refused to give up the smallest scrap out of that package’
(p. 99). On his return to the ‘sepulchral city’, he parts with Kurtz’s report on the ‘Suppression of Savage Customs’ but ensures that the most crucial piece of information linked with the report, the postscript ‘Exterminate all the brutes!’’, is torn off (p. 100). By disposing of the incriminating postscript, Marlow conceals Kurtz’s cruelty from the public. Marlow’s ‘impulse of unconscious loyalty [to Kurtz]’ also determines his resolve in the end ‘to go and give her [Kurtz’s metropolitan Intended] back her portrait and those letters myself’ (p. 101). When he finds her, he lays the packet ‘gently on the table, and she put her hand over it’ (p. 103). This direct dispatch of Kurtz’s effects into the hand of the Intended parallels Henry Knight’s direct travel route from Dublin to Endelstow in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* to deliver in person the earrings he has purchased for Elfride. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, this direct passage calls attention to Knight’s privileged modes of travel and access to Elfride. In Rider Haggard and Conrad’s narratives, direct journeys to the metropole disclose subliminal compulsions to protect exclusive rights to African knowledge and its dissemination within the metropole.

In the second of Rider Haggard’s African romances, *Allan Quatermain*, a certain closing indeterminacy prevails that might suggest a closer affinity with the approach to Africa in *Two on a Tower*. Quatermain’s first-person narrative trails off (coinciding with his death) and is rounded off ‘by another hand’, that of Quatermain’s fellow traveller Sir Henry Curtis. Sir Henry’s contribution is then concluded with a few sentences from his metropolitan brother, George Curtis, in whose hands the manuscript of the whole tale is deposited. The manuscript (including Allan’s and Sir Henry’s contributions) has reached George via Aden, ‘more than two years after it left his [Sir Henry’s] hands in the far centre of Africa’, it is assumed through the agency of a fellow traveller and cook, ‘the little Frenchman Alphonse’, whom George is ultimately unable to track down for further particulars. Also contributing to an atmosphere of dispersion are George’s closing words, confirming that ‘[t]he letters which my brother Henry says he is sending with the packet of manuscript have never arrived, so I presume that they are lost or destroyed’ (p. 311). These signs of laboured transmission appear on the face of things to parallel the kinds of communication circuits in Hardy’s tale.

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96 H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain* (London: George G. Harrap, 1925), p. 311. Subsequent references to this text are noted parenthetically in-text.
However, these circuitous paths of information back to the metropole in *Allan Quatermain* are not endemic to the ‘Africa’ plot as a whole in the way that they are in Hardy’s work. They are therefore not symptomatic of a limited range of vision of its author that I am suggesting exists in the case of *Two on a Tower*. This claim is further supported by evidence that other narrative strategies are deployed in all three of Rider Haggard’s romances to ensure that knowledge remains controlled through the towering presence of a fictional ‘editor’. This can be seen in the way in which an unnamed ‘Editor’ remains responsible in *King Solomon’s Mines* and *Allan Quatermain* for the overall ‘accuracy’ of topographical, racial, religious, or linguistic information (both African and metropolitan). In *King Solomon’s Mines*, for example, the ‘editor’ remarks in a footnote that ‘Mr Quatermain’s ideas about ancient Danes seems to be rather confused’ (p. 9); in another, the editor explains ‘African’ customs: ‘This extraordinary and negative way of showing intense respect is by no means unknown among African people’ (p. 280). In *Allan Quatermain*, the editor’s sovereign hand over knowledge is felt in footnotes that read ‘Mr Quatermain does not seem to have been aware that it is common for animal-worshipping people to annually sacrifice the beasts they adore. See Herodotus ii, 42.—Editor’ (p. 161). In another: ‘Unfortunately Mr Quatermain gives us no specimen of the Zu-Vendi writing, but what he here states seems to go a long way towards substantiating the theory advanced in the note on p. 171’ (p. 178).

The fictitious editor’s power to direct the narrative in a very particular way is perhaps most prominent in *She*, the third of Rider Haggard’s African romances, in which the unnamed ‘Editor’ is cast as a character within the tale. Lauded by one of the protagonists, L. Horace Holly, as an authority on Africa, the ‘Editor’ has impressed his devotee with his recent book ‘describing a Central African adventure […] partly true, and partly an effort of the imagination’.97 In this tale, the ‘Editor’ presides over the main perspectives in the tale, namely via the control he has over a manuscript of the adventures that reaches him by post.98 The editor in *She* continues to offer notes and glossaries, including real and fictional meta-textual support. However, insofar as he controls the manuscript and the voice of its principal narrator, the fictitious Editor becomes the gatekeeper of ‘African’ ‘truth’. By declaring that the story entrusted to him ‘seems to bear the stamp of truth upon its face’, the editor

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97 H. Rider Haggard, *She*, in *The Annotated She* (see Etherington, above), p. 5.
98 Etherington, p. xvii.
invites the reader not so much to reflect on the authenticity of the tale as to revere him, the editor, as the nonpareil authority on African adventure. In different ways, then, Conrad and Rider Haggard’s African narratives seek, via a range of narrative strategies, to command the paths to metropolitan perception of ‘Africa’.

This narrative stance that seeks to shape and lead perspective on place and space is present in some of Hardy’s other texts but, as I will argue, not in relation to the African imaginary in Two on a Tower. In novels with plots or episodes situated outside of the author’s native West Country there are telltale signs that make visible the kind of pretence to authentic knowledge that are to be found in Conrad and Rider Haggard’s fiction. Shortly after Hardy’s first visit to the Continent in 1874 – thanks to profits made from those novels that secured his transition from architecture to letters – Hardy was able to weave his own first-hand knowledge of France into The Hand of Ethelberta via its heroine Ethelberta’s vantage point. An aspiring writer who must conceal her humble rural origins in order to climb the social ladder – much in the way that Hardy was compelled to throughout his writing career – Ethelberta becomes a seasoned traveller to Europe. Her acquired knowledge and desire to impart it more widely manifests itself in her plan to educate her carpenter brothers Sol and Dan in the wonders of Paris joinery. Emboldened ownership of French space also registers in the placement of Ethelberta in the presence of members of the upper classes within those places, including Lord Mountclere, Neigh, and Ladywell (all suitors). When running into Lord Mountclere in Rouen, Ethelberta ‘felt equal to him, or a dozen such, this morning’ (p. 265). Hardy’s experience of those overseas places that had been closed off to him up to 1874 due to his humble origins and limited employment (and therefore income) opportunities is projected onto the poised Ethelberta. Her solid orientation within Rouen space is particularly felt when she proceeds to lead Lord Mountclere into nooks and crannies that are unknown even to the peer with ‘experience of various countries’ (p. 266).

Encompassing perspectives of place and space come to a head in Hardy’s epic verse-drama The Dynasts (published in three parts, 1904, 1906, 1908): ‘an Iliad of Europe’ depicting the Napoleonic wars. As George Witter Sherman and Keith Wilson have argued, many of the narrative modes Hardy had developed through

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100 K. Wilson (see Chapter One), p. 154; LW, p. 110.
privileged access to London spaces as his reputation grew are brought to bear on scenes in *The Dynasts*. The ‘exalted’ vantage point of assembled masses enjoyed by ‘the spirit overworld’ is a case in point.\(^{101}\) Hardy’s panoramic view of the movement of London traffic – including pictures of London crowds observed from the upper window in the office of *Good Words* at the Lord Mayor’s Show as ‘a molluscous black creature’ – influences the description of Allied armies converging on the Continent. These are described as ‘glid[ing] on as if by gravitation, in fluid figures, dictated by the conformation of the country, like water from a burst reservoir; mostly snake-shaped, but occasionally with batrachian and saurian outlines’.\(^{102}\)

Forms of biographical access that encompass direct experience of space as well as the witness accounts of others who have inhabited those spaces may likewise determine narrative strategies that convey a commanding perspective of place and space. Much of the information that frames Hardy’s magnum opus *The Dynasts* was obtained during Hardy’s many visits to the battlefields of the Napoleonic Wars in the thirty years that followed his first visit to the Continent in 1874. However, it was also gleaned via Hardy’s access to witness accounts from Waterloo veterans at Chelsea Hospital, whom Hardy visited in the 1870s. The emphasis in Hardy’s accounts of his meetings with the veterans, observes Wilson, is on himself seeing those who have seen, on ‘vicarious witnessing’.\(^{103}\) In much of Hardy’s work, Wilson further asserts, ‘moments of quasi-epiphanic insight depend for their apprehension on the presence of an eye-witness […] to record contingent process unfolding and hardening in the mind of the onlooker’.\(^{104}\) As already emphasised in the argument for a ‘culture of hearsay’, and as I will argue in more detail below, the notion of ‘vicarious witnessing’ as a form of solidifying knowledge of African space is completely absent in *Two on a Tower*.

In sum, then, scenes located within remote regions to which Hardy, Rider Haggard and Conrad gained direct access produce a variety of narrative modes that empower the storyteller (whether in the form of the implied author or one of the characters) to move easily across (or even above) space and to make claims, both real and imagined, for authoritative knowledge of place. Underlying each of these narratives that display direct *acquired* knowledge is also a hubristic desire to be


\(^{102}\) Sherman, p. 1027. The quote on London crowds as ‘a molluscous black creature’ is from *LW*, p.171. The citation from *The Dynasts* is from Part III (1908), Act 4, Scene i.

\(^{103}\) K. Wilson, p. 155.

\(^{104}\) K. Wilson, p. 154.
recognised as an ‘authority’ on those spaces. This over-insistence lends a degree of artificiality to the depictions, producing an example of Roland Barthes’s ‘reality effect’, a descriptive mode in literature that

seeks to be exhaustive […] to encompass the absolute detail […] encounter[ing] notations which no function […] can justify: such notations are scandalous […] or […] seem to correspond to a kind of narrative luxury, lavish to the point of offering many ‘futile’ details and thereby increasing the cost of narrative information.105

In Haggard’s work, the ‘reality effect’ can be seen in the many footnotes, glossaries and correctives offered by the ‘editor’. In Conrad’s piece, the pretence to knowledge of space expresses itself, I would argue, in transverse strategies of concealment, in what Straus has identified as the ‘peculiar density’ of the text, in what Chinua Achebe has insisted are excessively long sentences, and in what F. R. Leavis decried as ‘adjectival insistence’ and the ‘obsessive overuse of negative modifiers’.106 These devices induce, as Achebe summarises, a ‘hypnotic stupor in the reader’ and deny, as F. R. Leavis maintains, ‘the possibility of a more precise meaning’.107 These strategies in Conrad’s novella therefore serve, ultimately, to alienate the reader from access to African space. An excessive descriptive mode that resembles more closely the kind of detail and exhaustiveness of the ‘reality effect’ discussed by Barthes emerges also in the superfluous details that are offered to describe Marlow’s protection of Kurtz’s belongings. The emphasis on the number of rows Marlow has with the manager, the visual descriptions and motives of the agents who try to pilfer Kurtz’s papers and the ‘hand’ of the Intended resting on Kurtz’s packet all serve to overstate Marlow’s resolve and success at fending off ‘intruders’ from unwarranted access to Africa. In Hardy’s focus on non-native regions, the ‘reality effect’ expresses itself both in detailed descriptions of locations, particularly ones where knowledge of place becomes important for characters within the tale to parade to members of the social elite. This is especially prominent in descriptions of Rouen streets and Rouen cathedral where Ethelberta goes on an excursion with Lord Mountclere. The ‘reality effect’ in Hardy’s work also registers at the level of diction, for example in bombastic

105 Roland Barthes, The Rustle of Language (see above), p. 141.
descriptions of non-native spaces, as can be seen in the use of terms such as ‘batrachian’, ‘saurian’ and ‘molluscous’.

In *Two on a Tower*, however, the African subplot appears to unfold within a space that is nowhere invested with the same stylistic or thematic confidence that may be seen in other Hardy works. The strategies used to convey a picture of ‘Africa’ in Hardy’s tale are in many ways the very reverse of those methods deployed in Hardy’s representations of the Continent. Africa remains without Ethelberta’s poise and the all-encompassing vision of ‘the spirit overworld’ in *The Dynasts*, and characters in the tale describe events linked to Africa in vague and imprecise terms such as ‘that’ or ‘something’, as previously mentioned. Why the author should have chosen to introduce this particular global periphery into his fiction given the inarticulacy that envelops it can perhaps be best explained in terms of the pressures Hardy experienced, ones that are particularly felt in the middle fiction, to explore ‘fashionable’ society and ‘fashionable’ global spaces. This direction was dictated by what turned out to be a misguided conviction after the publication of *Madding Crowd* that in order to cut a successful career in writing, Hardy would need to explore in his fiction ‘social and fashionable life as other novelists did’. The presence of ‘fashionable’ spaces in the middle fiction – London drawing rooms and France in *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876); the Paris periphery in *The Return of the Native* (1878); Europe and beyond in *A Laodicean* (1881) – reveal a ‘Wessex’ that, as Raymond Williams argues, cannot be viewed in purely regional or pastoral terms. But, as Hardy critics and, indeed, Hardy himself have recognised, they also show the author to be on less comfortable footing with his materials.

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109 R. Williams (see Chapter One), pp. 197-214.
110 That the author was on less comfortable footing in *Two on a Tower* is reflected both in the relatively low position it occupies within his styled book hierarchy. It is also mirrored in Hardy critics’ reflections on both this novel and the three novels that rank below it. Among the more neglected works of Hardy’s oeuvre, *Two on a Tower* sits at the bottom of Hardy’s ‘Romances and Fantasies’ and just ahead of his primary Novel of Ingenuity, *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876). For Hardy, ‘Novels of Ingenuity’ designated his less popular works, and Hardy scholars have commented on their often ‘contrived’ nature. Mary Rimmer remarks that ‘the fictional project itself appears dubious’ (‘Hardy’s “Novels of Ingenuity”: Desperate Remedies, The Hand of Ethelberta, and A Laodicean: Rare Hands at Contrivances’, in *A Companion to Thomas Hardy* (see K. Wilson, above), pp. 267-80 (p. 279)). Millgate avers that they leave ‘an impression of […] having been elaborately “got up”’ (p. 160). Hardy himself reflected more specifically with regard to *Two on a Tower* and its predecessor, *A Laodicean* (1881), the lowest-ranking ‘Novel of Ingenuity’, that he had somehow lost his way. *Two on a Tower* was the last novel to be written before Hardy’s permanent return to Dorchester and, as Millgate notes, ‘to the material he best knew’ (p. 217).
However, of all the represented global peripheries in Hardy’s middle fiction, I would suggest that Africa in *Two on a Tower* is the most strained. What distinguishes the strain that is peculiar to representations of Africa from the strain that attends ‘elaborately got up’ representations of Europe is the absence of that Barthesian ‘reality effect’. This missing quality can be put down to the author’s inexperience and lack of personal access to human sources of information, namely an Africa-linked aristocracy. These features of underprivileged access to knowledge also mark Hardy’s African imaginary apart from those of Rider Haggard and Conrad. Impoverished insight can be seen in *Two on a Tower*’s strained vision, in some aspects consonant with Viviette’s, somehow to ‘know’ or to ‘see’ Africa, but also a recurrent pattern of the limitation of perception, as of space. The narrowing of perception operates, in part, through those dramatised circumscriptions of space already explored in previous sections. For example, Swithin’s separation from Viviette means that the reader too becomes further removed from sources of information, since many of the particulars surrounding the fate of Sir Blount become known to the reader through second-hand accounts conveyed to Swithin (for example, via Parson Torkingham).

Other types of narrowed perception are engendered in those vast expanses of territory and time that come between sources of information within Africa and recipients of information within the metropole. Eyewitnesses to Sir Blount’s alleged and real death are never visible within metropolitan spaces; the main characters are themselves consistently divided by space during scenes in which bad tidings arrive. This means that the text is unable to produce a reliable ‘eye-witness’ to ‘record contingent process unfolding and hardening in the mind of the onlooker’. The closest example of eye witnessing through which information from Africa is seen to be ‘hardening in the mind of the onlooker’ is offered when Viviette opens the illustrated magazine with the coarse image of her husband shooting himself. Yet even in this moment, in which a more direct ‘way in’ to Africa opens up and Viviette’s shock and grief are visualised by the witness (in this case, the reader), obstacles to apprehension are put up by the sensationalism of the picture itself. The sensationalised representation of African ‘event’ thus creates further distance from insight.

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111 K. Wilson, p. 154.
Despite serious obstacles to representing ‘Africa’ given the absence of first-hand experience or witness accounts with which to reliably reconstruct it, Hardy felt nevertheless compelled to offer readers a glimpse, at least, of this ‘fashionable’, but in so many senses ‘remote’, colonial frontier. The final subsection now turns more directly to evaluate the way in which Hardy’s compulsions to represent the ‘fashionable’ – notably receding since his first experimental foray in The Hand of Ethelberta – were reconciled with sources of information that were, for the author, necessarily limited to written accounts of Africa.

3.5.2. **Uneven Perceptions of African Space and Race**
Biographical detachment from this particular global periphery is mirrored in the paltry space that ‘Africa’ occupies on the page. However, insofar as it is considerably more animated than any other imperial territory recreated in Hardy’s novels, ‘Africa’ clearly exercised a hold on the author’s imagination that other less familiar spaces did not. Several references to real and fictional locations in Africa are made, the movement of travellers between locations is plotted, dialogue between travellers is relayed, physical encounters with natives are conveyed, and imperial time becomes crucial to conceptualising metropolitan situations. Many of these aspects are concentrated in the report of Sir Blount’s suicide that arrives with Mr Cecil’s clerk. Although the circumstances associated with the dispatch of the report contain many of the qualities of postponement that were analysed in the previous subsection, the content of the report, pertaining to particulars about Sir Blount’s confirmed death, is presented and accepted within the tale as factual.

Nonetheless, the report, only two pages in length, along with one or two other extraneous references to the African encounter, evinces certain qualities that stand in sharp contrast with representations of African culture in nineteenth-century travel narratives. This can be seen in impressions of the colonial encounter in Hardy’s tale that are distinctly out of ken with images of ‘Africa’ disseminated in other, first-hand accounts of this imperial region. The final portion of this chapter explores some of these disparities and makes the case for reading them as the implied author’s dissenting response to the racist ideologies of ‘Africanist’ social elites.

As previously mentioned, without first-hand knowledge or verifiable witness accounts (by ‘verifiable’ I mean witness accounts from people personally known to the author), Hardy heavily relied on William Garden Blaikie’s biography of David
Livingstone for his African imaginary. In this respect, Hardy’s ‘access’ to Africa was probably representative of a metropolitan majority’s and is therefore an appropriate port of call in order to research the impacts of printed material on metropolitan perceptions of the colonial. In order to verify whether Livingstone’s account indeed had the kind of impact on Hardy’s perception of African space and race that cultural critics believe this kind of literature to have had on metropolitan society, this section compares representations of African landscapes, peoples and moments of colonial encounter in Blaikie’s biography of Livingstone and in *Two on a Tower*.

Key ways in which features of Livingstone’s biography are reproduced in the fiction are in the replication of place names, the appropriation of some of Livingstone’s encounters with other Englishmen, and in the borrowing of details from Livingstone’s character for a profile of Sir Blount. Sir Blount’s travels within Africa are likewise heavily based on Livingstone’s own movements. A map included in Blaikie’s biography, which ‘enable[s] the reader to follow Livingstone’s movements from place to place’, doubtless came in handy for the plotting of migration across the continent in Hardy’s tale.112

The river Zouga (the Botletle or Boteti river, north of the Kalahari desert), where Sir Blount is first rumoured to have died, was an important location in Livingstone’s early journeys, as already recounted in Section 3.2. Renowned for its wildlife and safari attractions, its ‘discovery’, as previously noted, brought Livingstone recognition from the Royal Geographical Society. On the river Zouga, Dr Livingstone ‘found that fever had recently attacked a party of Englishmen, one of whom had died’.113 It is from this episode that Hardy likely drew inspiration in part for the rumoured death of Sir Blount from malaria on the Zouga. Livingstone’s subsequent expedition across the continent (1853-1856), which entailed travelling further north into the interior, then westward to Angola, and subsequently crossing the continent to its east side, is scripted into Sir Blount’s passage into the African interior after his rumoured death on the Zouga and into Sir Blount’s fellow-traveller’s movements westward to the Portuguese West Coast after parting company with the former on the Zouga. Setting off from the Portuguese West Coast with a party of Englishmen to an adjoining territory, Sir Blount’s fellow-traveller ‘crossed the territory to the south of Ulunda [‘Lunda’ in Livingstone’s travels, east of Angola], and

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112 Blaikie, p. v.
113 Blaikie, p. 104.
drew near to Marzambo [modern location unknown], where Sir Blount was reported to have settled among a native tribe (pp. 195, 280).

The fellow-traveller’s quest to find Sir Blount echoes Stanley’s own search for the missing missionary during Livingstone’s much later travels (1866-73). Livingstone, as noted earlier, made headlines in Britain when he went out of contact with the metropole during the late 1860s to discover the source of the Nile. H. M. Stanley’s quest to find him was launched in 1869 and met with success in late 1871, when Stanley ‘discovered’ an ailing and poorly supplied Livingstone in Ujiji, Tanganyika (modern Tanzania). At Unyamwesi (also in modern Tanzania) they eventually parted company, and Livingstone then waited for a number of months to receive fresh supplies from the wealthy James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald, who had also funded Stanley’s mission. In Two on a Tower, a metaphor invoked in relation to Swithin’s fascination with comets makes reference to these two key locations: ‘Compared with comets, variable stars, which had hitherto made his [Swithin’s] study, were, from their remoteness, uninteresting. They were to the former as the celebrities of Ujiji or Unyamwesi to the celebrities of his own country’ (p. 67). The Livingstone context clarifies that the ‘celebrities of Ujiji and Unyamwesi’ are white travellers and adventurers rather than celebrities of indigenous cultures.

These examples so far show relatively straightforward uses of Blaikie’s map and Livingstone’s various journey routes. However, a striking feature in Hardy’s African imaginary emerges in the glaring absence of exoticised landscapes, flora and fauna, despite frequent descriptions of this kind in Livingstone’s notes. The Zouga river, for example, is noted in Blaikie’s biography for the ‘abundance and luxuriance’ of its ‘products’, both animal and vegetable. In a letter to his friend Watt, cited in Blaikie’s biography, Livingstone had described the Zouga as ‘a glorious river […]. The banks are extremely beautiful, lined with gigantic trees, many quite new. One bore a fruit a foot in length and three inches in diameter. Another measured seventy feet in circumference.’¹¹⁴ Blaikie’s account of Livingstone’s first encounter with the Zouga tells of elephants existing in crowds ‘and ivory so abundant that a trader was purchasing it at the rate of ten tusks for a musket worth fifteen shillings’.¹¹⁵

Not only does Two on Tower avoid the kind of exoticisation of landscape witnessed in Blaikie’s biography, it also contains no debasing images of African

¹¹⁴ Blaikie, p. 102.
¹¹⁵ Blaikie, pp. 101-02.
peoples and native rites. Blaikie’s biography of Livingstone makes plenty of references to native aggression, including the trading of slaves – described as the result of ‘a terrible evil through the desire of natives to possess articles of European manufacture’ – murder, treachery and alleged cannibalism.\(^{116}\) Whatever little is offered in the way of encounter with the native population in Hardy’s novel is, by contrast, sympathetic to their ways. Sir Blount’s marriage to a native princess takes place ‘according to the rites of the tribe’, and the traveller hunter ‘was living very happily’ with his new bride for a year or so (p. 195). Indeed, Sir Blount’s new situation was one that ‘afforded him greater happiness than he could hope to attain elsewhere’ (p. 196).

Hardy’s positive perspective contrasts not only with Livingstone’s but also with Rider Haggard’s approach to native encounters, in which treacherous (usually female) natives must be resisted and subdued. In *King Solomon’s Mines*, for example, the travellers must extricate themselves from the cave, shut upon them by the witch-hag Gagool, an advisor to the violent King Twala, ruler of the indigenous peoples of Kukuanaland. In *She*, the travellers must triumph over matriarchal cultures or figures renowned for their sexual aggression, including the women of Amahagger and She (or Ayesha) herself, the white queen of the African land of Kôr who is ‘murderous to her rivals’, sexually or psychically tormenting the English male travellers Leo and Holly in their dreams.\(^{117}\) As Phillip Mallett cogently argues, even though white male adventurers in Rider Haggard’s romances may occasionally feel affinity with native male practices, for example Kukuana war rituals, or even with the native male physical form, ultimately ‘[m]ale friendship cannot survive the presence of women’.\(^{118}\)

Further examples in which colonial cultures, especially female subjects, are humanised in Hardy’s story are presented in the suicide scene. The native princess, the reader is told, is quicker than Sir Blount’s fellow-traveller to arrive at the scene of Sir Blount’s suicide, as she ‘rushe[s] frantically past [him]’ when the shot is heard from Sir Blount’s dwelling. The reader is told that she is ‘broken-hearted all that day’ on finding him dead (p. 196). The princess’s seemingly short-lived ritual of mourning could be understood as a condescending reflection on the ‘primitive’ emotional lives

\(^{116}\) Blaikie, pp. 116, 120.  
\(^{117}\) Showalter, p. 86.  
\(^{118}\) Mallett, ‘Masculinity, Imperialism and the Novel’ (see above), p. 156.
of Africans or might also conjure disparity with Viviette’s prolonged suffering. However, it is also possible to argue that the compressed form of the report in which her mourning is described necessarily dictates the brevity of her response. In its depiction of the native princess as assertively facing the scene of death and lamenting the loss of Sir Blount, however fleetingly, the tale, more importantly, is jettisoning Victorian stereotypes of Africans as possessing a ‘manic fear of corpses’ and a ‘lack of respect for the dead’.119

Here, several telling contrasts emerge also with the scene of Kurtz’s demise in Heart of Darkness. Kurtz’s native princess is banned from his deathbed because the men protecting him are prepared to shoot her: “‘If she had offered to come aboard I really think I would have tried to shoot her,’ said the man with the patches, nervously. ‘I had been risking my life every day for the last fortnight to keep her out of the house’” (p. 89). Kurtz’s native paramour is thus denied physical access to his expiring body, even as his Intended is denied access to the truth about his dying moments. In Hardy’s tale, however, the native princess’s unhindered approach to Sir Blount’s scene of death bears witness to a creative sensibility that is able to redress the injustices of racial and female exclusions. The distinct absence of tropes of primitivism and savagery likewise contrasts with the description of Kurtz’s native lover following Kurtz’s death as ‘draped in striped and fringed cloths […] with a slight jingle and flash of barbarous ornaments […] savage and superb, wild-eyed and magnificent’ (pp. 88-89).120 Given Hardy’s version of Sir Blount’s native princess, in which images of this kind are totally absent, it seems more work needs to be done to recover other approaches to colonial cultures in the metropolitan fiction of the late nineteenth century.

The final and perhaps most clinching example of radical scepticism in relation to racial prejudices commonly found in ‘Africanist’ writings is offered in the case of false rumours circulating about Sir Blount’s death. Blaikie’s biography provides a productive point of contrast. In 1867, rumours of Livingstone’s death during his

119 Cf. Justin D. Livingstone, p. 18.
120 Chinua Achebe maintains that Conrad has cast the African paramour as a ‘savage counterpart’ of the metropolitan Intended (‘An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad’s Heart of Darkness’, in The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism, ed. by Peter Simon (London: Norton, 2001), pp. 1783-94 (p. 1787)). Straus has observed, for example, that the savage woman is ‘condensed into Wilderness’, presiding over ‘infernal’ horror and mystery (p. 129). Marianna Torgovnick argues against these views – unconvincingly in my opinion – by insisting that Kurtz’s African paramour is ‘fully individualised’ (Gone Primitive: Savage Intellec.ts, Modern Lives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp.141-58 (p. 155)).
travels in Zanzibar had reached the metropole. These rumours, originating with Livingstone’s Johanna men, who had been hired as part of his native African retinue, were eventually proven to be incorrect. The biography recounts that Sir Roderick and his friends from the Royal Geographical Society organised a search expedition under the direction of Mr. E. D. Young, ‘who had had dealings with Musa [one of the Johanna men], and knew him to be a liar.’ Livingstone was discovered within eight months of the expedition’s launch. As a result of this episode, ‘African truthfulness’ came to be widely questioned, and ‘distrust of indigenous authority’ was ‘deep-set’ by the time reports of Livingstone’s death, eventually proven to be true, started to reach England in 1874.

In *Two on a Tower*, however, there appears to be a quite conscious decision to avoid ascribing the inaccurate rumours of Sir Blount’s death to black natives, instead assigning the burden of articulation to generic ‘servants’. The humanistic quality of Hardy’s African imaginary additionally emerges in the renunciation of any judgement of the servants’ mistake: ‘the servants who had been with him deposed to his [Sir Blount’s] death with a particularity that had been deemed sufficient [by the courts]’ (p. 197). Any Victorian reader familiar with Livingstone’s travels would have recognised in this statement that the author of *Two on a Tower* has chosen to resist dismissive or supercilious indictments of ‘African truthfulness’. Instead, what appear to be in question in Hardy’s tale are the witness accounts of white – and invariably well-heeled – adventurers represented in nineteenth-century African travel writing.

The corruption of Livingstone’s iconic qualities in the novel strengthens this argument for inversion. Swithin’s astronomical preference for comets over stars, compared earlier with the appeal of ‘the celebrities of his own country’ over ‘the celebrities of Ujiji or Unyamwesi’, comprises a covert example of this undermining gesture, since it offers a dismissive view of white gallantry in Africa. Sir Blount’s degenerate attributes likewise distort Livingstone’s heroic qualities. H. M. Stanley’s location of the ‘missing’ Livingstone during the latter’s Nile travels met with well-documented success but disappointingly (for Stanley) with Livingstone’s firm resistance to returning to England. Livingstone’s protest, lionised as a sign of resilience in the biography, is re-configured in Sir Blount’s own ‘rough’ mannered

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121 Blaikie, Chapter XIX (‘From Zanzíbar to Ujiji’).
122 Blaikie, pp. 378-79.
123 Justin D. Livingstone, p. 18.
refusal to return home following his bout of malaria on the Zouga (p. 195). Other distortions include the conversion into ‘truth’ of the false rumour circulating in the metropole (and conveyed to Stanley before his mission) that Livingstone had married a native princess, the effect of which is to exchange the white traveller’s virtue with degeneracy.\footnote{Blaikie, p. 422.} The substitution of Livingstone’s avowed teetotalism with heavy drinking in Sir Blount’s situation is another example of subversion.\footnote{Blaikie, p. 124.} In sum, Sir Blount becomes the very antitype of the biographical subject that Blaikie sought to fashion in Livingstone, as one who ‘ranks with the greatest of our race, and shows the minimum of infirmity in connection with the maximum of goodness’.\footnote{Blaikie, pp. iii–iv.}

Hardy’s African imaginary therefore challenges ideas in postcolonial theory that would homogenise metropolitan society’s approach to indigenous cultures. Different narrative strategies were employed in the period to represent ‘Africa’ to metropolitan audiences. One strategy was to profess or claim or even simply feign knowledge of Africa, to devote narratives to excessive close description or Barthesian narrative ‘luxuries’. Such strategies unashamedly perform the work of colonial ‘othering’ that influenced negative perceptions of race in metropolitan society but not – as some critics have suggested – in a universal way.\footnote{Cf. Parry, p. 113.} Another strategy was to postpone or defer knowledge of Africa, to make of texts something like a series of absences and confessions of doubt and uncertainty. This is what Jameson is getting at when he argues, too sweepingly in my view, that metropolitan texts, wittingly or unwittingly, openly or covertly, reflect lacunae that are typical of metropolitan subjects’ conceptions of the colonies in this period.\footnote{Jameson, p. 51.}

The humane conception of African culture and practices in Two on a Tower, taken together with the demolition of white valour, provide a strong case for reading with caution those assertions that printed and visual representations of colonised cultures – in Hardy’s case, Blaikie’s biography of Livingstone – formed and confirmed ‘an elevated self-image in the reader/viewer’.\footnote{Cf. Parry, p. 113.} My reading of Hardy’s work finds, instead, that versions of Africa in the works of authors attuned to the way in which social inequalities are universally worsened under the dynamics of imperialism are more apt to display radical scepticism in relation to first-hand
accounts of ‘Africa’ furnished by travellers invariably backed by wealth. The refutation in Hardy’s *Two on a Tower* of the ‘heroic’ accounts of the well-heeled, accounts in which African cultures are persistently arraigned and white travellers ennobled, therefore offers an important metropolitan riposte to African adventure.

### 3.6. Conclusion

Sir Blount’s hunting activities in Africa, born of aristocratic arrogance and a thirst for fame and fortune, generate social divisions and also affinities in Hardy’s text that complicate arguments for global Wessex ‘interconnectedness’ in Hardy and for the existence of a harmonised imperial identity in late nineteenth-century Britain in postcolonial theory. On the one hand, Sir Blount’s imperial activities produce harmful and divisive impacts on the metropole that are reflected in Viviette’s exclusion from society, from forming friendships with other males, from moving freely in space and from entering a cross-class marriage. On the other hand, the squire’s ambitions meet with kinds of social unity that protest these effects. These include local disapproval of his hunting activities, sympathy for Viviette’s suffering, death wishes heaped upon the imperial adventurer and support for Viviette’s union with the lower-class Swithin. Forms of dissent are also articulated in relation to the encroachments on Welland of other upper-class males, likewise with links to the empire. In *Two on a Tower*, metropolitan subjects, including Viviette, labourers and the narrator herself, offer strident criticisms of these colonial travellers’ misogyny and class arrogance.

This united concern to confront the despotism of imperialism’s chief exemplars is also communicated in humane representations of colonial ‘others’ and in the corruption of white explorers’ virtue and celebrity. The social affinities that are formed in Hardy’s tale, uniting class and gender and, by extension, also race, against the dictatorships of wealth and ‘privileged’ perspective, are incarnated reversals of the male heroism that adorns the more totemic ‘Africanist’ texts of the late nineteenth century and the misogynistic and racist ideologies underpinning them. Insofar as it destabilises readings of a monolithic imperial culture and society in late nineteenth-century Britain, Hardy’s tale invites critics to review popular claims in postcolonial studies that the canonical ‘Africanist’ writings shaped, or somehow became emblematic of, a unified metropolitan perspective of Africa.

The final core chapter considers the prominence of the settler peripheries of empire in Hardy’s late prose works. It will reflect on chronicles of emigration to –
often return from – Australia, Canada, Brazil and New Zealand and link these with the alienation of agricultural labour. The particular connection between the rural working classes and the settler spheres of empire will be considered in terms of Hardy’s own relocation to his native Dorchester and growing disenchantment with London.
4
THE SETTLER REGIONS OF EMPIRE
AND THE ALIENATION OF RURAL LABOUR IN THE LATE FICTION

4.1. INTRODUCTION
The previous chapters looked at the special links between the empire and the aspirations of Britain’s middle and upper classes to social mobility, profit, fame and the enlargement of aristocratic licences. So far, the thesis has shown that when the upper classes leave English soil in Hardy’s fiction, for example in *Two on a Tower* and in ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, they leave subjects behind in increasing states of degradation. Their travels generally serve to plunge spouses, lovers and their relatives into irreversible misfortunes because the latter are left without protection, opportunities and finances.

The final core chapter turns from elite- to labour-focused links with the empire and examines themes of imperial exile, emigration and return in the final decade of Hardy’s fiction. It will demonstrate that the departures of the lower classes from metropolitan spaces in Hardy, by contrast to the global movements of the upper classes, are either legally or economically enforced. In cases of migration to settler regions where ‘crime’ or poverty are not direct causes for travel – Angel Clare’s situation in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* will be shown to be a good example of this – travellers may share in the hardships of other emigrants. However, I argue that despite these shared plights within the settler frontiers, the impact that these kinds of voluntary departures have on metropolitan subjects remains on a par with the legacies of imperial degradation left by the upper classes.

To understand this shift from elite- to labour-focused conceptions of travel, the following analysis of migration in Hardy’s late fiction builds on the work of scholars who have charted reorientations in the late fiction (1883-1897) towards local materials and, in some cases, connected these shifts with changes of location and
outlook in Hardy’s life. However, my study argues that this recognised reorientation towards the local draws with it a particularly prominent focus on emigration to the settler regions of empire.

The emphasis on emigration to the settler regions in the final decade of the writer’s prose output, a focus that is twinned with the plights of rural labour, coincides with Hardy’s relocation to his hometown Dorchester in 1883 and the signing of a lease of land on which Max Gate, his permanent place of residence, was to be built. The stress placed on the movements of the rural working classes in the late works converges, somewhat ironically, with the economic security that finally enabled their author to place himself at a comfortable distance from London society. The pressures to keep astride a fierce publishing industry and, with them, the compulsion to mix with London’s literary elite, had begun to relax a little now that nine novels had, to varying degrees of acclaim, been published.

However, while the author could afford to install some distance between himself and the capital, he could not completely disengage from the demands of his reading public. Hardy was not yet the writer of pedigree that he was to become over a decade later when he could afford to relinquish prose in favour of poetry. As Dolin points out, in 1883, ‘his [Hardy’s] reputation still rested almost exclusively upon one novel written more than ten years earlier, *Far from the Madding Crowd*’. Since Hardy’s popularity, as far as London’s elite was concerned, lay in those rural materials he best knew, his relocation to Dorchester would offer a chance to reconnect

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2 LW, p. 154.

with local histories and thereby recreate in the fiction some of the successes of the pastoral *Madding Crowd.*

However, with greater financial liberty and growing antipathy to ‘the business of social advancement’, Hardy also turned the late fiction into fertile terrain upon which to question, and even undermine, some of the romantic idealism of earlier engagements with the pastoral. As John Goode points out, ‘Hardy was a writer who cooperated with the literary market, but who, particularly in the late fiction, subverts the orientation of that market’. Ralph Pite similarly remarks that Hardy had a ‘conflicted relation with his readership’ that led to ‘his insistence on disturbing their assumptions’ and to the development of two extremes in the fiction: ‘pastoral innocence and invasive, conquering violence’. Indy Clark’s study of the pastoral and its problematization in Hardy’s poetry – with conclusions that ring true for the late fiction too – posits that representations of poverty and hardship under ‘agrarian capital’ are more prominent than in earlier work. Roger Ebbatson, meanwhile, identifies greater emphases placed in the later fiction on class inequalities and conflict. These include bolder representations of separation between home and work, the commodification of land and labour, the encroachment of the cash nexus and greater focus on the actual conditions of production.

Hardy’s attention was increasingly concentrated upon what we might term the ‘true people’ of England, those who had been exiled from their birthright, and whose culture was embedded in dialect patterns and folklore customs. Tess may not represent the death of the peasantry […] but she does represent and embody the cultural memory of a dispossessed class fraction.

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4 Millgate, p. 217. Ebbatson draws attention to affinities existing between the treatment of local heritage in early and later works. He notes that strong dialect forms and biting social criticisms in *Mayor* and *Tess* echo passages of communicated discontent, for example, in the diatribes of William Worm in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and Joseph Poorgrass in *Madding Crowd.* In the late fiction, as Ebbatson sums up, Hardy is effectively returning to ‘the ghosts of those lower-class relations consigned to silence’ in the middle fiction (‘Hardy and Class’, p. 115). Millgate suggests that ‘Hardy always remained a radical thinker on social issues’ but maintains that some of the socialistic ideals and fervour of his first, ultimately rejected, manuscript, *The Poor Man and the Lady,* were not as visible in the middle fiction (p. 161).

5 For Hardy’s disenchantment with ‘the business of social advancement’, a sentiment that encapsulates Hardy’s vexed relationship with London over the course of his entire working career, see *LW,* p. 54.


8 Clark, p. 2.

9 Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, p. 113. In *The Woodlanders,* by contrast to *Madding Crowd,* for example, the ‘communal nature of work is shadowed by actual conditions of production’ so that ‘the wheat actually embodies itself not as food but as its exchange value’ (p. 117; citing Goode, p. 97).

10 Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, p. 114.
Similar ideas are echoed in Tim Dolin’s work, which notes that fiction written from the early 1880s begins to take stock of ‘a historical transformation in Dorset, from “stationary cottagers” to “migratory labourers”’.\footnote{Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, pp. 120-21.}

There have also been studies of Hardy’s late works that cast doubts on Hardy’s serious engagement with socio-economic and political concerns. In \textit{Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy} (1987), for example, Lennart Björk, who edited Hardy’s \textit{Literary Notebooks}, insists that Hardy’s preoccupation in the late works ‘was more with man’s emotional and spiritual than with his political or economic situation’\footnote{Lennart A. Björk, \textit{Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy} (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksells), p. 60.}. Taking issue with ‘left-wing’ critics, Björk posits that ‘class distinctions and the suffering and hardships due to class restrictions in society’ are not primary concerns in Hardy’s work, especially his late works. Tess’s and Jude’s plights, he posits, are in large measure due to ‘human fallibility’ (for example, misguided ambitions) and certain ‘hereditary qualities’ and not – declares Björk – as a result of capitalist exploitation or prejudice.\footnote{Björk, pp. 57-58.}

Dolin, on the other hand, provides a politically engaged reading of Hardy’s later work that recognises shifts in patterns of migration in the late work (as noted above). Nevertheless, claims Dolin, the fiction downplays political agitation and supplants the conditions of the agricultural labourer with those of an intermediate rural class to which Hardy himself belonged. Dolin’s conclusions are based on heavily contextualised readings of Hardy’s late prose works in the light of Radical social programmes of the late nineteenth century, ones that Dolin deems Hardy, like many of his intellectual contemporaries, ultimately rejected. Wessex is ‘political’ only insofar as it becomes a space where ‘class interests are transcended, and where the authentically political self is a disinterested self’.\footnote{Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, pp. 126-29.} In Dolin’s opinion, the depoliticised Wessex of Hardy’s late fiction tallies with the author’s ‘attainment of high status in an increasingly autonomous, depoliticized cultural sphere’.\footnote{Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, p. 133.}

In both readings for and against the political development of Wessex in Hardy’s fiction, the emphasis has been narrowly focused on the dynamics of displacement within domestic borders. This chapter argues that not enough attention
has been devoted to examining the significance of the expansion of forms of local deracination into global spheres and to the ways in which those forms of deracination reveal a wider sense of political commitment to the plights of the rural working classes. Emigration to the settler frontiers in Hardy’s late fiction exposes potentials for violent reprisals against the social injustices of imperialism that do not exist in chronicles of emigration – or imperial migrations more broadly – in the earlier fiction. It is my contention that over the course of the late fiction, subversions of the pastoral become ever more pronounced in the unsettled and violent qualities of overseas migrations. The violent possibilities I will be considering are discernable in antagonistic relationships between emigrants and the forces that make it untenable for them to continue their life both within and beyond national borders. This chapter ultimately shows that class struggle and warfare are nowhere more clearly represented in the late fiction than in the disturbing cultural possibilities contained in stories of global exile, migration to, and often return from, the settler frontiers of empire.

Opening with a reading of ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ (1883), this chapter contextualises what Millgate has identified in the author as a growing concern for the rural working classes. It seeks to qualify this concern through the article’s riposte to the romanticisation of rural poverty both within Radical debates about rural enfranchisement and, in the long run, within Conservative programmes for imperial inclusion. Drawing on Tom Nairn’s theories of capitalist and imperial development in his Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism (1981), this section identifies the early seeds in Hardy’s article of what Nairn qualifies as ‘peripheric resistance’ to the unifying story of capitalist expansion. Despite an identified key weakness within Hardy’s article, which is the occlusion of references to rural emigration, I argue

16 Rare allusions to emigration to the colonies in earlier works, for example in Under the Greenwood Tree and in The Hand of Ethelberta, are not rooted in vocabularies of displacement nor have any bearing on plot. In The Hand of Ethelberta (1876), Gwendoline and Cornelia Chickerel marry farmer brothers and emigrate to Queensland a week after their weddings (p. 404). In Greenwood Tree, ed. by Tim Dolin (London: Penguin, 1998; repr. 2004), Dick Dewy analogises his anger at Fancy Day for taking a walk with Mr Shiner to being ‘alone in a strange country’ and also ‘very anxious to walk to the colonies that very minute’ (p. 105). Tellingly, in the 1896 edition of Greenwood Tree, Hardy altered the former analogy in Greenwood Tree to read: ‘as if he were tired of an ungrateful country’ (see editor’s note in Greenwood Tree, p. 211) and ‘the colonies’ to ‘the remotest of Colonies’. These alterations, located as they are at the end of Hardy’s foray in fiction, serve to strengthen the argument I will be forwarding in this chapter for the special links between rural emigration and settlement colonies and for the presence, especially in the closing works, of unpatriotic sentiment.

17 The idea of returning emigrants in Hardy as embodiments of disturbing cultural possibilities is inspired by Gillian Beer, Open Fields (see Chapter One), p. 31; Id., ‘Revenants and Migrants’ (see Chapter One). Beer’s work does not tend to consider migrant disruptions in Hardy via the politics of imperial expansion.
nonetheless that the article provides the building blocks for a more comprehensive approach to rural depopulation in the late fiction. This broader approach to migration, I show in later sections, culminates in an effective critique of upper-class ideologies of imperial development.

The chapter then moves on to offer a survey of the late fiction, including a number of short stories, in order to consider the way in which patterns of domestic migration (which are the principal emphases of ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’) are complemented by processes of emigration. The linked phenomena of domestic migration and emigration are identified as another feature that distinguishes the imperial migrations of labour from the imperial migrations of elites. Here, the more expansive approach to displacement in Hardy’s fiction is routed via historical and biographical contexts. A close reading of entries relating to crime and transportation in Thomas Hardy’s ‘Facts’ Notebook, first edited and published in 2004, is then offered. These chronicles of Dorset, largely entered after the publication of ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, will be shown to account for the bleak and baleful representations of emigration in the late fiction. Through findings on Hardy’s method of record-taking within this notebook and via further insights into tropes of transportation in the late fiction, this chapter contests the view that a ‘watershed’ dividing early- and late-West Country cultures informs Hardy’s approach.

The ‘watershed’ theory is additionally problematised through evaluations of regional dissent in the late fiction. In The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886), I examine representations of collective memory and trauma in relation to imperial exile in which political and economic conflict is seen to precede the relocation of rural labour to the settler regions. Reflections are then offered on the way in which the global alienation of labour is addressed in polyphonic expressions of discontent and class-consciousness. The final section will investigate in key works of the late period, Tess of the D’Urbervilles (1892) and Jude the Obscure (1895), the manner in which the movements of labour across the globe and back to Wessex lead to violent opposition within the tales. Narratives of ‘failed’ emigration and return in these tales will be examined for the way they puncture Victorian ideologies of portable domesticity and challenge historical arguments for a ‘settler revolution’ with indissoluble kinship ties to ‘Greater Britain’.
4.2. ‘THE DORSETSHIRE LABOURER’: RURAL SUFFRAGE, IMPERIAL INCLUSION AND ‘PERIPHERIC RESISTANCE’

Hardy’s ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ was commissioned in the summer of 1882, as Hardy was still seeking a plot of building land around Dorchester. It was published a year later in the gentlemanly Longman’s Magazine, coinciding with his return to Dorchester.18 The article, notes Dolin, was one of a series of county-by-county overviews of the condition of agricultural labourers commissioned in response to the 1882 Report of the Richmond Commission on Agricultural Distress. The Richmond Report concluded three years of hearings in response to British agricultural depression: hearings starting in 1879, near the end of Disraeli’s second term in office, and continuing after the election of a Liberal government in 1880.19

The political context surrounding ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, considered in some detail in this section, is important because it highlights important public debates about rural depopulation that were influencing romanticised conceptions of rural poverty. These ideas, in turn, shaped political campaigns for rural suffrage and, in the long term, programmes for the inclusion of labour within the project of imperial development. In Hardy’s late works, the ideologies that underpin these interlocked visions of national and imperial inclusion are questioned and subverted. ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, despite some recognisable weaknesses, shows early signs of dissent from these twin ideologies of participation.

Dolin maintains that Hardy’s article offers a rare ‘tentative public intervention in a topical political controversy: over land reform, the conditions of the agricultural labouring class, and the future of Liberal politics’.20 To support his claim, Dolin cites the finding that Hardy sent copies of the article on the day of its publication to the Radical politician John Morley and to William Gladstone, then Liberal prime minister. In the letter to Morley, Hardy alluded to a speech that Joseph Chamberlain, the leader of the Radical faction of the Liberal party, gave on 13 June 1883, in which he attacked the landed classes and the monarchy. This speech was one of many ‘astonishing speeches’ delivered by Chamberlain up and down the country since the early months of 1883, when Hardy started to write ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’. In this context of republican sentiment, Chamberlain had invoked the extension of suffrage

to agricultural labourers. That Hardy decided to send copies of his article to a Radical politician with reference to Chamberlain’s speech suggests, as Dolin opines, that Hardy wished for his article to be read as ‘the intervention of a literary man and a Dorset man into the public debate over the Radical Programme’.21

The Radical Programme Chamberlain was spiritedly promoting was, according to Dolin, ‘an aggressive programme’ of practical reforms in the areas of land and housing, rural suffrage, education and religion, taxation and finance, local government and Ireland. The findings of the Richmond Commission in 1882 added fuel to Chamberlain’s efforts. The Commission had concluded, to the ‘disbelief of many’, that although ‘distress of unprecedented severity’ had indeed ‘been experienced by the agricultural community’, the labouring classes had been ‘scarcely, if at all, affected by the distress which has fallen [so heavily] upon owners as well as occupiers.’22

In this context, the report became a catalyst for debates within the Liberal party around the extension of the franchise to male labourers in the counties. Recognising that electoral reform in the counties was inevitable, Chamberlain foresaw that reform would necessitate overhauling electoral boundaries and redistributing seats, which would increase Radical representation in the House of Commons, where is was presently severely ‘under-represented’ despite its wide support outside London and the home counties. Chamberlain argued that ‘the question that arouses’ this new electorate ‘is the land. The labourers will vote for the party which they think will better their condition – it is a matter with them not of sentiment but of bread and cheese’. The Radicals’ schedule of electoral and land reforms was, as Dolin suggests, part of ‘an essentially urban social vision’ of the countryside. The accelerated depopulation of the countryside since the agricultural depression of the 1870s had, according to the Radicals, led to the overcrowding of cities and the worsening states of urban poverty, as ‘sensationalised’ in works such as Andrew Mearns’s The Bitter Cry of Outcast London (1883), and had contributed, they argued, to the rise of socialism.23 Ultimately, concludes Dolin, for all its ‘look-alike’ socialism, the ‘Radical Programme’ was formulated to protect the key liberal ideas of possessive

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22 Millgate, p. 219.
individualism and the common interest: ‘the idea of an enlightened “common people” striving for equality and freedom beyond the narrow limits of entrenched class interest’. 24

The Radical Programme successfully hastened male suffrage; however, its progenitor, Joseph Chamberlain, subsequently turned to destructive imperial politics: politics that were in large part driven by a similar ambition to unite classes, peripheries and imperial dominions behind British global expansion. In 1886 the Liberals split over Home Rule and Chamberlain joined the Liberal Unionists, forming a coalition with the Conservatives against Gladstone.25 Chamberlain turned a keen imperialist following the Home Rule crisis and became Colonial Secretary in 1895 in the coalition with the Conservatives (his request for the Colonial Office under Gladstone’s leadership had been rejected in 1885). Governing the British Empire at its zenith and commonly referred to as the first minister of the empire, Chamberlain pushed for expansion in Africa, the Americas and Asia at the turn of the twentieth century. He became a key player in the worsening of diplomatic relations with the Boers as he knowingly neglected to foil Alfred Beit and Cecil Rhodes’s coordinated Jameson Raid in 1895 and ultimately presided over the outbreak of the Second Boer War.26

Meanwhile, many of Chamberlain’s imperial energies were also invested in cultivating close links between the Crown and the ‘white’ dominions: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, as well as with Britain’s former colony in Central America. As colonial secretary, he pioneered programmes for imperial industrial development, including the extension of railway systems and exploitation of overseas markets, in later years pushing for ‘retaliatory tariffs against countries that threatened British imperial interests’. Always keen to unite labour and capital, Chamberlain simultaneously and energetically promoted the employment benefits of such developments to the working classes at home.27

It is not difficult to see, then, how the extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers in Chamberlain’s mind could go hand in hand with the unification of empire

and the strengthening of Britain’s suzerainty over other territories and races. This unifying approach, as much a global as a domestic aspiration, chimes with Tom Nairn’s treatise on myths of ‘even development’ and his account of the role that ‘indigenous resources’ have to play in constructing or resisting these myths. ‘Development’ in Nairn’s *The Break-Up of Britain* (1981) is conceived broadly as the process of industrialisation and acculturation across the empire, with capitalism acting as ‘a powerful instrument of its diffusion’.28 ‘Even’ development, the verbal opposite of the Marxist concept and theory of ‘uneven’ development, is ‘a forward view more natural to the elites’, according to which Progress is considered to extend ‘[o]utwards from the centre to […] peripheric regions, and sociologically downwards, from the cultivated classes to the servants and labouring people’. However, the notion of ‘even’ development is fallacious, claims Nairn, since all actual ‘development’ that human society has been forced through since the Industrial Revolution is uneven.

It is in relation to this fantasy that ideologies of nation and nationalism evolve, declares Nairn, with ‘indigenous resources’ having an important role to play in reinforcing ideologies of national uniformity. ‘Indigenous resources’, in Nairn’s view, are recovered via a process of ‘inward looking’ and materialise in resurrected folklore, heroes and folklore, legends and landscapes, and dialect forms.29 As elites spawn ideologies of a national collective march towards development (or empire), they tend to romanticise ‘really poor’ or ‘under-developed’ territories and cultures. The populist approach of romantic culture, avers Nairn, is a way that elites reach out to ‘the lower strata now being called to battle’. He adds,

> We have all studied the phenomena so consistently accompanying it [the process through which class and regional *differentiae* are transcended in the language of nationalism]: the ‘rediscovery’ or invention of national history, urban intellectuals invoking peasant virtues which they have experienced only through train windows on their summer holidays, schoolmasters painfully acquiring ‘national’ tongues spoken only in remote valleys, the infinity of forms assumed by the battle between scathing cosmopolitan modernists and emotional defenders of the Folk.30

This logic, when applied to the British Isles and to Hardy’s semi-fictional Wessex, then, means that ‘peripheric’ areas experience this invention of national history

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29 Nairn, pp. 348-49.
30 Nairn, p. 340 (original emphasis).
acutely because their peoples become rediscovered ‘indigenous resources’ essential to the construction of nation.

Chamberlain had not yet become colonial secretary when ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ was published in 1883. However, the article’s appeal against the romanticisation of rural distress offers a prescient early example of the kind of scepticism Hardy would express about Britain’s imperial mission at the outbreak of the Second Boer War and, as poems like ‘Drummer Hodge’ reveal, reservations about the exploitation of the rural working classes to advance imperial interests.31 Both article and poem exemplify resistance to the story of capitalism, as it ‘spread[s] remorselessly over the world to unify human society into one more or less connected story’.32 The article sets the stage not only for a more determined focus on rural depopulation in the late fiction, but also for a more vociferous critique of ideologies of social equality under imperial expansionist politics.

Hardy’s ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ punctures romantic urban visions of rural distress. The article itself rails against the London ‘Chamber’ theorist’s stereotypes of rural poverty. The figure of ‘Hodge’, a reference to Richard Jefferies’s Hodge and His Masters (1880), becomes the ‘allegorical representative’ of the labouring classes that the Chamber theorist invents and a caricature that Hardy’s article seeks to deconstruct:

This supposed real but highly conventional Hodge is a degraded being of uncouth manner and aspect, stolid understanding, and snail-like movement. His speech is such a chaotic corruption of regular language that few persons of progressive aims consider it worth while to enquire what views, if any, of life, of nature, or of society, are conveyed in these utterances. Hodge hangs his head or looks sheepish when spoken to, and thinks Lunnop a place paved with gold. Misery and fever lurk in his cottage, while, to paraphrase the words of a recent writer on the labouring classes, in his future there are only the workhouse and the grave. He hardly dares to think at all. He has few thoughts of joy, and little hope of rest. His life slopes into a darkness not ‘quieted by hope’.33

Hardy argues that Hodge exists as a convenient construction of the labourer by

31 On Hardy’s response to the Second Boer War, see Bownas and Jackson, pp. 410-12.
32 Nairn, p. 341.
33 Thomas Hardy, ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, in PV, pp. 37-57 (pp. 38-39). Page references to this article are noted henceforward parenthetically in-text. The citation ‘quieted by hope’ comes from Robert Browning, Sordello, Book the First, line 370.
unsympathetic outsiders. The writer’s defence is devoted principally to deconstructing this myth, as Dolin notes, by opposing the limited perspective of a city observer with the more inclusive perspective of the local resident. Drawing on rhetorical methods that ‘use the evidence of close observation over a long period of time’, Hardy offers counter-images of the agricultural labourer based around themes of migration within national borders, the condition of rural cottage dwellings, hiring fairs, language, education, patronage, emancipation, wages, family incomes, women’s labour, and the tragic fates of life-holders who are being evicted in high numbers from their cottages.

The article challenges romanticised notions of poverty by underlining that what may appear like ‘squalor’ to the urban outsider may turn out to be ‘no squalor at all’, for the colour of attire and dwellings can often mask the true location of poverty: ‘most frequently the grimiest families are not the poorest’ (p. 42). Furthermore, the agricultural labourer is hardly ignorant or stagnant as the Hodge stereotype implies. The annual removals of Lady Day in recent decades, with different districts ‘shaken together once a year and redistributed, like a shuffled pack of cards’, have meant that workfolk ‘have ceased to be so local in feeling or manner as formerly, and have entered on the condition of the inter-social citizens, whose city stretches the whole country over’ (p. 49). Out of the agricultural unionism of the 1870s, encouraging labourers ‘not to bind themselves for more than a year’, farm leases dropped from three-life leases to one-year leases. Ensuing nomadic working conditions, according to Hardy, mean that travelling distances of twenty miles has turned labourers into ‘shrewder and sharper men of the world’. In short, for the labourer, ‘Change is also a certain sort of education’ (pp. 48-49).

Hardy critics have been divided in opinion about the extent of Hardy’s support for the extension of the franchise to agricultural workers. They have also

37 A drive to dispel myths of squalor, stagnation and limited opportunity can be seen in descriptions of villagers from ‘the houses of Hodge and Giles’ in *Two on a Tower*, who boldly move ‘in full cry’ across the estate of ‘the house of Constantine’ for the last two hundred years (p. 21). In *The Return of the Native* (1878), ed. by Tony Slade with intro. by Penny Boumelha (London: Penguin, 1999), the nomadic reddleman, Diggory Venn, makes enough profit from his trade in cattle paint ‘to take a dairy of fifty cows’ by the end of the tale (p. 374).
ventured different views regarding the success of Hardy’s engagement with rural distress.\textsuperscript{39} In addition, there have been differing perspectives on the degree to which the article and the fiction, particularly the late fiction, cohere in their treatment of rural labourers’ plights.\textsuperscript{40} To date, what unites these critical perspectives is a focus on the way in which Hardy treats domestic issues in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’. These interventions have not been concerned to interrogate why Hardy’s enquiry into rural distress and depopulation occludes references to emigration, or, indeed, to reflect on why the late fiction contradistinctively widens its purview of rural migration to include narratives of emigration. The remaining part of this section along with the next section engage with these questions in order to bring to the fore types of continuity and rupture between article and late fiction that have not been considered.

There is good cause to question the article’s failure to reflect on the phenomenon of emigration, since findings in the Richmond Report itself, to which Hardy’s piece was responding, confirm that domestic and global migrations were considered at Commission level to be combined outcomes of rural deracination. These are expressed in dissenting views within the Richmond Report about the way the government was dealing with rural depopulation. One of the assistant commissioners, Mr John Clay, in a supplementary memorandum that protests the absence of solid plans in the Commission Report for legislative intervention to help scale back the impacts of rural depression, draws attention to the following calamity under his seventh heading, ‘Emigration’:

Evidence has been given that farmers’ sons and agricultural labourers are leaving the country in increasing numbers, and it is highly probable that this exodus will continue unless a prospect of higher remuneration to both classes can be held out, a growing scarcity of labour and the withdrawal from the country of large numbers of young farmers is a serious evil threatening the future of our agriculture; and it must be borne in mind that while it is easy to drive off those whose experience and taste fit them for the successful cultivation of its soil, it is very difficult to recall them, and almost impossible to replace them.\textsuperscript{41}

Clay’s warning emphasises, as do many of his other supplementary points of dissent, the losses that accrue to the nation as a whole when measures fail to be put in place to

\textsuperscript{39}Ebbatson, \textit{Margin} (see Chapter One), p. 133; Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, p. 128; Fred Reid, ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, in \textit{Thomas Hardy in Context} (see Bownas and Jackson, above), pp. 177-87 (p.185).
\textsuperscript{40}Millgate, p. 219; Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, p. 128; Ebbatson, \textit{Margin}, pp. 133, 139.
\textsuperscript{41}‘Supplementary Memorandum by Mr. John Clay’, in \textit{Agricultural Commission} (see above), pp. 39-42 (p. 42).
prevent the alienation of rural labourers and their consequent exodus to other countries.

Further evidence that rural depopulation was approached in dissenting contributions to the Richmond Report through combined attention to domestic migration and emigration is supplied in records of hearings with Joseph Arch, the founder and leader of the National Agricultural Labourers’ Union (henceforward NALU). Arch, whose visit to Dorchester in 1873 Hardy incidentally acknowledges in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, expanded in these hearings on the role that NALU had played in assisting agricultural labourers to emigrate in the absence of help from the government to improve their situation at home. At Commission hearings in August 1881, Arch observed that NALU had assisted 700,000 agricultural labourers over the last decade to emigrate.42 Existing alongside sickness funds, emigration funds at NALU were created to ease rural distress and to enhance employment opportunities and wages both for emigrants at their points of destination and, as the outlet valve eased employment pressures at home, for other agricultural labourers who chose to remain. The emigration efforts of NALU, elucidates Arch, were twinned to financial assistance from governments in the ‘white’ dominions.43 When summoned back before the Commission in December 1881, in which, among other topics, NALU’s emigration subsidies were raised again, Arch was additionally questioned about the Union’s support for internal migration to other counties/boroughs, and, in particular, employment in mining or the trades.44

The primary focus of ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ on domestic migration therefore conceals a full picture of rural depopulation. The omission of emigration accounts, in my opinion, for the article’s propensity to inadequately represent the

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42 The historian John T. Collins notes that the emigration figure Arch cited at Commission hearings was exaggerated. Of an estimated 40,000 adult farm labourers emigrating in the 1870s, at least 7000 were supported by Arch’s NALU. Despite Arch’s miscalculation, Collins remarks that the figure reflects ‘the magnitude of the movement from rural areas to Canada and Australia in particular’, but also to New Zealand, Brazil and South Africa (The Agrarian History of England and Wales (see Chapter One) VII, Part 2, pp. 1293-94).

43 On Arch’s words at the August 1881 hearing, see ‘Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on Agriculture’, in Agricultural Commission, pp. 1-11 (p. 3). In his autobiography, titled Joseph Arch: The Story of His Life (Told by Himself), 3rd edn (London: Hutchinson, 1900), in a chapter titled ‘My Views on Emigration’, in which he chronicles his visit to Canada in 1873 with a view to securing a Canadian alliance for the emigration of English rural labourers, Arch expounds on policies required to keep labourers in England. He additionally warns of the negative consequences of inaction (pp. 211-12).

44 On Arch’s words at the December 1881 hearing, see ‘Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on Agriculture’, in Agricultural Commission, pp. 67-94 (pp. 76, 79).
scale of rural distress. This tendency reinforces Ebbatson’s opinion of the article that it tends ‘to deconstruct the lineaments of [...] poverty, want and dispossession’.  

Despite identified weaknesses within the article, principally the muting of references to emigration and thereby occluding the depth of rural hardship, the late fiction, to my mind, largely coheres with the concerns raised in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’. The early seeds of ‘peripheric resistance’ to the nationalising impulses of core areas (in Nairn, centre/core designates strongholds/interests of wealth and privilege) are very much present in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’. According to Nairn, peripheric resistance consists in the use of ‘indigenous resources’ to counteract the kind of romanticised ‘indigenous resources’ invented by elites for the purpose of metropolitan assimilation. Resistance to the forces of national assimilation in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ is offered in the form of deconstructed caricatures of Hodge and rebuttals of romanticised notions of rural poverty through emphases on social, situational, occupational and housing differences in the countryside, as well as warnings about the dangers of cottage eviction.

The late fiction, as the next sections demonstrate, reverses this glaring omission within the article. In this sense, it builds on the theme of rural depopulation explored in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ but emphasises more effectively its adverse, divisive and violent potentials. This rectification is achieved in narratives of emigration – often return – and conditions of unresolved poverty.

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45 Ebbatson, Margin, p. 133.
46 I endorse Millgate’s insight that the article forms the beginnings of a more ‘directly expressed concern’ in Hardy’s late prose for the rural working classes (p. 219) and Ebbatson’s that the fiction orients itself strongly towards the lived experiences of working people (Margin, pp. 133, 139). However, I disagree with Ebbatson’s point that this attentiveness to the working-class voice in the fiction is at odds with Hardy’s approach in the article (Margin, pp. 133, 139). In arguing contra Ebbatson’s idea of disjointedness between article and fiction, this chapter nonetheless opposes Dolin’s conception of accord between the article and the late fiction, which rests in his view that both forms privilege the plights of the rural bourgeoisie and therefore fail to handle real rural depredations (Dolin, ‘Liberal Politics’, p. 128).
47 Nairn, pp. 335-36. Peripheric oppression is more potent, expounds Nairn, within the semi-peripheries, in cultures that occupy an intermediate place between ‘real’ peripheries and the centre. This is because semi-peripheries experience, more than do other more remote regions, the effects of ‘break-neck industrialisation and State-imposed societal regimentations’ (p. 346). Although my chapter considers Hardy’s Wessex to qualify technically as a semi-periphery, it chooses in the interest of brevity to use the truncated ‘periphery’/peripheric’.
48 Notably, Hardy’s account of rural migrations to Rider Haggard in 1902, one that returns to many of those themes explored in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, lays more stress on changes in migratory patterns in the last fifty years ‘which are not so attractive’ and less on the seeming ‘comforts’ accrued to labourers (LW, pp. 335-36).
4.3. A Survey of Emigration in the Late Works

This section offers a representative survey of labour migrations in Hardy’s late fiction and explores the way in which these kinds of movement redress some of the weaknesses in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’. These adjustments include a greater focus on poverty and material insecurity as causes of, or ‘push’ factors for, migration. They also incorporate a much more visible emphasis on emigration to the settler regions of empire, at times as an extension of domestic migration and frequently culminating in failure and return.

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), in contrast to ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, the focus is more distinctly on types of migration that are mostly motivated by, and that in many cases intensify, the hardships of poverty and want. The difficulties of travel within Britain in the early nineteenth century are deftly recounted: ‘To the liege subjects of Labour, England is a continent, and a mile a geographical degree.’ The journeyman hay-trusser and eventually the Mayor of Casterbridge, Michael Henchard, pursues his wife Susan, whom he had sold in a drunken stupor, over the course of ‘weeks count[ing] up to months’ (p. 19). Donald Farfrae, a Scotsman on his way to America ‘to try his fortune in the great wheat-growing districts of the West’ but who settles on corn management in Henchard’s employ, is perceived by locals to have come ‘a’most from the North Pole’ (p. 53). Later in the tale, a farmer in a ‘distant county’ offers to hire an ageing shepherd at the Casterbridge fair only if the arrangement includes his son, whereupon the son and his sweetheart Nelly observe that a distance of seventy miles can become ‘a hopeless length of traction’ for ‘Dan Cupid’s magnet’ to keep them together (pp. 158-59).

A pessimistic outlook on the migration of ‘the liege subjects of Labour’ within national borders in *Mayor* – often perpetuating poverty and leading to the rupturing of families and communities – also extends to episodes of overseas travel, all consistently to the settler areas of empire (or post-colony, America) in the same work. Here it is worth mentioning that Hardy’s late works demonstrate more effectively than in ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’ that the two phenomena of domestic migration and emigration are impossible fully to separate. Poor travellers to and from Wessex in the late fiction are just as likely to be travelling to global regions as they are to other

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50 In later editions, the distance is shortened from seventy to thirty-five miles.
counties or urban spaces. For example, after his fall as mayor of Casterbridge and ‘without a stick or a rag’ to his name, Henchard expresses a preference for employment prospects in America over a return to his post as journey-worker within British borders (p. 224). He, in turn, recalls Farfrae’s intention at the start of the tale of travelling from Scotland to America via an arduous journey through mainland Britain to Bristol when the latter was ‘without a chattel’ to his name (p. 224).

Historians have confirmed the interlinked nature of domestic and imperial migration. As Ian Whyte notes with respect to nineteenth-century migration: ‘it has sometimes been assumed that emigration was a distinctly different process from internal migration. However, it seems more likely that emigration was often a direct continuation of internal movements’. 51 Arthur Redford concludes with respect to labour migration in the early nineteenth century: ‘Emigration and internal migration are complementary aspects of the same general movement of population, having different characteristics in some respects, but springing from the same causes, and reacting continually upon each other’. 52 Thus, the powerful plaints of deracination issued in Hardy’s late fiction, drawing within their remit both local and global trajectories of movement, are one way in which the shift from elite- to labour-focused patterns of migration can be pinpointed over the course of Hardy’s fictional oeuvre.

Themes of poverty, domestic migration, emigration and often return are represented in other examples of travel in Mayor. After Henchard sells Susan to Newson, the new couple travel to Canada, where they ‘lived several years without any great worldly success’, eventually returning to Falmouth where Newson engages for a few years as ‘a boatman and general handy shoreman’ and latterly in Newfoundland trade (p. 25). When Susan and her daughter Elizabeth-Jane arrive in Casterbridge, after Newson is reported to have died ‘off the Bank of Newfoundland’ (p. 25), Henchard asks if they had come from America or Australia (p. 66). After months of searching for the wife he had sold, Henchard wonders whether Susan and Newson ‘had started for some colony’ and ‘had been drowned on their way out’ (p. 72). Further into the tale, Farfrae recalls the misfortune of a fellow Scotsman, Sandy Macfarlane, ‘who started to America to try his fortune, and […] was drowned’ (p.239).

Migrations to settler regions continue in the late work and, as the next sections will explore in greater detail, produce ever-greater impacts on plot development. In *The Woodlanders* (1887), Suke Damson prepares to depart for New Zealand with her new husband Tim Tangs, where they hope to find brighter opportunities than they have had in Wessex. That the settler peripheries of empire attracted members of the lower classes mainly is reflected in Suke’s words that in New Zealand there is little hope of finding a doctor ‘as clever’ as Edred Fitzpiers. In *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (1892), Angel Clare, the son of a parson who had rejected clerical/‘academical’ training in favour of farming ‘with a view either to the Colonies, or the tenure of a home-farm’, tries his hand at agriculture in Brazil. His venture fails and he returns home after months of lying ill in the clay lands near Curitiba, ‘having been drenched with thunderstorms and persecuted by other hardships, in common with all the English farmers and farm-labourers who […] were deluded into going thither’. Brazil, unlike some of Britain’s other settler colonies, was not beholden to the Crown, but it attracted a sizeable population of white settlers who shared many of the plights and incentives of migrants to settlement colonies like Australia. Porter explains that British settlers in some of England’s unofficial colonies were often encouraged when native methods of production were deemed inadequate for English needs. The ‘natives’ supplied the commodities the English wanted too dearly or in insufficient quantities; or else the English felt that a new product might be cultivated in a country more profitably than its customary products. In these cases, most notably in tropical countries, the English took a hand in the production side themselves, buying estates and turning them into plantations. In more temperate climates, a large-scale movement of population often accompanied the movement of trade. Hard on the heels of the trader, the planter and the settler came the financier, helping build railways and other engineering works and ‘bolstering up’ governments, including in South America.

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As already mentioned in the previous chapter, in *Jude the Obscure* (1895), when their pig-breeding business folds, Arabella Donn and her family sell their belongings in order to emigrate. In Australia, Arabella deems her chances will be better than in ‘this stupid country’ (p. 71). However, the fear of being left without home and security haunts her even there. In Australia, she takes a second husband, her cited reasons for doing so being that with no thoughts of returning to England, she had feared ending up ‘with no home of my own’ (p. 185). Arabella eventually leaves Cartlett, it seems due to his violent tendencies induced by drink (p. 269), and returns to England. In Australia, Arabella’s mother dies ‘of dys—what do you call it—in the hot weather’, while her father has a ‘rough time’ and ‘[c]ouldn’t get on’ (p. 349) and eventually also returns to England. Father Time, born in Australia and forced to change guardians due to a host of child-rearing constraints, is described as being ‘wanted by nobody’ (p. 274).

In many of Hardy’s short stories, a vast majority of which were written after Hardy’s relocation to Dorchester, emigration to the settler areas of empire likewise centred on impoverished or ever worsening circumstances. In ‘Interlopers at the Knap’ (1884), Phil, the son of a widowed woman, returns from Australia ‘a tramp’ with a wife and two small children, where things ‘went from bad to worse’. Although he had travelled out with ‘a good supply of money, and strength and education’, there are hints within the text that the departure three years earlier was pursued in the hope of finding a better future than could be expected in England. Phil’s wife Helena’s bourgeois parents had disowned her for choosing to marry much beneath her. With Phil’s own father deceased, it can be inferred that his emigration is motivated both by the absence of reliable sponsors within the metropole and a sense of duty to secure the welfare of his surviving mother and sister, perhaps through colonial remittances. The damaging impact that the settler regions have on physical constitutions, much in the manner that Brazil has on Angel Clare’s, is seen when Phil returns ‘a pale-faced man

56 Arabella’s motives for taking a second husband contrast with Marcia’s justification to her husband, Jocelyn Pearston, for double marriage abroad in *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved*, ed. by Patricia Ingham (London: Penguin, 1997): ‘I fail to see why, in making each our own home, we should not make our own matrimonial laws if we choose’ (p. 42). Born into privilege, Marcia, who decides to join her parents on a world tour, views matrimony almost as an added benefit to the material comfort already at her disposal; in Arabella’s situation, however, domestic and material comfort are indivisible from marriage.

57 Thomas Hardy, ‘Interlopers at the Knap’, in *Wessex Tales: Strange, Lively and Commonplace*, ed. by Michael Irwin (London: Wordsworth, 1995; repr. 1999), pp. 115-41 (pp. 121, 122). Subsequent references to this text are noted parenthetically in-text.
in the garb of extreme poverty – almost in rags’ (p. 121) and dies of poor health mere hours after showing up at his mother’s house.

In ‘A Tragedy of Two Ambitions’ (1888), the Halborough sons conspire to save up enough funds to convince their alcoholic father, a master-millwright whose drinking has led to bankruptcy, to emigrate with his ‘gipsy’ wife to Canada so that their own ambitions as clergymen are not tarnished by ‘this terrible vagabondage and disreputable connection’. The father’s union with a gipsy incarnates for the sons the ultimate shame of impoverished nomadic wanderings and explains why, as aspiring gentlemen, they concoct emigration as a solution to the father’s disreputable presence. The father reports unhappiness in Canada, returns to England, commits petty crime, is briefly imprisoned, and upon release, is allowed to drown intoxicated in his sons’ company, thereby preventing him from showing up to their sister’s advantageous wedding to a squire and exposing the family to public humiliation.

In ‘To Please His Wife’ (1891), Shadrach Jolliffe, a seafarer who does well in the Newfoundland trade but settles after marriage on running an unsuccessful grocer’s shop, ventures out to sea once again to try to make a fortune. A return of about £300 following a voyage of several months fails to impress his ambitious wife. He sets out to sea once again, this time with their two sons, to try to make a bigger profit, never to return. In ‘A Few Crusted Characters’ (1891), Mr Lackland arrives thirty-five years after emigrating with his parents and sister – all three having died abroad – and hopes to settle back into his native Upper Longpuddle. On return, he explains to locals that new countries are not full of promise: ‘Even in new countries, there are failures. The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong’. The tale ends with his ghost-like disappearance when he realises that he can never successfully reintegrate into the local life he had once known prior to emigration.

The frequent reference to emigration in the late fiction and the way in which it links with straitened circumstances and even death are simply not defining features in chronicles of overseas movement in works preceding Hardy’s relocation to

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59 The sons reflect: ‘To succeed in the Church, people must believe in you, first of all, as a gentleman, secondly as a man of means, thirdly as a scholar, fourthly as a preacher, fifthly, perhaps, as a Christian – but always first as a gentleman, with all their heart and soul and strength’ (p. 60; my italics).
60 Thomas Hardy, ‘To Please His Wife’, in Hardy, Life’s Little Ironies (see Hardy, above), pp. 97-111.
61 Thomas Hardy, ‘A Few Crusted Characters’, in Hardy, Life’s Little Ironies (see Hardy, above), pp.129-79. The text suggests a destination ‘across the ocean’ and ‘over two thousand miles’ away (p.178), therefore probably Newfoundland.
Dorchester. In earlier fiction, illness and death within the colonies are more a matter of narrative design. In ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’, for example, Winwood’s illness is a way to emasculate the Indian civil servant and devalue his achievements. In Two on a Tower, Sir Blount’s suicide subverts the heroic qualities of the upper-class adventurer. In the late fiction, by contrast, the consistent equation of the emigrant experience with adversity signals the extension of social problems.

This shift towards a darker picture of migration and emigration in the final decade of prose writing is illuminated by historical findings. The frequency of departure to settler regions in Hardy’s late fiction reflects the scale of emigration from Britain in the nineteenth century. Between the years 1815 and 1930 around 11.4 million people emigrated from the United Kingdom: a majority of 7.3 million were from Ireland with high numbers also recorded from Scotland, and followed by a smaller yet significant exit from England and Wales. As mentioned in Chapter One, in the years 1861-1900, regions roughly correlating to Hardy’s semi-fictional Wessex were the worst hit by rural emigration within England. Of the 9.7 million who emigrated from the United Kingdom between 1853 and 1920, 2.3 million went to Canada, 1.7 million to Australia and New Zealand, and 671,500 to South Africa.

The labouring poor, according to Thompson, took advantage of various forms of private emigration aid, trade-union subsidies (from NALU, for example) and labour contracts. They also received charitable help from a number of emigration societies. The Salvation Army led the way here. In pursuit of its goal of rehabilitating the ‘submerged tenth’ of the British population the Salvation Army became the largest emigration agency in the British Empire. By 1930 the Salvation Army had helped some 200,000 working-class men and women to migrate.

Whyte indicates that every community was affected by migration and modest net inward or outward movements could conceal large gross flows of people. A number of Hardy’s own relatives and acquaintances emigrated under difficult circumstances. His aunt, Martha Sharpe, emigrated to Canada in 1851 with her husband and children, only to die of poor health in 1859. The family were still almost

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62 Whyte, p. 281.
63 Collins, p. 1295.
65 A. Thompson, pp. 156-57.
destitute in 1858 when Hardy’s mother, at a time when the Hardy family were themselves heavily burdened with expenses, sent £3 to Canada to help alleviate her sister’s family’s distress.67 Hardy’s cousins, Emma and Martha Sparks, were both eventually driven by poverty to Australia with their respective families, the former dying of poor health just one month after her arrival.68 Based on Hardy’s second wife Florence’s account, Gittings identifies a real-life tragedy allegedly involving the illegitimate offspring of Hardy’s tutor, Horace Moule, who was brought up and hanged in Australia.69 Given that Hardy’s West Country was hardest hit by flows of migration in England in the second half of the nineteenth century, communities in those areas would have experienced social schisms that would have opened along class and regional fault lines.

Dorchester’s status as an assize town, one of a number key towns across England and Wales in which harsh rulings of forced emigration to Australia were delivered, would have been a further reminder of the class politics frequently behind rural banishment. The years 1787-1868 saw over 162,000 convicts transported from Britain to Australia.70 Eight in ten were convicted of petty crime, principally ‘offences against property’ (including unspecified larcenies, burglary or housebreaking, stealing domestic or farm animals and ‘theft of wearing apparel’); a much smaller fraction was convicted either of ‘offences against the person’ (including assault, rape, sodomy, manslaughter and murder) or ‘offences of a public nature’ (including treason, conspiracy to riot or membership in trade unions or secret societies).71 The phenomenon of transportation peaked in the years 1816 to 1840, the period in which Mayor is set, due largely, as Robert Hughes emphasises, to a ‘succession of internal crises’ that meant an increase of poverty. Britain’s population increased exponentially: between 1801 and 1841 it nearly doubled, from 10.1 to 18.1 million. Workers, adds Hughes, were ‘pincered between falling wages and rising prices; the mechanization of hand trades created runaway unemployment; and the inexorable spread of enclosure was driving people from the country to the slum’.72 Tory politicians of the day, notes Hughes, refused to intervene, since they

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67 Millgate, p. 61.
68 Millgate, p. 58; Gittings, p. 144.
69 Gittings, p. 185.
70 Brooke and Brandon (see Chapter One), p. 13.
72 Hughes, p. 161.
saw the problem [of poverty] in terms of one hypnotic ideology: that of Malthus, who taught that it was futile to spend any money on poor relief, since it would only encourage the poor to breed and thus make the problem worse. If left to survive or starve, the poor would find their ‘natural’ level. And since the out-of-work did not, by definition generate wealth, their survival was not an issue for the government. 73

Consequently, through ‘illegal’ means of dealing with poverty, during the years 1816-1840, about 101,400 convicts were condemned to transportation. The most active year, 1833, included the transportation of 6779 convicts. 74

Transportation was, as Hughes cogently argues, embedded in class struggle. This was as a result of the kinds of labels that the middle classes chose to attach to offenders, for example, designating them part of a ‘criminal class’, which implied that a distinct social group ‘produced’ crime. 75 It was also such because whole communities were known to condone some types of ‘crime’. Youths made heroes of highwaymen, and communities in Cornwall and Devonshire not only engaged in wrecking, but also claimed a traditional right to plunder, ships. In smuggling communities, people used every shift to avoid the excise on rum and tea. 76 Although only three in a thousand convicts were transported for poaching, the game laws were considered among the rural working classes, perhaps more than any other law, to be ‘the most corrupt of all English statutes’. Hughes maintains that this was because they forbade a man to kill a wild animal, even on his own land, unless he could show an income of £100 a year from a freehold estate. Hughes maintains that since a labourer in 1830 might expect to make between £10 and £20 a year, the poaching laws led to ‘a constant theater of class conflict’. 77

Not all convicts were from rural areas, of course, but two of the largest categories among the transported were ‘farm workers’ (twenty percent) and ‘labourers’ (nineteen percent). 78 Moreover, there were ‘transportable’ offences that were manifestly rural in character: rural labourers fell foul of the game laws, which

73 Hughes, pp. 197-98. For an overview of how Malthusian ideas were contested within Radical politics and also their wider influence on the development of capitalism and evolutionary thought in the late nineteenth century, see Angelique Richardson, Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century (Oxford UP, 2010), pp. 37, 59.
74 Hughes, pp. 161-62. Hughes suggests that the System ‘swelled in the 1830s’ not due to a ‘catastrophic increase in crime’, but rather because the ‘administrative machinery [including the establishment of an official police force in 1827] had improved’ (pp. 160, 164).
75 Hughes, p. 165.
76 Hughes, p. 170.
77 Hughes, p. 170.
78 Hughes, p. 170.
made the killing and poaching of game a serious crime. The years 1826 to 1830 were, according to G. E. Mingay, years in which poaching rose sharply, with an annual average reaching 281 incidents. This sharp rise indicated not only the ineffectiveness of repressive laws against poaching but also the offensiveness of the principle of private property to so many who lived in poverty. From 1817-1828, seven years’ transportation were awarded to armed poachers caught at night and in 1803-1828, resistance to arrest for poaching was punishable by death. Only in 1828 did some ‘relaxation’ begin, as the Act of that year reserved transportation for the third offence.  

The Swing Riots of 1830-1831, largely an agricultural phenomenon protesting the decline in prices of agricultural produce, lower wages and the introduction of the threshing-machine – by rick-burning, cattle maiming, machine breaking and arson attacks – meant that South, East and West England were special targets for transportation. According to Mingay, the disturbances of 1 June 1830 to 3 September 1831 across mainly southern counties included nearly 1500 incidents. As Mingay posits: ‘This widespread and alarming upsurge of unrest on the part of agricultural labourers was by far the greatest in modern English history and, moreover, it had no successor: it was, truly, the “Last Labourers’ Revolt”’. This uprising was primarily a southern phenomenon because southern agricultural labourers’ wages were on average as much as 27 per cent lower than wages in the northern half of the country. During one notorious incident on 25 November 1830 at Pyt House, Salisbury, thirteen of twenty-five arrested rioters were sentenced to seven years’ transportation and one to fourteen years for breaking threshing machines on the day.

The eventual repression of Swing did not completely cow the southern labourer, as Mingay points out. Fires still broke out sporadically, there were isolated wage strikes and short-lived unions, including that of Tolpuddle labourers, whose founding members, the Tolpuddle Martyrs, were arrested for swearing an oath as part of a secret society and sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay in 1834. Overall, Mingay notes that of 2,200 men tried for offences committed during Swing, 505 were sentenced to transportation and 252 to death. As Mingay reflects, this was a heavy  

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80 Mingay, p. 36.  
81 Mingay, p. 37.  
82 Mingay, pp. 45-46.  
83 Hughes, pp. 195-96; Mingay, p. 49.
retribution for riots in which no lives were lost by those attacks. Many villages were ‘shorn of their young men’ and ‘whole communities were stricken by the blow’ for a generation.\footnote{Mingay, p. 50.} Mingay concludes that the significant rural depopulation of the late nineteenth century was because the year 1830 had failed to begin ‘a process of amelioration that might have stemmed the exodus.’\footnote{Mingay, p. 50.}

The shift from bold and even profitable forms of migration in the middle fiction to more bleak explorations of the rural migrant experience in the late fiction can be traced, as I show in the next section, to Hardy’s immersion in local history, in which many of these aspects of regional class struggle are apparent.

\section*{4.4. Hardy’s ‘Facts’ Notebook and the ‘Watershed’ Theory}

‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, Millgate indicates, confirmed for Hardy ‘the importance of making an early return to the country of his youth […] before the old ways of thinking, speaking, and acting had entirely vanished, and before all the witnesses of the days before his own childhood had finally passed away.’\footnote{Millgate, pp. 219-20.} In summer 1883, after relocating to his hometown Dorchester, Hardy immersed himself in histories of Dorset and other West Country regions starting after the battle of Waterloo and leading up to his birth in 1840. Hardy was born into an era including, in the 1830s and 1840s, the Reform Act, the Swing Riots, the repeal of the Corn Laws, introduction of the New Poor Law and the growth and collapse of the Chartist movement, most of which were rooted in class war.\footnote{Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, p. 111.}

As part of Hardy’s research into early nineteenth-century Dorset, detailed and prolific notes (a total of 690 items) were recorded in a notebook titled ‘Facts From Newspapers, Histories, Biographies, & other chronicles – (mainly Local)’.\footnote{Greenslade, ‘Critical Introduction’, in \textit{FN}, p. xv.} In mid-March 1884, Hardy borrowed batches of old files from the office of the \textit{Dorset County Chronicle} (henceforward \textit{DCC}) nearby in High Street, Dorchester, for private use at his home in Shire-Hall Place. As mentioned in Chapter One, ‘The central phase of the notebook, with its concentrated record of entries from the \textit{Dorset County Chronicle} for the years 1826-1829, leaves a powerful impression of a region in the
grip of sustained economic depression and social privation’. A disciplined reading of the weekly issues of the DCC over the most intense period of recording, which lasted two months (March-May 1884) before Hardy turned to writing Mayor, notes Greenslade, ‘must have been an experience that stayed with him [Hardy] for the rest of his life’. Material from this notebook, as Greenslade reveals, informs Hardy’s late works, including Mayor, Woodlanders, Tess and Jude.

The notebook gives a solid platform to a ‘constant theater of class conflict’, to borrow Hughes’ terminology. The notebook itself contains at least 34 entries on ‘punishment’ (indexed under ‘capital’, ‘imprisonment’, ‘transportation’ and ‘whipping’), of which sixteen entries relate to transportation. The first entry on transportation is under an entry heading ‘Transportation’ followed by “Portsmouth July 29 [1826].” One hundred convicts were/ removed from the hulks at this place to on [sic] board the Woodford, Chapman,/ for Van Diemen’s Land, also having stores on board for that colony.' One entry records the lengths of transportation sentences for convicts, as ‘7, 14 yrs &c.’. At least three entries refer to sentences of transportation for female convicts. One rather long entry records the escape of twelve convicts sentenced to transportation on their way to Portsmouth. Other entries record the recapturing of convicts who had: been condemned to transportation but escaped prior to their removal; been transported but returned to the region by unknown means; or who escaped prison on English soil to be reunited with a convict spouse in Australia, only to be rearrested in Tasmania. Another lists a letter home from a convict, in which his income of ‘£65 a year & board for managing a farm’ in Van Diemen’s Land is cited. These entries expose the volume, frequency and impacts on community of these dark pages in the annals of nineteenth-century British jurisprudence. The DCC’s disclosure of private communications from transported convicts to relatives, with details of occupation and subsistence in Australia, appears to have been deemed of regional import.

92 FN, p. 63, entry 41c (original underlines). All entries cited in this section on FN are cited from the DCC and most are drawn from the 1826-1829 phase that Greenslade mentions above.
93 FN, p. 162, entry 108c.
94 FN, pp. 43-44, entry 28a (transportation sentence confirmed in the editor’s note); p. 128, entry 83a; pp. 158-59, entry 106b; pp. 166-67, entry 111c.
95 FN, pp. 177-78, entry 118f-[120].
96 FN, p. 172, entry 116a; p. 107, entry 70b; pp. 158-59, entry 106b.
97 FN, p. 83, entry 54e.
Two transportation entries are associated with poaching and game keeping. At least four reports refer to widespread incendiary acts in the Dorset Swing disturbances of November/December 1830 and in other regions, one of which records the outcome of transportation. These acts included the destruction of corn ricks and machines and were followed up with harsh punitive consequences, including military firing and sentences from one month to transportation for life. These riots were explicitly referred to in the DCC under titles such as ‘Outrages in the Country’ and ‘Disturbed State of the Country’. Regional emphasis within this ‘extensive theatre of arson and disorder’ is likewise acknowledged; for example, the report in the DCC on 25 November 1830 highlights incendiary acts in ‘Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire and Hants’. The 2 December 1830 item carried reports of disturbances closer to home, including Blanford, Handley, Cranborne, Mappowder, Buckland Newton, East Stour and Bere Regis. After a number of entries on transportation, Hardy developed a shorthand form for the term, either as ‘transpn’, ‘transp’ or ‘transp.’ in line with other shorthand forms in the notebook such as ‘Dorch’. These truncations, mirroring the evolving frequency and familiarity with which Hardy was encountering this event, contrast with the underlined and specially designated first entry in the notebook under the heading ‘Transportation’.

While a small proportion of entries explicitly refers to pronounced sentences for crimes committed, a good proportion of entries in the notebook consists of references to an array of crimes for which the outcome is not recorded. Many of the crimes are petty and, in large measure, tally with Hughes’s transportation statistics. In many there are strong undertones of solidarity with the plights or the motives of offenders, so many of which are rooted in privation, destitution and distress. Approximately forty entries into his record-taking from the DCC for 1826, Hardy enters a summative note: ‘Great distress & poverty in the country at this period (1826) – Suicides:/ horse-stealing: highway robbery frequent. Talk of grant of pub. money

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98 FN, p. 231, entry 159b; p. 149, entry 97b.
Notably, these four entries were not made in the notebook till sometime March 1888-September 1890 (Greenslade, ‘Critical Introduction’, p. xvii).
102 FN, p. 63, entry 41c (original underline).
103 Hughes, p. 163.
necessary.’¹⁰⁴ Such was the sombre and sinister history he was encountering that a mental note seemed to justify an entry in its own right.

One entry records a case in which paupers and their families were caught with forged passes in order to obtain poor relief, for example, with Hardy’s entry concluding: ‘Such at a time of gen¹ depression among honest men is the flourishing state of beggary!’¹⁰⁵ A murder of a clergyman planned by several villagers cites the motives as the ‘rigid manner in wh. he [the clergyman] exacted his tithes’.¹⁰⁶ Another lists in full the names of the magistrates and grand jury of ‘Dorset Summer Assizes’ (1828), most of whom, as Greenslade adds in a note, were drawn almost exclusively from the landed and propertied families, including old-established gentry and more recently landed families.¹⁰⁷ A final entry from the DCC in 1830 (9 December) records major disturbances in Shaftsbury and Stour Provost, including a barn burn, destruction of threshing machines and ‘assemblage’ threats to clergymen over tithes. Notes from this report are once again concluded with Hardy’s own interpolation: ‘— Many labourers out of employ – distress great –’.¹⁰⁸

It seems many of the impressions Hardy had formed of this period in history were being carried over into his reading of affairs in the present. At the end of Hardy’s most intense period of record-taking (in early May 1884), by which time he had covered the DCC issues for 1826-1829 and was preparing to embark on taking notes from the 1830 issues (a task that would take another 4-5 years to complete), a note is made of a report in the DCC from 15 May 1884. The report summarises a trafficking incident at Portland Prison in which a prisoner released on parole returned ostensibly to visit the prison priest but was caught placing tobacco, money and other items in a shed where the convicts worked.¹⁰⁹

Gittings charts connections between Portland Prison and transportation in his biography of Hardy. The prison itself, as mentioned in Chapter One, was a fortress-like structure comprising single cells. It was built in 1848 when the practice of transportation was slowly phased out and the authorities realised that Britain would have to live with its own criminals. One of the earliest purpose-built penal servitude prisons, its cells were designed for solitary confinement with a prison routine

¹⁰⁴ FN, p. 76, entry 50a (original underline).
¹⁰⁵ FN, p. 173, entry 116d.
¹⁰⁶ FN, p. 199, entry 137b.
¹⁰⁷ FN, p. 134, entry 87a.
¹⁰⁸ FN, pp. 287-88, entry [193]c.
¹⁰⁹ FN, p. 191, entry 132a.
consisting of hard labour on the huge breakwater enclosing Portland Harbour. The convicts at Portland Prison, notes Gittings, hacked out rubble near the summit of the promontory, and lowered it to sea level by wire-rope incline, a process later sketched by Hardy on the rear flyleaf of Alphonse Mariette’s _Half-Hours of French Translation_. In July 1849, when Hardy was nine years old, Prince Albert visited Dorchester on his way to lay the foundation stone of the Portland breakwater, an event that is recorded in _Mayor_ in the visit of a ‘Royal personage’ (see Chapter 37, _Mayor_). When the railway was extended to Weymouth in 1857 and, a few years after, to Portland itself, convicts became a familiar local sight.

According to Greenslade, Hardy’s research into Dorset history was guided, in part, by ‘positivist leanings’ that believed in the existence of a ‘watershed’ dividing ‘the years of his coming to maturity […] from the years before the Reform Act, the New Poor Law, the arrival of the railways and the abolition of the Corn Law’. On the far side of this so-called ‘watershed’, notes Greenslade, existed for Hardy ‘a culture that was rough, “primitive”, unregulated in character’, and further still, ‘precarious, violent, oppressive and lawless’. However, particular stresses within the ‘Facts’ Notebook placed on class conflict, political, economic and moral injustice, poverty and distress suggest, _pace_ Greenslade, that what was ‘primitive’ and ‘unregulated’ was, in fact, the judicial system. A close reading of the author’s method of chronicling indeed cautions against branding the many examples of petty crime – committed in response to economic privation and which were disproportionately rewarded with exile or death – ‘precarious, violent, oppressive and lawless’. The transition from recording offences in the past to chronicling a case of petty crime in the present likewise militates somewhat against the ‘watershed’ theory. It seems just as plausible that Hardy’s reading of the past might have brought early- and late-West Country cultures closer together in the author’s mind than they had been prior to his project. The following analysis of emigration in the late works, one that

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110 Gittings, pp. 23, 233. Millgate notes that Hardy was working through _Half-Hours of French Translation_ during his enrolment in French Class at King’s College, London, in 1865 (p. 88).
contextualises this phenomenon in the light of important tropes present within these local histories, further cements this argument for continuity.\footnote{This point is echoed partly in Kristin Brady’s *The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy: Tales of Past and Present* (London: Macmillan, 1982), in which she argues that the collection of short stories in *Wessex Tales* (1888) display a ‘time-perspective’ that ‘allows Hardy – here and in the Wessex novels – to isolate the fictional world from his own while also seeing connection between them. Distant yet accessible, alien yet familiar, Dorset becomes an image of a world that is past but still remembered’ (pp. 3-4).}

The first finding within the fiction to suggest affinity between past and present cultures is that emigration is frequently framed by histories and vocabularies of class conflict. In *Mayor*, this linkage is deposited in the covert alignment of the phenomena of emigration, poverty and transportation. After his downfall as town mayor, Henchard looks out from Grey’s Bridge – a stone bridge built in 1748 over the river Frome just east of Dorchester (fictional Casterbridge) – renowned for attracting Casterbridge unfortunates who, in some cases, while gazing downward into the river, had ‘allowed their poor carcases to follow that gaze’ (p. 221). A ‘transportation’ plate commonly fixed to bridges in Dorset during the reign of George IV – and existing in the form of a replica plaque in a modern replacement of the bridge – threatened transportation for life as penalty for damaging the bridge.\footnote{Editor’s note in *Mayor*, p. 356.} At this bridge, Henchard relays to Farfrae his plans to emigrate and recalls how Farfrae, who had himself once stood at this very bridge, had similarly contemplated emigration before Henchard hired him, thus rescuing him from poverty (pp. 223-24). The same bridge serves as the place where the returning emigrant Mr Lackland in ‘A Few Crusted Characters’ hails a carrier van to Upper Longpuddle in the vain hope of settling back into the community his parents had left when he was eleven years of age.\footnote{Hardy, ‘A Few Crusted Characters’, p. 131. For other references in Hardy’s works to Grey’s Bridge, see Frank B. Pinion, *A Hardy Companion: A Guide to the Works of Thomas Hardy and their Background* (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1968), pp. 344-45. See too the trial of members of Bockhampton Band and Fordington Mummers at ‘Dorset Epiphany Sessions’ (reported in DCC, 24 January 1828, and recorded in *FN*, pp. 124-25, entry 81b), who came to blows at Grey’s Bridge.}

In *Mayor*, emigration is even more firmly associated with transportation in relation to Newson’s unexpected return to Casterbridge after years of absence in Canada and in Budmouth. Described as the ‘Crusoe of the hour’, Newson is also recorded as failing to excite interest from the local inhabitants: ‘the inhabitants [of Casterbridge] did not altogether lose their equanimity on his [Newson’s] account’, since ‘Casterbridge was difficult to excite by dramatic returns and disappearances, through having been for centuries an assize town, in which sensational exits from the
world, antipodean absences, and such like, were half-yearly occurrences’ (p. 317). ‘Equanimity’ among the inhabitants of Casterbridge is not altogether lost, the text implicitly suggests, due both to the frequency and volume of migrants flowing out to, and occasionally back from, overseas places. Hardy’s immersion in Dorset history accounts for the subliminal comparison that is drawn between Richard Newson’s emigration to, and return from, Canada and ‘antipodean absences’ issued through sentences of transportations at assize courts (p. 317). In the narrator’s statement, emigration and transportation are virtually undifferentiated.

This productive equivalence likewise manifests itself in Woodlanders – a tale woven around a more recent West Country culture – and thus supplies further cause to question the ‘watershed’ theory. Tim Tangs, prior to departing for New Zealand with his new bride, Suke Damson, lays a disused man-trap in the hope of doing a harm to his rival, the high-born village doctor, Edred Fitzpiers, who has previously seduced Suke, now Tangs’s wife. In the tale, the set man-trap is described in menacing terms as combining the aspects of ‘a shark, a crocodile and a scorpion’ and, depending on the cruelty of its aristocratic proprietor, capable of inflicting different varieties of torture upon its victim. Tim Tangs’s own great-uncle had been trapped and lamed for life by one such contraption. The ‘gin’ that Tangs disinters from an outhouse is known to have formerly trapped its owner, a keeper of Hintock wood, who set it on the track of a poacher and in the end got trapped in it himself (p. 351). Tim Tangs’s plan fails to achieve its objective, as the skirt of Fitzpiers’s wife, Grace, is caught instead. In this respect, the man-trap fails in its intended aim of injuring the village lothario, whose position as a man of means has allowed him to seduce high-and low-born alike.

This disused ‘gaming’ device from bygone days is laden with ‘history’ in the ‘theater of class conflict’. This episode, in which the man-trap proves to be ineffectual, was inspired, as Greenslade points out, by two reports in the DCC (1826) involving spring guns rather than man-traps, which Hardy recorded in his ‘Facts’ Notebook. In the first report, on 13 April 1826, a trespasser set off a spring gun and was killed in consequence; in the second, on 1 June 1826, a gamekeeper accidentally set off a spring gun which he had himself set and received in consequence about thirty shots in the leg.¹¹⁷ The DCC report of the first incident adds: ‘It is strange that landed

¹¹⁷ FN, pp. 47-48, entry 31a; pp. 49-50, entry 32c.
proprietors, merely for the purpose of preserving bestial life, should persist in the use of measures by which human life is not only often endangered, but sometimes destroyed. Such things ought not to be'.

The incident is also politically significant because it evokes the defunct transportation system, here linked, by extension, with the exile and emigration of labour in a more recent present. This is evident in the narrator’s reflection that Tangs did not care to speculate on the source of a ‘cry’ he hears outside after setting the trap, for ‘[i]n half a dozen hours he would be out of its [Hintock’s] precincts for life, on his way to the antipodes’ (p. 343). In this summary, there appears to be an ironic reversal of crime and punishment, since Tangs is already ‘condemned’ to a kind of exile prior to setting the trap. His fate as quasi-transportee in turn influences his indifference to the consequences of the crime. This reversal serves as subtle critique of the banality of Wessex exile, a phenomenon that has become so familiar that it fails to excite response from offenders and locals alike (here recalling specifically the reference in Mayor, noted earlier, that as an Assize town, ‘Casterbridge was difficult to excite by dramatic returns and disappearances’).

The setting of Tangs’s emigration and quasi-transportation within a more recent Wessex conveys the impression that the scale of rural depopulation seen in the late nineteenth century ‘present’ connects to failings in the past. This reading of continuity is in line with Mingay’s point, offered in the previous section, in which he posits that the significant rural depopulation of the late nineteenth century might have been stemmed had economic relief been more systematically offered in 1830. The final core sections offer further reflections on how dissenting responses to the global exile of rural labour in the late fiction likewise complicate the ‘watershed’ theory.

4.5. Regional Dissent in The Mayor of Casterbridge

In this section, I scrutinise how rural labour’s forced exile is critiqued through forms of regional dissent in Mayor, a novel set roughly in the 1830s and 1840s. In section 4.6 I consider, among other things, how Father Time’s murder-suicide in Jude the Obscure, a novel set in a more recent present, builds on forms of dissent articulated in Mayor. These expressions, in combination, emphasise the survival of collective memory within a contemporary Wessex.

118 FN, pp. 47-48, entry 31a (DCC editorial cited in the editor’s note).
119 Mingay, p. 50.
In a key scene at the King of Prussia, Donald Farfrae waxes lyrical for his country Scotland. In ‘the unlighted end’ of the dining parlour at the inn are various labourers, described as ‘an inferior set’ of ‘worthies’ drinking from cups, who stand apart from the master-tradesmen occupying the seats of privilege in the bow-window and its neighbourhood in the corner and drinking from glasses (p. 49). Farfrae’s song includes the lines: ‘It’s hame, and it’s hame, hame fain would I be, / O hame, hame, hame to my ain countree! / The lark shall sing me hame to my ain countree!’ (p. 50). Farfrae’s song is followed by ‘a burst of applause; and a deep silence which was even more eloquent than the applause’. The scene continues:

Young Farfrae repeated the last verse. It was plain that nothing so pathetic had been heard at the King of Prussia for a considerable time. The difference of accent, the excitability of the singer, the intense local feeling, and the seriousness with which he worked himself up to a climax, surprised this set of worthies, who were only too prone to shut up their emotions with caustic words.

‘Danged if our country down here is worth singing about like that!’ continued the glazier, as the Scotchman again melodised with a dying fall, ‘my ain countree!’ ‘When you take away from among us the fools and the rogues, and the lammigers, and the wanton hussies and the slatterns, and such like, there’s cust few left to ornament a song with in Casterbridge, or the country round.’

‘True,’ said Buzzford, the dealer, looking at the grain of the table. ‘Casterbridge is a old, hoary place o’ wickedness, by all account. ’Tis recorded in history that we rebelled against the King one or two hundred years ago, in the time of the Romans, and that lots of us was hanged on Gallows Hill, and quartered, and our different jints sent about the country like butcher’s meat; and for my part I can well believe it.’

‘What did ye come away from yer own country for, young maister, if ye be so wounded about it?’ inquired Christopher Coney, from the background, with the tone of a man who preferred the original subject. ‘Faith, it wasn’t worth your while on our account, for, as Maister Billy Wills says, we be bruckle folk here – the best o’ us hardly honest sometimes, what with hard winters, and so many mouths to fill, and Goda’mighty sending his little tatties so terrible small to fill ’em with. We don’t think about flowers and fair faces, not we – except in the shape o’ cauliflowers and pigs’ chaps.’

‘But, no?’ said Donald Farfrae, gazing round into their faces with earnest concern, ‘the best of ye hardly honest – not surely? None of ye has been stealing what didn’t belong to him?’

‘No, no. God forbid!’ said Solomon Longways. ‘That’s only his random way o’ speaking. ’A was always such a man of underthoughts.’ (And reprovingly towards Christopher): ‘Don’t ye be so over-familiar with a

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120 Some of the occupations of the ‘inferior set of worthies’ are listed earlier as ‘glazier’, ‘shoemaker’ and ‘general trader’ (p. 40).
gentleman that ye know nothing of – and that’s travelled a’most from the North Pole.’

Christopher Coney was silenced, and as he could get no public sympathy, he mumbled his feelings to himself: ‘Be dazed, if I loved my country half as well as the youn feller do, I’d live by claning my neighbour’s pigsties afore I’d go away! For my part I’ve no more love for my country than I have for Botany Bay!’ (pp. 51-53)

This scene illustrates Ebbatson’s observation, noted earlier, that the use of vernacular is the mode through which class-consciousness and solidarity are expressed in the fiction. In effect, this passage brings ‘indigenous resources’ to life for a readership that has shown preference for Hardy’s local materials.

However, this apparent concession to upper-class tastes is offset by Hardy’s use of local materials which emphasise rural oppression, rebellion, capital punishment and exile. These allusions are framed by the glazier’s remark – in response to Farfrae’s sentimental song – in which the glazier comments on the expulsion of Casterbridge undesirables: ‘When you take away from among us the fools and the rogues, and the lammigers, and the wanton hussies and the slatterns, and such like, there’s cust few left to ornament a song with in Casterbridge, or the country round’ (p.51). This overview suggests that since so many, including the lame and degraded, have been ‘take[n] away’ from Casterbridge and the surrounding area, there is little cause to celebrate community or a sense of national belonging. Affiliation with community in the glazier’s opinion is premised on the importance of people situated within their rightful homes and locales and, as such, steers clear of the romanticised views of exile offered in Farfrae’s song.

The glazier’s remarks are then followed by references to historical events pivoting around themes of displacement and banishment. The first is a rebellion ‘against the King one or two hundred years ago, in the time of the Romans’. The labourers are alluding to the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685 against the Roman Catholic King James II: a rebellion recognised for its popular support and physical unfolding in the West Country. Ultimately unsuccessful, this quashed rebellion ended in the Bloody Assizes. The Bloody Assizes were presided over by the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and were conducted across several West Country towns including Dorchester. In addition to at least 300 executions – by cutting down victims

121 Ebbatson, ‘Hardy and Class’, p. 115; Id., Margin, pp. 133, 139.
122 For a summary of the Monmouth Rebellion and its implications for West Country rebels, see the editor’s note in Mayor, p. 331.
while they were still alive, disembowelling and quartering them for cautionary display across Dorset, with heads impaled on the railings of St. Peter’s Church, Dorchester – hundreds were sentenced to transportation and slavery in the West Indies where they became a source of cheap labour.\textsuperscript{123} The labourers’ seemingly garbled account – in which ‘Romans’ might be reflecting perceptions of Roman Catholics’ primary allegiance to Rome or be referring to West Country oppression under Roman invaders – challenges formal historical ‘truths’ generated within elite historiographies.\textsuperscript{124} The impression of West Country history conveyed in the communications of the labourers is one of recurrent oppression, insurrection, punishment and exile.

This expression of recurrence is reinforced in subsequent interjections at the King of Prussia, for example in Christopher Coney’s reference to Botany Bay: ‘Be dazed, if I loved my country half as well as the young feller do, I’d live by claning my neighbour’s pigsties afore I’d go away! For my part I’ve no more love for my country than I have for Botany Bay [the transportation destination of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834]!’ His statement protests not only local oppression but also objects to the unjust methods by which the ‘authorities’ deal with rural inhabitants’ responses to their oppression, in other words by brutally and unjustly ejecting them from their home and country. Coney makes it clear that exits from Casterbridge are not pleasant leave-takings (if they were, notes Coney, he’d ‘live by claning my neighbour’s pigsties afore I’d go away’) but are, instead, heinously enforced. The name Coney is significant in this context, for it connotes, on the one hand, a rabbit and by association the reprehensible game laws and, on the other, a ‘conny’: Elizabethan slang for ‘conman’ or ‘thief’. The combined meanings of the word evoke the injustices of the game laws, social inequalities that lead to poverty and therefore petty crime, and, figuratively speaking, the aristocracy’s ‘hunt’ and criminalisation of the poor.

Ultimately, Coney’s words evince an unpatriotic spirit and communicate a muffled politics of separation from nation. Coney’s dislike for Botany Bay, it seems clear from the context that precedes it, including the glazier’s note, is not for Casterbridge’s exiled inhabitants who have been forcibly relocated there. Instead, Coney’s registered dislike is for the space itself as a destination that enforcers of diabolical laws within Britain, labouring under false pretences to national

\textsuperscript{123} Editor’s note, in Mayor, p. 331.
\textsuperscript{124} For a study of plural accounts of the Restoration period, in which recognition is shown for more ‘contentious’ styles of historical representation, see Noelle Gallagher, \textit{Historical Literatures: Writing about the Past in England, 1660-1740} (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2012), especially pp. 65-74.
representation, use to banish undesirables. At the same time, since Coney’s loyalties lie firmly with people rather than with territory, his utterance also expresses a politics that draws within its perimeters of separation from nation the undesirables of Wessex and those who are living in exile within the empire. Thus, even as Hardy offers his upper-class readership those ‘indigenous resources’ that had made his work so popular in yesteryear, he also injects into these ‘indigenous resources’ histories and memories living at the farthest reaches of empire and surviving in the memories of embittered locals that discredit claims for ‘a deep horizontal comradeship’ in imperial Britain. The distinctly unpatriotic undertones of Coney’s statement notably differ from the views of exiles and economic migrants within Chartist poetry, in which, as Mike Sanders reflects, ‘both exile and emigrant insist on their identity as patriots’. Given that Hardy’s West Country was hardest hit by rural emigration in England and Wales in the Victorian era and that sentences of transportation were issued often in this region, its citizens may have developed approaches to patriotism that diverged from those that defined other regions or arenas of class conflict.

The labourers’ bold comments recall moments of sharp critique in both A Pair of Blue Eyes and in Two on a Tower. On the one hand, they echo the strident reflections of the narrator in relation to St Kirrs’s middle-class hypocrisy and ideologies of imperial meritocracy in ‘The Pennie’s the Jewel that beautifies a’ (within the serial and first volume editions of A Pair of Blue Eyes). The critique in Mayor, as in A Pair of Blue Eye, is likewise conveyed through public spectacle and the gathering of members of the different classes. However, Mayor differs from A Pair of Blue Eyes insofar as the dissident remarks are largely borne out in the views of characters within the text. In this regard, the location of dissent within the text itself emulates the deployment of critique of Sir Blount’s imperial exploits in the direct speech of Viviette and workfolk in Two on a Tower. By resisting the urge to arrogate critique to the narrator, as in A Pair of Blue Eyes, and by empowering disparate voices within the text to articulate their own grievances, Hardy makes the case for opposition in Two on a Tower and Mayor more democratic and therefore more effective.

125 Gikandi (see Chapter One), p. 29.
126 Mike Sanders, The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History (Cambridge UP, 2009), p. 148. Although Coney’s unpatriotic views differ from conceptions of exile in Chartist poetry, it is instructive that the labourers’ laments over the political, economic and moral exile of labour from Britain in Hardy’s Mayor echo similar outpourings in a number of working-class poems within the Chartist movement published in the Northern Star in 1842 and themed around exile and emigration (Sanders, pp. 148-51).
However, what distinguishes direct speech in *Mayor* from that which is typical of *Two on a Tower* is the location of these direct utterances within the public domain. Indeed, what renders the imperial riposte in *Mayor* so powerful in comparison to the other novels is the potent combination of direct speech and public space.

The scene at the King of Prussia is indeed remarkable for its polyphony of voices, the overall impact of which is to underscore discord. Not only are Farfrae and Casterbridge workfolk divided in their opinions about legitimate forms of nostalgia for country, but so too is the narrator ambivalent towards views on love of country. On the one hand, the narrator seems to sympathise with the labourers’ playful jibes at Farfrae’s expense: ‘It was plain that nothing so pathetic had been heard at the King of Prussia for a considerable time’ (p. 51). On the other, the narrator is at pains to clarify at the outset that the labourers responding to Farfrae’s song represent a less respectable stock of labourer gathered ‘at the unlighted end’ of the room (p. 49). This sanitisation can also be seen when the narrator is keen to emphasise that Coney’s particularly unpatriotic sentiments are ‘mumbled […] to himself’ (p. 53). Unlike the narrator in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, then, the narrator in *Mayor* is precluded from having a consistent perspective herself.

Polyphony can also be seen in the dual reproaches of Coney’s fellow-labourers. On the one hand, they are keen to allay Farfrae’s fears over Coney’s claims regarding the characteristic dishonesty of Casterbridge folk by explaining that their friend Coney ‘was always a man of underthoughts’ (p. 51). On the other, they are eager to affirm their solidarity with Coney to Farfrae’s disadvantage by chastising Coney for being ‘over-familiar with a gentleman [Farfrae] that ye know nothing of’ (p. 51). The communication of deeply subversive ideas about nation within a public space (the King of Prussia) occupied by Casterbridge’s *petite bourgeoisie* and labouring classes, coupled with the failed attempts of the narrator to impose order, serves to heighten the dangerous possibilities held in these expressions of dissent. The rapturous conclusion of this episode – as Farfrae, singing ‘Auld Lang Syne’, is estimated to have ‘completely taken possession of the hearts of the King of Prussia inmates, even old Coney’ (p. 53) – produces a fleeting example of social harmony that is firmly demolished by later moments in the text. One such moment includes the skimmity-ride, in which the commoners at Casterbridge conspire against the town’s ruling elite by tying effigies of Henchard and Lucetta on a donkey. The purpose of the skimmity-ride is to ruin Farfrae’s wife’s reputation and puncture the ambitions of ‘the
Mayor [Farfrae] and man of money’, who ‘had lost in the eyes of the poorer inhabitants something of that wondrous charm which he had had for them as a light-hearted penniless young man’ (p. 265).

The polyphonic voicing of social dissent in relation to nation and empire at the King of Prussia displays forms of class and community consciousness that do not exist in the earlier fiction. In Hardy’s subsequent works, these articulations are expanded through violent acts. These activities are not necessarily as manifestly political or collective in scope as are some of those examples of rebellion and alienation cited at the King of Prussia in Mayor. However, they cannot be separated from the political since – even where presented as individual responses – they tend to expose imbalances of power and/or to draw on important tropes or ideas that are steeped in local memories of class conflict and exile.

4.6. ‘FAILED’ EMIGRATION AND VIOLENCE IN THE CLOSING WORKS

The final core section of this chapter considers the way in which violence in two of the late works of the late period, Tess of the D’Urbervilles and Jude the Obscure, might be seen to mount a kind of ‘peripheric resistance’ that delivers, to return to Nairn, ‘a perilous and convulsive new fragmentation’ of the unifying story of capitalism. These responses are routed through narratives of ‘failed’ emigration and via some of the iterations of dissent supplied in Mayor.

Examples of ‘failed’ emigration demonstrate the way in which rural labour is denied not only national but also imperial belonging. These, in turn, challenge ideas of a socially cohesive ‘Greater Britain’. The phrase ‘Greater Britain’, designating ‘the rise of the Anglo-world’ beyond as well as within the expanding confines of the British Empire, was first coined, as literary critic Tamara Wagner notes, in Charles Dilke’s Greater Britain (1868). Wagner further observes that ‘this world created by British migration and settlement’ was taken up as ‘a subject of enquiry and critical assessment’ by John Seeley in The Expansion of England (1883). In it, Seeley,

127 More on the especially brutal outcomes of the skimmity-ride in Mayor, from which I am here deriving the presence of social discord, can be read in E. P. Thompson, ‘Rough Music Reconsidered’, Folklore, 103 (1992), 3-26 (p. 9). See too Jacqueline Dillion’s discussion of the skimmity-ride in her Thomas Hardy: Folklore and Resistance (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 71-92.  
128 Nairn, pp. 341, 342.  
widely credited for popularising the term ‘Greater Britain’ from the 1880s, stresses Britain’s strong colonial affinity to English emigrants, by contrast to ‘mere’ bonds of conquest with other races:

it strikes us at once that this enormous Indian population does not make part of Greater Britain in the same sense as those ten millions of Englishmen who live outside of the British Islands. The latter are of our own blood, and are therefore united with us by the strongest tie. The former are of alien race and religion and are bound to us only by the tie of conquest.  

An 1886 article in The Times referred to Britain plus settler regions as ‘what is now generally referred to as Greater Britain’.  

Recognising that national spaces along with settlement colonies were considered to be constituent parts of ‘Greater Britain’ in the late nineteenth-century imagination, the historian James Belich demonstrates the prevalence of powerful ideologies of emigration within the metropole. In his rather unashamedly triumphalist historical account Replenishing the Earth: The Settlement Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld (2009), he speaks of ‘settlerism’ as

a vague but powerful ideology of migration that emerged on both sides of the Atlantic around 1815. It converted emigration within the Anglo-world from an act of despair that lowered your standing to an act that enhanced it. It transferred a valued identity across oceans and mountains – not simply an identity as Britons or Americans but as virtual metropolitans, full citizens of a first-world society.

To demonstrate just how powerful the ‘ideology of migration’ was in providing emigrants with a shared sense of destiny and purpose, Belich offers evidence for the diminishing use of the term ‘emigrant’ in the nineteenth-century popular press in favour of the word ‘settler’. To further support the case for the presence of this powerful ‘push’ of the mass movement of people outwards with the consequent ‘settler revolution’, his study shows how ‘booster’ literature created both by formal channels (in other words, imperial propaganda) as well as communications home by informal means (for example, letters from relatives) drove home utopian ideals of colonial settlement.

Wagner’s literary interventions, which acknowledge Belich’s invocation of

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133 Belich, p. 164.
134 Belich, pp. 145-76.
ties between the settler colonies and the mother country, nonetheless contest the idea implicit in his work that, as Wagner points out, ‘the nineteenth century’s (increasingly systematic) mass migration’ was driven by an ‘essentially homogenizing’ force.  

These dissenting studies similarly question Belich’s argument for nineteenth-century ‘cloning’ of metropolitan culture in settler regions. In these contributions, a core premise for disputing Belich’s assertions rests in the view that the outcomes of cultural and domestic portability cannot be accurately assessed when centrifugal movements alone become the frame of analysis. Movements between metropole and the settler regions of empire were not always final or determinate. In order to measure the true quality and success of colonial ‘settlerism’, it is necessary to take into account narratives of return, which, according to Wagner, feature frequently across Victorian domestic fiction and not always positively.  

Historians including Thompson and Whyte have likewise maintained that ‘overseas migration was not always a positive experience’ and that ‘returned migrants […] may well have made up as much as 40 per cent of those who emigrated’.  

According to Wagner, narratives of return emigration are among the ways in which perspectives of emigration to settler regions in the Victorian period as a uniform phenomenon are most recognisably challenged in literary works. As Wagner comments:  

When failed emigrants returned, when returnees struggled, often in vain, to fit back in at home, in the imperial centre, or conversely, when those born elsewhere found that they could no longer consider the mother country their home at all, these failures threatened to undermine Victorian ideologies of domesticity as well as of imperialism.  

She adds that ‘[n]arrating failure […] offered a way to react critically’ to ‘overweening propaganda’ and ‘of exposing false expectations or clichéd images’. It ‘called into question government policies about “superfluous” members of society  

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136 In these narratives, according to Wagner, this dynamic of circulation dictates a comparative strategy, in which Victorian metropolitan and settler fictions are often analysed alongside each other with conclusions that emphasise the deeply heterogeneous character of emigrant and settler identities (see Wagner, ‘Introduction’, in Settler Narratives, pp. 15-16).  
137 A. Thompson, p. 158; Whyte, p. 281.  
139 Wagner, Failed Emigration, pp. 2, 3.
while simultaneously undermining the concept of transporting domesticity abroad.’

In addition to ‘undercutting government strategies of “shoveling out” surplus elements’, representations of ‘failed’ emigration and return, according to Wagner, ‘reflected the heterogeneity of attitudes to imperial expansion in Victorian Britain’ and also undermined ideas about ‘the formation of a cohesive settler world’.

Hardy’s late fiction, which does not feature in Wagner’s study at all, abounds in chronicles of ‘failed’ emigration, either through death abroad, or via experiences of material and physical adversity and return. A pattern of continued ‘failure to settle’ is also typical of domestic movements following return in Hardy’s closing fiction. These features corroborate many of the points that Wagner makes in her study, points that in her estimation offer a picture of complexity, diversity and dissent with respect to emigration. Stories of disruptive back-migration in Hardy, like those in the work of other metropolitan writers in Wagner’s study, including Charles Dickens, Frances Trollope, Charlotte Yonge and Wilkie Collins, complicate arguments for the existence of social cohesion across late nineteenth-century ‘Greater Britain’. Because these qualities are pervasive across Hardy’s late fiction in particular, they are bound up with many of the labour-focused dimensions of ‘peripheric resistance’ that this chapter maintains are present in the late fiction.

It is to themes of return migration that this closing section turns in order to build on Wagner’s literary focus on fragmentation within ‘Greater Britain’ and to develop claims made in the previous sections for a politics of imperial violence in the closing works. However, I will also be honing in on how return migrations in Tess and Jude are also informed by the interlocked nature of domestic and overseas migration, or, in Redford’s terminology, ‘reacting continually upon each other’. In Hardy’s 1890s novels Tess and Jude, return emigration is spectacularly ‘failed’ and includes convulsive qualities that are less visible in Mayor and Woodlanders. Millgate notes that by this point, Hardy’s reputation as a writer was firmly established, which meant that the author ‘determined [with Tess] to say his say.

140 Wagner, Failed Emigration, p. 2.  
141 Wagner, Failed Emigration, pp. 2, 3, 4.  
142 Redford, p. 165.  
143 I do not include Marcia Bencomb’s global tour in The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved (1892) in this discussion because it is neither explicitly tied to imperial spaces (formal or informal), nor comprises an example of emigration, which is the focus of this chapter. See further discussion of Marcia’s globetrotting cosmopolitanism in the final footnote of Chapter Five.
without literary or social compromise’. This non-conformist resolve can be seen in the complex negotiations that Hardy had to conduct in his search for a publisher for the risqué Tess. It can also be seen in particularly violent responses, within the fiction, to, or as an integral part of, the plights of emigration and return.

In Tess, Angel Clare’s suffering in Brazil, along with many other ‘farmers and farm-labourers who […] were deluded into going there’ (p. 275), communicates to upper-class readers clear oppositions between ideologies of imperial domesticity and the realities of unsettled agricultural emigration within the settler regions of empire (or ‘the liege subjects of Labour’ abroad) – Brazil here being prey, as argued in Chapters One and Three, to forms of ‘creeping’ colonialism. The particularly harsh conditions which English labourers experienced in Brazil in the 1870s and 1880s, including tough weather, a yellow fever epidemic and general administrative neglect, were spotlighted in a number of reports in The Times in the years 1872 and 1873 and again in 1889 as Hardy was writing Tess.

The trials of rural labourers in the settler regions of empire, ones to which Angel falls prey, offer a sinister outlook on promises of livelihood under imperial expansion. In this sense, the tough labouring conditions in the settler territories mirror the afflictions of labour at home. This may be seen when Angel’s hardship appears to parallel Tess’s punishing agricultural labour at Flintcomb-Ash Farm, so many scenes of which are directly inspired by ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, especially in relation to women’s work. Where the two texts markedly differ – to return to notable differences between representations of local migration in works before and after Hardy’s engagement with local histories – is over the issue of choice. In ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, Hardy writes that leniency can be expected from farmers who encounter resistance from female workers to certain types of labour. In Tess, however, this kind of choice is not open to Tess due to Farmer Groby’s reputation for

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144 Millgate, p. 276.
146 Norman Page, ‘Hardy and Brazil’, Notes and Queries, 228 (August 1983), 319-20.
147 See Millgate’s prefatory note to Hardy, ‘Dorsetshire Labourer’, pp. 37-38. Women’s labour, according to ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, ranges from turnip-hacking to feeding the threshing-machine, clearing away straw from the same, and standing on the rick to hand forward the sheaves, weeding wheat and barley, clearing weeds from pastureland, haymaking and harvesting. Hardy is at pains to emphasise: ‘Not a woman in the county but hates the threshing-machine. The dust, the din, the sustained exertion demanded to keep up with the steam tyrant are distasteful to all women but the coarsest’ (pp. 54-55).
148 In ‘The Dorsetshire Labourer’, farmers, according to Hardy, rarely enforce ‘the letter of Candlemas agreement’ if a woman is disinclined to certain types of labour (p. 55).
tyranny. Everything from his frightful name, to his cruel treatment of labourers, to terrifying descriptions of the threshing machine he hires as keeping up ‘a despotic demand’, to the creepy portrait of its alien engineman – ‘a creature from Tophet […] who had strayed into the pellucid smokelessness of this region […] to amaze and to discompose its aborigines’ (p. 325) – calls attention to the extreme hardships endured by rural labour and especially so with the introduction of agricultural machinery. In this respect, Hardy’s reading about the Swing attacks in the 1830s reports of the DCC (sometime March 1888-September 1889), when the writing of Tess was well under way, may have influenced the tale towards a darker picture of labour at Flintcomb-Ash Farm. The more direct legacies of the Swing incidents in Tess can be seen in the threshing machine’s return as a large mobile steam-driven machine, historically owned and operated by contractors who took them from farm to farm. The new designs and the machines’ transportability, explains Mingay, meant that farmers as late as the 1860s could guard against ‘deliberate damage to their growing array of machines’.149 The arguable symmetries presented between domestic and colonial settler adversities are particularly unsettling because they emphasise the failure of colonial settlement to resolve social and economic plights that begin within domestic borders.

Despite the mirrored hardships between domestic and colonial forms of labour, ones that – as Christopher Coney emphasises in local affinities with Wessex exiles in Mayor – render greater solidarity between agricultural working classes across borders than to some nebulous ‘Greater Britain’, Hardy’s novel also complicates claims for this class-conscious affinity across borders. This can be seen in disparities of access to settler regions reflected in Angel and Tess’s individual situations, ones that stem from Angel’s pretence to the pastoral. In Hardy’s work, there are occasional class misfits, in other words figures born into the upper classes or mobility achievers who are keen on rural development. Angel, a ‘man of means’ (p.274) born to clergy and intended for academic training, is full of ideas, instead, about ‘experiment[ing] with that country’s [Brazil’s] soil’ (p. 266) much as Clym Yeobright, a successful diamond merchant in Paris, is intent on experimenting with educating Egdon Heath’s (always sceptical!) rural poor in The Return of the Native. In Angel’s case, notions of Brazilian soil experimentation are driven forward despite

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149 Mingay, p. 49.
discouraging reports from emigrants to the region who ‘returned home within the twelve months’ (p. 266). They move ahead with a certain dose of upper-class hubris. Angel’s enterprise, like Sir Blount’s, is described as ‘a scheme’: in Sir Blount’s case, ‘of geographical discovery’, and in Angel’s case, ‘in a commercial sense, no doubt’ (p. 266). Unlike other rural labourers to the settler areas of empire in Hardy’s fiction, then, Angel does not relocate to Brazil due to poverty but with ideas of agricultural profit and gain.

More importantly, however, he exploits his commercial relocation to Brazil in order to put insurmountable distance between himself and Tess. In the presence of family and acquaintances, he justifies his travels to Brazil without Tess for the purpose of reconnoitring and with intention of eventually relocating with her as a ‘practical farmer’s wife’ (p. 268). However, he confesses to Tess’s friend, Izz Huett, that he has separated from Tess for personal rather than voyaging (in other words, reconnoitring) purposes before offering Izz the position of ‘practical farmer’s wife’ in place of Tess (p. 270). Thus, while Angel shares in the fates of other agricultural labourers in Brazil, his incentives for travel to the settler frontiers and decision to do so by putting at risk the livelihood of dependents are uncharacteristic of rural working-class plights. The catastrophic impacts of Angel’s departure on the wife he has chosen to hold in contempt through no fault of her own thus come to resemble more closely the upheavals of upper-class imperial travel that can be seen in Sir Blount’s remote violence against Viviette. However, whereas Sir Blount’s arrogance lies in his ambitions to maintain old, and acquire new, possessions (homes, wives, animals), Angel’s conceit registers in the enforcement of patriarchal views of morality. Angel’s ‘privileged’ possibilities are not open to a working man like Tim Tangs in Woodlanders who, due to the practical demands of imperial settlement, cannot afford to jilt his new wife Suke Damson on a similar pretext of her past liaison with Fitzpiers.

The consequences of Angel’s licences are catastrophic for Tess and her family. Notwithstanding some modest provisions made for her care, Angel’s departure condemns Tess to vagabondage, hard labour at Flintcomb-Ash Farm, and prompt removal of her family from their life-hold cottage at Marlott on Lady Day.\(^{150}\)

\(^{150}\) Tess’s family are removed in part due to the expiry of the tenancy with the death of her father, who was ‘the last life on the property’ (p. 355) but also because of local knowledge of Tess’s past and her recent uncomfortable reappearance at Marlott as a destitute.
The scale of injustice of Angel’s abandonment of Tess, resulting in her deracination, is emphasised in Tess’s reproachful note:

O why have you treated me so monstrously, Angel! I do not deserve it. [...] I can never, never forgive you! You know that I did not intend to wrong you – why have you so wronged me? You are cruel, cruel indeed! I will try to forget you. It is all injustice I have received at your hands! (p. 354)

A fateful night without shelter or future security in Kingsbere results in Tess’s concession, under enormous duress – in order to provide security for her family – to the offer of home and trappings of comfort from her arch-nemesis and seducer, Alec d’Urberville. Angel’s return from Brazil and unexpected reappearance at Sandbourne, where Tess has since moved in with Alec, seals her tragic fate. As Tess remonstrates with Angel: ‘It is too late!’ (p. 378), therein echoing the original title Hardy had given the manuscript: Too Late, Beloved!

The links between Tess’s tragic fate and the travel conceits of privileged global migrants are further reinforced when it becomes apparent that Angel’s incentive for return to England and to Tess has been influenced by a stranger with a ‘cosmopolitan mind’ (p. 341) whose presence within the settler frontiers does not appear to be for the purpose of settlement. This globetrotter, who ‘had sojourned in many more lands and among many more peoples than Angel’ (p. 341), convinces Angel to renounce his rejection of Tess. The text, however, distances itself from Angel and the globetrotter’s colonial exchange. This can be seen in the irony presented by the role that Angel’s seemingly positive illumination, via the traveller’s counsel, ultimately plays in the tragic dénouement in Tess. This may be seen when Angel’s emigration and inopportune return become incentives for Tess’s decision to murder Alec, for which she is eventually hanged. Alec’s murder, the text is clear, is carried out as Tess’s only perceived ‘way out’ of bondage and reunion with the remorseful Angel. In this sense, Angel’s return is as much to be held to account as his departure for Tess’s downfall.

The largely tragic after-effects of ‘wisdom’ imparted by globetrotters in Hardy’s fiction – here one recalls Louis Glanville’s and Dr St Cleeve’s travellers’ conceits in Two on a Tower that contribute to a fateful separation between Viviette and Swithin – provide further grounds on which to review claims made in Hardy scholarship for the positive transformative potential of overseas travel.¹⁵¹ Experiences

within the empire – or so-called forms of moral illumination – that can be traced to the enlarged views of wealthy travellers in Hardy’s fiction seem quite consistently to provide little relief for, or even to worsen the fates of, metropolitan dependents.

Angel’s colonial ‘transformation’ is further problematised in the text through its juxtaposition with Alec’s own clerical comeback (one that Alec intends to pursue through mission work in Africa), both of which are chronicled under the overarching ‘Phase the Sixth’, titled ‘The Convert’. Since Angel’s remorse is aligned to Alec’s own religious conversion, a conversion from which the latter promptly ‘backslides’ when Tess becomes a renewed temptation to him, it can be seen how the argument for the benefits of the transformative experiences within the empire in Hardy’s fiction might be open to further debate. The murder of Alec, then, might be seen as a violent upheaval in response not only to Alec’s sexual exploitation of Tess but also as an outcome of exclusion from emigration and settlement opportunities within the informal spheres of empire. This act, of course, is not directly targeted at Angel in the same way that it is at Alec. However, it is a violent culmination of both men’s contribution to Tess’s poverty, social rejection and misery. Tess’s violence, then, is a combined outcome of crimes of sexual abuse and imperial exclusion.

Emigrant experiences in Brazil in Tess, one of rural agriculture’s emigration destinations within areas under Britain’s economic control, therefore serve as a significant riposte to overcharged claims, such as Belich’s, for social cohesion and utopianism across ‘Greater Britain’ in two ways. The critique of settler utopianism offers itself, firstly, in the tale’s representation of working-class hardships beyond borders. In this sense, the depiction of agricultural adversity abroad helps to explain historical readings for the strength of localism within the settler regions of empire. This kind of localism, according to the historian Andrew Thompson, was based on stronger affiliation with regions of origin and among communities of labour, at times even along an ‘axis of opposition’ to a national imperial identity.152 A radical critique of settler utopianism is mounted, secondly, with emphasis on the divisive ambitions of class impostors whose pretences to agricultural development within the settler frontiers contribute to the degradation of dependents at home. The existence of social, economic and gender divisions across the settler spheres of empire in Tess disrupts

152 A. Thompson, pp. 198-202.
imperial ideologies of domesticity, cohesion and allegiance to a unified ‘Greater Britain’.

In the remaining part of this section, I turn to Jude to consider the ‘failed’ emigration to Australia of the Donn family and, in particular, the role that the child and the murder-suicide scene play in violently unsettling ideas of ‘a deep horizontal comradeship’ across ‘Greater Britain’. Father Time, the child of ‘failed’ settlement, becomes the agent through which peripheric traumas, to invoke Nairn, are released in uncontrollable primal forces of destruction. This perspective therefore contrasts with Penny Boumelha’s conception of Hardy’s returnees as embodiments of ‘the repatriation of disorder from the colonies’. Given that that the global exile of rural labour – whether economic or political – was an affront to so many working-class communities, it seems that repatriated disorder is not quite what the fiction seeks to convey in the figure of the returnee. Instead, via Father Time, for example, Jude seeks to purvey a working-class response to social trauma. In line with recognised affinities in Nairn’s study between the projections of social and individual traumas, this unleashing of destructive force in Hardy’s last serialised novel can be theorised in terms of Hardy’s own resolve in his closing fiction ‘to say his say without literary or social compromise’.

In Jude, Arabella Donn returns to England from Australia without her and Jude’s Australian-born child, Father Time, who had lived with Arabella’s parents, also in Australia, since his birth. Arabella likewise returns to England without her second husband, Cartlett, a manager of a hotel in Sydney. Apparently making ends meet through undisclosed means since her return, Arabella is in due course reunited with Cartlett, who has pursued her to England. He takes a pothouse in Lambeth in a densely populated gin-drinking neighbourhood that is set to thrive but with profits largely going to the brewers rather than the retailers. Arabella’s parents, who have a rough time in Australia, seek to return Father Time to Arabella now that she is arguably ‘settled’. Cartlett, however, has no knowledge of Arabella’s former marriage to Jude or the existence of a son, and Arabella thinks her son, around six years of age,

153 The following exposition is loosely inspired by work published as Rena Jackson, ‘Hybridity and Migrancy in Jude the Obscure’ (see Chapter One).
154 Nairn, p. 349.
155 Boumelha (see Chapter One), p. 38.
156 Millgate, p. 276.
will be unsuited to the pub environment in Lambeth in any event. She seeks to place the child in Jude and Sue’s care, who agree to the arrangement.

Among all episodes of return from the settler regions of empire, *Jude* offers the most ‘unsettled’ and disruptive example of return migration that, unlike Angel’s in *Tess*, is more thoroughly working-class in nature. This can be seen in the way that the fear of poverty spurs Arabella to chase domestic security and in the way her instinct to survive presses her on, at times ruthlessly, in search of a new home. This unsettled quality of movement, including emigration and return from Australia, characterises Arabella’s movements right to the very end, as Jude’s imminent death becomes a quick trigger for renewed search, in this case pulled towards Vilbert, an ‘itinerant quack-doctor’ who, like Arabella, is something of ‘a survival’ (p. 26). Although Arabella, by contrast to many returned working-class emigrants from the settler frontiers in Hardy’s late fiction, survives at the end of the tale, there is no assured sense that her survival is ever going to be ‘settled’. In this respect, Arabella incarnates what Wagner identifies as the especially disruptive qualities of the kind of back-migration that fails to reintegrate.\(^{157}\) Arabella thus epitomises the very failure of the portability of imperial domesticity and therefore undercuts late nineteenth-century settler ideologies and arguments for a harmonious ‘Greater Britain’.

Father Time’s immigration to Britain reinforces many of Arabella’s disruptive effects within *Jude*. A possible source for Father Time is Horace Moule’s reported ‘illegitimate’ child who, as noted earlier, was brought up in Australia and hanged there.\(^{158}\) The child, then, becomes a symbol for the failure of relocation of rural undesirables to the imperial settler regions. His arrival within metropolitan space heralds ‘the unfitness of things’ (p. 277) as he lands at the London Docks with friends of the family who send him off in a cab to Lambeth. Here, Arabella promptly ‘despatche[s]’ him off by the next train to Aldbrickham, where he arrives on the platform in a third-class carriage late at night and must walk alone the rest of the distance to Jude and Sue’s abode.

Father Time’s arrival is marked by social and economic privation. It embodies the ‘failed’ global migrations of the rural poor, ones that, as apparent from both Arabella and Father Time’s experiences, maintain force in patterns of unsettled domestic migration. In Father Time’s case, domestic migration reaches new lows of


\(^{158}\) Editor’s note in *Jude the Obscure*, p. 449; citing Gittings, p. 185.
deracination as Sue and Jude, now with two young additions to the family and Sue heavily pregnant, set off to look for residence in Christminster where they might benefit from anonymity, only to be defeated in their quest for shelter. Christminster (a fictional name for Oxford) introduces visible borders between high and low, including ‘little houses […] darkened to gloom by the high collegiate buildings, within which life was so far removed from that of the people in the lane as if it had been on opposite sides of the globe’ (p. 329). The uneven access to education and wealth that confronts Father Time within the metropole, here imagined as a gulf as deep, perhaps, between East and West or North and South in global terms, are reflected in his uncanny, hard-hitting truths, including his mistaking the ‘great old houses’ in Oxford for ‘gaols’ (p. 330).

The global dimensions of social inequalities, experienced through ‘sensational exits’ in Mayor and in especially unsettled and therefore disruptive return migration in Jude, offer a powerful literary riposte to late nineteenth-century imperial propaganda that was celebrating budding settler identities in the colonies. An entry in Hardy’s literary notebook, when the author would have begun jotting down some notes for Jude, includes an example of this kind of propaganda, or ‘booster’ literature, that contributed to what Belich argues was a powerful ideology of migration in the Victorian period. This entry cites passages from an article in the Spectator (28 January 1888), which reflects on the evolving Australian identity:

Already Australians display that curious feeling … that distance on water has for them little or no meaning […] Their whole conception of distance differs from ours as might that of the inhabitants of a larger planet; & their grasp, when they begin to grasp, will be far-reaching […] eager as men of their climate must be for pleasant lives, they will thirst for dependent possessions, for gardens where fortunes grow, for the splendid fragments of a broken continent wh. spread in 3 great lines of islands from the Australian mainland to that of Asia, & they will possess them all.

When compared with this optimistic vision of settlement, Father Time’s personality appears to incarnate but also to deviate sharply from some of the traits of the evolving Australian identity outlined in this piece.

In keeping with the article’s profile of the Australian identity, Father Time’s grasp of his surroundings is ‘far-reaching’, as may be seen in the description of his

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159 Millgate, p. 318.
160 Belich, pp. 145-76.
161 LN, I, 228.
face as taking ‘a back view over some great Atlantic of time’ and his ability to grasp his fellow train-travellers’ ‘whole rounded lives rather than their immediate figures’ (p. 276). Something of this reach also registers in his perspective of his surroundings: ‘To him the houses, the willows, the obscure fields beyond, were apparently regarded not as brick residences, pollards, meadows; but as human dwellings in the abstract, vegetation, and the wide dark world’ (p. 278). However, contra the Spectator’s description of Australian settler identities, Father Time has no inclination to pleasures of the moment (certainly not gardens!), as thoughts of death and decay keep him detached from aesthetic beauty: ‘I should like the flowers very very much, if I didn’t keep on thinking they’d be all withered in a few days!’ (p. 297). Father Time’s sceptical views on nature and beauty here echo Christopher Coney’s remarks at the King of Prussia, in which Coney explains that on account of bitter poverty at Casterbridge, ‘[w]e don’t think about flowers and fair faces, not we’ (p. 51). This mirroring harks back to points offered in the preface to this section and in the analysis of Tess that the indeterminate nature of emigration proves to be a threat to ideologies of a ‘settlement revolution’ and, by implication, to claims – such as Seeley’s and Chamberlain’s – for affiliations of emigrants/ labour with ‘Greater Britain’.

The murder-suicide scene, in which Time kills his siblings and then hangs himself, exposes further grounds on which to base a reading of Father Time’s presence within the text as a radical extension of the dissenting views expressed at the King of Prussia in Mayor. The uncanny pun on Time’s misspelling of ‘many’ in his suicide note, ‘Done because we are too menny’ (p. 325; my emphasis) calls attention to the tragic outworking of Malthusian-derived doctrines that endorsed the relocation of ‘the inconvenient excess of population’ to the colonies. When summoned to give his views on emigration before the Select Committee on Emigration in 1827, Malthus argued, according to Celia Martin, that ‘labourers in a state of redundancy were operating as a tax upon the community, and that if the expense of exporting them to the colonies was less than financing them at home, there should be no doubt in the expediency of their removal.’162 Malthus’s opinions had impact on policy as parish relief and Poor Law expenditures were inventively adjusted to encourage the emigration of paupers.163 Father Time’s uncanny construal of controlled or removed

163 Martin, pp. 77-80.
‘surplus’ populations is to kill offspring born into poverty. Emily Steinlight posits that unlike characters in other works of Victorian fiction, Father Time recognises himself as disposable. She additionally challenges a critical tradition of reading the killing scene in fatalistic or defeatist terms, instead identifying the ‘transformative potential’ held in Father Time’s response to his ‘unnecessary’ life.

The killing episode additionally provides a literal interpretation of Sue’s remarks to Arabella that ‘it seems such a terribly tragic thing to bring beings into the world’ (p. 312) and of Sue’s partial affirmation of Father Time’s reflection, when the family have had to separate in Christminster due to scarcity of shelter, that ‘[i]t would be better to be out o’ the world than in it’ (p. 333). It builds on Father Time’s own iteration in Sue’s presence that ‘whenever children be born that are not wanted they should be killed directly’ (p. 333). Many of the underlying concerns expressed here about population increase, and poverty in consequence, find parallel in Coney’s remarks in Mayor regarding the particular trials of having ‘so many mouths to fill’, thereby reinforcing the global continuation of rural working-class plights. Time’s declaration that ‘I troubled ‘em in Australia, and I trouble folk here. I wish I hadn’t been born’ (p. 333) sums up the plights of labour, both through exile and ‘failed’ settlement.

The killing scene is not only an uncanny fulfilment and critique of Malthusian ideologies; it is also significant for the way in which it ends kinship ties with the mother and the mother country. Anne McClintock points out that the family offers ‘an indispensable metaphoric figure by which national difference could be shaped into a single historical genesis narrative’. McClintock’s interventions broadly relate to the way in which colonising countries harmonise national differences and also assimilate or acculturate colonised cultures. She is suggesting that the processes of harmonisation or acculturation can be analysed to the way in which difference is subsumed under the family. Here, one recalls John Seeley’s conceptualisation of

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164 Changes from serial to volume included a third child, doubtless not only to increase the horror of the scene (see editor’s note in Jude, p. 454), but also to justify more amply the suicide note: ‘Done because we are too menny’. Sally Shuttleworth recognises ‘the horrible pun’ on the condition of men expressed in the childish misspelling of ‘many’ as ‘menny’ in Father Time’s note (“‘Done because we are too menny’: Little Father Time and Child Suicide in Late-Victorian Culture”, in Thomas Hardy: Texts and Contexts, ed. by Phillip Mallett (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 133-55 (p. 143)).


166 Steinlight, p. 225.

167 McClintock, p. 357.
‘Greater Britain’ in *The Expansion of England* (1883) as a family which includes ‘those ten millions of Englishmen who live outside of the British Islands’, who ‘are of our own blood, and are therefore united with us by the strongest tie’. The murder-suicide scene in *Jude*, however, denies these possibilities, insofar as it radically demolishes physically the bonds with the mother and therefore the bonds with the nation.

The repeated interrogation of biological origins in *Jude* begins to do this work of disruption ahead of the murder-suicide scene. During his introductory meeting with Jude and Sue, Father Time asks Sue, ‘Is it you who’s my real mother at last?’ (p. 279; Hardy’s emphasis). Later in the tale, he points out to Arabella: ‘You [Arabella] be the woman I thought wer my mother for a bit, till I found you wasn’t’ (p. 311). Father Time’s uncanny refutations of origins ultimately vex idealistic views of family, through which ‘national difference could be shaped into a single historical genesis narrative’. In showing family ties to be insecure, in radical doubt or completely severed, Father Time dismantles multiple conceptions – explored across this thesis and especially within this chapter – of strong links existing between working-class emigrants and ‘Greater Britain’. In postcolonial studies, possibilities for disruptions to the family trope have been reserved so far to forms of native agitation or uprising against the Western coloniser, who is often – as Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) argues – represented by the ‘settler’. This chapter has offered scope to consider how the politics of imperial rebellion against the ‘mother country’ might also be the proper domain of class and regional warfare, a conflict between ‘the [unsettled] liege subjects of Labour’ and Greater Britain’s privileged few within the unifying story of capitalism and imperialism. As such, Father Time’s communications and actions become disquieting fulfilments of Coney’s unpatriotic expressions in *Mayor*, in which love of country is scorned on the premise of the nation’s ejection of its own people to imperial regions.

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168 Seeley, p. 11 (my emphasis).
169 McClintock, p. 357.
170 See McClintock, pp. 352-89; Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, a foundational text in postcolonial studies, reads the ‘settler’ as the pioneer and paragon of the colonial system: the settler is responsible for ‘the rule of [colonial] oppression’ and the ‘exploitation’ of the native. According to Fanon, the two ‘zones’ of opposition within the colonial frontier are between ‘settlers’ and colonised ‘natives’ (*The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), pp. 36, 38, 39).
4.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered the disruptions that Hardy’s late fiction offers to the unifying story of capitalism and imperialism by looking at the interlinked phenomena of domestic migration, transportation, emigration and return, often followed by continued patterns of domestic migration. These multiple patterns of movement, all tied to rural distress and depopulation in the Victorian era, contest readings for the presence of a ‘watershed’ separating modern and pre-modern West Country cultures in Hardy’s imaginative complex. They also problematise imperial utopian ideologies of settlement by revealing that patterns of continued migration fail to transplant British domesticity within the empire.\textsuperscript{171} In this light, the chapter argues that the rural ‘axis of opposition’ to a cohesive ‘Greater Britain’ extends out of the ‘theater of class conflict’ within the metropole and culminates, as Nairn’s theories on ‘peripheric struggle’ suggest, in the unleashing of destructive force.\textsuperscript{172} The chapter has traced the convulsive impacts of this violence to encoded plights within the late fiction – including struggles and revolts of rural communities prior to, and continued through, imperial relocation – and also to other forms of uneven access to the settler regions of empire.

\textsuperscript{171} Wagner, Failed Emigration, p. 2.
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CONCLUSION

The thesis has tried to establish the centrality of social class and gender to our understanding of late nineteenth-century imperialism. It has shown how Hardy’s fiction reveals the ideological, economic and cultural dimensions of imperialism to be connected to forms of class and gender exploitation in the colonial metropole itself. It therefore challenges a tradition of postcolonial readings that propound the view that antagonisms between classes, genders and regions were harmonised into a cohesive ‘national imperial identity’ in late nineteenth-century Britain.¹

Other studies of dissent within nineteenth-century Britain have already recorded ‘minor’ or ‘hidden’ histories of protest in ways that break with this uniformity model.² My research expands this body of work and adds to it an exploration of how anti-imperial critique can emerge at a remove from contexts of direct contact with the colonial ‘other’, for example, contact through cross-cultural mingling. Imperial dissent in Hardy’s fiction, unlike forms of ‘minor’ disavowal in these other interventions, arises directly in response to the way in which social elites within the colonial centre appropriated the empire to advance the interests of the privileged few at the expense of a working-class majority. It is in this respect that imperial critique in Hardy’s fiction also diverges from more centrifugally directed forms of disavowal identified in studies such as Gregory Claeys’s Imperial Sceptics (2010).

One of the chief aims of this thesis has been to revitalise enquiries into the forms and extents of imperial dissent in metropolitan fiction by identifying a kind of critique in Hardy’s fiction that recognises the structural and reciprocal links between oppressions of English labour and gender, and the exploitation of colonial environments. It has sought to show that Hardy’s sustained engagement with the dispossession of metropolitan labour and gender within late nineteenth-century British imperialism is deeply intertwined with the oppression of colonial cultures. In many ways, then, this study builds on Raymond’s Williams’s work, which recognises that

¹ See works discussed in previous chapters, including Said, pp. 108-09; McClintock, p. 241; Gikandi, p. 29; Parry, p. 113; Behdad, p. 2.
² See works mentioned in Chapter One, including Nandy, Gandhi, Tabili and Gopal.
the ‘sociology of empire building’ is predicated on the ‘reciprocal relation of the colonies to British domestic difficulties’.

This aspect of entanglement, which is the key focus of this thesis, has the potential to expand materialist critiques ventured within postcolonial enquiry by situating different forms of oppression more closely alongside each other whilst also avoiding strategies that flatten ‘distinct social realities’. Benita Parry’s readings, for example, are often so cautious to distinguish between different forms of rule and different forms of subjugation under the dynamic of imperialism that class and gender politics are seldom seen to expand beyond metropolitan or domestic borders and into colonial space. This separation, in my view, accounts for Parry’s preclusion of any serious engagement with the ‘imprint of overseas ventures’ in Hardy’s work.

According to Parry, Hardy should be considered alongside other postcolonial writers who contemplate – one within the metropole and the others within colonial worlds – ‘the value of archaic societies’ in the face of the corrupting forces of modernisation and the globalisation of history. Sympathetic as Parry’s reading might be – it creates alliances of memory against the imperial depredations of premodern cultures across empire’s firing lines – it nonetheless threatens to revive the neo-pastoral myth, in which, as Williams explains, the substance of Hardy’s work ‘is getting further and further away from us’ and in which Hardy ‘is not a man of our world or the nineteenth-century world, but simply the last representative of old rural England or of the peasantry’. Thus, even as Parry endeavours to read Hardy’s Wessex as sharing similar concerns with the cultures of other postcolonial writers, by detaching it from direct contact with colonial concerns, she invariably treats it in the very mode she seeks to counteract: as a narrative of ‘an English condition sealed from and largely indifferent to the external world’.

It is not difficult to see, then, how in the interest of avoiding allegorical readings of oppression, Parry enforces spatial divisions between different power struggles of the kind that, to my mind, account for her inadvertent reading of Hardy almost in the neo-pastoral mode. As this thesis demonstrates, however, material links

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3 Viswanthan (see Chapter One), pp. 192-93.
4 Parry, p. 110.
5 Parry, p. 108.
6 Parry, p. 116. Parry relies on Michael Valdez Moses’s intervention (see a summary of his work in Chapter One).
7 R. Williams, pp. 197-214 (p. 197).
between class superiority, patriarchy and colonialism make it impossible to draw rigid spatial separations of this kind. Through a cultural materialist focus on imperial migrations in Hardy’s fiction, this project reveals that colonial, gender and class oppressions cannot but bleed into each other and into each other’s spaces. Where further enquiry might be made is into how exactly these material links between the various oppressions differ or evolve across the fiction. It strikes me, for example, that although all chapters deal to a greater or lesser extent with all three archetypal oppressions or exploitations (in other words, of class, gender and race/colony), the first chapter addresses forms of oppression that are more class- and colonial-focused and rather less inflected by gender. In the second chapter, it seems that the material connections between the various oppressions are determined by gender struggles. In the third, the emphasis is much more on class and gender oppressions and rather less on the colonial. More might be made of these uneven presentations of intertwined forms of imperial degradation in future enquiry.

What this thesis has hopefully established with respect to entanglement is the correlation of the various imperial ideologies of the three social classes (middle, upper, lower) to three imperial frontiers: India, Africa and the settler regions, respectively. Through close attention to history and biography, these correspondences have also been shown to connect, often in crosswise fashion, to Hardy’s own location and aspirations within this tripartite class structure. As such, Hardy scholar Peter Widdowson’s trenchant observation that Hardy’s life and work reflect ‘the problems of upward mobility created by a class society in rapid transition’ can be seen to account for the multiple and wide-ranging types of contact with empire witnessed in the fiction.9

Chapter Two on the representation of India in the early fiction has considered how new recruitment strategies nurtured on principles of open competition offer false hopes to members of the lower middle classes of involvement as equals within an expanding empire. In A Pair of Blue Eyes, a critique of this system is offered through a description of Stephen as ‘slaving away’ under the alienating effects of capitalist development in India. The critique also registers, albeit more covertly, in the swapping of imperial fortunes in A Pair of Blue Eyes and ‘Destiny and a Blue Cloak’. This can be seen in the competitive struggle for social mobility and imperial

9 Peter Widdowson, ‘Hardy and Critical Theory’ (see Chapter Four), p. 88.
recognition played out through a politics of enmity between the architect’s assistant and the Indian civil servant. Social mobility and achievement in the tales exacerbates social conflict, rather than harmonising it into a shared imperial identity. Stephen Smith’s architectural feats in India, the only examples of imperial gain to be recovered from Hardy’s fiction, therefore cannot be considered bold markers of even participation within the empire.

Also in the same novel, ‘free’ trade, a system that supposedly enacts economic doctrines of unrestricted market exchange under imperialism, is represented as a scheme that, in practice, coercively appropriates the cultural forms of colonised peoples, monopolises manufacturing industries and circumscribes the movements of labourers across imperial trade and exchange routes. In the same novel, Stephen has to chase building materials manufactured in England rather than in India and must endure a circuitous journey from India that passes through St George’s Channel, Liverpool, Bristol and from there, by steamboat, to Endelstow. In the process, he is excluded from the benefits of an extended railway, which might have returned him home sooner and prevented the loss of Elfride to his rival. These controlled patterns of mobility – of people and things – across the empire in Hardy’s fiction signal rifts in modes and relations of production that affect labourers across the globe. Stephen’s loss of Elfride demonstrates fully just how perniciously restrictive ‘free’ trade is, not only for the conditions of labour, but also for labour’s capacity to sustain social alliances. The drama of loss in the same tale, in turn, poses a substantial challenge to many of the arguments advanced within Victorian studies that imperial commodities in Victorian literature help to solidify a sense of affinity with imperial interests or with an English or British national identity.10

Chapter Three on the African and South American contexts within Two on a Tower demonstrates how upper-class experiences of the empire impose regimes of austerity, divide the social classes and enforce constant crises for subjects within metropolitan environments. Here, both colonial and metropolitan worlds are shown to be satellite extensions of the upper-class coloniser’s ambitions, as Sir Blount aspires to imperial celebrity and a quick fortune from African adventure but, in doing so, is prepared to risk entirely the welfare of those within the metropole who are bound to him in order to achieve those goals. The difficulties of ‘settlement’ within the African

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10 See Chapter One, with notable examples including S. Daly, p. 9; and Plotz, p. 2.
interior – obstacles that led to the exclusion of labourers and women from this imperial frontier in the late nineteenth century – account for its accommodation of privileged or well-heeled male adventurers. This accommodation, in turn, explains why colonial and metropolitan depredations are intertwined.

Rebuttals to these elite conceptions of empire and forms of metropolitan degradation in Hardy’s novel are mounted through examples of ‘minor’ female insurrection to the squire’s way of running his estate. These can be seen in defiant acts of female generosity and the conquest of male space. Viviette’s magnanimity opposes the colonial aggressor’s economic austerity and, in turn, facilitates spaces for the kinds of cross-class mingling that the empire in Two on a Tower persistently seeks to deny subjects connected with Welland. The working classes show their solidarity with Viviette and, like Viviette, frequently voice their disdain for Sir Blount’s misogyny and stubborn tyranny from his remote location in Africa. Through humane representations of colonised peoples in the tale’s African imaginary, which resist the work of racial ‘othering’, as well as avoiding types of excessive but ultimately feigned knowledge of ‘Africa’, Hardy communicates radical scepticism in, and deviation from, the narrative strategies employed in late nineteenth-century accounts of African adventure and other ‘heroic’ narratives. In other words, Hardy refuses to accept as ‘fact’ or ‘truth’ versions of empire written by social elites, let alone allow traction within his imaginary for ideologies of racial supremacy.11 Indeed, one of the distinctive markers of Hardy’s resistance to these other accounts of empire is his ability to imagine, as Robert Spencer argues in relation to postcolonialism generally, ‘[t]he human flourishing of the Other’.12

Chapter Four on domestic migration, ‘failed’ emigration and return from the settler areas of the empire explores the way Hardy’s late fiction records regional memories of forced emigration, for example through the system of transportation in the early part of the nineteenth century. Hardy’s late works additionally expose the adverse implications of laissez faire politics for the fates of the rural and increasingly nomadic poor. Through Christopher Coney’s dissent and Father Time’s murder and suicide, the late fiction indicts Malthusian ideas advising against the interference of the state in order to alleviate poverty. In ever more troubled patterns of unsettled

movement, Hardy’s closing works represent in full force the failure of the empire to end poverty and to ‘settle’ its ejected ‘surplus’ populations. Father Time’s act therefore marks a decisive and even antagonistic separation of working-class emigrants from the mother country and from ‘Greater Britain’.

The frequency of emigration in Hardy’s late fiction reflects the scale of working-class displacement throughout the nineteenth century. As such, the representations of emigration and exile in the late fiction are indebted to Hardy’s awareness of the straitened circumstances, and through them, the leave-takings of, impecunious relatives and acquaintances from England, to his reading of the alarming scale of emigration in the Richmond Commission report, and to his subsequent sustained research into poverty, ‘crime’ and forced relocations to Australia in Dorset histories. In devoting one example of emigration in the late fiction to explore the self-serving activities of the middle classes, in this case represented by Angel Clare’s commercial pursuits in Brazil, Hardy also effectively shows that no sphere within the empire remains unaffected by the presence of the upper classes.

The project has shed light on the manifold ways in which various forms of metropolitan dissent from culturally dominant myths such as even development and participation within the empire are expressed across the three phases of Hardy’s output. These communications of dissent have been shown to range from the subversive use of poetic licence – for example to transpose destinies or to imagine colonial native societies in humanistic terms – to the scripting of sharp disapproval of, or physical threat and even violence against, the destructive legacies of imperial elites.

This research has likewise considered how imperial commentary changes throughout Hardy’s fiction and how ways of representing dissent evolve. Within the early fiction, the narrator largely seeks to maintain control of imperial critique, while in the middle fiction, a more democratic process of devolving critique to characters can be observed. This form of disavowal, although more dispersed in character, remains nonetheless uniformly opposed to the colonial, patriarchal and aristocratic abuses of an imperial elite. By the late fiction, polyphony and discord in relation to ideologies of national imperial belonging prevail and critique can no longer be contained within the boundaries of discourse and narratorial control. This is not to say that the critique is inchoate or unstable but rather that it is volatile and threatening. Indeed violent forces seem to be simmering just beneath the surface. By the closing
works of the late fiction, metropolitan dissent registers in convulsive eruptions of ‘peripheric resistance’ that, as the thesis concludes, draw firm divides between ‘Greater Britain’ and its working-class discontents.

Chapter and article-length contributions to Hardy studies in the last decade have firmly established the presence of the global in Hardy’s fiction. Ralph Pite has observed that ‘rustic folk are becoming global citizens’ in Hardy’s rural imaginary. Penny Boumelha notes: ‘There has been a good deal of critical writing on what might be called internal migration in Hardy’s fiction […] But it is worth noting the amount of actual, possible or intended overseas emigration that also occurs in his novels.’ Angeliqie Richardson, meanwhile, calls attention to ‘wider geographies’ and ‘international relations’ present within his work, and suggests that these enlarged imaginative borders evolve in tandem with the development of Hardy’s semi-fictional Wessex as ‘partly real, partly dream-country’.

Where this thesis has sought to develop studies of the global in Hardy is by introducing greater awareness of the class perimeters that demarcate different globalised Wessex spaces. Within studies of the global in Hardy, there are notable slippages between different kinds of migration that demonstrate where greater sensitivity might be shown to the particularities of social class. For example, Pite suggests that ‘cosmopolitanism’ is a feature of ‘the local and the rural’, while Boumelha reads Stephen Smith’s travels to India, as well as Sir Blount and Swithin’s to Africa, as examples of emigration. Richardson’s work briefly acknowledges elite and labour types of connection with global frontiers but suggests that the wider world ‘persistently present at the margins of Wessex’ is full of opportunities: ‘a world that Hardy’s characters can choose to explore, run away to or find labour in’. Hardy’s global Wessex is similarly considered to hold out promise for its migrants of the ‘broadening effects of travel’.

14 Boumelha, p. 34.
16 Pite, ‘Hardy in the Rural’, p. 136; Boumelha, p. 34.
My thesis endorses the global reach of Wessex but does not consider vocabularies of cosmopolitanism, opportunity or emigration to define the Wessex global experience tout court. ‘Cosmopolitan’ in Hardy’s work – used, for example, to describe the globetrotter who meets Angel Clare in Brazil – tends to be reserved for privileged and often critiqued forms of travel and knowledge. Given, furthermore, that perimeters of class-consciousness and regionalism include the settler frontiers of empire but necessarily exclude regions like Africa, the term ‘cosmopolitanism’ needs to be deployed more selectively. On the other hand, the travels of Stephen Smith, Sir Blount and Swithin are all undertaken with intention of return and can therefore hardly be considered examples of emigration, in the same way one might speak of the Donns’s departure for Australia. Emigration is a category that designates the experiences of ‘surplus’ populations in Hardy’s fiction, not of aspirants to social mobility or profit-gain. Finally, Hardy’s work challenges triumphalist ideas about the global as holding out choice and opportunity, emphasising instead the extent to which departure to, and frequently return from, imperial locations can be marked by the persistent failure of Britain’s overseas programme to settle its working-class migrants.

19 The globetrotting plotter and schemer William Dare in Hardy’s A Laodicean, ed. by John Schad (London: Penguin, 1997), is described locally as a ‘cosmopolite’ and a ‘complete negative’, with ‘no age, no nationality, and no behaviour’ (p. 63). In The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved, Marcia Bencomb travels abroad with her parents, who rate London life as ‘dreary by comparison with cosmopolitan freedom and an absence of responsibility in the conduct of the world’s affairs’ (p. 40). Occasionally, the term ‘cosmopolitan’ is applied to the experiences of local migrants who have travelled long inland distances, for example the furrity-woman in Mayor (p. 255).
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